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THE LIVES

OF

Clemens Alexandrinus,

Eusebius Bishop of *Cæsarea*,

Gregory Nazianzen,

AND

Prudentius the *Christian* Poet:

Containing an Impartial Account of their

LIVES and WRITINGS,

Together with

Several Curious Observations upon Both.

ALSO

A Short History of *Pelagianism*.

Written Originally in *French*

By Monsieur *Le CLERC*;

And now Translated into *English*.

LONDON,

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Advertisement.

THIS thought that the following Lives *will not be Unacceptable to the Publick. The Author of 'em, who is well known by his Writings, justly complains, that those who have hitherto written the Lives of the Fathers, have not done it with such an Impartiality as is required from those who write for the sake of Truth. Indeed, it must be confest that* Panegyricks *of all sorts are very Numerous, and that a True and Faithful Account of the Lives and Doctrine of the Fa-*

thers is very Necessary. This Author will have it, that he hath distinguished himself from other Writers in his Lives of some *Fathers, and professes a great Sincerity. This, I think, is more than sufficient to recommend the Reading of this Work.*

But besides, it contains several Judicious Observations, and Critical Remarks upon the Lives and Opinions of the Fathers, very useful, especially to those who apply or design to apply themselves to that Study. I think that the Fathers were far from being Infallible, but I am none of those who despise the Study of their Writings. I confess, it doth not require a Dull and

and Narrow-Spirited Reader, who may grow the worse for it: But an Ingenious and Judicious one may make a good use of it, as will appear by the following Lives, *which may also give some Light to the late Disputes concerning the Holy* Trinity.

I shall further add, That the Fathers, whose Lives Monsieur Le Clerc *hath written, are some of the most Famous. Every body knows that* Clemens Alexandrinus, *and* Eusebius *Bishop of* Cæsarea, *were very Learned Men; and that* Gregory Nazianzen *was one of the greatest Orators the Christians had in his time.* Eusebius *having been much concern'd*

cern'd in the Arian *Diſputes, it was neceſſary to give a large Account of thoſe Controverſies, which makes the Life of that Father ſo much the more Curious and Uſeful. In ſhort, the Reader will find here the Lives of ſome of the moſt Celebrated Fathers who lived in the moſt famous Ages of Chriſtianity, written with great Exactneſs and Impartiality; and they are, I think, ſufficient to give a Notion of the Fathers.*

I muſt not forget that Monſieur Le Clerc *hath taken care to ſhew what Philoſophy thoſe Fathers did eſpecially apply themſelves to. This is a very Neceſſary Enquiry; and thoſe that are not ſenſible of its Uſefulneſs, will*

will be eaſily convinced of it, when they come to read the following Lives.

'Twas alſo thought fit to print the Hiſtory of Pelagianiſm, *tho' very ſhort, together with theſe* Lives; *becauſe ſeveral Gentlemen may be deſirous to have in their own Tongue an Impartial Account of that Controverſie, which formerly made ſo great a Noiſe in the Chriſtian World.*

ERRA-

ERRATA.

PAge 9. Line 9. read *Hypotypoſes*; p.10. l.4. *of the* r. *of thoſe*; p. 16. l. 28. r. *Stoicks*; p.18. l. 28. r. *Inviſible*; p.32. l.22. r. *Writings*; p. 50. l.2. r. *Months*; p.58. l.4. r. *Pædagogue*; p.64. l.13.r. *Pamphilys*, (and ſo elſewhere;) p.67. l.6. r. *Year of*; p.72. l.27. *perhaps*, add *is*; p. 73. l.24. for πρεμῶν r. τρεῖων; p.78. l.12. for *contained* r. *underſtood*; p.79. l.20. r. *thoſe*; p.81. l. 1. *in ſpeaking*, dele *in*; p. 84. l.12. r. *gave*; p. 85. l.10. r. Αἰγ-; p.86. l.2. r. ἀριθμῶ: p.105. l.29. r. *his Works*; p.110. l.7. dele *a*, and r *ſport of the*; ibid. l. 17. r. *Cordova*; p. 113. l. 2. r. *Lucian*; p. 117. l.4. r. *Nicomedia*; p. 130. l.4. r. *Byſantium*; p. 133. l. 7. r. *Licinius*, p.135. l. 24. r. *fit to*; p. 137. l.19. r. ὑπαρξιν; p.142. l.18. r. *Arſenius*; p. 146. l.16. r. *being come to*; p.151. l.9. r. *any thing elſe*; p.161. l.18. r. *Perſonas*; ibid. l. 21. φύσις, add *ſignifies*; p. 167. l. 13. *there is*, add *in*; p. 173. l.26. *undeniable*, add *Teſtimony*; p.176. l.31. r. *Ægina*; p. 183. l.3. r. *patiently*; p.193. l.9. r. *Individuum's*; p. 207. l. 24. r. *uſed the Valentinians*; p. 212. l. 17. *related*, add *all*; p. 213. l.17. r. *breaking into*; p.220.l.28. r. *ſeized*; p. 226. l. 26. r. *Proſopopœia*; p. 234 l. ult. r. *acknowledged*; p. 249. l. 9. r. *Judgment*; p. 254. l. 20. *Deity*, add *is*; p. 265. l.20. r. *in a full*; p. 268. l.24. dele *'em*; p.282. l. 19.r. *Prodicus*; p. 283. l. 25. r. *ſuch an Art*; p.290. l. 17. r. *militiæ*; p. 292. l. 28. r. *Darkneſs*; p. 293. l. ult. r. *Mentem*; p. 295 l.9. r. *Judicature*; p.301. l.2. r. *piceaſque*; p. 304. l.18. r. *ingeniouſly*; p. 305. l. 14. r. *perire*; p. 307. l. 23. *Ninivites*, add *were not*; ibid. l. 27. r. *thas People*; p. 312. l.19. r. *Cyprians*; p. 313. l. 17. r. *foveis*; p. 317. l. 10. *Image*, add *was*; p. 321. l. 2. *Nature is*, add *of*; p. 321. l. 14. r. *Conditor*; p. 325. l. 19. r. *moras*; ibid. l.21. r. *murmureth*; p. 326. l. 25. r. *it is*; p. 327. l.7.r. *languente*; p. 333. l. 12. *Quadrants*, r. *Tetraſticks*; ibid. l. 15. r. *whereof*; p.336 l.14. r. *Damietta*; p. 338. l.27. dele *not*; p. 363. l. penult. r. *facultatum*; l. ſeq. r. *exilium*; p. 368. l. 1. r. *nullum*.

The

The Life

OF

Clemens Alexandrinus.

ALthough thoſe that are able to read the *Fathers* in the Original Tongues, are but few; yet there are a great many who ought to have ſome Notions of their Lives and Writings, becauſe they are now-a-days made uſe of in the Controverſies which divide Chriſtians. The Teachers of the *Church of Rome* omit nothing to make Men believe, that the Fathers were of their Opinion; becauſe they believe, that it is not lawful to reject a Doctrine grounded upon the Teſtimony of the greateſt part of the Fathers. When they quote a Paſſage, which they think to be agreeable to their Notions, they don't fail to ſay, *As a Holy Father ſaid well.* But if One objects to them ſome

words which they cannot well get rid of: They anſwer, That 'twas only his private Opinion; and reject it as an Error.

The greateſt part of the *Proteſtants* do not lay down the Conſent of the Fathers, as a Principle of their Faith; but as for the reſt, many of their Authors ſeldom make any other uſe of them, when they cite 'em, than the *Roman Catholicks*.

Hence it is, that in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories of both Parties, ſuch Places as ſeem proper to confirm the Opinion and Practices received now-a-days amongſt us, are carefully obſerved: Whereas ſuch things as are thought to be Defective in their Conduct and Doctrine, are only mentioned by the bye. They perſuade themſelves that the Fathers, eſpecially thoſe of the Firſt Centuries, held all the Opinions, which are lookt upon as Eſſential where they live; and then they think themſelves obliged to heap up Praiſes upon 'em; and excuſe, as much as they can, the Defects which are obſerved either in their Writings or Lives: So that inſtead of writing their Hiſtory, they write, without being aware of it, their *Panegyrick* or Apology. Hence it is, that they who read ſuch Books, believe that the Antients were Men of vaſt Learning, and extraordinary Holineſs. From whence they conclude, that if they have ill treated any

any Body, they muſt needs have had ſome great Reaſons for it; and that they were far either from unfaithfully relating, or ill confuting the Opinions of Hereticks. They think themſelves obliged to imitate their manner of Reaſoning and Acting, without much troubling themſelves whether it be agreeable to the Precepts of the Goſpel, or not. Thus it comes to paſs, that we have no Hiſtories of the Firſt Centuries, that are faithful enough; and do not make ſuch a Uſe of thoſe Hiſtories as we ought to make.

I am far from thinking that I can cure ſo inveterate a Diſeaſe, nor is it the Deſign of this Work: But at leaſt, I think my ſelf obliged to avoid, as much as I can, the Way of thoſe, who give the Publick Partial Panegyricks, when Sincere and Impartial Hiſtories were expected from them. I have endeavoured to practice this in *The Hiſtory of Pelagianiſm*, ; and I ſhall yet endeavour to do it in the *Life of Clemens*, which I am going to write in few words.

TITUS FLAVIUS CLEMENS, famous for his Learning towards the End of the Second Century, was born at *Athens*, according to ſome Authors, who believe they can reconcile this Opinion with the Opinion of thoſe who call him

Alexandrinus, by saying that *Athens* was the Place of his Birth; and that he got the Sirname of *Alexandrinus*, because of his long stay at *Alexandria*. But his Style, though florid enough, is often obscure and intricate, and doth not much relish the Neatness and Elegancy of the Athenian Writers. However, it is certain that he begun his Studies in *Greece*, continued them in *Asia*, and ended his days in *Egypt*.

It appears, that he was not content to be instructed only by one Master, but that he travelled much to hear many, and so to get a more exact and full knowledge of the Christian Religion, as well as to improve in Humane Learning. His Masters had been Disciples of the Apostles, or had conversed with some Disciples of those Holy Men, as it appears by his manner of speaking of them, though he doth not express himself very clearly.

He says, ‘ * That his Writings, composed without Art, are an Image and a ‘ Picture of those lively Discourses of the ‘ Happy Men, and truly worthy of Esteem, ‘ whom he had the Honour to hear. The ‘ one (as he goes on) whom I saw in *Greece*, ‘ was of the *Ionick* Sect. I have seen two in ‘ *Calabria*, one of whom was a *Cœlo-Syrian*, ‘ and the other an *Egyptian*. I met two ‘ more in the *East*, one of whom was an ‘ *Assyrian*;

* *Strom. l. 1. p. 274.* *Eusebius, lib. 5. c. 11.* reads this place somewhat differently, upon which *Valesius* may be consulted.

‘ *Assyrian*; and the other, with whom I conversed in *Palestine*, was of a Jewish Extraction: This latter was the first in Merit. I stay'd in *Egypt*, where he had hid himself, to look for him. He was, as the ‘ Proverb says, *A true Sicilian Bee.* He ‘ gathered the Flowers scattered (if one may ‘ so say) in the Meadows of the Writings ‘ of the Prophets and Apostles, by the ‘ means whereof he filled the Souls of those ‘ that heard him with a pure Knowledge. ‘ Those Men having preserved the true Tradition of the Blessed Doctrine, immediately after the Holy Apostles, St. *Peter*, ‘ St. *James*, St. *John*, and St. *Paul*, as a ‘ Child who keeps what he hath learned of ‘ his Father (*Although there are Few like ‘ them*) have lived to our time, by the ‘ Will of God, to shed into our Hearts the ‘ Seed which they had received of the ‘ Apostles their Predecessors.

'Tis of great moment to know what Master an Author had, to understand his Opinions right; for then, as now-a-days, the Disciples did particularly stick to the Method of their Masters; and explained Religion, as much as they could, according to the Principles of that Philosophy which they had learned of them. Thus the School-men, who were *Peripateticks*, explained Divinity by *Aristotle's* Prin-

ciples; and Divinity is handled after the *Carteſian* way, where *Des-Cartes* Philoſophy is admitted.

Wherefore the Learned Men of our Age have endeavoured to gueſs, who were thoſe of whom *Clemens* ſpeaks. It appears, by my Tranſlation of the words of that Father, that he had five Maſters; but *Valeſius* allows him but four, becauſe he follows the Reading of *Euſebius*. One can't poſitively affirm which is the beſt; but I may ſay, that the Interpreters who took the word Ἰωνικὸς for a Proper Name, have done it without reaſon. 'Tis not likely that *Clemens*, who doth not tell the Names of the other, whom he acknowledges for his Maſters, ſhould name this. Antiquity affords no Man whoſe Name was *Ionick*, and that Name may denote the Sect of Philoſophy to which that firſt Maſter of *Clemens* did eſpecially apply himſelf. *Thales* and *Anaximander*, Philoſophers of *Miletus*, a Town of *Ionia*, were the Heads of it.

Clemens Alexandrinus ſpeaks well of thoſe two Philoſophers in his Writings: *Thales* (ſays he in one place) * *was a* Phœnician, *as* Leander *and* Herodotus *ſay. He is the only Man who ſeems to be converſant with the Egyptian Prophets, and we do not read that any one hath been his Maſter*, &c. Anaximander, *a Mileſian, and Son of* Praxidamus, *ſucceeded*

* *Strom. l.* 1. *p.* 300.

ſucceeded Thales, *and had* Anaximenes, *Son of* Euryſtratus, *a Mileſian alſo, for his Succeſſor.* Anaxagoras *of* Clazomenes, *Son of* Hegeſibulus, *came after him; he removed his Auditory from* Ionia *to* Athens, *and had* Archelaus, Socrates's *Maſter, for his Succeſſor.*

Elſewhere he ſays, *That* Thales * *being askt what God is? He anſwered, That which hath neither a Beginning nor an End. And that another having askt him, whether Men can hide their Actions from God? How can that be, anſwered he, ſince they cannot ſo much as hide their Thoughts from him?*

* *Strom. l.* 5. *p.* 595.

Speaking of *Anaximander*, *Archelaus*, and *Anaxagoras*, Philoſophers of the ſame Sect, he ſays, That the former hath eſtabliſht † *the Infinite* for the Firſt Being; and that the other two ſaid that *the Spirit* governed the Infinite.

† *Admon. ad Gent. p.* 43.

The Principles of thoſe Philoſophers may be ſeen more at large in *Diogenes Laertius*: and one may eaſily perceive, that ſome of them do well enough agree with thoſe of the Jews and Chriſtians; as, That whatever is upon the Earth came out of the Water; That the Night was before the Day; That moſt Men are Wicked; That to live Juſtly, we muſt not do what we blame in others; That Heaven is our true Native Country, &c. 'Tis not therefore incredible,

that a Philoſopher of that Sect ſhould have embraced Chriſtianity, and been the firſt Maſter of *Clemens Alexandrinus*.

All that can be ſaid againſt it, is, that the Succeſſion of the Philoſophers of the *Ionick* Sect ended in *Archelaus*, Maſter of *Socrates*. But although there were no Maſters of that Philoſophy, who did immediately ſucceed one another; yet it doth not follow but there might be ſome Philoſophers, in ſeveral places, who followed the Opinions of *Thales*, and his firſt Diſciples. Thus *Diogenes Laertius* ſays, in his *Preface*, that the *Italick* Sect, of which *Pythagoras* was the Head, ended in *Epicurus*; although there hath been ſome *Pythagoræan* Philoſophers many Ages after *Epicurus*. No Body ought to wonder that we ſhould ſay, that a Chriſtian follow'd a certain Sect of Philoſophy, becauſe it is only to be underſtood inaſmuch as he thought it agreeable to Chriſtianity. Thus *Juſtin Martyr* was a *Platonick*; and *Pantænus*, *Clemens*'s Maſter, * was a *Stoick*.

* *Euſeb. l. 5. c. 10.*

The Name of the ſecond, whom he ſaw in *Great Greece*, or *Calabria*, is altogether unknown. Some † believe that the *Aſſyrian* was *Tatianus*, a Philoſopher and Diſciple of *Juſtin Martyr*; and others, ‖ *Bardeſanes* of *Edeſſus* in *Syria*, who had been a

† *Valeſ. ad Euſeb.*

‖ *Baron. ad Ann. 185.*

a *Valentinian*, and never wholly laid aſide the Opinions of that Sect.

As for him who was of *Jewiſh* Origin, ſome believe he might be *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, although Hiſtory doth not ſay that he deſcended from Jewiſh Parents. Wherefore, others conjecture that he was one *Theodotus*, whoſe Doctrine *Clemens Alexandrinus* had expounded in his *Hypotypoſes*, or *Inſtitutions of the Chriſtian Religion*; from whence it is that the Abridgment of that Work, which is to be found at the end of *Clemen*'s Works, is intituled *Extracts of the Eaſtern Doctrine of Theodotus*. But ſome aſcribe thoſe Extracts to *Theodotus Byzantinus*, a Currier by Trade, but a learned Man, who was Excommunicated by Pope *Victor*, in the Year CXCIV. becauſe he taught, that Chriſt was but a meer Man.

Laſtly: The laſt of *Clemens*'s Maſters, whom he prefers before all the other, and to whom he applied himſelf, was *Pantænus*. *Euſebius* is of opinion, that *Clemens* means Him, in the latter part of that Paſſage which I have citedout of him. Indeed, *Pantænus* taught in *Egypt*, when *Clemens* ſettled himſelf there; and this latter called him his Maſter * in his *Hypotypoſes*.

* *Euſeb. l. 5. c. 11.*

Pantænus's Native Countrey and Parents are not known; but 'tis certain that he applied

plied himself much to the Study of Philosophy, especially that of the *Stoicks*, perhaps being moved with the severe Manners and Maxims of the Philosophers, which did well enough agree with those of the Ancient Christians.

*Vid. *Euseb* l. 5. c. 10. & *Hieron.* in *Script. Eccl.* There had been * long before, nay, if some Authors are to be believ'd, ever since St. *Mark* the Evangelist, a Publick School at *Alexandria*, where the *Catechumeni* were taught; which Employment was bestowed only upon Men of Learning, and an Exemplary Life. *Pantænus* was entrusted with it, and taught a long time in that City, *Viva Voce*, and by Writing. He wrote some Commentaries upon the Scripture, of which there are only some words extant † in the *Extracts of the Eastern Doctrine of Theodotus*, wherein *Clemens Alexandrinus* speaks thus: *Our* Pantænus *says, that the Prophets do commonly express themselves by the Aorist, and use the Present Tense instead of the Future and Preterit Tenses.*

† *Clemens.* p. 808.

'Tis likely that *Pantænus* was a *Catechist*, when *Clemens* came to *Egypt*; and that he studied some time under him, before he succeeded him. He applied himself there, as he did elsewhere, to the Study of Philosophy, although he was far from taking for Philosophers All those that went by that Name. ‖ *We do not* (says he) *indifferently*

‖ *Strom.* l. 1. p. 315.

ferently receive All manner of Philosophy, but that only of which Socrates *says in* Plato; " The same thing which is observed in My-" steries, is also to be found in Philosophy; " Many carry the *Thyrsus*, but Few are " truly inspired with the Spirit of *Bacchus*. Socrates *did thereby obscurely intimate, That Many are Called, but Few Elected: For afterwards he adds, That the Latter are, in his Judgment, those who have applied themselves to Philosophy as they ought to do.*

Clemens would not stick wholly to any Sect, lest he should take for Philosophers such as perhaps had only the Out-side of 'em, but followed that manner of Philosophising which was then call'd *Eclectick*, that is to say, the Method of those, who chose, out of all the Opinions of the Philosophers, those which seem'd the most rational to them, and made a System of them for their Private Use. * *Potamon* of *Alexandria*, who liv'd in the time of *Augustus*, was the first that practised that manner of Philosophising. *Clemens* could not chuse a more commodious One for a Christian Philosopher, because there is not one Philosopher of whom all the *Dogmata* are agreeable to the Gospel; although a System, that will come up very near to that of the Christian Doctrine, may be made by collecting out of All the Philosophers what they said agreeably

* Vid. *Laertium in Proem. & Suidam.*

agreeably to the Light of Nature, or ſome ancient Traditions current almoſt through the whole World.

Clemens himſelf teaches us thus much; and aſſures us, that he applied himſelf to the *Eclectick* Philoſophy, for the ſame Reaſon that I have alledged. Having ſaid, That God had ſent Philoſophy to Men; * he adds, 'That he means neither that of 'the *Stoicks*, nor that of the *Platonicks*, nor 'that of the *Ariſtotelians*. But (ſays he) I 'give that Name to the Truths which thoſe 'Sects have maintained, and which may 'lead to Juſtice and Piety. I don't call the 'Falſe Opinions of Men, Divine Things. He ſays elſewhere, † 'That the *Barbarian* 'and the *Greek* Philoſophy took the Frag-'ments of the Eternal Truths which it con-'tains, not out of *Bacchus*'s *Mythology*, but 'from the *Reaſon* which did always exiſt. 'He that would join again, what hath been 'divided, and would make a Private Syſtem 'out of it, might be ſure of Knowing the 'Truth.

* *Strom. l.* 1. *p.*288.

† *P.* 299.

A like Thought is to be met with in *Lactantius*, who aſſures us, || 'That it is an 'eaſie thing to ſhew that the Whole Truth 'was divided among the ſeveral Sects of 'Philoſophers; and if any one would col-'lect the Truths ſcatter'd among the Sects, 'and gather them into One Body, he would 'not

|| *Inſt. l.* 6. *c.* 7.

'not certainly diſagree from the Chri-'ſtians. *Quod ſi extitiſſet aliquis, qui veritatem ſparſam per ſingulos per ſectaſque diffuſam colligeret in unum ac redigeret in corpus, is profectò non diſſentiret à nobis.*

Afterwards he ſays, That no Body could do it, but by a Divine Revelation; but that if it ſhould happen, as it were by chance, that any one did it without that help, nothing would be more certain than that Philoſophy: and although he could not defend himſelf by the Authority of Revelation, Truth would maintain it ſelf only by its own Light.

Afterwards he blames thoſe who ſtick to One Sect, ſo as to embrace all its Opinions, and condemn all other Sects, being ready to diſpute againſt all the Doctrines which they have not learned of their Maſters. That Deſign, of collecting whatever the Philoſophers ſaid that was agreeable to the Goſpel, is undoubtedly a fine one, and may very much conduce to convince Men of the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion. But to do it ſucceſsfully, 'tis neceſſary to underſtand both Philoſophy and the Chriſtian Religion well, and to confine one's ſelf to clear and undeniable Articles, ſuch as thoſe that are *Practical*, and ſome few *Speculative* ones. The Heterodox of that time had introduced into the Chriſtian

Christian Religion, for want of Consideration, an infinite number of Philosophical Doctrines, which have no relation with those of the Gospel.

* *Strom. l. 3. p. 430.* Thus the *Carpocratians* * believed, as *Clemens* testifies, That it was lawful to Lie promiscuously with all Women; and did actually do it, when they had supp't in a great Company, and put out the Candles. They fell into this Conceit, because *Plato* would have Women to be Common in his Commonwealth; and because they had wrested several Places of the Scripture, to make them agree with that Opinion. But *Clemens* is of opinion, that they understood neither the Scripture nor *Plato* well. This latter meant only this, he thinks, That there should be no Maid in the Commonwealth, but to whom All the Citizens might indifferently pretend; although if she had been Betrothed to any Man, others could no more hope to Marry her. I could easily shew, that *Clemens* doth not explain well *Plato*'s Meaning, if this was a fit place for it.

† *Ibid. p. 431, & 465, & seq.* The *Marcionites*, † who said that Matter and Nature are Bad, and condemn'd Marriage, came by their Opinion, so contrary to that of *Carpocrates*, by Explaining some Passages of Scripture, by the *Platonick* Principles. Because the Scripture often describes

scribes the Miseries of this World, and praises Continency, they fancied that the Sacred Writers had the same Notions of this Life and Generation, or Birth, that *Heraclitus* and *Plato* had. Those Philosophers believed, that the Souls did exist before the Bodies, into which they are sent only to be punisht for the Sins which they had committed in another Life: So that, to speak properly, Birth should be called *Death*, rather than a Beginning of Life; and Death *Life*, because when we are born, our Souls are thrown into the Prison of the Body, out of which they are set at liberty when we die. Hence it is that those Philosophers, and many Poets after 'em, said, That 'twas better not to be born, than to come into the World; and to die in Childhood, than to live many Years. Hence it is also, that some times they speak vehemently enough against the Use of Marriage; because, in their opinion, it did only conduce to build a Prison for some Unfortunate Soul, which was thrown into the Body that was produced.

The *Valentinians* had also learned what they said concerning the Generation of their *Æones*, of *Hesiod*, as it will appear by comparing the Beginning of his *Theogonia* with the Doctrine of the *Valentinians*, as it is reported by St. *Irenæus* and St. *Epiphanius*, who

who do not fail to upbraid them with their having taken their Doctrine from that Poet. 'Tis likely they confounded *Heſiod*'s Doctrine with that of the Holy Scripture, becauſe of ſome ſmall reſemblance that is between 'em. I could eaſily ſhew, that *Heſiod*, by the Marriages between the *Chaos*, *Darkneſs*, *Light*, *Heaven*, *Earth*, *Air*, &c. meant only, that there is ſome Relation or Connexion between the Things which he joins, and that 'twas this that gave him occaſion to Marry them together: But my Buſineſs is only to ſhew, by the Example of the ancient Hereticks, that the Primitive Chriſtians made a great uſe of the Heathen Philoſophy, and that many have perverted it, as *Clemens* hath obſerved in ſeveral places.

As for him, although he profeſt to follow the Method of the *Eclecticks*, and take out of every Sect what he thought fit; yet he was more enclined to the *Stoick* Philoſophy, becauſe *Pantænus* his laſt Maſter, and whom he eſteemed moſt, as we have ſeen, preferred that Sect before others. Wherefore 'tis obſerved, that *Clemens* hath a cloſe and harſh Style, and that he affects ſome Paradoxes, and to uſe New Words; Characters whereby the *Stoick*, and thoſe that ſtudied in their Schools, were known. *Stoicorum* (ſays * *Tully*) *adſtrictior eſt oratio, aliquantóque con-*

* *In Bruto*, c. 31.

contractior quàm aures populi requirunt. * *Nova verba fingunt, deſerunt uſitata: at quanta conantur! Mundum hunc omnem oppidum eſſe unum*, &c. *Pungunt quaſi aculeis, interrogatiunculis anguſtis.* Thoſe that underſtand Greek, and have read ſomething of *Clemens*, may have eaſily obſerved all this in his Stile. There are many Paradoxes in his *Pædagogus*; for inſtance, he maintains (*Book* 3. *Chap.* 6.) *That none but a Chriſtian is Rich.* A Paradox much like that of the *Stoicks*, who ſaid the ſame thing of their *Wiſe Man*. Thoſe Philoſophers expreſt themſelves thus; Ὅτι μόνος σοφὸς πλούσιος, *That the Wiſe Man only is Rich*: And *Clemens* made no other Alteration in it, but that of Σοφὸς, *Wiſe Man*, into Χριστιανὸς, *a Chriſtian*. The Reaſons which he makes uſe of to prove his Aſſertion, are not very different neither from thoſe of the *Stoicks*, as may be ſeen by comparing what he ſays with *Cicero*'s Explication of that Stoical Maxim, in his *Paradoxes*.

* *De Fin. lib.* 4.

The Study of Heathen Authors produced in *Clemens* milder Thoughts with reſpect to them, than thoſe which Chriſtians have had ſince. He obſerves in many places, † That whatever they ſay, is not falſe: And cites, to prove it, St. *Paul*'s Diſcourſe to the *Athenians*, *Act.* 17. where that Apoſtle tells 'em, That he preaches to them the ſame God, to whom they had

† *Strom. l.* 1. *p.* 314.

erected an Altar, with this Inscription, TO THE UNKNOWN GOD; the same God of whom *Aratus* had said, that *We are his Off-spring*. *Clemens* believes, that St. *Paul* approved what was Good in the Inscription of that Altar, and in those words of *Aratus*; and gave 'em only a clearer Knowledge of the True God, whom they already perceived, without Knowing Him well. He elsewhere * quotes a Book which was ascribed to St. *Peter*, and was entituled, ΚΗΡΥΓΜΑ ΠΕΤΡΟΥ, *The Preaching of St. Peter*. It appears, that *Clemens* made no doubt but that Book was St. *Peter's*: From whence one may conjecture, that there was nothing in it that was inconsistent with the Orthodox Opinions of that time; and that, if we had it, we might look upon it as the Work of a Good Christian. The Place which *Clemens* quotes out of it, is too remarkable to be omitted here, since we may know from it what many Antients, who have not been charged with Idolatry, thought of the Heathens: 'Know that 'there is but One God (said St. *Peter* in 'that Book) who gave a Beginning to 'All Things, and is able to make 'em End; 'who is Invisible, and seeth all things; 'who is shut up within no Bounds, and 'contains all things; who wants nothing, 'and whom all things stand in need of; 'since

* *Strom. l. 6. p. 635.*

'since they exist by Him; who is Incom-'prehensible, Eternal, and Incorruptible; 'who was not made, but made all things 'by his Powerful Word, that is, by his Son, 'according to the Spiritual Interpretation 'put upon the Scripture. *Afterwards he 'adds* (as *Clemens* goes on,) Worship that 'God, not as the Greeks do, *because Honest 'Men among the Greeks Worship'd the same 'God with us, but without perfectly Knowing 'Him as those who have received the Do-'ctrine of his Son. He doth not say*, Do 'not worship the God whom the Greeks 'worship; *but*, Do not worship him as the 'Greeks do, *changing only the Manner of 'the Worship, but preaching no other God: 'He himself explains what he means, adding*, 'For being led by their Ignorance, and not 'knowing God as perfectly as we do, they 'make Statues of those things which God 'gave them for their use, *viz.* Wood, Stone, 'Copper, Iron, Gold and Silver; and in-'stead of employing those things for their 'use, they themselves worship 'em. Be-'sides, they worship Beasts, which God 'gave them for their Food, the Birds of the 'Air, the Fishes of the Sea, the Creeping 'Creatures of the Earth, Wild and Four-'footed Beasts, as well as Weasels, Rats, 'Dogs and Monkeys. They sacrifice to 'Men, what they should eat; and offering

'Dead Things to the Dead, as to Gods, 'they prove Ungrateful to the True God, 'and ſo deny his Exiſtence. *And that it 'may appear that We and the Greeks Know 'the True God, though in a different manner, 'he goes on thus*; Worſhip not God neither 'as the Jews; for fancying that They only 'know God, they do not perceive that they 'worſhip Angels and Archangels, the 'Months, and the Moons; for if the Moon 'does not appear, they do not obſerve the 'Sabbath which they call *Firſt*, nor the 'New Moon, nor the Days of Unleavened 'Bread, nor any Holy Day. *Laſtly, he 'concludes, ſaying*; As for you, Learn the 'Juſt and Holy Doctrine which we teach 'you; obſerve it, and worſhip God after 'a new manner, through Jeſus Chriſt. For 'we read in the Scripture, that God ſaid, 'I make a New Covenant with you, diffe-'rent from that which I made with your 'Fathers upon Mount *Horeb*. He hath 'given us a New Covenant; for both that 'of the Jews and Greeks is old; and We, 'who worſhip him after a Third and New 'manner, are Chriſtians. *He clearly ſhews* '(as *Clemens* adds) *That one and the ſame 'God was known to the Greeks, after the man-'ner of the Heathens; to the Jews, after 'the Jewiſh manner; and to Us, after a New 'and Spiritual manner. He ſhews further,*

'*That*

'*That the ſame God who gave the Two Cove-'nants, is He who gave Philoſophy to the 'Greeks, by which the Almighty is glorified 'amongſt 'em*, &c. *As God was pleaſed to 'ſave the Jews, by giving them ſome Pro-'phets; ſo he hath raiſed among the Greeks 'the moſt Honeſt Men, whom he hath di-'ſtinguiſht from the Vulgar, according as they 'were capable of receiving his Benefits, to 'perform the part of* PROPHETS *amongſt 'em in their own Tongue. We learn this 'not only from St.* Peter's *Preaching, but alſo 'from St.* Paul, *when he ſays*, Take ſome 'Greek Books acknowledge that the *Sybil* 'teaches but One God, and the Things that 'are to come. 'Read *Hydaſpes*, and you'll 'find that he hath writ much more clearly 'concerning the Son of God; and that he 'ſaid, that many Kings would arm them-'ſelves againſt Jeſus Chriſt, that they would 'hate him, and thoſe that are called by his 'Name, *&c. As the Preaching of the Goſpel 'came in its time, ſo the Law and the Pro-'phets were given to the Barbarians in their 'time, and Philoſophy to the Greeks, which 'accuſtoms the Ears to the Preaching of the 'Goſpel. Clemens* ſpeaks after the ſame manner in ſeveral other places; and teſtifies clearly enough, that *Philoſophy* * was among the *Greeks*, what *Prophecy* was among the *Hebrews*; and that God hath always given

* Vid. *Caſub. Exercitat.* 1. *in App. Baron.*

equally to all Men the Means neceſſary to be ſaved: Which was alſo the Opinion of ſeveral other Greek Fathers.

Clemens therefore believed that the *Greeks* had no good Doctrine but what they took from the *Barbarians*, eſpecially from the *Jews*, and the Sacred Books, which he endeavours to prove in a thouſand places; and 'tis well known, that it was the common Opinion of the Fathers, who undertook to cenſure the Philoſophy of the *Greeks*. The Jews ſaid alſo the ſame thing, as it appears from a Paſſage of *Ariſtobulus* a Peripatetick, who is ſaid to have been Tutor to *Ptolemy Philometor*, and who ſpeaks thus: '*Plato* did alſo follow our Laws, 'and hath ſhewed, that he had ſtudied them 'well. Now before *Demetrius*'s time, nay, 'before the Empire of *Alexander*, and that 'of the *Perſians*, they were tranſlated by 'others (*than the Septuagint*) as well as the 'Hiſtory of what happen'd to the Hebrews, 'our Fellow-Citizens, at their departure 'from *Egypt*, of what remarkable things 'they did and ſaw; and how they took 'poſſeſſion, by their ſtrength, of the Land 'of *Canaan*; and how the whole Law was 'given: ſo that it is manifeſt, that the 'Philoſopher whom I have mention'd, took 'ſeveral things from it; for he was a Man 'of great Learning, as well as *Pythagoras*, 'who

'who hath inſerted ſeveral of our Opinions 'into his Doctrine. But this Author is ſuſpected, for ſeveral Reaſons; and being the only Man who hath mention'd a Tranſlation made before the Empire of the *Perſians*, one may juſtly doubt whether this is not a Jewiſh Fable. However, it appears, that in the time of this Author, whether he be Genuine or Suppoſititious, the Jews charged the Heathens with having ſtoln the beſt things they had out of the Holy Books.

'Tis very likely that the Greeks had learnt many things of the Eaſtern Nations, as of the Egyptians and Babylonians; for they themſelves * confeſs it. But if this Matter was fully examined, one might perhaps find, that many things were clearly ſpoken of in *Greece*, before the Jews ſpoke of 'em after the ſame manner; and that the latter began to expreſs themſelves as the Greeks only ſince they converſed with them. I could alledge ſome Proofs of this Conjecture, at leaſt, as ſtrong as all thoſe which the Fathers have alledged to prove the contrary. But becauſe I ſhould too much wander from the chief Subject in hand, I ſhall not undertake this Matter. Perhaps, ſome time or other, I ſhall publiſh a Diſſertation about it.

* Vid. *Diogen. Laert. Proem. & ad illud Intt.*

I had rather obſerve here, That although *Clemens* doth often charge the Greek Philoſophers with Theft; yet he believed that God had given them part of their Knowledge by the Miniſtry of Inferior Angels, whereas he inſtructed the Chriſtians by the Miniſtry of his Son. ' * The Lord of all ' Men, of the Greeks as well as the Bar- ' barians, perſuades thoſe that will believe ' in Him: For he doth not force him to re- ' ceive Salvation, who may chuſe and do ' what is in his power, to embrace the Hope ' which God offers him. 'Tis He who gives Philoſophy to the Greeks, by the Miniſtry of *Inferior Angels*, † (Διὰ τῆς ὑπο- δεεστέρων Ἀγγέλων.) ' For the Angels have ' been long ago diſperſed among the Na- ' tions, by the Command of God; but the ' Opinion of thoſe that Believe, is the Gift ' of the Lord. Afterwards he proves at large, in the ſame place, that God is the Saviour of the Heathens, as well as the Jews.

* *Strom. l.7. p.702.*

† Ibid. *l.1. p.309.*

As to the Miniſtry of Angels, to reveal Philoſophy to the Greeks, *Clemens*, and thoſe who have been of the ſame Opinion, came by it partly by reaſon of what *Socrates* ſaid concerning his *Dæmon*, who warned him of ſeveral things, and of whom ‖ *Clemens* ſeems to ſpeak, in ſuch terms as may make one believe that he was perſuaded that *Socrates* ſpake

* Ibid. *l.1. p.311, & 334.*

ſpake the Truth. And this agrees well enough with the Opinion of the ſame Father, and ſeveral others, who believed, after ſeveral Heathen Philoſophers, that every Man had a Tutelar Angel, who might ſometimes advize him.

After what hath been ſaid, 'tis no wonder that *Clemens* ſhould aſcribe a kind of Prophecy * to *Plato*, eſpecially if it be conſidered, that the words of that Philoſopher ſuit *Jeſus Chriſt* ſo well, that the Condition which the Saviour of the World was reduced to, when he was nailed to the Croſs, can ſcarce be better deſcribed now. He † deſcribes a Perfect Vertue; and ſays that one might beſtow that Name upon the Vertue of a Juſt Man, who yet ſhould be accounted a Wicked, for being a ſtrict Obſerver of Juſtice; and who, notwithſtanding the ill Opinion which the World ſhould have of him, would walk on in the way of Vertue even to Death, *although he ſhould be Whipt, although he ſhould ſuffer ſeveral Torments, and be kept in Chains; although his Eyes ſhould be burnt out with a red-hot Iron; although he ſhould be expoſed to all ſorts of Miſery, and at laſt be Crucified.*

* Ibid. *l.9. p.601.*

† *De Rep. l.2. p.423. ed. Ficin.*

However, *Clemens* did not equal the Heathen Philoſophy to the Doctrine of Chriſt. He acknowledges, that before his coming into

into the World, it was only, as it were, a Degree and Preparation to Christianity; and that the Philosophers could only be lookt upon as Children, if compared to the Christians. He thought that *Faith* was Necessary, since the Gospel had been published through the whole World. * 'The 'Saviour (*says he*) having given his Com- 'mands to the *Barbarians*, and Philosophy 'to the *Greeks*, hath shut up Unbelief until 'his Coming; in which time, whosoever 'doth not believe in Him, is without Ex- 'cuse.

* *Strom. l.7. p.704.*

All the Books of *Clemens* are full of these Sentiments; and he defends them every where so clearly, and so fully, that it plainly appears, that in his time those Opinions were not (at least so commonly) lookt upon as dangerous; for it is not likely that they would have made him a Catechist, after his Master *Pantænus*, or bestowed so many Praises upon him, as they have done since, if he had been lookt upon as a Man infected with dangerous Opinions. St. *Chrysostom* maintained the same thing, concerning the Salvation of Heathens, in his 38th. *Hom.* upon St. *Matthew*.

'Twas necessary to observe, in few words, those Opinions of *Clemens*; because, without it, several places of his Writings cannot be understood; and because 'twas upon this account

account that he kept whatever he thought to be Rational in the Doctrine of the Heathens, rejecting only what seem'd to him False, or inconsistent with the Doctrines of the Gospel, or what had been blamed by Christ and his Apostles. Thus All the Greek Philosophers, even those who were for a Fate, having believed that Men are Free by their Nature, and can abstain from doing Evil, as they are able to apply themselves to Vertue: And Christ and his Apostles having not undertaken to take them off from this Opinion, *Clemens* openly maintains, That Men have a liberty of Doing Evil, or Abstaining from it. * ***Neither*** *Praises* (says he) *nor Censures, nor Rewards nor Punishments are Just, if the Soul hath not the power of Sinning or not Sinning, and if Sin is Unvoluntary.* The Pagans knew nothing of what was called since, *Original Sin*: And *Clemens* observing, that the Sacred Writers do not upbraid the Heathens with their Ignorance in this Matter; nor teach them, that even New-born Children deserve the Fire of Hell; he denies that Children are any ways corrupted. The before-mentioned Hereticks, who condemn'd Marriage, said, amongst other Reasons, That Men did only thereby bring Polluted Children into the World, † since *David* says of himself (*Psal.* 51.) *That he was conceived*

* *Strom. l.1. p.311.*

† Ibid. *l.3. p.468,469.*

conceived in Sin, and ſhapen in Iniquity. And *Job* maintains (*chap.* 14. *ver.* 4, 5.) *That none is free from Pollution, even though he ſhould live but one Day.* Hereupon *Clemens* exclaims thus; *Let them tell us how a Child new-born hath ſinned; or, how he who hath done nothing yet, is fallen under* Adam's *Curſe.* Afterwards, he explains that Paſſage of *David*, as if the Prophet had meant only, that he was deſcended from *Eve*, who was a Sinner.

It muſt be further obſerved, That a Man with ſuch a Diſpoſition of Mind, could ſcarce avoid believing that the Philoſophers were of the ſame Opinion with the Apoſtles, as ſoon as he perceived ſome Likeneſs between their Terms. Thus *Plato* having ſpoken of the Three Chief Deities whom he acknowledged (* as I ſhall ſhew elſewhere) in Terms like thoſe that were uſed by the Primitive Chriſtians, ſpeaking of the *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghoſt*; *Clemens* believed that the Doctrine of that Philoſopher was the ſame with that of the Chriſtians. 'I think '(*ſays* † *he*) that *Plato* underſtood nothing 'elſe by it but the Holy Trinity; and that 'the Third Being mention'd by him, is the 'Holy Spirit, as the Second is the Son, by 'whom all things were made according to 'his Father's Will. Wherefore, when he ſpeaks of Chriſt's Divinity, he doth not deſcribe

* In the Life of *Euſebius.*

† *Strom. l.* 5. *p.* 598.

ſcribe it otherwiſe than the Platonicks did the *Reaſon*. '* The Nature of the Son '(ſays he) is the moſt Perfect, the moſt 'Holy; that which hath the greateſt ſhare 'in the Empire and Government, and the 'moſt like Him who only is Almighty. '*Tis that Excellent Nature which governs 'all things according to the Father's Will, 'which Rules the World well, which Acts 'by an Unexhauſted and Unwearied Power, 'and which ſees the moſt ſecret Thoughts. 'The Son of God never leaves the Poſt 'from which he ſees all things: He is nei-'ther divided nor ſeparated; he doth not 'go from one place to another; he is 'every where, and is confin'd within no 'Bounds. All Spirit, All Paternal Light, 'All Eye; he ſees all things, underſtands 'all things, knows all things, and dives, 'by his Power, into the Powers themſelves. 'To that Paternal Reaſon, who hath re-'ceived that Holy Adminiſtration, the 'whole Army of Angels and GODS is 'ſubjected, becauſe of Him who put them 'under him.

* *Strom. l.* 5. *p.* 598.

Clemens had another Opinion concerning the Humane Nature of Chriſt; which perhaps he entertained, leſt he ſhould make the Body of Chriſt inferior to that of the Gods of *Homer*. The Gods of that Poet, † *neither ate Bread, nor drank Wine.* And our

† *Iliad.* 1. *verſ.* 342.

* *Paed. l.* 1. *p.* 202. Our Lord, according to * *Clemens*, needed no Milk when he came into the World, and was not nouriſhed with Meat, which he took only out of Condeſcenſion, and which did not undergo the ſame Change in his Body, which it does in ours. Hence it

† Vid. *Diſſ. P. Allix. de Sanguine Chriſti.* is, that † *Origen* his Diſciple believed that Chriſt had no Blood, but a *Liquor* like that which *Homer* aſcribes to his Gods, and calls ΙΧΩΡ.

Plato ſays, in ſeveral places, that God inflicts no Puniſhment upon Men, but for their Good, and not at all out of meer

‖ *Paed. l.* 1. *p.* 116. & *Strom. l.* 4. *p.* 536. Vengeance. Which ‖ *Clemens* obſerves, ſo as to make one believe that he approves it. *Plato* ſaid further, That the Souls are purged with Fire in another Life; and that after they have been purged, they are re-

* *Strom. l.* 5. *p.* 549, 592. ſtored to their former ſtate. * *Clemens* believed that the Apoſtles had the ſame Thoughts, when they ſpake of a *Fire* which

† Vid. *Huet. Orig. l.* 2. *quæſt.* 11. is to *conſume the World*. And † *Origen* his Diſciple concluded from thoſe Principles, That the Devils and Damn'd Men ſhould be one day delivered from their Sufferings.

The Apoſtles deſcribe the Place wherein Wicked Men ſhall be tormented, under the Notion of a *Lake of Fiery Brimſtone*: They uſe the ſame word with the Pagans, to denote the State of the Souls after Death, *viz.* ΑΔΗΣ: They ſay, that Men deſcend into

into it, and that Chriſt deſcended into it. This was enough to make *Clemens* exclaim thus: ‘ * What? was *Plato* ignorant of the * *P.* 592. ‘ Rivers of Fire, and the Depth of the ‘ Earth, which the Barbarians call *Gehenna*, ‘ and which he Prophetically (προφητικῶς) ‘ named *Tartarus*? He hath mention'd ‘ *Cocytus*, *Acheron*, *Pyriphlegethon*, and ‘ ſuch like Places where Wicked Men are ‘ puniſht, that they may be mended. *Clemens* did alſo believe, with moſt of the Ancient Fathers, † That Chriſt did really deſcend into † *Strom. l.* 6. *p.* 637, & ſeq. *Hell*, and preached there to the Damned Souls, of which he ſaved thoſe that would believe in Him.

I could alledge many other Inſtances, whereby it would appear, that *Clemens* explained the Opinions of the Chriſtians, by the like Doctrines which he found in the Philoſophers. But the before-mentioned Examples will ſuffice to thoſe who have neither Time nor the Means to read that Author. Thoſe who will conſult the Original, will find enough of themſelves.

One may further learn one thing from thence, which moſt of thoſe who apply themſelves to the reading of the Fathers, do not much mind; and without which, 'tis almoſt impoſſible to underſtand them well, in an infinite number of places: *viz.* That before One begins ſeriouſly that Study,

Study, the Heathen Philoſophers, eſpecially *Plato*, muſt be carefully read. Without this, One can't well apprehend what Grounds they go upon, nor ſucceſfully examine the ſtrength of their Reaſonings, nor gueſs how they came by ſo many Opinions that are ſo different from thoſe which are now entertained in our Schools.

Now to return to the Life of *Clemens*: The Antients do unanimouſly ſay that he ſucceeded *Pantænus* in the Office of *Catechiſt*. He performed it with ſucceſs; and many Great Men came out of his School, as *Origen*, and *Alexander* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*.

His Method of Inſtructing the *Catechumeni*, conſiſted in teaching them what was Good in the Heathen Philoſophy, and ſo leading them by degrees to Chriſtianity; which they more readily embraced, when they had reliſhed many of thoſe Maxims derived from the Light of Nature, and ſcatter'd in the Writing of the Philoſophers, whom they ſaw every Body had a great Reſpect for, than if they had been roughly told, that they ought to renounce all their Opinions, and look upon the reſt of Mankind, not only as Men that were guilty of Error, but that had ſaid nothing that was True.

True. ' * As Plow-men do not caſt the ' Seed into the Ground, but when they ' have watered it; ſo (ſays *Clemens*) we ' draw out of the Writings of the Grecians, ' wherewith to water what is earthly in ' thoſe whom we inſtruct, that they may ' afterwards receive the Spiritual Seed, and ' be able to make it eaſily ſpring forth. * *Strom. l. 1. p. 278.*

In effect, the Light of the Goſpel ſuppoſes that of Nature, and doth not deſtroy it. We don't find that Chriſt and his Apoſtles undertook to give us a compleat Syſtem of all the Doctrines that have ſome relation with Religion; they ſuppoſed that we were already provided with ſeveral Thoughts received in all Nations, upon which they reaſoned: elſe they ſhould have, for Example, exactly defined all Vertues, which they have not done, becauſe they found in the Minds of all Men ſome *Idea's*, which, though imperfect, yet were moſt true. So that they were content to add what was wanting in them, or to take from them what ill Cuſtoms might have unfitly added to 'em.

Beſides the Office of *Catechiſt*, *Clemens* was promoted to the Prieſthood, in the Beginning, as 'tis thought, of the Empire of *Severus*; becauſe *Euſebius*, writing the Events of the Year CXCV. gives *Clemens* the Title of *Prieſt*. About that time he

began to defend the Christian Religion against Heathens and Hereticks, by a Work which he entitled *Stromata*, of which I shall speak hereafter; because in that Work, according to a Chronological Supputation, * he doth not go higher than the Death of *Commodus*. From whence † *Eusebius* concluded, that he compiled it under the Empire of *Severus*, who succeeded that Emperor.

* *Lib.* 1. *pag.* 336.
† *Lib.* 6. *cap.* 6.

Severus being exasperated against the Christians. || perhaps because of a Rebellion of the Jews, with whom the Heathens confounded those who profest Christianity, began to persecute them violently. That Persecution having begun at *Antioch*, went as far as *Egypt*, and forced many Christians to leave the Places of their Abode, wherein they were too well known, to give way to the Violence of the Persecution.

|| Vid. *Dodwel. Diss. Cyp.* XI. §. 41, *& seq.*

This seems to have given *Clemens* occasion to prove, that it was lawful to run away in time of Persecution. * Having said, that Martyrdom cleanses from all Sins, and exhorted those who are called to it, to suffer it; he observes, That we ought to shew, as well by our Manners as our Words, that we are persuaded of the Truth of the Christian Religion. Afterwards he explains that place of the Gospel, *When they persecute you in this City, flee ye unto another.*

* *Strom. l.* 4. *p.* 503, *& seq.*

'The

'The Lord (says he) doth not command us 'to flie, as if to be Persecuted was an * *Evil*; 'and doth not bid us avoid Death by flying, as if we ought to fear it. He will 'not have us to engage or help any Body 'to do ill, *&c.* Those who do not obey, 'are rash, and expose themselves, to no 'purpose, to manifest Dangers. If he who 'kills a Man of God, sins; he who presents 'himself before a Judge's Tribunal, is also 'guilty of his own Death, *&c.* He helps, 'as much as lies in him, the Wickedness 'of him who persecutes him. If he exaspe-'rates him, he is really the cause of his 'own Death, just as if he had exasperated 'a Wild Beast that devoured him.

* That Reasoning is grounded upon the Principles of the Stoicks, who deni'd that *Pain* was an *Evil*.

A little while after the Apostles, some had been seen to look for Martyrdom: but some having challenged the Executioners, and having scandalously faln short of Christianity, at the sight of the Torments, that Conduct † was found dangerous; and those who willingly offered themselves to Martyrdom, were Condemned, as it appears by many Passages of the Antients, and that of *Clemens*, which I have just now quoted.

† Vid. *Dodwel. Diss. Cyp.* XII. §. 49.

As we ought not to avoid Martyrdom, when it cannot be done without renouncing Christianity, or a Good Conscience; so we ought to preserve our Lives as long as we can, whilst 'tis likely that we do Christians

greater ſervice, by prolonging it if we fly, than by loſing it for the ſake of Truth, by ſtaying in thoſe Places where the Perſecution rages, and which we may come out of, without ceaſing to profeſs the Truth.

Thoſe who blame, or make ſome difficulty to juſtifie ſome *Proteſtant* Miniſters, who came out of a Kingdom, wherein they could not ſtay without imminent Danger, if they continued to perform their Functions; ſhould before prove, that ſuch a Conduct would have been more advantagious to Chriſtianity, than their Retreat. Methinks the Solution of that Queſtion, which hath been lately moved, viz. *Whether they did well to retire?* depends upon this.

Clemens ſeems about that time to have left *Alexandria*, ſince we read that he made ſome ſtay at *Jeruſalem* with *Alexander*, who a little while after was Biſhop of that City, and to whom he dedicated his Book entituled, *The Eccleſiaſtical Rule againſt thoſe who follow the Opinions of the Jews.* Whilſt he ſtaid there, he was very uſeful to that Church, as it appears by a Letter of *Alexander* to the Church of *Antioch*, of which *Clemens* was the Bearer, * wherein that Biſhop ſays, 'That he was a Man of 'great Vertue, as the Church of *Antioch* 'knew, and would know it again; and 'that being at *Jeruſalem*, by an Effect of 'God's

* *Euſeb. l. 6. c. 11.*

'God's Providence, he had confirm'd and 'encreaſed the Church of God there.

From *Antioch*, *Clemens* returned to *Alexandria*, where 'tis not known how long he lived. All that can be ſaid, is, that he ſurvived *Pantænus* at leaſt ſome Years; and that he was not Old when he writ his *Stromata*, ſince he himſelf * ſays, That he made them, to ſerve him as a Collection in his Old Age, when his Memory ſhould fail.

* *Strom. l. 1. p. 274.*

Hiſtory is ſilent concerning his Death; but we may believe that his Memory was Bleſſed at *Alexandria*, if we conſider thoſe words of the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, whom I have juſt now mentioned, who, in a Letter to *Origen*, ſays, '† That they both ac- 'knowledged for Fathers thoſe Bleſſed Men 'who went out of this Life before them, 'and with whom they ſhould be in a ſhort 'time, *viz.* the Bleſſed *Pantænus*, and 'Pious *Clemens*, of whom he had received 'great Help.

† *Euſeb. ib. c. 14.*

Amongſt the many Works which *Clemens* wrote, there are but Three extant that are conſiderable. The Firſt is, *An Exhortation to the Heathens:* Wherein he confutes their Religion, and endeavours to perſuade them to embrace Chriſtianity. The Second is entitled *Pædagogus:* In which he directs

the Manners of Young Men, and gives them ſome Rules to live like Chriſtians; wherein he mixes ſome Maxims extremely ſevere, and very remote from our Cuſtoms. The Third is, his *Stromata*, that is to ſay, * Ibid. *l.* 1. *Hangings*; which he entitled ſo, * becauſe *p.* 276. *l.* 4. of the Variety of Matters which he handles *p.* 476. & *l.* 7. *p.* 766. in it.

He ſhews what Conformity there is between ſeveral Opinions of the Heathen Philoſophers, and thoſe of the Jews and Chriſtians: He Cenſures what was Bad, as he thinks, in the Heathen Philoſophy; Defends and Explains the Chriſtian Religion; Refutes the Hereticks; and ſhews every where a great Erudition. But he obſerves little or no Order, as he himſelf ſays at the End of the Seventh Book. He takes occaſion from one thing to paſs to another, without framing any Plan of what he is to ſay, and without having any other Deſign but to collect the moſt uſeful things he had learned by Study and Meditation.

His Style in this latter Work, is more harſh than in the two foregoing ones, wherein, notwithſtanding, there is more Affectation, than Elegancy and Neatneſs. He pretends that he had ſome Reaſon for it: But there are Two great Inconveniences in ſuch a Method. The Firſt is, That for want of Order, not only the ſtrength

ſtrength of the moſt ſolid Proofs is not perceived, but alſo an Author confounds himſelf, often repeats the ſame thing, and heaps up an infinite number of Arguments which prove nothing. The Second is, That a Careleſneſs of Style, often makes what one ſays unintelligible; for 'tis not only Elegancy, but Clearneſs, that is wanting in it.

Now, an Affected Obſcurity in Difficult Matters, as thoſe are which *Clemens* treats of, is ſo much the more to blame; becauſe 'tis no eaſie thing to be underſtood, even in Matters that are clear of themſelves, if One does not expreſs himſelf neatly. As we are to ſpeak, only to be underſtood; ſo there is nothing can excuſe an Author for not ſpeaking clearly, but an abſolute impoſſibility of expreſſing himſelf better. And indeed we are apt to believe, that thoſe who have an Obſcure Style, have no clear Head; and that they ſpeak ſo, becauſe they do not apprehend things more clearly than they ſpeak 'em.

'Tis true, that the affected Ornaments of a far-fetch't Eloquence ought to be deſpiſed; but Clearneſs cannot be reckon'd among thoſe Ornaments.

It muſt needs be confeſt, that there are but few Fathers, whoſe Writings are not lyable to the ſame Obſervation with thoſe of *Clemens*. Moſt of 'em, whilſt they excuſe

cuſe themſelves for not being Eloquent, do whatever they can to appear ſo after their way, as may be ſeen by a thouſand high ſtroaks, and ſtrained Metaphorical Expreſſions, which their Writings are full of; and we ſee but few, who thought that the greateſt care a Writer ſhould take, conſiſts in exciting in the Minds of his Reader clear Idea's of what he ſays, by uſing Words without any Equivocation.

There is extant beſides, an *Homily* of *Clemens*, entitled, *What Rich Man is Saved?* It was printed in Greek and Latin, by *Combefis*, at *Paris*, 1672; and at *Oxford*, 1683: With ſeveral other Greek and Latin Fragments. Thoſe who took care of the German Edition (at *Colen*, 1688.) of *Clemens*'s Works, ſhould have printed it with the reſt of his Works; it would have made their Edition more conſiderable, which otherwiſe is not much more valuable, as thoſe that uſe it will find. They have only followed the *Paris* Edition, 1641, without adding any thing to it, except New Faults.

There is, at the End of the Volume, *An Abridgment of the Doctrine of Theodotus, and of the Doctrine called Eaſtern in Valentinus's time.* The greateſt part of it is only an Interpretation of ſome Places of the Holy Scripture, which ſome think to have been taken out of the Eighth Book of *Clemens*

Clemens Alexandrinus's *Hypotypoſes*, (as I have already obſerved.) * *Euſebius* tells us, that he had interpreted the Holy Scripture after a compendious manner in that Work, *without omitting* (ſays he) *the Diſputed Writings, as St.* Jude's, *and the other Catholick Epiſtles, St.* Barnabas's *Epiſtle; St.* Peter's *Apocalypſis; and the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, which he aſſures to be St.* Paul's, &c. * Lib. 6. cap. 14.

† *Photius*, who had ſeen that Work, ſays alſo, that the Deſign of it was, to Explain the Holy Scripture; but he accuſes the Author of maintaining, That Matter is Eternal; That the different Forms which it receives, are imparted to it by virtue of I know not what Decrees; That the Son is in the number of Things Created; That there hath been Many Worlds before *Adam*; That *Eve* was formed out of him, after another manner than what the Scripture relates; That the Angels having been converſant with ſome Women, had Children by them; That the *Reaſon* was not made Fleſh, tho' it ſeem'd ſo to Men; That there are *Two Reaſons* of the Father, the leaſt whereof appeared to Men, and was made Fleſh. † *Cod.* CIX.

If we had thoſe Books ſtill, we might perhaps more clearly know that they are only ſome *Platonick* Doctrines, ſome of which *Photius* did not well underſtand, becauſe

cauſe of the Equivocation of the Terms; and the other were not in *Clemens*'s time lookt upon as Impieties, as they have been ſince Syſtems of Divinity were compiled among Chriſtians.

In the firſt Ages, when no *Syſtems* were entertained in the Schools, and explained to the Youth, as they are now, every one Philoſophized, as well as he could, upon Matters of Speculation; and explained Speculative Doctrines according to the Philoſophy he had learned: Except ſome Opinions, which either becauſe they had made a great Noiſe, or for ſome other Reaſons were condemned by the Biſhops, they were very free in their Thoughts. If any one doubted of it, he might convince himſelf of the Truth thereof, by the ſtrange Opinions which have been entertained by ſome of the Fathers, who were rank't among the Orthodox, and for which they were not cenſured in their time. One may ſee many Examples of it in the Fourth Chapter of *Dallæus*'s Book *de Uſu Patrum*; which, notwithſtanding the Panegyriſts of Antiquity, will always be accounted a Good Book by thoſe that know Antiquity. Such was, for Example, St. *Hilary*'s Opinion, who believed that Chriſt felt no Pain when he was ſcourged.

But *Photius* ſuſpects that the Hereticks cor-

corrupted the Works of *Clemens*; and *Ruffinus* had the ſame Thoughts, as it appears by his Apology for *Origen*, which is in the IV. Tome of St. *Jerom*'s Works. Yet if there was no more in them, than what *Photius* cites, there would be no reaſon to believe that they were much corrupted, though it cannot be abſolutely denied. The reaſon of it is, that whatever that learned Patriarch may ſay, thoſe very Opinions, if well underſtood, are to be found in the other Works of *Clemens*, and are agreeable to the Principles which he follows every where.

1. He approves * clearly enough the Opinion of *Heraclitus*, who believed that the Matter of the World is Eternal; and he ſhews that he eſteems him, for having diſtinguiſht the Matter of the World from its Form; the firſt whereof is immutable, and the ſecond ſubject to change.

2. As to the Reaſons why Matter receives certain Forms, *Photius* knew no more of it than *Clemens*.

3. If *Clemens* had ſaid that the Supreme Reaſon was Created (κτιςὸς,) one ought to obſerve, that † *to Create*, *Produce*, *Beget*, ſignifie the ſame thing in *Plato*; and that it doth not follow from thence, that he believed the *Reaſon* was Begotten or Produced out of Nothing.

4thly. It

* *Strom. l. 5. p. 599.*

† See the *Life of Euſebius.*

4. It was *Plato's* Opinion, That the Form of the World doth altogether change in a certain number of Years; and that many such Changes happen'd before the Revolution in which we are, began. One may read his *Politicus* concerning this, wherein he maintains, that the Revolution of all the Stars, must cause an Universal Change in the World. Thus, in his Opinion, what was said, That Men had their Original from the Earth; happened in the Beginning of a Revolution. * *Pag.* 175. 'Tis 'what (*as he goes on*) our Predecessors 'said, who lived at the End of the fore-'going Change, and were near the follow-'ing, as well as those who were born in 'the Beginning of this. The Stoicks be-† *Strom. l.* 5. *p.* 549. lieved also the same thing, as † *Clemens* reports, who doth not seem to dislike their Opinion, and fails not to confirm it by the Authority of *Plato*.

5. The same Philosopher thought that the First Men were *Androgynes*, and had Four Feet, Two Heads, and so with the other Members, but that God divided them afterwards into Two, (as may be seen in his *Feast*.) Some *Rabbins* have said something like it, and grounded their Opinion upon this, That 'tis said, That God || *Created Man Male and Female.* This seems to be only an ingenious Fancy, not an Opinion which

|| Vid. *Breschith Rabba*, in *sect.* VIII.

which those Authors did seriously entertain. It may be, that *Clemens* took some delight in making some Reflections upon *Plato's* Opinion, with so much the greater freedom, because, perhaps, he believed, as his Disciple *Origen*, that there was abundance of Allegories in the Beginning of *Genesis*.

6. As for the Angels that were in Love with Women, *Clemens* * says, in more than one place, that he thought the same thing; and most of the Ancient Greek and Latin Fathers have explained so the Beginning of the Sixth Chapter of *Genesis*. *Photius* cannot blame that Opinion, without censuring, at the same time, all Antiquity; but 'tis his Custom to treat ill the most Ancient Authors, when he finds in them some Opinions that were not received in his time, or some Expressions which he doth not think energick enough to express such Thoughts as, in his judgment the Antients should have had; because 'twould have been an Heresie, not to think so, in his time.

* *Paed. l.* 3. *p.* 222. *Strom. l.* 3. *p.* 450. *l.* 5. *p.* 550.

7. The *Incarnation* being a Mystery which we do not comprehend, and *Clemens's* Style not being, for the most part, very clear, he might have expressed himself so as not to be well understood by *Photius*; which is so much the more easie to believe, because that Patriarch commonly explains the Thoughts of the Antients agreeably to the Opinions

Opinions and Ways of Speaking of his time.

The Writings of the Antients are full of Equivocal Terms, which they uſe in ſuch a ſence, as they had no more in the following Ages. Terms which ſignifying Spiritual and Obſcure Things, and very compounded Idea's, muſt neceſſarily be difficult to underſtand; becauſe they took no care to Define them, and make an exact Enumeration of the Idea's which they fixed to them. Perhaps it did not ſo much as come into their Mind, that this was very neceſſary to be well underſtood. At leaſt One may obſerve, that when they endeavour to explain themſelves about thoſe Obſcure Matters, they uſe Terms as Obſcure as the fore-going.

8. One may obſerve an Example of it, concerning the *Two Reaſons* mention'd by *Photius*. Thoſe who will carefully read the Second Tome of *Origen* upon St. *John*, may obſerve, that he eſtabliſhes a *Firſt* or *Supreme Reaſon*, which is Chriſt's Divinity; and many *Inferior Reaſons*, which are made according to the Image of the Precedent. It might be ſaid, in that ſence, that None but the *Second Reaſons* became Fleſh, becauſe none but they animate Humane Bodies; for although the Firſt was united to the Humane Nature of Chriſt, it did not ſupply the Place of a Soul.

So

So that although *Clemens* had ſaid what *Photius* pretends, yet he could not be charged with Hereſie upon that account: But he did not ſay ſo, as appears by the Paſſage which *Photius* himſelf quotes out of him: *The Son is called Reaſon, as well as the Paternal Reaſon; but 'tis not that which was made Fleſh: Nor is it the Paternal Reaſon neither, but a Divine Power (which is, as it were, an Emanation of that ſame Reaſon)* which became Spirit (Νοῦς) *and is come into the Hearts of Men.* By thoſe Terms, *The Son*, we muſt not underſtand *the Only Begotten Son of God*, but *the Man*; as it clearly appears by what follows. *Clemens*, perhaps, call'd him only Υἱὸς; becauſe he might have before clearly enough denoted whom he meant by that word. *Photius*, who did not well apprehend the Meaning of that Paſſage, might eaſily miſtake the Series of that Diſcourſe: As the Jeſuite *Schottus*, otherwiſe a Learned Man, was altogether miſtaken in the Latin Tranſlation of thoſe Words, as one may preſently obſerve, by comparing it with mine.

Laſtly, We have a Latin Work * aſcribed to *Clemens*, and intituled, *Commentariola in Primam Canonicam S. Petri, in Epiſtolam Judæ, & Tres Epiſtolas S. Joannis Apoſtoli.* There is indeed ſeveral things in thoſe Notes,

* *In Bibliot. Pat.*

Notes, which do not differ from *Clemens's* Doctrine; but we can't know whether they are an entire Translation of part of the *Hypotypoles*, or only some Extracts corrected according to the Interpreter's mind.

'Tis well known, that when the Latins translated some Greek Writings, they were very apt to make such Alterations in them as they thought fit, (as *Ruffinus* hath been upbraided with it.) Nay, there is no need to look so far for Examples of that ill Custom, since we have one with relation to part of *Clemens's Hypotyposes*, of which *Cassiodorus* speaks thus: '* *Clemens Alexandrinus* explained, in the Athenian Language, the Canonical Epistles, that is, the First Epistle of St. *Peter*, the First and Second of St. *John*, and that of St. *James*, wherein there is many subtle things; but also some unwarily spoken, which we have caused to be so translated into Latin, as to take away what might give scandal; that his Doctrine thus purified, might be more safely read. *Ubi multa quidem subtiliter sed aliqua incautè loquutus est, quæ nos ita transferri fecimus in Latinum, ut exclusis quibusdam offendiculis, purificata doctrina ejus securior posset hauriri.*

* *Lib.* 1. *de Just. Div. Script.*

Clemens also composed Five Tracts, which are lost: 1. *The Rule or Canon of the Church, against those that followed the Opinions of the* Jews. 2. *Concerning* Easter. 3. *Concerning* Ill Speaking. 4. *Some Disputes about* Fasting. 5. *An Exhortation to* Patience, *directed to the* Neophytes.

Having thus made some Particular Remarks upon every one of his Works, and some General Ones on that Occasion; what remains, is only to take notice of Three Things.

1. He often cites Suppositious Writings, as if they had been acknowledged by every Body, as one may observe by that Place of St. *Peter's Preaching*, which I have alledg'd; and another of St. *Paul*, which seems to have been taken out of the Book of his *Travels*; upon which *Eusebius* and St. *Jerome* may be consulted.

Which may make one believe, that the great Reading of that Learned Man, gave him no refined Palate. One need not be a great Master of this sort of Learning, to perceive, that what he cites out of them, doth not suit the Style of the Apostles, and is not agreeable to their Principles. It cannot be doubted, but that they believed, that the God whom the Jews worshipped, was the True God, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who says so himself.

Nor can the Jews be charged with having ſerved the *Angels*, the *Month*, and the *Moon*, with any probability; and the Reaſon which the Author of St. *Peter's Preaching* gives for it, is ſo ridiculous, that none but ſuch as will be deceived, can be deceived by it. 'Tis true, that ſome *Learned Men have otherwiſe explained that Accuſation which that Author lays upon them; but one may eaſily ſee, by what follows, that he underſtood it in a more ſimple manner than they do.

* *Huet. in Orig. T. 2. p. 212.*

However, that Book being manifeſtly Suppoſititious, † *Origen* dealt much more prudently than his Maſter; ſince being to refute *Heracleon* a Valentinian, who drew ſome Conſequences againſt the Old Teſtament, from thoſe pretended words of St. *Peter*, he begins with ſaying, *That one ſhould enquire whether that Book is truly St.* Peter's? *whether it is not Suppoſititious? whether it be not Interpolated?* and then he ſhews, that the Jews worſhipped the Creator of the World.

† Ibid. *T. 14. in Joan.*

They considered it lawful to propagate falſehoods for the ſupport of truth. Hence the Stratagems of the Fathers and Reviving of little Credit.

But 'tis the Cuſtom of many Antients, to make uſe of all ſorts of Arguments and Books, to bring over Men to their Opinions. If any ſhould uſe the ſame Method now, they would preſently be accuſed of Simplicity, or want of Honeſty: But every Age hath its Cuſtoms. However, 'tis certain,

tain, that the Rules of Good Sence have always been the ſame; and 'tis not leſs certain, that Great Learning makes not a Man more Exact and Judicious, according to that famous Maxim of *Heraclitus*, which *Clemens* cites ſome where, ΠΟΛΥΜΑΘΙΗ ΝΟΟΝ ΟΥ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΕΙ.

2. *Clemens* is wont to explain the Scripture Allegorically, without making his Allegories look likely, as 'twas the ordinary Cuſtom of the Antients. One may ſee what *Huetius* ſays concerning the Origin of Allegories, in his *Origeniana*, *lib. 2. chap. 2. qu. 14.* But if one carefully reads what *Clemens* ſays of it in the Fifth Book of his *Stromata*, where he doth ſomewhat enlarge upon this Matter, one may eaſily perceive, that that which chiefly induced him to believe that the Holy Scripture is full of them, is, becauſe the *Egyptians* and the *Greeks* were wont to hide the Secrets of their Philoſophy under ſome Emblems and Fables. 'Tis true, that the Jews had the ſame Thoughts, even before the Coming of Chriſt. 'Tis true alſo, that in the remoteſt Times, that Nation expreſſed her ſelf not only by clear Words, but alſo by ſymbolical Actions, as it appears by ſeveral places of the Old Teſtament. However, there is not one Example, by which it appears, that they deſigned to hide the

Doctrines of the Jewish Religion; which, on the contrary, they express very clearly, and after a simple manner.

There are but some few places of the History of the Beginning of the World, which may be turned into Allegories with some likelihood; and only with respect to some Circumstances, which do not at all concern the Essential part of the History, nor belong to the Worship of God, Good Manners, or the Doctrines, without which they could not serve God, nor be Good Men, according to the Law. In all the rest of the History of the *Hebrews*, there is nothing that looks like an Allegory, every thing in it is simple and easie to be understood; which makes one believe, that those that wrote it, were no Allegorists; and that if there is any thing in the most ancient Events of the History of Mankind, that may be understood that way, the *Hebrews* took that turn, only because Tradition, or the Memoirs upon which they wrote, were so worded.

It doth not appear, that they designed to Philosophize, or teach any Doctrines of Natural Philosophy, either clearly or obscurely; and those Places wherein *Philo* endeavours to find some Philosophical Doctrines, are so violently wrested, that any Body may see the Sacred Writers never

never thought of what he makes them say.

Indeed, if we reflect upon the Origin of Allegories among the Heathens, we shall find that they came out somewhat late: And when the Philosophers undertook to give an Account of the Fables, or ancient Histories of the Gods, that is, to save the Honour of their most ancient Historians, who were accused of having absurd Notions of so excellent Natures, as those of the Gods were; so they were obliged to make those, whom those scandalous Histories offended, believe, that the Poets meant quite another thing than what they said, and from thence comes the word *Allegory*. For a * Discourse, which taken in its proper sence (ἄλλο ἀγορεύει) signifies quite another thing than what is meant by it, is properly an Allegory. Thus some Histories were turned into Allegories among the *Grecians*, lest they should believe that the Gods of *Greece* had been only Vitious Men.

* *Heracl. Pont. Alleg. Hom. pag.* 412. *Ed. Amstelod. Westeniana.*

The *Jews*, who had never applied themselves to the Study of Criticks and Philosophy, were no sooner among the *Greeks*, but they admired that Method of Explaining Religion; and made use of it to explain the Sacred Writings after a manner more agreeable to the Taste of the Heathens; as may be seen by the Example of *Philo*, who

explains all the Old Teſtament after the *Platonick* way. Nay, they went ſo far, as to explain Allegorically not only ſuch Places as might have ſome difficulty, but alſo the cleareſt and plaineſt, without ſo much as excepting thoſe which concern Manners, and which being literally underſtood, contain a moſt excellent ſence for the Conduct of one's Life; nor the plaineſt Hiſtories, and from which one may draw moſt uſeful Inſtructions, without looking for any other ſence, but that which offers it ſelf to the Mind. *Philo* is full of ſuch like Examples.

The Chriſtians imitated the Jews afterwards, and were not contented to explain the Old Teſtament Allegorically: They did the ſame with reſpect to the New, though neither Chriſt nor his Apoſtles have propoſed any Doctrine after an Emblematick manner, but what they explained clearly enough, to ſave the trouble of ſeeking its meaning, by having recourſe to Allegories, in which there is no certainty. For it muſt be confeſt, that according to that Method, if the Sacred Writers had ſaid quite another thing than what they ſaid, or, if you will, the quite contrary; yet one might find as good a ſence in them, as thoſe, that will try it, will preſently obſerve. Hence it is, that the *Pagans* themſelves, who

who had been the Contrivers of that ſtrange way of interpreting ancient Books, could not abide that the Chriſtians ſhould make uſe of it; as the Chriſtians in their turn laught, at the ſtrained Interpretations of the Heathens. Nay, ſome Pagans, more quick-ſighted than others, thought they were ridiculous. Wherefore, the Chriſtians and the Jews would have done much better to keep cloſe to the Letter, than to uſe ſo uncertain a Method to defend the Holy Scripture againſt the Pagans.

3. Although ſeveral Opinions of *Clemens Alexandrinus* may juſtly be accounted Erroneous; yet if we conſider every particular Opinion which he held, and is no more admitted amongſt us, we ſhall obſerve, That ſome of them are lookt upon as Erroneous, only becauſe the contrary Opinions have been introduced, I know not how, into moſt Schools, though Men have had no New Light concerning them. As ſoon as a Famous Man hath maintained a Doctrine, without being contradicted by Men of an Equal Reputation or Authority, or even without any Oppoſition; ſuch a Doctrine takes root ſo well, that Men uſe themſelves, by degrees, to look upon the contrary Opinion as an Error, without knowing why.

Opinions are often introduced as Customs, which owe their Beginning to the Example of some few Persons, whom others imitate. They so affect Mens Mind, that any other besides those which he follows, seem to him ridiculous. A Garment which is not commonly seen, seems Extravagant, though it was Fashionable in former Times: The same may be said of an Opinion which is grown old, it is disliked, because no Body follows it at present. For Example, * *Clemens* believed, that Angels had Bodies: And it was also the Opinion of † *Origen*, and most of the Fathers. Yet that Opinion is branded as an Error, without any Reason: For although the Scripture teaches us, that *Spirits have neither Flesh nor Bones*, and that Angels are Intelligences; yet it says no where, that they are not cloathed with Bodies. There hath been no Revelation since upon that Matter, nor have we found out any convincing Reason that can persuade us the contrary. Notwithstanding, tis commonly said that 'tis an Error, because the School-Men have said so. I confess, that the Fathers, who have ascribed Bodies to the Angels, have alledged no evident Reason to prove it; But all that could be concluded from thence, is, that They affirmed a thing which They knew not no more than We.

Ped. l. 1. p. 101.

† Vid. *Origeniana Huetii, l. 2. c. 2, 5.*

Thus

Thus we should have suspended our Judgment, and affirmed nothing concerning a Subject which was equally unknown to us. Such a Suspension suited not with the Dogmaticks, who can hardly confess that they know not all things; and believe 'tis the part of a Witty Man, to Determine himself speedily upon all sorts of Questions. Indeed, without this, 'tis not possible to frame a System as compleat as it ought to be, to be accounted a Learned Man: And it would be a shameful thing to confess, that a Thousand Questions might be askt upon every Article; which could not be answered, if one should say nothing but what one knows. The same Principle may be applied to several other Doctrines of *Clemens*; concerning which, 'twere better ingeniously to confess one's Ignorance, than to condemn some Opinions about which we are in the dark.

Hence it is, that notwithstanding those Opinions, some Antients have bestowed many *Encomium*'s upon him. * *Eusebius* says, 'That his Books are full of Useful 'Learning. † St. *Jerom* says, That he hath 'writ very fine Works, full of Learning and 'Eloquence, which he took out of the Holy 'Scripture, and Profane Authors. And elsewhere, '*Clemens* (says he) Priest of the 'Church of *Alexandria*, the most Learned

'of

* *Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 13.*

† *Cat. Script. Eccles. & in Ep. ad Magnum Orat. T. 2.*

'of our Authors, in my judgment, wrote 'Eight Books of *Stromata*; as many of '*Hypotypoſes*; a Book againſt the *Pagans*; 'and Three Volumes, entituled the *Pæda-'gouge*. Is there any thing in his Books, but 'what is full of Learning, and taken from 'the bottom of Philoſophy? *Cyril* of *Alexandria* affirms, in his VIth. and VIIth. Books againſt *Julian*, That *he was a Man of wonderful Learning, who dived to the bottom of Greek Learning, with ſuch an Exactneſs as few before him could attain to.* * *Theodoret* ſays, That *that Holy Man ſurpaſſed all others by the extent of his Learning.*

* *Hæret. Fab. l.* 1. *c.* 6.

What hath been ſaid, is ſufficient to have a Notion of the Doctrine of *Clemens*; I ſhall only add a word concerning the *Cologne* Edition, 1688. Two ſorts of Faults may be obſerved in it, whereof ſome are Common to it, with many other Editions of the Books of the Antients; and the other are Particular to it.

As to the Firſt, one may obſerve, That the Editions wherein there is no Diſtinctions and Paragraphs, want a thing which ſeems not to be of great moment in it ſelf, but yet doth very much conduce to the underſtanding of an Author. The Beginning of a new Section, is as it were an Adverti-ſement to the Reader, who only by caſting his Eye upon a Page, ſees how many Argu-

Arguments, and what Matter it contains. Elſe the want of diſtinct Paragraphs doth ſomewhat confound the Mind, and forces the Reader to be more attentive to underſtand what he reads, and to look for a Connexion where there is none, or confound two Arguments. Now, one ſhould always endeavour to leſſen, as much as can be, the Trouble of the Reader, who takes Pains enough to underſtand the Things themſelves.

Paragraphs produce, in ſome reſpects, the ſame effect as the Diſtinction of Chapters; which cannot be neglected, without breeding Confuſion. 'Tis true, the Antients often neglected to divide their Books or Diſcourſes into certain Parts: But if it be well conſider'd, the want of Order in many of their Writings, was the true cauſe of that Neglect. 'Twas eaſier to paſs from one ſubject to another, by reaſon of ſome ſmall Connexion that was between 'em, or confuſedly to write down a crowd of Thoughts, than to reduce 'em into a certain Order: as it would be more eaſie to heap up the Materials of a Houſe, than to give every one of them its due place. Thoſe who deſire ſome Examples of Books without Order, need only caſt their Eyes upon *Seneca* or *Tertullian*, who both ſaid, with a great deal of Enthuſiaſm, whatever came into

into their Mind, ſcarce ever having a Notion of any Order, which they deſign'd to follow. If thoſe Authors were printed ſo as to divide their Reaſonings by Paragraphs, they might be much better underſtood.

The other Fault, which thoſe that take care of the Editions of Ancient Authors, often commit, is, that they do not diſtinguiſh in a different Character the Quotations from the Words of the Author: From whence it comes to paſs, that thoſe who do not read them attentively, aſcribe to one Author what belongs to another. This Dr. *Cave* hath done, in his Engliſh Life of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, which hath been very uſeful to me in the writing of this. *Clemens*, in the above-mention'd place, concerning the Philoſophy which he approves, cites *Socrates*, who, in *Phædo*, applies to the Philoſophers this Proverb, which was uſed in the Myſteries, *There are many who carry the* Thyrſus, *but few that are truly filled with the Spirit of* Bacchus. * *Socrates* adds immediately after, *Theſe, as I believe, are only thoſe who applied themſelves to Philoſophy as they ought to do, OF the Number whereof I have endeavoured to be, as much as I could*, &c. The whole Paſſage being in *Roman* Characters, Dr. *Cave* thought that thoſe words, *Of the Number whereof*, &c. were *Clemens*'s; whereas they are *Socrates*'s as

* P. 380. *Ed. Ficin.*

as may be ſeen in *Plato*, and even by reading the reſt of the Page wherein *Clemens* cites 'em. If the whole Paſſage had been printed in *Italick* Letters, Dr. *Cave* would not have miſtaken it: Which ought not to ſeem ſtrange to thoſe who know, that to write the Life of an Author, collected out of ſeveral places, ſo many things muſt be heeded all at once, that 'tis a hard matter not to confound one's ſelf.

Beſides, by diſtinguiſhing the Matters by Paragraphs, and Quotations by different Characters, thoſe who have read an Author, may more eaſily find out again ſuch places as they want; which is no ſmall Advantage.

As to the Edition of *Cologne*, there are Three *Index*'s; the firſt, of the Places cited by *Clemens*; the ſecond, of the Contents; and a third, of Greek Words and Phraſes, either worthy of Obſervation, or ſuch as that Author hath uſed in a particular Sence. If thoſe *Index*'s were Compleat and Correct, they would be undoubtedly very uſeful; but they are neither: There is a great many Faults in the Numbers, and the Sence of *Clemens* is often miſ-repreſented in them. That Paſſage of *Job*, *There is none but is polluted*, is referred to the 25th. Chapter of his Book, whereas 'tis in the 14th. There is in the Index, *Peccato originali*

nali infectæ omnium animæ & corpora, 468. *d.* On the contrary, *Clemens* confutes that Opinion in that place; but *Sylburgus*, or another who made that *Index*, in all probability, thought of what *Clemens* ſhould have ſaid, in his judgment, rather than what he did really ſay.

There is beſides a Fourth Index before the Book, which contains a Catalogue of the Authors cited by *Clemens*; but the Pages in which they are cited being not marked, 'tis altogether uſeleſs.

'Twere to be wiſht, for the Commonwealth of Learning, not only that Kings were Philoſophers, or Philoſophers Kings; but alſo, that Printers were Learned Men, or Learned Men Printers; and that we might ſee again the Age of the *Manutius's* and *Stephens*, to give us good Editions of the Writings of the Antients, and make that Study more Eaſie, which is Difficult enough of it ſelf, without encreaſing the Difficulties by our own Negligence.

The

The Life

OF

EUSEBIUS,

Biſhop of *Cæſarea*.

THE ſame Reaſon that induced me to give the Publick the *Life of Clemens Alexandrinus*, obliges me to give an Account of that of *Euſebius of Cæſarea*. It will be ſo much the more Curious to thoſe who cannot conſult the Originals, becauſe there happened more Remarkable Things in *Euſebius* his time, than in *Clemens's*, and becauſe the former was in a Higher Station than the latter.

Euſebius was born in *Paleſtine*, and perhaps at *Cæſarea*; at leaſt * he ſeems to intimate, in the beginning of his Letter to the Chriſtians of that City, *That he was Inſtructed in the Chriſtian Faith, and Baptized*

* *Ap. Socrat. l. 5. c. 8.*

tized there. He was Born towards the End of the Third Century, though we cannot find exactly the Year of his Birth. He began early to apply himself to Learning, especially to Divinity, as it sufficiently appears in his Writings, wherein may be seen, that he had carefully read all sorts of Profane Authors; and that all the Writings of the Christians who wrote in Greek, and those of the Latin, that were translated into that Tongue, were known to him. He had the advantage of the curious Library which the Martyr *Pamphilius*, his particular Friend, had collected at *Cæsarea*. Its affirm'd, * That being become Bishop of this City, he entreated *Constantine* (who passed through it, and who had bid him ask some Favour in behalf of his Church, that he would permit him to make a search into all the Publick Registers, to extract the Names of all the Martyrs, and the Time of their Death. However, he has committed Faults enough in Chronology, as *Joseph Scaliger*, and a great many other Learned Men have observed; and especially in relation to Martyrs, as Mr. *Dodwel* has lately shewn in his Dissertation *de Paucitate Martyrum*. But it was no easie Matter to escape these kind of Faults in such a Work as his *Ecclesiastical History*, which was the first of that sort that was ever undertaken; the Primitive

* *Hieron. Epist. ad Chron. & Heliod. Antipater Bostrencis in Concil. Nicen.* II. *Act.* 5.

tive Christians taking no care of the History of their Times.

Eusebius is commonly call'd the Son of *Pamphilius*: Whether he was really his Son, as some affirm; or his Nephew, according to the Opinion of others; or in fine, as most believe, by reason of the great Friendship between them. This *Pamphilius* was of *Beryte* in *Phœnicia*, and Priest of *Cæsarea*; he held *Origen*'s Opinions, for whom he wrote an Apology, of which there remains to us but a part of it in Latin, among the Works of *Origen* and St. *Jerome*. He made it in Prison, where he was put in the Year 307, under the Emperor *Decius*, and where *Eusebius* did not forsake him. He could write only the five first Books, having been hinder'd from finishing * this Work, by the Death which he suffered for the Gospel, two years after he had been thrown into Prison. But *Eusebius* finish'd it, in adding thereto a sixth Book, and publish'd it after his Death. *Pamphilius* had for Master † *Pierius* Priest of *Alexandria*, who likewise suffer'd Martyrdom, and was also of *Origen*'s Opinion, whose Assiduity and Eloquence he imitated; which got him the Name of Second *Origen*. It's not amiss here to relate the Judgment which *Photius* makes of his Works:

* *Phot. Cod.* CXVIII.

† Id. *Cod.* CXIX.

'He advances several things (says he) 'remote from those which are at present 'established in the Church, perhaps ac- 'cording to the Custom of the Antients: 'Yet he speaks after a pious manner of 'the Father and the Son, excepting that he 'assures us, that they have Two Essences '(Οὐσίας,) and Two Natures (Φύσεις,) 'using the words *Essence* and *Nature*, as it 'appears by what precedes, and follows 'in this Passage, for that of *Hypostasis*, and 'not in the sence of the *Arians*. But he 'speaks of the Holy Spirit in a dangerous 'and impious manner; for he attributes to 'him a Glory inferiour to that of the Fa- 'ther and the Son. —— Yet he was Catechist of *Alexandria*, under the Patriarch *Theonas*, who was Consecrated in the Year 282.

Pamphilius being dead, as has been said, *Eusebius* retired to *Paulinus* Bishop of *Tyre*, his Friend; where he was Witness, as he * *L.8. c.6.* tells us * himself, of several Martyrdoms, the History of which he has left us, in his Book of the *Martyrs* of *Palestine*. From thence he went into *Egypt*, where he found the Persecution yet more violent, and where he was thrown into Prison. But this Persecution having ceased, he was set at liberty, and a while after elected Bishop of *Cæsarea*, after the Death of *Agapius*. It's not certainly

tainly known in what Year this Election was made, but at least, he was already Bishop, when *Paulinus* dedicated a stately Church in the City of *Tyre*, which he had built there, which was in the Year 316, in the 10th. of Year *Constantine*'s Reign; for it was the Custom of the Christians, * as well as of the Pagans, to Consecrate their Churches in the time of the *Decennales* of the Emperors, or of any other Solemnity. *Eusebius* recites a fine Oration, spoken at this Dedication; † and though he does not say, that it was he himself that spoke it, yet the Stile of this Oration, and the modest Manner after which he mentions him that made it, gives one reason to believe, that he has suppressed his Name only through Modesty. One might imagine, that he was then but Priest, were it not manifest, that it was very rare, in that Age, for Priests to speak in publick, where there were *Bishops* present.

* *Ant. Pagi Diss. Hypat. par. 2. c. 3. n. 12, 13.*

† *L.10. c.4.*

It was about this time, that *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria* had a bickering with one of his Priests named *Arius*, touching the Divinity of *Jesus Christ*, which gave birth to *Arianism*. *Eusebius* having had a great share in the Disputes of *Arianism*, we cannot recount his Life, without writing the History of it: And to know wherein consisted these Disputes, we must necessa-

rily aſcend higher, and enquire what Principles of Philoſophy were in uſe in that time among the Chriſtians, and how they came to be introduced. This is ſo neceſſary a Digreſſion, as will appear in the Sequel, that it's to be ſuppoſed the Reader muſt approve of it.

There was never any Philoſopher that made himſelf ſo Famous as *Plato*, and no Books read with more Pleaſure than his, whether from the Subjects, and loſty Thoughts found therein, or by reaſon of the Elegancy and Nobleneſs of their Style, which never any Philoſopher could equalize. He was born under the Reign of *Artaxerxes*, ſirnam'd *Long-hand*, Four hundred twenty ſix Years before Chriſt, and died aged Fourſcore Years, in the time when *Philip* of *Macedon* made himſelf to be fear'd of all *Greece*. *Alexander* his Son having made himſelf Maſter of *Aſia*, which his Succeſſors divided among them; one may reaſonably believe, that the Sciences of the *Greeks* there, eſtabliſh'd themſelves with their Empire, and their Cuſtoms.

Ptolemy the Son of *Lagus*, one of *Alexander's* Succeſſors, undertook to collect into his Library of *Alexandria* all the Books he could find, and drew thither ſeveral Learned Men of *Greece*. * He was Learned himſelf, and omitted nothing, for

* Vid. *Hody de LXX. Int. c. 9.*

for the inſpiring into his Sons the love of Learning.

His Son *Philadelphus* march'd, in this reſpect, in his Father's ſteps, as all thoſe who have any knowledge in the Hiſtory of this Prince, do well know. The *Syrian* Monarchs ſeem likewiſe to have cultivated the Sciences; ſeeing that *Suidas* relates, that *Euphorion* of *Chalcis* in *Eubea*, Poet and Philoſopher, was Library-keeper of *Antiochus the Great*, Two hundred Years before our Saviour's time. *Plato* was too famous then, and his Works in too great eſteem, not to have had place in theſe Libraries. One may alſo believe, that *Aſia*, which was then full of Greek Philoſophers, wanted not *Platoniſts*.

Among the Opinions of *Plato*, there are not any more remarkable, than thoſe which he had touching the Divinity, the Præexiſtence and Immortality of the Soul. He held that there is only One Supreme, Spiritual and Inviſible God, whom he calls *The Being*, or, *The Being it Self*, *The Very Being*, *The Father and Cauſe of all Beings*, &c. He placed under this Supreme God an Inferior Being, which he calls *Reaſon* (Λόγος) *The Director of Things Preſent and Future*, *the Creator of the Univerſe*, &c. In fine, he acknowledg'd a Third Being, which he calls the *Spirit* or *Soul of the World*. He

added, That the First was the Father of the Second, and the Second had produced the Third. We may consult hereupon his *Timæus*, to which we should adjoyn his II, and VI. Letter. In the second, which is directed to *Dionysius*, who complained, that *Plato* had not sufficiently instructed him touching the *First Nature*, or First Being, this Philopher thus expresses himself: *Every thing is about the King of all things, and every thing is because of Him: He is the cause of all good things: The things of the Second Order, are about the Second: the things of the Third are about the Third.* He calls this a Riddle; forbids *Dionysius* to speak of it before the Ignorant; enjoyns him to burn his Letter as soon as he has read it, and protests he will never write again of this Matter. In his Sixth Letter, he enjoyns *Hermias, Erastus* and *Coriſca* to swear, in taking to witness, *The God who is the Director of things present and future; and the Lord, who is the Father of this Director, and of this Cause.* The Obscurity which he affects in this occasion, lest he should draw on him the Rage of the Superstitious Populace, hinders us from understanding what he would say; unless we collate together all the Passages wherein he speaks of the Divinity, and consult his Interpreters and Disciples.

Here's

Here's how one of 'em * explains his Master's meaning: ‘ *Plato* believed, That ‘ God the Creator sustains the Visible and ‘ Invisible World, which was made out of ‘ Nothing; That his Will suffices to make ‘ Beings exist; That by the Conjunction ‘ of a Corporal Nature, and another Incorporeal, he has made a most Perfect World, ‘ which is Double and Single at the same ‘ time, in which one may distinguish the ‘ High, the Middle, and the Low; That ‘ he calls High, the Heavenly Beings, and ‘ the Gods; the Middle, the Ætherial Intelligences, and Good Dæmons, which ‘ are the Interpreters and Messengers in ‘ what relates to the Good of Men; The ‘ Low, the Terrestrial Intelligences, and ‘ the Souls of Men, or Men Immortal; ‘ That the Superior Beings govern the Inferior; but, that God, who is the Creator ‘ and Father of 'em, Reigns over All; and, ‘ That this Paternal Empire is nothing else ‘ but his Providence, by which he gives to ‘ every sort of Being what belongs to it. — We may hereby understand what *Plato* calls the things of the Second and Third Order. We shall not busie our selves in seeking from whom *Plato* might have learn'd this Doctrine, whether from the *Chaldeans*, or from the Old Testament, as some of the Fathers have believed.

* *Hierocles de Provid. apud Photium. Cod.* CCLI.

Although *Plato*'s Diſciples are agreed with their Maſter, in reſpect of theſe Three Principles; yet there is to be found in their Writings divers Enquiries touching their Nature, and divers Ways of Speaking, which are not to be ſeen in thoſe of this Philoſopher, who never dared to write all he thought on this Subject. *Plotinus* particularly, who liv'd in the Beginning of the Third Century, has treated of them in ſeveral places of his * *Enneades*, but eſpecially in the Book which is entitled, *Of the Three Hypoſtaſes, which are the Three Principles of all things.* Here's whereunto his Doctrine may be reduced.

* *Præſertim En. V. l. 1. c. 3. ad 8.*

1*ſt*. There are Three Principles: *the Being*, *the Spirit*, or *the Reaſon of the Being*; and *the Soul of the World, which is the Reaſon of the Spirit.* There is alſo, according to him, *a Reaſon of the Soul of the World*; but it is a Reaſon *obſcure* (ἀμυδρός.)

2*dly*. The Being has begotten the Reaſon; not by an Act of his Will, or by a Decree, but by his Nature; as Fire begets Heat, or as the Sun produces Light. The Reaſon has alſo begotten the Soul of the World, and perhaps termed Father in this reſpect.

3*dly*. Theſe Three Hypoſtaſes differ in Number, although there be a moſt ſtrict Union between them; which makes, that one

one may ſay at the ſame time, that they are different, and that they are the ſame thing. The Firſt is more Excellent than the Second, and the Second more Excellent than the Third.

4*thly*. The Terms which *Plotinus* uſes, are worth obſerving.

1. He calls not only *Eſſence* (Οὐσία) after *Plato*, the Nature of the Being, of the Reaſon, and of the Soul of the World; but he likewiſe uſes the word (Ὕλη) *Matter*; and ſays, that the Matter of the one is more perfect than that of the other. Having pretended that *Parmenides* had ſaid before *Plato*, that there are Three Principles; he expreſſes himſelf in theſe terms; *Parmenides holds likewiſe the Opinion of the Three Natures.*

2. It's obſervable, that the word *Hypoſtaſis* (Ὑπόστασις) ſignifies two things, with this Philoſopher; firſt, the Exiſtence of a thing, conſidered abſtractedly; and in the ſecond place, the thing it ſelf which exiſts, as it's taken in the Title of this Book, of the *Three Hypoſtaſes*, which are the Principles of all things, Περὶ τῶν πρώτων ἀρχικῶν ὑποστάσεων, and in the Title of the Third Book of the ſame *Enneade*, of *Intelligent Beings.*

3. As he ſays, That the Reaſon is the Father of the Soul; he ſays likewiſe, That the Reaſon *begets* and *makes* the Soul. For we

we must observe, that in this matter, *Plato* and his Disciples use indifferently the words, *to Beget*, *to Make*, *to Produce*, &c. and that *Begotten* and *Made*, is the same thing here, in their mouths. We need only read *Plato*'s *Timæus*.

4. *Plotinus* says, That the *Father* and the *Reason* are *one and the same thing* (Ἕν) because *they coexist and forsake not one another*. He says, that the Supreme Being, and whose Essence consists in Existing, in a manner wholly particular, has begotten by his Nature the Spirit; and that he cannot be without him, no more than a Luminous Body can be without Light.

The Spirit on his part, whose Essence consists in having perpetually a lively conception of the Being, cannot exist (ὑποστῆναι) without this. They cannot be separated (χωρισθῆναι) one from the other, because there is nothing between them, as there is nothing between the Spirit and the Soul.

5. He says, That that which is begotten, resembles (ὅμοιόν ἐστι) its Cause, just as the Light resembles the Sun.

6. He says, That the Spirit is the Image (εἰκὼν, εἴδωλον) of the Being, as the Soul is the Image of the Spirit.

St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, in his Eighth Book against *Julian*, cites a Passage of *Porphyry*, out of his Third Book of the Philosophical

sophical History, whence it appears, that the *Platonists* disputed among themselves, whether there could be more than Three *Hypostases* in the Divinity: 'Plato (saith 'Porphyry) has taught, That the Divine 'Essence may extend it self even to Three 'Hypostases; to wit, the Supreme Divi-'nity, or the Good it self; after it, the 'Creator, who is the Second; and the 'Soul of the World, which is the Third, &c. 'But there are Men who pretend, that we 'must not reckon the very Good, or Good 'it self, among the things which he has pro-'duced; and that being of a perfect Sim-'plicity, and incapable of Accidents, he has 'Communion with nothing: so that it is 'by the Spirit that we must begin to reckon 'the Trinity Τῶν Τριάδα.

However, *Porphyry*'s Master, whom we have already cited, seems * to say, that there may be more than Three *Hypostases*, in these remarkable words:

* *Ennead. V. lib. 8. cap. 12.*

'God has begotten an excellent Being, 'and has brought forth all things in Him. 'This Production has cost him no Pain; 'for pleasing himself in what he begat, and 'finding his Productions good, he has re-'tained them all in Himself, tempering his 'Brightness and theirs. Those which have 'there remain'd being more excellent, 'there's only his only Son (παῖς) *Jupiter* 'who

'who has appear'd without, by whom, as by 'the Supreme Son of the Divinity, and as 'in an Image, one may see what the Fa- 'ther is, and the Brethren which have re- 'main'd in the Father, παρὰ τὸν Πατέρα.

The *Platonists* likewise used, in speaking of the Union which they conceiv'd to be between the different Orders of their Divinities, the terms of (Ἑτερόσις) *of different Essence*; and (Ὁμόσις) *Co-essential*. By the first, they denote the different sorts of Beings; and by the second, what is of the same kind. Here's a Proof taken out of *Jamblichus*, in his Book of the *Mysteries of the Egyptians*, Sect. 1. ch. 19. He speaks of the Manner after which the Superior Gods are united to the Inferior, according to the Platonick Philosophy: 'The Divi- 'nities (says he) of the Second Order turn- 'ing themselves towards the First Intel- 'lectual Beings, and the First giving to the 'Second the same Essence (τὴν αὐτὴν Οὐσίαν) 'and the same Power; this entertains their 'Union. What we call Union in the things 'which are of different Kinds (Ἑτερσίων) 'as the Soul and the Body, or which are 'divers Species (Ἀνομοειδῶν) as Material 'things, or which are otherwise divided; 'this Union, I say, happens to 'em from 'Superior things, and destroys it self at a 'certain time. But the more we elevate 'our

'our selves to Superior things, and to the 'Identity (Ταυτότητα) of the First Beings, 'and in regard of the Species, and in re- 'gard of the Essence; when we ascend from 'the Parts to the Whole, the more we ac- 'knowledge the Union (Ἕνωσιν) which is 'Eternal, and the more we see what is the 'Union properly so called, and the Model 'whereon all the rest have been form'd, 'and that it hath about it, and in it self, 'the Diversity (Ἑτερότητα) and the Mul- 'tiplicity.

Porphyry had ask'd, Whether a kind of Being is form'd (ξωτεάσεως) mixt with our Soul and Divine Inspiration, which made the Prophets able to foresee the Future. * *Jamblichus* answer'd, *No*: and gives this Reason for it; which is, *That when One thing is form'd of Two, the Whole is of one and the same Species, of the same Nature, and Co-essential* (Ὁμόσιον,) *and that this does not happen in the case proposed by* Porphyry. * §. 3. c. 21.

One may see hereby the Subtilty with which the *Platonists* handled these Matters, and the Terms they used. But we should take notice of two things, in endeavouring to form to our selves an Idea of their Sentiments. The first, That we must not always suppose they had a clear and distinct Knowledge of what they would say themselves,

ſelves, and that they ſaw all the Conſequences of their Opinions: So that it would be perhaps in vain, to endeavour to draw out of their Writings a clear Idea of their Sentiment, touching the Three Principles of all things; becauſe, perhaps they themſelves conceiv'd not clearly what they ſaid; at leaſt, their Style is ſo different on this occaſion, from that which is obſervable in the Paſſages of their Writings, wherein they ſpeak of things which they may know, that it is apparent, they contain'd not the ſubject of the Three Principles, like an infinite of others, which they have known how to expreſs in an even, clear and elegant manner.

The Second thing we ſhould obſerve, is, That in ſo difficult a Matter, we muſt content our ſelves with what they ſay poſitively, without attempting to draw far-fetch'd Conſequences from their Principles, which we cannot underſtand but by halves; otherwiſe we are in danger of attributing to them ſuch Notions as they never had. Neither muſt we endeavour to reconcile, in ſo abſtracted a Subject, the Contradictions which ſeem to appear in their Doctrine; nor conclude, that they could not mean things in ſuch a manner, becauſe then they muſt contradict themſelves. It was the Cuſtom of theſe Philoſophers, to affect certain

tain apparent Contradictions, in uſing the ſame Terms in divers Sences. Beſides, its obvious enough to imagine, that they may have ſometimes contradicted themſelves, on a Subject whereof they had no diſtinct Idea.

Theſe two Remarks were neceſſary, to prevent the Queſtions which might be offer'd on theſe Matters; and to ſhew, that in writing the Hiſtory of theſe Doctrines, one ſhould keep wholly to Facts, and the Terms of the Authors we treat of.

A Second Opinion of the *Platoniſts*, which has made a great noiſe in the World, is that of the Præ-exiſtence of Souls, in places above the Moon,* of the Faults which they may have there committed; of their baniſhments from theſe happy Abodes, to come to inhabit in differently diſpoſed Bodies, according to the different Merits of theſe Souls; in fine, of their return into places whence they drew their Original. We ſhall not trouble our ſelves to explain this Doctrine, becauſe it belongs not to the Relation in hand; having only made mention of it, for a particular Reaſon which will appear in its place.

* *See Plato's Timæus.*

The Kings of *Egypt* and *Syria*, having carried the Sciences of the *Greeks* into *Aſia*, the *Jews*, who were in great numbers in theſe two Kingdoms, and who were obliged

to

to converſe with them, learn'd of them their Opinions; and made no difficulty of embracing thoſe, which did not appear to 'em contrary to their Religion. Their Books containing nothing inconſiſtent with ſundry of the *Platonick* Doctrines; they believed therefore that theſe Doctrines might be true, and receiv'd them ſo much the more eaſily, in that they thought they might hereby defend their Religion againſt the *Pagans*, and make them reliſh it the better. *Plato* every where affirm'd the Unity of the Supreme Being, yet without denying that there are other Beings which may be called *Gods*, to wit, the Angels, which is agreeable to the Expreſſions of the Old Teſtament. And this is apparently one of the things which made the *Jews* better reliſh the Opinions of this Philoſopher.

But we ſhould give ſome particular Proofs of this: The Author of the Book of the *Wiſdom of Solomon*, was plainly of the Opinion of the Præ-exiſtence of Souls, as it appears from theſe words of *chap.* 8. *ver.* 19, 20. *For I was a witty Child, and had a good Spirit: Yea, rather, being good, I came into a Body undefiled.* The ſame Author has uſed the word (Λόγος) *Reaſon*, in ſome places, where *Plato* would have uſed it, were he to have ſaid the ſame thing. Thus in

in *chap.* 18. *ver.* 15, 16. in ſpeaking of the Deliverer of the *Iſraelites*, he ſays, *Thy Almighty Reaſon deſcended from Heaven, out of thy Royal Throne, as a fierce Man of War into the midſt of a Land of Deſtruction, and brought thine unfeigned Commandment, as a ſharp Sword; and ſtanding up, fill'd all things with Death; and it touched the Heaven, but it ſtood upon the Earth.* In *chap.* 9. *ver.* 1. he ſays, That *God has made all things by his Reaſon.* It cannot be alledg'd, that he has been the only one of the *Jews* that has ſpoke in this manner; ſeeing that *Philo*, who liv'd a little while after Our Saviour, is full of the like Expreſſions; as ſeveral of the Learned have obſerved. Its known that this Author has ſo well imitated *Plato*, that he has been call'd the *Jewiſh Plato*. He believ'd that there was One only Supreme God, as all the reſt of the *Jews* do, whom he calls TO ON, the *Being through Excellency*. But he further acknowledg'd a Divine Nature, which he calls ΛΟΓΟΣ, the *Reaſon*; as well as *Plato*: And another whom he calls likewiſe the *Soul of the World*. His Writings are ſo full of theſe manner of ſpeaking, that there is no nead of offering * Inſtances.

* Vid. *Defenſ. Fid. Nicen.* §. 1. c. 1. & §. 16, 17.

The *Jews* were of these Opinions when Our Saviour and his Apostles came into the World: And this is perhaps the Reason why we find, accordingly as it has been observed by several learned Men, several Platonick Phrases in the New Testament, especially in the Gospel of St. *John*.

It's well known, that *Amelius* the Platonick Philosopher, having read the beginning of this Gospel, remarked, that this Apostle spake like *Plato*. In effect, this Philosopher might have said, according to his Principles, *The Reason was in the beginning with God: She it is who hath made all things, who is Life, and the Light of Men*, &c. We find several Passages in *Philo*, like to this. This Jewish Philosopher calls *Reason*, the Priest, the Mediator between God and Men, the Eldest Son of God, &c. Wherein it is observable, that he mixes his Jewish Notions, with the manners of Speaking of *Plato*. He has likewise used in one place, the term *Paraclete* *, Intercessor, in speaking of the *Reason*: *It was necessary* (said he) *that the High-Priest who is to offer Sacrifices to the Father of the World, should have for Intercessor —— him of his Sons, whose Vertue is the most*

* *De Vit. Mos. p. 521. Edit. Gen. Græco-Lat.*

most perfect, for to obtain the Pardon of Sins, and abundant Graces. He had said, * that *Moses* denoted by the *Manna*, and by the *Rock* of the Desart, the same *Reason*: *The Prophet* (says he) *calls elsewhere this Rock, Manna; a name which signifies the same thing, to wit, the Divine Reason, the most Ancient of Beings.* Our Saviour Christ calls himself, *Paraclete*, in St. *John*, *chap.* 14. 16. when he promises his Apostles to send them *another Paraclete*. He says likewise, that he is the *True Bread*, in opposition to the *Manna*, which could be no more than a Shadow of it. And St. *Paul* says, that the *Stone* of the Desart, was *Christ*, 1 *Cor.* 10. 4. These ways of speaking which are found, in St. *John*, to be the *True Bread*, the *True Vine*; and which denote, that he to whom they are applied, is able to produce in Mens Spirits as much Efficacy, in another kind of things, as the Bread and Wine produce in the Body: These ways of speaking, I say, were particular to the *Platonists*, as has been observed elsewhere.

* *Quod Det. Pot. Insid. p.* 137.

We might give several other Examples of Platonick Phrases, to be met with in the New Testament: But it will be sufficient to remark here, That the Apostles apply to our Saviour *Christ*, Passages of the Old Testament, which *Philo* had applied to the *Reason*; and that this Jewish Philo-

ſopher has given to this ſame *Reaſon* moſt of the Titles which the Apoſtles have given to *Jeſus Chriſt*.

The *Pagans*, who had then embraced the Goſpel, and who were in ſome meaſure vers'd in the Heathen Philoſophy, remarking this reſemblance of Terms, perſuaded themſelves that the Apoſtles believ'd the ſame things, in reſpect of theſe Matters, as the Platonick *Jews* and *Pagans*. And this ſeems to be that which drew ſeveral Philoſophers of this Sect into the Chriſtian Religion, and giv'n ſuch a great Eſteem to the Primitive Chriſtians, for *Plato*. *Juſtin Martyr*, in his Firſt *Apology*, ſays, ‘ * That ‘ Jeſus Chriſt was known in part by *So-* ‘ *crates*; for the *Reaſon* was and is ſtill the ‘ ſame which is in every Man: It is She ‘ that has foretold the Future by the Pro- ‘ phets; and who being become ſubject to ‘ the ſame Infirmities as we, has inſtructed ‘ us by her ſelf. —— He ſays more- over, † *That the Opinions of* Plato, *are not remote from thoſe of Jeſus Chriſt*. And this has made likewiſe St. *Auguſtine* to ſay, ‘ That if the ancient Platoniſts were ſuch ‘ as they were deſcribed, and were to riſe ‘ again, they would freely embrace Chri- ‘ ſtianity, in changing || ſome few Words and ‘ Opinions, —— which moſt of the late *Platoniſts*, and thoſe of his time had done: *Paucis*

* *Pag.* 48. *Edit. Col. An.* 1686.

† *Pag.* 51. *ejuſd. edit.*

|| *De. Ver. Rel. c.* 3. *Vid. & Ep.* LVI.

Paucis mutatis verbis atque ſententiis, Chriſtiani fierent, ſicut plerique recentiorum, noſtrorumque temporum Platonici fecerunt.

Tertullian affirms, in his *Apology*, * That when the Chriſtians ſay, ‘ That God has ‘ made the Univerſe by his Word, by his ‘ Reaſon, and by his Power; they ſpeak ‘ only after the ſage Heathens, who tell us, ‘ That God has made the World by his ‘ (Λόγῳ) *Word*, or *Reaſon*.

* *Cap.* XXI.

Clemens Alexandrinus has likewiſe believ'd that *Plato* held the Doctrine of the Bleſſed *Trinity* (as I have obſerved in the *Life* of that Father.)

Origen againſt *Celſus*, does not deny, but that *Plato* ſpake the truth, in ſpeaking of † God, and of his Son: He only maintains, that he did not make ſuch a juſt Uſe as he ought of his Knowledge. He does not ſay, that the Foundation of the Chriſtian Doctrine is different in this from that of *Plato*, but that this Philoſopher had learn'd it from the Jews.

† *Lib.* 6. *pag.* 270, & 280.

Conſtantine, in his Harangue to the || *Saints*, after having prais'd *Plato*, in that he was the firſt Philoſopher who brought Men to the Contemplation of Intellectual Things, thus goes on: ‘ He has ſpoken ‘ of a Firſt God, who is above all Eſſences, ‘ wherein he has done well. He has like- ‘ wiſe ſubmitted to him a Second, and has

|| *Cap.* IX.

'distinguisht Two Essences in number, '(Δύο οὐσίας τὰς ἀριθμῷ διαίρε,) the Per-'fection of the one being the same as that 'of the other; and the Essence of the 'Second God taking his Existence from 'the first. For it is He who is the Author 'and the Director of all things, being 'Above All. He that is after him, having 'executed his Orders, attributes to Him, 'as to the Supreme Cause, the Production 'of the Universe. There is then but One, 'to speak properly, who takes care to pro-'vide for All, to wit, the *Reason*, who is '*God*, and who has set all things in their 'Order. This *Reason* being *God*, is like-'wise the *Son* of *God*; for who can call 'him otherwise, without committing a 'great Fault? He that is the Father of all 'things, is justly said to be the Father of 'his own proper Reason. HITHERTO 'PLUTO HAS SPOKE LIKE A WISE 'MAN, (Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τότε Πλάτων σώ-'φρων ἦν,) but he has varied from the 'Truth, in introducing a multiplicity of 'Gods, and in giving to each of 'em his 'Form. —— We might cite several other such like Passages, whereby one might see, that several among the Fathers of the first three Centuries, have believ'd that the Opinion of *Plato*, and that of the Apostles, was the same.

If

If we consider, that the Question here, is about things of which we have naturally no *Idea*; and which is even Incomprehensible, supposing Revelation; and of which one can only speak in metaphorical and improper Language, it will then appear to us no wonder, if since the Apostles times, there have arose several Opinions on this Subject. Thus the *Ebionites* are charged to have denied the Pre-existence of Our Saviour's Divinity, and to have held that he was only a meer Man. These *Ebionites* have remain'd a long time, seeing that not only *Justin Martyr* and St. *Irenæus* do mention them, but St. *Jerom* seems to take notice that they were in his time. It's affirm'd, That *Artemon*, under the Emperor *Severus*, and *Paulus Samosatenus* Bishop of *Antioch*, under the Emperor *Aurelius*, maintain'd the same Opinions.

Cerinthus, on the contrary, held the Pre-existence of the *Reason*, which he call'd the *Christ*; and affirm'd, that she had descended on Jesus, in the form of a Dove, when he was Baptiz'd; and that she ascended up into Heaven, when he was Crucify'd. It is indeed very difficult to affirm, that this was precisely the Opinions of these Hereticks, because we have nothing remaining to us of them, and that we cannot fully trust those who speak of 'em only with de-

teſtation, ſeeing it might eaſily be, that their great Zeal has hindred them from well comprehending them. And this is a Remark which we muſt make, in reſpect of all the Ancient Hereticks, whoſe Opinions are denoted to us only from the Writings of their Adverſaries.

About the Middle of the Third Century, *Sabellius* of *Ptolemaïs* in *Lybia*, produced a new Opinion, which was condemned in *Egypt*, and afterwards every where. He was charg'd with * *confounding the Hypoſtaſes, and for denying the Properties* which diſtinguiſh the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghoſt; and for having ſaid, *That the Father is the ſame as the Son.* Whereas *Plato* and his Followers reckon'd Three Numerical Eſſences. It ſeems, that *Sabellius* would ackuowledge but One, whom he call'd the Father, the Son, or Holy Spirit, in divers regards. It's ſaid that ſome others had maintain'd the ſame thing before and after him, as *Noet* and *Beryllus* of *Botſra*.

* *Synod. Conſt. ap. Theod. l. 5. c. 9. Damaſcus apud eundem, c. 11.*

A while after *Sabellius*, appear'd *Paulus Samoſatenus* Biſhop of *Antioch*, who was (as we have ſaid) of the *Ebionites* Sentiment, in relation to our Saviour's Divinity. Although the word Ὁμοούσιος had been uſed in the Platonick Philoſophy, to ſignifie what is of the ſame kind, as has been obſerv'd already, (and as may be ſeen in

in *Bull's Defence of the Nicene Council*, §. 2. *chap.* 1.) Yet the Council which met at *Antioch*, to Condemn *Paul* of *Samoſotia*, Condemn'd likewiſe this Term. But its hard to find in what ſence it was taken, becauſe the *Acts* of this *Council* are loſt, and we know nothing of them, but by what St. *Athanaſius*, * and ſome others extremely intereſſed to uphold this word, have ſaid in their Diſputes againſt the *Arians*. If we believe them, the Fathers of the Council of *Antioch* ſaid, that the Father and the Son were not *conſubſtantial*, in the ſame ſence wherein we ſay that two pieces of Money made of the ſame Metal are *conſubſtantial*, becauſe that theſe pieces ſuppoſe a pre-exiſtent Matter, of which they have been form'd: Whereas the Father and the Son do not ſuppoſe the like ſubſtance. *Paulus Samoſatenus* ſaid, that if the Son had not been made God, we muſt ſuppoſe that he is of the ſame kind of Eſſence as that of the Father; and that thus there muſt have been an anterior ſubſtance to the one and to the other, of which they muſt have been form'd. St. *Athanaſius* aſſures us, † that the term of *Homoouſios* was condemn'd at *Antioch*, in as much only as it might include the *Idea* of a Matter anterior to things which we call *Coeſſentials*.

* Vid. *Bull. Def. Fid. Nic.* §. 2. c. 1. & §. 10, *& ſeq.*

† *In lib. de Syn. Arim. & Seleu. Tom.* 1. *p.* 919, *& ſeq.*

Theſe

These are the chief Heretical Opinions touching the Divinity of Jesus Christ, which appear'd before the Council of *Nice*. As for the Fathers, which are respected as Orthodox, they have not varied from the Expressions of the *Platonists*; and as these have sometimes said, that the Reason is different from the Supreme Being; and sometimes, that they are both one. The Fathers have expreſt themselves in the same terms. The *Platonists* have said, That the Father could not be without the Son, nor the Son without the Father; as the Light could not be without the Sun, nor the Sun without Light: And the Fathers have said the same thing. Both one and the other have acknowledged that the Reason has existed before the World, and that she has produced it; and as *Plato* speaks in his *Timæus*, and *Plotinus* in his *Enneades*, of the Generation of Reason, as if the Good it self had produced it, to create and govern the World: So the Fathers have said, that the Son hath proceeded in some manner from the Father, before the Creation of the World, to manifest himself to Men by his Production; and that hence it is that the Scripture calls him the *Son of God*, and his *First-born*.

Sometimes they say there was a time in which the Son was not; sometimes, that he was

was from Everlasting as well as the Father; sometimes they affirm they are Equal; and elsewhere they say the Father is Greatest. Some of them believe that the Father and Son are *two Hypostases*, *two Natures*, *two Essences*, as appears from the passage of *Pierius*, related by **Photius*; others deny it. To bring Instances of all this, would be too great an Enlargement for this place; and there being enough to be seen in *Bull*'s Book which we have already cited. * *Cod.* CXIX.

If it be demanded at present, what *Idea*'s they fix'd to these Expressions; it cannot be affirm'd that they have been clear. First, Because whatever Endeavours are used to understand what they say, a Man can get no distinct Notion thereof. And, Secondly, Because they acknowledge themselves, that it is a thing Incomprehensible. All that can be done on this occasion, is to relate the Terms which they have used, to the end that it may be seen how they have heretofore expreſt themselves on this Matter. However, learned Men have given themselves a great deal of trouble to explain the Passages of the Fathers who liv'd before the Council of *Nice*, without considering, that all their Explications are fruitless; seeing the Fathers, in acknowledging, that what they said was Incomprehensible, acknowledg'd at the same time, that they fix'd

fix'd no *Idea* on the Terms they uſed, unleſs ſuch as were general and confuſed.

Had the Matter ſtaid here, there had never been ſuch great Diſputes on the Sentiments of the Antients, touching this Myſtery; ſeeing the Diſpute doth not ſo much lie on the Terms they have uſed, as the Idea's they have faſten'd to them, which cannot be reduced to any thing that is clear. Sometimes they uſe Terms which ſeem perfectly to agree with thoſe which have been uſed ſince; but there is found in ſome other places of their Works, Expreſſions which ſeem to overthrow what they had ſaid; ſo that one cannot form any Notion of what they thought.

Lactantius, for Example, anſwers thus to the Heathens, who ask'd the Chriſtians, how they ſaid they acknowledged but One God, ſeeing they gave this Name to the Father, and to the Son? ' * When we ' call the Father God, and the Son God, we ' do not ſay that each of them is a different ' God: And we do not ſeparate them; ' becauſe the Father cannot be without the ' Son, nor the Son ſeparated from the Fa' ther: He cannot be called Father, with' out his Son; nor the Son be begotten, ' without his Father. Seeing then that the ' Father makes the Son, and that the Son is ' made, the one and the other has the ſame ' Intellect,

* *Inſtit. l.* 4. *c.* 29. *p.* 403. *Ed. Oxon.*

' Intellect, One only Spirit, and One only ' Subſtance; *UNA UTRIQUE MENS*, ' *UNUS SPIRITUS, UNA SUBSTAN*' *TIA.*—— Theſe are Words which ſeem to be deciſive; and had *Lactantius* held to theſe Expreſſions, he had never been accuſed of Heterodoxy: But if he be queſtion'd what he means by the word *Unus*, whether it be a *Numerical Unity*, or an *Unity of Conſent and Reſemblance*, he will appear determin'd to this latter ſence: ' * When any ' one (ſays he) has a Son whom he dearly ' loves, and who dwells in the Houſe, and ' under the governing Power of his Father, ' although the Father grants him the Name ' and Authority of a Maſter; yet, in the ' terms of Civilians, here is but one Houſe, ' and one Maſter. So this World is but ' one Houſe belonging to God; and the ' Son and the Father who inhabit the World, ' and who are of one Mind (*Unanimes*) are ' One only God; the One being as the ' Two, and the Two as the One. And ' this ought not to appear ſtrange, ſeeing ' the Son is in the Father; becauſe the Fa' ther loveth the Son, and the Father is in ' the Son, by reaſon of his faithful Reſig' nation to his Father's Will; and that he ' does nothing, nor never did do any thing, ' unleſs what the Father has will'd, or com' manded him.—— We may read further, the

* *Ib. p.* 104.

the 6th. Chap. of the 4th. Book, which begins thus; 'God, who has conceived and 'produced all Things, before he began this 'curious Work of the World, begat a 'Spirit Holy and Incorruptible, that he 'might call him his Son. Although he 'has produced infinite others, whom we 'call Angels, for his Miniſtry; yet he has 'vouchſafed to give the Name of Son to 'his Firſt-born, who is cloathed with the 'Vertue and Majeſty of his Father.——— That which is particular in this, is, That though *Lactantius* ſays, That the Son is Co-eternal with the Father; yet he ſays, there was a time when he was not: * *Sicut mater ſine exemplo genuit auctorem ſuum; ſic ineffabiliter Pater genuiſſe credendus eſt Co-æternum. De Matre natus eſt qui ante jam fuit; de Patre qui aliquando non fuit. Hoc fides credat, intelligentia non requirat, ne aut non inventum putet incredibile, aut repertum non credat ſingulare.* It's true, this Paſſage is not to be found in ſome Manuſcripts; and that ſeveral learned Men have fancy'd that ſome ſly Heretick has corrupted *Lactantius*'s Works: But in other places, wherein all the Manuſcripts do agree, *Lactantius* expreſſes himſelf after the ſame manner: And it may be replied, with as much likelyhood, that it has been the Orthodox Reviſors who have cut off what they

* *L.2. c.9. in Ed. Betuleii.*

they thought not fit to be made publick.

Lactantius has been long ſince charg'd with Heterodoxy; but in this reſpect, he has been no more faulty than other Fathers, who liv'd before the Council of *Nice*, whoſe Expreſſions are as different as thoſe of the *Platoniſts*, in matter of the Trinity. And this has made Father *Peteau* and Mr. *Huet* to charge them with favouring the *Arian* Sentiments; whil'ſt other learned Men have maintain'd that they have been far from them. Each of them cites his Paſſages; which examin'd apart, ſeem to decide for him: But when one comes to compare theſe Paſſages with one another, it cannot be comprehended how the ſame Perſons could ſpeak ſo differently. In this compariſon, their Expreſſions are found ſo obſcure, and ſo full of apparent Contradictions, or real ones, that a Man feels himſelf obliged to believe that the Fathers had done a great deal better in keeping themſelves to the Terms of the Apoſtles; and to have acknowledged, that they underſtood them not, than to throw themſelves into ſuch Labyrinths, by endeavouring to explain them.

To ſhew further, That the Expreſſions of the Fathers are only fit to produce confuſed Notions, and ſuch as are contrary to thoſe which all Chriſtians at this day hold; we

we need only read *Tertullian*, who having ſaid, in his *Apology*, *chap.* 21. That the Nature of Reaſon is Spiritual; adds, *Hunc ex Deo prolatum didicimus, & prolatione Generatum, & idcirco Filium, & Deum dictum ex unitate ſubſtantiæ, nam & Deus Spiritus eſt.* But what means *Prolatione Genitus?* The Terms of *Unity of Subſtance*, may ſignifie, not only of the ſame Subſtance in *Number*, but moreover, of a like Subſtance, that is to ſay, ſpiritually and equally perfect. And what he adds, ſeems to favour this laſt ſence; *Etiam cum radius ex ſole porrigitur, portio ex ſumma, ſed Sol erit in radio, quia Solis eſt radius; nec ſeparatur ſubſtantia, ſed extenditur.* The Subſtance of a Ray, after what manner ſoever we conceive it, is not the ſame in *Number* as that of the Sun: And *Tertullian* ſays, that it is the ſame of the Son; *Ita de Spiritu Spiritus, & de Deo Deus*; Thus a Spirit is born of a Spirit, and a God of a God. *Ut Lumen de lumine accenditur, manet integra, & indefecta materiæ matrix, etſi plures inde traduces qualitatum mutueris*; As when we light one Torch by another, the Light which has lighted the other, remains entire, and without being waſted, although we light ſeveral Torches, who have the ſame qualities. *Ita & quod de Deo profectum eſt, Deus eſt, & Dei Filius & unus*

& unus ambo. Ita de Spiritu Spiritus, & de Deo Deus modulo alternum numerum gradu, non ſtatu fecit, & à matrice non receſſit, ſed exceſſit; So what proceeds from God, is God, and Son of God, and both are but one; ſo the Spirit which is born of a Spirit, and the God who is born of a God, makes Two, in reſpect of Degree, but not in reſpect of his State; he has not been ſeparated from the Womb, or from his Original, but is gone out of it.

Theſe Words of *Tertullian* do not appear at firſt ſight agreeable with *Arius*'s Opinion; but at moſt, they contain nothing that is clear; for one might have demanded of *Tertullian*, whether by this *Prolation* he ſpeaks of, the Reaſon has exiſted as Light from a Torch, lighted by another Torch, exiſts as ſoon as it is lighted? Should he allow it, he might have been told, that to ſpeak ſtrictly, there muſt have been Two Gods; ſeeing that, in fine, two Spirits, though exactly equal, and ſtrictly united, are two Spirits. If this be ſo, the ſecond Spirit being not form'd of the ſame Numerical Subſtance, as that of the firſt, one might ſay with *Arius*, that he has been *extracted from nothing*; and there would be in this regard, nothing but a Diſpute about Words, between *Arius* and *Tertullian*. But if it be anſwer'd for *Tertullian*,

That his Compariſon is not good; it will be ask'd, Why he made uſe of a Compariſon which may lead into Error, eſpecially having ſaid before, that he was of *Plato*'s Opinion touching the *Reaſon*? If he meant, that the Father has produced in his proper Subſtance, without multiplying it, a *Modification*, in reſpect of which, one may call the Subſtance of the Father, Son; why does he ſay, *Spiritus ex Spiritu, ex Deo, Deus*? For, to ſpeak properly, the Father has produced neither a Spirit, nor a God, but a new manner of Being in his proper Subſtance.

It is further to be obſerved, That this Compariſon is not of *Tertullian* alone, but of *Juſtin Martyr*, and a great number of Fathers beſides, before and after the Council of *Nice*; and that there is no Paſſage which appears of greater force than that, yet the Equivocation of it is apparent.

The Fathers have likewiſe uſed the term *Hypoſtaſis*, as well as the *Platoniſts*, in two ſences; ſometimes for the Exiſtence taken in an abſtracted manner, and ſometimes for the thing it ſelf, which exiſts. The Equivocation of this Term, and that of the Words, *One and Many*, which (as has been ſhew'd) are taken ſometimes from the Unity, and the Plurality *Specificals*; and ſometimes from the Unity and Plurality *Nume-*

Numericals, have caus'd great Controverſies among the Fathers, as divers learned Men have * obſerved. But it is fit we ſhould take notice of one thing, which is, that *Bull*, who has writ prolixly on this Matter, has not a word of the *Numerical* and *Specifick Unity*; without which, a Man cannot comprehend what the Fathers mean, nor draw any Concluſions from them againſt the Hereticks. Yet when they ſay there are *three Hypoſtaſes*, or *three Eſſences*, or *three Natures*, he conſtantly takes it as if they ſaid, there are three Modifications in one only Numerical Eſſence. He ſuppoſes, that the Οὐσία *Eſſence*, and Φύσις *Nature*, ſignifie Manners of Exiſting of one Numerical Eſſence, only becauſe that without this, thoſe who have thus ſpoken of it, would not have been Orthodox, or of the Opinion at preſent receiv'd, which the Council muſt have approv'd of, ſeeing otherwiſe it would not have been admitted as it is. He ſuppoſes, on the contrary, for the ſame Reaſons, that when the Fathers deny there are Three *Hypoſtaſes*, they do not barely mean, that there are not Three Eſſences of different Kinds, but that they are not Three in Number. But others will deny there is any place, where the words *Nature* and *Eſſence* can be taken for what we at this day call Perſonality, which is to

* *Petavius, Curcellæus, Huetius, &c.*

ſay, for a Modification; and that it appears from the Paſſages which he cites, that the Fathers held the *Numerical Unity*.

And this was the Condition of the Chriſtian Church, when the Quarrels of *Arius* diſturb'd it. Whence may be ſeen, that it was no hard matter for the two Parties to cite Authorities of the Antients, whoſe Equivocal Expreſſions might be interpreted in divers ſences. The Obſcurity of the Subject, the vain Subtilty of Humane Underſtanding, which would know every thing, the Deſire of appearing able, and the Paſſion which mingles it ſelf in all Diſputes, gave Birth to theſe Controverſies, which for a long time tore Chriſtianity into pieces.

Arius being a Prieſt of *Alexandria*, about the Year 318, undertook, as it ſeems, to explain more clearly the Doctrine of the Divinity of Jeſus Chriſt, which had been till that time taught in the Chriſtian Church, under the Veil of thoſe Terms which we have recited. He ſaid, that to *beget*, in this ſubject, was nothing elſe but to *produce*: whence he concluded, that the Divinity of Jeſus Chriſt had been extracted out of nothing by the Father. Here's how he expreſſes himſelf, in a Letter which he wrote to *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia*:

* *Ap. Theod. l. 1. c. 5.*

* 'We make profeſſion to believe, that the 'Son

'Son is not without Generation, and that 'he is not a part of that which is unbegot-'ten, nor of any other Pre-exiſtent Matter 'whatever; but that by the Will and Coun-'cil (*of God*) he has been perfect God '(τέλειον Θεὸν) before all Time and Ages; 'that he is his only Son, and that he is not 'ſubject to change; that before he was be-'gotten or created, he was not. ——

Arius was counted an able * Logician, and was in good eſteem with his Biſhop *Alexander*; but ſpeaking freely his mind, he drew on him the hatred of one † *Melece*, Biſhop in *Thebais*, who had caus'd a Schiſm in *Egypt*, although he did not much vary from the common Opinions, only becauſe he would not receive into Communion the Prieſts who had faln in the *Dioclefian* Perſecution, but after a long Penance, and would have them for ever depriv'd of their Office.

* *Sozom. l. 1. c. 15.*

† *Epiphan. in Hær. LXIX.*

One may ſee the Hiſtory of this in St. *Epiphanius*, who accuſes him for having (Ἐθελοδικαιοσύνη) an affected Devotion, and taking up a particular way of living, to to make himſelf admired by the People. *Arius* had moreover another Enemy, named *Alexander*, and Sirnamed *Baucalas* ||, who was alſo an Aſſociate Prieſt with him. He joined himſelf to *Melece*, to complain to the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, that *Arius* ſowed a new Doctrine touching the Divinity of

* *Philoſt. l. 1. c. 4.*

our Saviour Christ. He could the better spread his Opinions, in that having a particular Church at *Alexandria* committed * to his care, he preach'd there what he thought fit. He drew such a great number of People into his Opinions, that there were Seven hundred Religious Votaries who had embraced them, and consequently a greater number among the Ordinary People. It's said, that he was a Man of large Shape, of a severe Countenance, yet of a very agreeable Conversation.

* *Epiph.*

† *Alexander* thought, that in a Matter wherein one might easily equivocate, it were best to let the two Parties explain themselves, to the end it might appear, that he had accorded them more by Persuasion than Force. He brought the two Parties to a Conference, in demanding of them the Explication of a Passage of Scripture, in the Presence of the Clergy of his Church: But neither one nor the other of these Parties would yield, endeavouring only to vanquish. *Arius* his Adversaries maintained, that the Son is of the same Essence (Ὁμοούσιον) as the Father, and that he is Eternal as he is; and *Arius* pretended that the Generation denoted a Beginning. There was another Meeting call'd, as fruitless as the first, in respect of the Dispute; but by which, it seems, *Alexander*, who had before

† *Sozom.*

fore not any precise determined Sentiment on this Matter, was induced to embrace the Opinion of *Arius* his Adversaries. He afterwards commanded this Priest to *believe* the same thing (Ὁμοίως φρονεῖν ἐκέλευσε) and to abandon the opposite Opinion.

But it being seldom known that Men yield Obedience to these kind of Injunctions, *Arius* remained still in the same Opinion, as well as several other Bishops and Ecclesiasticks who had approved of it. *Alexander*, angry at his not being obey'd, Excommuuicated him, with all those of his Party, and oblig'd him to depart out of *Alexandria*. There were, among others, five Priests of this City, and as many Deacons of the same Church, besides some Bishops of *Egypt*, as *Secondas* and *Theonas*. To them were joined a great number of People, some of which did in effect approve the Doctrine of *Arius*, and others thought that he had been condemned with too high an hand, without entring into the Discussion of the Controversie.

After this Severity, the two Parties endeavoured to make their Opinions and Conduct be approved by Letters which they sent every where. They exposed not only their Reasons, but endeavoured to render odious the opposite Party, by the Consequences they drew from their Opinions and

in attributing to them ſtrange Expreſſions. Some Biſhops, as *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*, exhorted *Alexander* to reconcile himſelf with *Arius*, and others approv'd his Conduct, and adviſed him not to receive him into his Communion till he retracted.

The Letters of *Alexander* and *Arius* are too conſiderable to be here omitted: Here's then the ſumm of them:

* *Ap. Epiph. in Hej.* LXIX. *& Theoder. l.* 1. *c.* 5.

Arius wrote to * *Euſebius* of *Nicodemia*, 'to entreat his Protection againſt *Alexander*, who had excommunicated him, and 'driven him out of *Alexandria*, becauſe 'he could not grant him, that the Father 'and the Son are Co-eternal; that the Son 'co-exiſts with the Father without Generation, having been always begotten, and 'not begotten at the ſame time, without 'letting it be imagined that the Father has 'exiſted ſo much as one Moment before the 'Son. —— He added, That *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, *Theodotus* of *Laodicea*, *Paulinus* of *Tyre*, *Athanaſius* of *Anazarba*, *Gregory* of *Beryta*, and *Ætius* of *Lydea*, condemning the Sentiments of *Alexander*, had been likewiſe ſtruck with an Anathema, as well as all the Eaſtern People who were of the ſame Opinions, except *Philogonius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, *Hellanicus* of *Tripoly*, and *Macarius* of *Jeruſalem*, one of which ſaid, 'That the Son was an *Eructation*, the 'other a *Projection*; and the other, that he 'was not begotten, no more than the Father. —— To this *Arius* added the Explanation of his Opinion, which we have already related.

The Biſhop * of *Nicomedia* having received this Letter, call'd a Synod of his Province of *Bythinia*, which wrote Circular Letters to all the Eaſtern Biſhops, to induce them to receive *Arius* into Communion, as maintaining the Truth, and to engage *Alexander* to do as much. We have ſtill a Letter of *Euſebius* to *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Tyre*, wherein he not only intreats *Paulinus* to intercede for *Arius*, but wherein he expoſes and defends his Sentiments with great clearneſs. He ſays, 'He has never 'heard there were Two Beings without Generation, nor that the One has been parted 'into Two; but that this ſingle Being had 'begotten another, not of his Subſtance, 'but perfectly like to him, although of a 'different Nature and Power: That not 'only we cannot expreſs by Words the Beginning of the Son, but that is even Incomprehenſible to thoſe Intellectual Beings 'which are above Men, as well as to us. — To prove this, he cites the 8th. of the *Proverbs*, *God the Lord poſſeſſed me in the beginning of his ways, before is works of old: I was ſet up from Everlaſting, and he has begotten*

* *Sozom. II.*

begotten me before the mountains were brought forth. He says, 'That we must not search 'in the Term of *Begetting*, any other 'signification than that of *Producing*; be- 'cause the Scripture does not only use it in 'reference to the Son, but moreover in 'speaking of Creatures; as when God 'says, *I have begotten Children, and I have* 'brought them up, but they have rebelled 'against me.

But these Letters not having had the Success which *Arius* expected, he sent to get leave of *Paulinus*, of *Eusebius*, and *Patrophilus* Bishop of *Scythopolis*, to gather those who were of his Opinion into a Church, and to exercise among them the Office of a Priest, as he was wont to do before, and as was done at *Alexandria*. These Bishops having Convocated the other Bishops of *Palestine*, granted him what he demanded, but ordered him however to remain subject to *Alexander*, and to omit nothing to obtain Communion with him.

There is extant a Letter of *Arius*, directed to this Bishop, * and written from *Nicomedia*, which contains a Confession of Faith, according to the Doctrine which *Arius* affirm'd that *Alexander* himself had taught him; wherein, after having denoted his Belief touching the Father, which includes nothing Heterodox, he adds, 'That he hath 'begot-

* *Apud Epiph.* II.

'begotten his only Son before the times 'Eternal; that it is by him, that he has 'made the World; that he has begotten 'him, not only in Appearance, but in Rea- 'lity; that this Son subsists by his own 'Will; that he is unmoveable; that he is 'a Creature of God that is perfect, and not 'as other Creatures; that he is a Production, 'but not as other Productions: Nor as *Va- 'lentinian* said, a *Projection* of the Father: 'Nor as *Manes* affirm'd, a *Consubstantial* 'Part of the Father: Nor as *Sabellius* call'd 'him, a *Son Father* (Υιοπατωρ:) Nor as 'Hieracas spake, a Lamp lighted by a 'Lamp, or a Torch divided into two; 'that he did not exist before he was begot- 'ten, and became a Son; that there are 'three *Hypostases* (that is to say, different 'Substances) the Father, the Son, and the 'Holy Spirit; and that the Father is before 'the Son, although the Son was created 'before all Ages. *Arius* adds, that *Alex- 'ander* had several times preach'd this Do- 'ctrine in the Church, and refuted those 'who did not receive it. This Letter is 'sign'd by Six Priests, Seven Deacons, and 'Three Bishops, *Secondus* of *Pentapolis*, 'Theonas of *Lybia*, and *Pistus* whom the 'Arian Bishops had Establish't at *Alexan- 'dria*.

'Alexan-

* Socrat. l. 1. c. 6.

'*Alexander* * wrote on his ſide Circular 'Letters, wherein he ſharply cenſures *Eu-* '*ſebius* of *Nicomedia*, in that he protected '*Arius*, and recommended him to others. 'He joins to this the Names of thoſe who 'had been Excommunicated, and explains 'their Doctrine, wherein he contents not 'himſelf to ſet down what we have ſeen in '*Arius*'s his *Letters*, touching the Begin- 'ning which he attributes to the Son; he 'ſays moreover, that this Prieſt maintain'd, 'that the Son is one of the Creatures; that 'we cannot call him the Reaſon and Wiſdom 'of the Father, but improperly, ſeeing that 'he himſelf has been produced by the Rea- 'ſon and Wiſdom of God; that he is ſubject 'to change, as other Intelligent Creatures; 'that he is of another Eſſence than God; 'that the Father is Incomprehenſible to 'him, and that he doth not ſo much as 'know what his proper ſubſtance is; that 'he has been made for our ſakes, to ſerve 'God as an Inſtrument in Creating us; and 'that without this, God had never begotten 'him. *Alexander* adds, That having aſ- 'ſembled near a hundred Biſhops of *Egypt* 'and *Lybia*, they had Excommunicated '*Arius* and his Followers, by reaſon of his 'Opinions. —— He afterwards comes to prove this, and ſhews firſt, The Eternity of the *Son*, by this paſſage of St. *John*, *In the Beginning*

Beginning was the Reaſon. 2. That he cannot be reckoned among the Creatures; becauſe the Father ſays of him, in the 45th *Pſalm*, *My Heart has uttered* (eructavit) *a good Word.* 3. That he is not unlike the Eſſence of the Father, of which he is the perfect Image, and the Splendor, and of whom he ſays, *He that has ſeen me, has ſeen the Father.* 4. That we cannot ſay, There was a time in which he was not, ſeeing that he is the Reaſon, and the Wiſdom of the Father; and that it will be abſurd to ſay, There was a time in which the Father was without Reaſon and Wiſdom. 5. That he is not ſubject to change; becauſe the Scripture ſays, *He is the ſame yeſterday and to day.* 6. That he was not made becauſe of us; ſeeing St. *Paul* ſays, That it is *becauſe of him*, and *by him, that all things are.* 7. That the Father is not Incomprehenſible to the Son; ſeeing he ſays, *As the Father knows me, ſo I know the Father.*

This Letter, wherein *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia* is extremely ill treated, ſhock't this Biſhop to the utmoſt Point; and having great acceſs to the Court, becauſe *Conſtantine* made then his abode at *Nicomedia*; this occaſion'd divers Biſhops to be at his devotion: But he could not engage *Alexander* to forget what had paſt, to ſpeak

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no more of this Controverſie, and to receive *Arius* into Communion. The Quarrels every day grew hotter, and the People were ſeen to range themſelves, ſome taking *Arius*'s ſide, others *Alexander*'s; and the Comedians being Gentiles, this gave them occaſion to make a Sport of Chriſtian Religion on their Theatres.

Each ſide treated one another with the odious Name of Heretick, and endeavoured to ſhew, that the Sentiments of the oppoſite Party overthrew the Chriſtian Religion; but it appears, that neither the one nor the other Party could yet perſuade the Emperor, ſeeing he wrote to *Alexander* and to *Arius*, a long Letter, of which *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Cordavia* was the Bearer, wherein he equally chides them: He ſays, he found that the Controverſie * had begun in this manner; That *Alexander* having demanded of each of his Prieſts, what they thought of a Paſſage of Scripture, or rather, *on an idle ſort of Queſtion* (ἀργῆς τινος ματαίας ζητήματος,) *Arius* inconſiderately anſwered what he ſhould not have thought, or rather conceal'd, if he had thought it, 'That from 'thence had come his Excommunication, 'and the Diviſion of the People. And therefore he exhorted them to a mutual pardoning of one another, and to receive his 'Opinion, which was, That it had been 'better

* *Apud Euſeb. de Vit. Conſt. c. 64. & Seq. & Socrat. l. 1. c. 7.*

'better not have troubled the Eccleſiaſticks 'with this Queſtion; and that thoſe who 'were ask'd it, ſhould have held their 'Tongues, becauſe the matter concern'd 'what was equally incomprehenſible to 'both Parties, and which ſerv'd only to 'raiſe Diſturbances among the People. He 'could not conceive, how for a Queſtion 'of very ſmall importance, and in which, 'if they well underſtood one another, they 'would find they agreed in the main, they 'ſhould make ſuch a buſtle, and divide 'themſelves in ſo ſcandalous a manner.

'I do not ſay this (adds he) as if I would 'conſtrain you to think the ſame thing on 'a moſt vain Queſtion, or however you 'will pleaſe to call it. For one may, without diſhonouring the Aſſembly, and without breaking the Communion, be in different Sentiments in ſuch inconſiderable 'things. We have not all the ſame Wills 'in all things, neither are we all of us 'of the ſame Temper of Body and Humors.

'The Emperor's Letter (ſays *Socrates*) 'gave them admirable Advice, and full of 'Wiſdom; but the Miſchief was grown too 'great, and neither the Emperor's Endeavours, nor his Authority who brought 'the Letter to *Alexandria*, could appeaſe it.

Alexander

Alexander had taken care to write every where, to hinder the ſpreading of *Arius* his Opinions. We have ſtill * a long Letter which he wrote to the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, wherein he vehemently inveighs againſt the *Arian* Faction, and endeavours to render it odious, in ſaying, 'That *Arius* 'maintain'd, That the Son was of a Na- 'ture capable of Evil, as well as of Good, 'although it actually remain'd without Sin, 'and that it was for this, that God had 'choſen him for his Eldeſt Son. He proves 'the Eternity of the Son, and that he was 'not extracted from Nothing; becauſe he 'was in the Beginning, and that all things 'have been made by him. Yet he holds, 'That the Son has been begotten, and that 'only the Father is without Generation, 'although the *Subſiſtence* or *Subſtance* of the Son (ὑπόστασις) † be incomprehenſible to 'the Angels themſelves, and that there is 'none but melancholy Perſons who can 'think of comprehending it. He after- 'wards ſhews, That the Manner after which 'Jeſus Chriſt is the Son of God, is infinitely 'more excellent than the Manner after 'which Men are; ſeeing he is ſo by his 'Nature, we only by Adoption.

He accuſes *Arius* with following the Doctrine of *Ebion* and *Artemas*, and for having imitated *Paul* of *Samoſata*, Biſhop of

* *Ap. Theod. l. 1. c. 4.*

† *Valeſius* renders that word in that Letter ſometimes *Subſiſtentia*, and ſometimes *Eſſentia* and *Subſtantia*, although it be in the ſame continued Diſcourſe.

of *Antioch*, whoſe Doctrine had been embrac'd by *Lucien* (Martyr) who by reaſon of this, had ſeparated himſelf from the Communion of three following Biſhops of this City. He joyns to him three Biſhops of *Syria*, who ſeem to have been *Paulinus*, *Euſebius* and *Theodotus*, and reproaches them with uſing Paſſages which relate to the Humiliation of Chriſt, to attack his Divinity, and to have forgotten thoſe which ſpeak of the Glory of his Nature, ſuch as this is; 'The Father and I are one: 'Which the Lord ſays (*adds he*) not to de- 'note that he is the Father; nor to ſay, 'that two Natures, in reſpect of the man- 'ner of exiſting (τῇ ὑποστάσει δύο φυσεις) 'are but one; but becauſe the Son is of a 'Nature which exactly keeps the Paternal 'Reſemblance, being by his Nature like to 'him in all things, the unchangeable Image 'of his Father, and a Copy of this Original. 'He afterwards defends himſelf largely 'againſt the Conſequence which *Arius* drew 'from his Adverſaries Sentiments, which 'conſiſted in accuſing them, for denying 'the Generation of the Son, in making him 'Eternal. —— He affirm'd, That there is 'an infinite difference between the Creation 'of the World, and the Generation of the 'Son, although this laſt be wholly Incom- 'prehenſible, and that he cannot explain it.

In the mean time, the Diviſion encreaſed ſo greatly among the People, that in ſome places it came to a Sedition, wherein the very Statues * of the Emperor were thrown down, who appear'd to favour the *Arians*, becauſe he would have 'em tolerated. There was moreover the Controverſie about *Eaſter*, the one denying that it ſhould be celebrated at the ſame time as the Jewiſh, and the others affirming it; but this Conteſt had not produced a Schiſm, as *Arianiſm* had done.

* *Euſeb. de Vit. Conſ. l. 3. c. 4.*

Conſtantine, ſeeing that theſe Letters had been fruitleſs, thought there was no better way to allay theſe Controverſies, than to call a Council from all Parts of the *Roman* Empire. It was perhaps *Hoſius* who gave him this Advice, at leaſt if we may believe † *Philoſtorgus*, the Biſhop of *Alexandria* being gone to *Nicomedia*, there aſſembled ſome Biſhops of his Opinion, with whom *Hoſius* and he conſults to find out means to ſet up their Opinion, and to get that of *Arius* condemned; and a little while after, the Emperor call'd a Council at *Nice*, a Town of *Bythinia*. || This was in the Year 325; and to the end that nothing might hinder the Biſhops from coming, *Conſtantine* took on himſelf the Charges of their Journey. The Hiſtorians are not agreed in reference to the Number of 'em, ſome ſetting down more than Three hundred,

† *L. 1. c. 7.*

|| *Euſeb. in Vit. Conſt. l. 3. c. 6.*

dred, and * others leſs. We muſt not wonder at this diverſity, ſeeing there are few Paſſages in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, wherein appears more Confuſion and Neglect, than in the Hiſtory of this famous Council. And therefore have we been obliged to extract what we are going to ſay, out of divers Hiſtorians; becauſe none of the Antients has been compleat in his Relations. As to the diverſity obſervable among the Hiſtorians on the ſame Facts, we have followed either the moſt ancient, or thoſe which have appeared moſt probable.

* *Euſtathius of Antioch, ſays there were 270. Theod. l. 8. Conſtantin. 300. Socr. II. 9. Euſebius 252. Vit. Conſt. l. 3. c. 9. S. Athanaſ. 318.*

Euſebius, who was preſent at the Council, has paſt very lightly over the Circumſtances of this Hiſtory apparently, leſt he ſhould either offend the *Arians*, or the Orthodox. This Affair has never been ſince diſcourſed of with an entire Diſ-intereſts, Reports having been often related as certain Facts. In a word, There has never any thing happen'd, whereunto one may apply with more reaſon theſe words of *Tacitus*; *Maxima quæque ambigua ſunt, dum alii quoquomodo audita pro compertis habent, alii vera in contrarium vertunt, & gliſcit utrumque poſteritati.* *Euſebius* vaunts very much the Biſhops which were here: But † *Sabinus*, a *Macedonian* Biſhop of *Heraclea*, a Town of *Thrace*, treats them as *Ignoramus's*, in his Collection of Councils. There was like-

* *Socrat. l. 7.*

wiſe a great number of Prieſts and Deacons who came in company with the Biſhops.

The Council open'd the 14th. of *June*, and therein were regulated ſeveral things, which we ſhall not here take notice of, deſigning only to remark what paſt in relation to the principal Queſtion therein decided, to wit *Arianiſm*. As ſoon as ever the Biſhops were arrived, they made particular Aſſemblies without any interruption, and ſent for *Arius* * to them, to inform themſelves of his Opinions. After they had heard from him what he thought, ſome of 'em were for condemning all ſorts of Novelties, and to content themſelves in ſpeaking of the Son, in the ſame terms their Predeceſſors had uſed; and others affirm'd, that the Opinions of the Antients were not to be received without examining. There were ſeventeen Biſhops (according to † *Sozomen*) who favoured *Arius* his new Explications, the chief of which were *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*, *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea*, *Menophantes* of *Epheſus*, *Patrophilus* of *Scythopolis*, *Theognis* of *Nice*, *Narciſſus* of *Neroniadas*, *Theonas* of *Marmarica*, and *Secondus* of *Ptolemais*. Theſe Biſhops drew up a Confeſſion of Faith || according to their Sentiments: but they had no ſooner read it in the Aſſembly, but it was cry'd out upon as falſe; 'twas torn in pieces, and they

* *Sozom. l. 7. & 19.*

† Ib. c. 20.

|| *Theodor. l. 1. c. 5. ex Athanaſio.*

they were reproach'd with it, as Perſons who would (as they ſaid) betray the Faith and Godhead of Chriſt. A Letter of *Euſebius* of *Nicodemia*, wherein he expreſt his Thoughts, had the ſame lot.

Afterwards, a *Creed* was undertaken to be made, wherein the Opinions contrary to thoſe of *Arius* were eſtabliſhed. It was immediately obſerv'd, that the new ways of of ſpeaking which the *Arians* uſed, were to be condemned. *That the Son had been extracted from Nothing; That he was a Creature; That there was a time wherein he was not*, &c. And Scripture Phraſes were to be uſed, ſuch as theſe; *That the Son is Only-Begotten, the Reaſon, Power, Wiſdom of the Father, the Brightneſs of his Glory, and Character of his Power.* The *Arians* having ſhew'd that they were ready to admit a Confeſſion expreſt in theſe terms: the Orthodox Biſhops feard leſt they ſhould expound theſe terms in an ill ſence. And therefore they were for adding, *That the Son is of the Subſtance of the Father*; becauſe this is that which diſtinguiſhes the Son from the Creatures. Hereupon the *Arians* were ask'd, whether they acknowledged, *That the Son is not a Creature, but the Power, the only Wiſdom and Image of the Father; That he is Eternal, and like to the Father in all things*; in fine, *True God.* The

Heterodox having ſpoken among themſelves, believ'd that theſe Expreſſions might very well agree with the Notion they had of the Divinity of the Son, and denoted they were ready to receive them.

In fine, It being obſerved, that *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*, in the Letter which was read, rejected the Term of *Conſubſtantial* (Ὁμοούσιον,) it was thought, that the Orthodox Doctrine could not be better expreſs'd, and all Equivocation excluded, than in making uſe of it; and ſo much the rather, in that the *Arians* ſeem'd to be afraid of it. This Circumſtance is owing to * St. *Ambroſe*, whoſe words are theſe; *Auctor ipſorum Euſebius Nicomediæ Epiſcopus, Epiſtola ſua prodidit, dicens; ſi verum inquit, Dei Filium increatum dicimus, homooufion, Conſubſtantialem cum Patre incipimus confiteri. Hæc cum lecta eſſet Epiſtola in Concilio Nicæno, hoc verbum in tractatu fidei poſuerunt Patres quod viderunt Adverſariis eſſe formidini, ut tanquam evaginato ab ipſis gladio ipſum nefandæ caput Hæreſeos amputarent.*

* *Lib. 3. de Fid. ad Grat. cap. ult.*

The Orthodox conceiv'd then their Sentiment, touching the Divinity of the Son, in theſe terms; † *We believe in one only Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Son of God, only Son of the Father; that is to ſay, of the Subſtance of the Father, God, born of God, Light of Light, True God, born of the True God, begotten, not made, Conſubſtantial with the Father.*

† *Socr. l. 1. c. 8.*

The *Arians* in vain complain'd, that theſe words were not to be found in Scripture: They were told, That thoſe they were wont to uſe, were not there neither, being wholly new; whereas it was near ſix-ſcore Years ſince, that ſeveral Biſhops had uſed the word *Conſubſtantial*.

The Fathers of the Council, during this Time, were not ſo buſied in vanquiſhing the *Arians*, and in making ſeveral Regulations, which I ſhall here omit, but that they remembred their private Grudges. 'Several Church-men (ſays * *Sozomen*) as if * *L. 1. c. 17.*
'they had been aſſembled to proſecute their 'particular Affairs, as it commonly hap-'pens, thought this a fit time to get thoſe 'puniſh'd who had offended them. Each 'of 'em preſented Requeſts to the Emperor, 'wherein they accuſed one or other, and 'ſignified the Wrong they had done them. 'This happening every Day, the Emperor 'ſet one a-part, in which they were every 'one of 'em to bring his Grievance. The 'Day being come, the Emperor took all 'their Requeſts, and cauſed them to be 'thrown into the Fire, and exhorted them 'to a mutual Forgiveneſs, according to the 'Precepts of the Goſpel. He afterwards

'enjoyn'd them to labour in clearing up 'the Points of Faith, of which they were 'to be Judges; and a fix'd Day, wherein 'the Queſtion of the Conſtubſtantiality 'ſhould be decided.

* *Euſeb. Vit. Conſt. l. 3. c. 10.*

The Day appointed * being come, *Conſtantine* convocated all the Biſhops into an Hall of the Palace, where he had caus'd Chairs to be ſet on both ſides. The Biſhops entred firſt, and the Emperor came in afterwards, and did not ſit down at the Head of the Aſſembly on a Gilded Seat which he cauſed to be there placed, till the Biſhops, by Signs had given him leave. Being ſet down, *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea*, who was at his Right-hand, harrangu'd him, and thank'd him for the care he had taken to preſerve the Purity of the Catholick Faith. *Conſtantine* afterwards began to ſpeak, and made a Diſcourſe in Latin, wherein he repreſented, That he had no greater Affliction, than the Diviſions he obſerv'd among Chriſtians; exhorting the Biſhops very earneſtly to Peace. An Interpreter afterwards turn'd the Speech into Greek, for the Eaſtern Biſhops underſtood not Latin.

Although it ſeems that Buſineſs was prepared in particular Aſſemblies before-hand, yet there aroſe at firſt a great Controverſie; And *Conſtantine* had the patience to hear long Conteſts,

Conteſts, wherein he exerciſed the Office of Moderator, in endeavouring to accord thoſe whoſe Sentiments or Expreſſions appear'd remote, in upholding the Arguments which ſeem'd to him weak, and in giving Praiſes to ſuch who ſeem'd to ſpeak well. *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea* long held out againſt the Uſe which they * would make of the word *Conſubſtantial.* He offer'd another Confeſſion of Faith, wherein it was omitted, and wherein he call'd the Son barely, *God* born *of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, Only Son, Firſt-born of all Creatures, Begotten of his Father before all Worlds.* The Emperor appov'd this Confeſſion of Faith, and exhorted the Fathers of the Synod to follow it, in adding thereto only the word *Conſubſtantial.*

* *Socrat. l. 1. c. 8. & Theod. l. 1. c. 12.*

Afterwards the *Confeſſion* was read, which had been drawn up with this Word, the Terms of which have been already recited. *Anathema's* were join'd thereto, againſt thoſe who ſhould uſe, on this Occaſion, other Terms than thoſe of the Holy Scripture; which muſt be underſtood, with an Exception of thoſe which the Council thought fit to Conſecrate.

This Propoſition was particularly condemn'd, *That the Son exiſted not before he was begotten.* *Euſebius* and others requeſted, That the Terms of the Symbol, and

and Anathema's might be explained. 1. It was ſaid, That the word *Begotten*, and not *Made*, was uſed; becauſe this laſt word expreſſes the Production of Creatures, to which the Son has no likeneſs, being of a Subſtance far more excellent than they, begotten by the Father in an incomprehenſible manner. 2. As for the word *Conſubſtantial*, it is proper to the Son, not in the ſence wherein it is taken, when we ſpeak of Bodies, or Mortal Animals, the Son being Conſubſtantial with the Father, neither by a Diviſion of the Divine Subſtance, of which he poſſeſſes a part, nor by any change of this ſame Subſtance. The meaning of which is only this, That the Son has no Reſemblance with the Creatures which he has made; but, that he is in all things like to his Father, by whom he has been begotten; or, That he is not of another Hypoſtaſis, or Subſtance, but of that of the Father. 3. Thoſe were condemn'd, who ſaid, That the Son was not before he was born, ſeeing that he exiſted before his Corporal Birth, and even before his Divine Generation, according to *Conſtantine*'s Argument: ' * For ' before (*ſaid he*) that he was actually Be- ' gotten, he was in Power in his Father, ' in a manner Unbegotten, the Father ha- ' ving been always Father, as he is al- ' ways King and Saviour, and all things ' in

* Theſe words of *Euſebius*'s Letter are not to be found but in *Theodorit*, *Socrates* having retrenched them.

' in Power, being eternally in the ſame ' Condition.

It will perhaps ſeem, that this is pure *Arianiſm*, and that this is to deny the Eternity of the Son. But we muſt obſerve, that in the ſtyle of that time, to Exiſt before the World, and to be Eternal, is the ſame thing; ſeeing, that to prove his Eternity, this Paſſage is cited, * *In the Beginning was the Word:* And it ſufficed to ſhew, that he was Begotten before there was any Time. So that we muſt not reject theſe words as Suppoſititious, meerly for this reaſon: And it is ſo ordinary to find hard Expreſſions, in thoſe who attempt to explain, in any ſort, this incomprehenſible Myſtery, that if one might hence judge of them, one would be apt to declare them all Hereticks; which is to ſay, to anathemamize the greateſt part of the Ancients.

* Vid. *Ep. Alexandri Ep. Al. ſupra laudatam.*

Beſides this, † St. *Athanaſius*, who openly treats *Euſebius* as an *Arian*, makes alluſion to one part of this Paſſage, and draws thence a Conſequence which *Euſebius*, without doubt, would not have owned, which is, That the *Arians* believed that the Divinity of Jeſus Chriſt did not exiſt before his Corporal Birth.

* *De Decret. Nicæn. Tom.* 1. *pag.* 251.

After theſe Explications *Euſebius* ſubſcribed, as he himſelf teſtifies in the Letter above recited, || although he had refuſed it

|| *Athanaſ. ibid.*

the

the day before. The long and formal Oppoſition which he had made againſt the word *Conſubſtantial*, cauſed it to be ſuſpected that there was want of Sincerity in this Subſcription. In fine, *Arius* and his Party were anathematized, and all their Books condemned, and particularly a Poem which *Arius* had entituled *Thalia*.

Moſt of the *Arian* Biſhops ſubſcribed, after *Euſebius* his Example, to this *Confeſſion of Faith*, and the *Anathema's*, after the Explication above-mentioned. Yet there were ſome of 'em who refuſed at firſt to ſign, * the principal of which were *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*, *Theognis* of *Nice*, *Maris* of *Calcedon*, *Theonas* of *Marmarica*, and *Secondus* of *Ptolemais*. They were immediately Excommunicated by the Council, and were to be ſent afterwards, as well as *Arius*, into Exile, by *Conſtantine*. The Council wrote a Circular Letter † to the Churches of *Egypt*, denoting to 'em in what ſort they had carried themſelves in the buſineſs of *Arius*, and what had been ordered touching *Melece* the Schiſmatical Biſhop, and the Obſervation of *Eaſter*.

* *Socr. l.* 1. *c.* 1.

† Ib. *Socr. l.* 1. *c.* 9.

Conſtantine wrote alſo to the Church of *Alexandria*, to aſſure it, that after a full and mature Examination, *Arius* had been condemned by the common Conſent. He greatly vaunted of the Moderation and Learning of the Biſhops,

ſhops, making no mention of their Quarrels, according to the Cuſtom obſerved in Publick Acts, and ſuch like Occaſions, where every thing is ſuppreſt which may give an ill Opinion of the Decrees of theſe kinds of Aſſemblies.

In another Letter directed to the Biſhops and Churches, he enjoins the Name of *Porphyrus* to be given to *Arius*, and his Followers to be called *Porphyrians*. This *Porphyry* was a famous *Platoniſt*, who had written againſt the Chriſtian Religion, and whoſe Books *Conſtantine* had caus'd to be burnt. *Lucas Holſtenius* has written his Life, which is to be found at the end of the Book *Of the Abſtinence of Animals*.

Conſtantine deſign'd to declare hereby *Arius* an Enemy to the Chriſtian Religion, and not in any manner reproach him with being a Platoniſt, touching the Trinity; ſeeing *Conſtantine* did not diſapprove, as we have ſeen, the Sentiments of *Plato*.

It's true, the *Arians* have been upbraided with their too great application to the reading of this Philoſopher, and other Heathen Authors: *Revera de Platonis & Ariſtophanis* (ſays * St. *Jerom*) *in epiſcopatum allegantur: Quotus enim quiſque eſt qui non apprime in his eruditus ſit? Accedit ad hoc quod Ariana hæreſis magis cum ſapientia ſeculi facit, & argumentationum rivos de Ariſtotelis*

* *Adverſ. Lucif. T.* 2. *p.* 142. *Ed. Gryph.*

telis fontibus mutuatur. Thus the Orthodox and Hereticks equally approved the Sentiments of *Plato*, each of them apparently explaining them according to his Hypotheſis.

Conſtantine further ordered, in the ſame Letter, to burn all *Arius*'s Books; 'to the 'end, that not only his pernicious Doctrine 'be deſtroyed, but that there remain no 'monument of it to Poſterity. — He likewiſe declared, 'That if any one concealed 'any of his Books, and did not bring them 'to be burnt, he ſhould be put to death 'after it had been proved upon him. — There is moreover another Letter of this Emperor, wherein he enjoins all Churches to celebrate *Eaſter*, according to the Canons of the Council.

Euſebius and *Theognis* either actually believing that the Creed of the Council might admit an *Arian* ſence, * or affrighted by the Emperor's Severity, offer'd to ſign the Creed, but refuſed to anathematize *Arius*, affirming that Opinions were attributed to him which he had not. *Euſebius* ſo ordered, by the means of his Friends, about the Emperor, † that what he deſired was granted him, which is to ſay, that they were contented with his ſubſcription to the Creed. *Theognis* and *Maris* did as much; and the Letter of the Council to the Churches

* *Socrat. l.1. c.14.*

† *Ex. Epiſt. Conſt. ad Nicomed. ap. Theod. l. 1. c.20.*

Churches of *Egypt* mentions only *Theonas* and *Secundus* who had abſolutely ſtood out. *Philoſtorgus* likewiſe acknowledges * that all the *Arian* Biſhops ſubſcribed except two; and reproaches the reſt with their inſincerity in that they had explain'd after the *Arian* faſhion the Terms of the Council, by the Advice of *Conſtantia* the Emperor's Siſter. He adds, That *Secundus* ſetting out to go into Exile, ſaid to *Euſebius*; *You have ſubſcribed* Euſebius, *that you might not be baniſht; but for my part, I believe what God has revealed to me, which is, that you ſhall be carried into* Exile, *before the year comes about.*

* *L.1. c.8, & 9.*

Arius, if we believe the Orthodox, had not the Courage to reſolve on Baniſhment with *Secundus* and *Theonas*: He pretended a deſire to be better inſtructed, and ſought an occaſion of conferring with *Athanaſius* Deacon of *Alexandria*, † whoſe Acts are ſtill extant. If this Relation be true, one may conjecture, that *Arius* deſignedly defended himſelf but ill, the better to yield to his Adverſaries Reaſons, as he did, to obtain his Grace. He acknowledges, at the end of this Conference, the Equality and Conſubſtantiality of the Son with the Father; after which, he ſhews himſelf entirely reclaim'd from his Error. The Fathers of the Council receiv'd him, as a Penitent, without ſetling him in his Employ; and the Emperor only forbad

† *Athanaſ. T.1. p.111.*

forbad him to go to *Alexandria*. *Euzoius* and *Achillas*, Colleagues of *Arius*, were alſo pardoned; and * St. *Jerom* adds to them eight Biſhops, of which he names but three, and one Prieſt, *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*, *Theognis* of *Nice*, *Saras* Prieſt of *Lybia*, and *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*. It appears from the ſequel of the Dialogue, that the *Arians* denied that the Biſhops of their Party were reconciled at *Nice*; but St. *Jerom* grounds himſelf on the Acts and Subſcriptions of this Council, which yet he had not then at hand, excuſing himſelf from naming the four other reconciled Biſhops by a Rhetorical Figure, *& reliqui, quos enumerare longum eſt*. There needed not ſo much time for to ſet down four Names, but without doubt he did not remember them.

* *In Lucif.* N45. T.2.

The firſt who ſign'd the Council among the Orthodox, was *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Cordova*; afterwards, *Vitonius* and *Vincent*, Roman Prieſts, ſent by *Sylveſter*; after them, the Biſhops of *Alexandria*, *Antioch* and *Jeruſalem*; and, in fine, the other Biſhops. Thoſe who favour the Pretenſions of the Church of *Rome*, ſay that *Hoſius* ſign'd in Quality of Legate from the Biſhop of that City, but the moſt ancient Hiſtorians have not a word of it.

The Council ending the 25th. of *Auguſt*, *Conſtantine* took his farewel of them, in a very

very fine Harangue, * wherein he exhorted the Fathers to thoughts of Peace, and to a mutual Forbearance; but which was of little effect, as will appear by the ſequel.

* *Euſeb. in Vit. ejus*, c. 21.

Thus ended this famous Council, the Circumſtances of which would be better known to us, if the fear of offending great Perſons, the Zeal of ſome, the Paſſion of others, and the Reſpect which Poſterity has had for the Deciſions of ſo famous an Aſſembly, had not hinder'd contemporary Authors from writing the Hiſtory with the Exactneſs and Impartiality remarkable in good Hiſtorians; and retain'd thoſe who have liv'd ſince, from ſaying what they knew (perhaps) that was diſadvantagious. St. *Athanaſius*, in a little Treatiſe already cited, and where he ſeems at firſt to be willing to enter on this Hiſtory, tranſported by the Zeal of which he was full, falls on Controverſie and Invectives, when one might expect him ready to relate Circumſtances. *Sozomen* ſays, *That he did not dare to relate the Creed of* Nice; † *becauſe ſome of his pious and learned Friends in this Matter, adviſed him to ſuppreſs the things which the Initiates and the Prieſts alone ſhould underſtand, and that according to their Council, he had conceal'd what was to be kept ſilent.*

† *L.1. c.20.*

A while after, the * Emperor being to celebrate the Feast of his *Vicennales*, which is to say, of the Twentieth Year of his Empire, invited the Bishops to *Byzantia*, which he thought of re-establishing, in giving it the new Name of *Constantinople*, where he magnificently treated them, and made each of 'em a-part a Present; after which, they return'd to their Bishopricks. It seems, that it was about this time, that he wrote very obliging Letters to † *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, in giving him order to procure him fifty Copies, fairly written, of the Holy Scripture.

* *Sozom. l.* 1. *c.* 25.

† *Socrat. l.* 1. *c.* 9.

As to *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, and *Theognis* his Friend, they were no sooner return'd into their Bishopricks, but they began again to preach *Arianism* publickly, * and receiv'd into their Communion some Persons of *Alexandria*, who had been thence expelled for this Opinion.

* *Ex. Epi. Consl. ad Nicom. l.*

Constantine advertised of this, sent them into Exile, three Months after the Council, and establish'd at *Nicomedia* one *Amphion* for Bishop, and *Chrestus* at *Nice*. Thus was *Secundus*'s Prediction accomplish'd, and Insincerity punished.

Two Months after, *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria* died, which occasioned great Disturbances in that City. The † Orthodox say, that *Athanasius* Deacon of this Church,

† *Sozom.* II. 17. *Philost.* III. 11.

Church, whom *Alexander* had brought along with him to *Nice*, by reason of his Knowledge, had been denoted several times by this Bishop for his Successor, but that he had hid himself a little before his death, for fear of being Elected, and that having been found, he was chosen by a Plurality of Voices.

The Heterodox affirm, on the contrary, that the *Meletians* being re-united to the Catholicks, after the death of *Alexander*, fifty four Bishops of *Egypt* took an Oath to elect by common Consent his Successor, but that seven among them broke their Oaths, and chose *Athanasius*, without the Participation of the rest. Some even assure, that the Voices were divided, and the Election not being made quick enough, *Athanasius* shut himself up with two Bishops into St. *Denys*'s Church, and caused himself to be Consecrated, maugre the other Bishops, who made the Church-doors be broken open, but too late, the Ceremony being over. Hereupon they Excommunicated him; but having strengthned his Party, he wrote in the Name of the City to the Emperor, to give him Notice of his Election; which was approv'd by this Prince, who believ'd these Letters came effectually from the Magistracy of *Alexandria*. There may have been Passion on the side of the Hetero-

dox; but heating our ſelves as we do, for the Truth, as well as for Error, and upholding ſometimes the right ſide by indirect ways, it would not be ſafe to reject whatever the Heterodox ſay, or blindly receive whatever the Orthodox relate.

It ſeems, about this time, *Conſtantine* made his Conſtitution * againſt the Meeting of all Hereticks, wherein he forbids them to aſſemble either in publick or private, gives their Chappels to Catholicks, and confiſcates the Houſes wherein they are found to meet, performing their Devotions. *Euſebius* adds, That the Emperor's Edict moreover contain'd, that all Heretical Books ſhould be ſeiz'd on; and that *Conſtantine*'s Threatnings oblig'd a great number of Hereticks and Schiſmaticks to range themſelves on the ſide of the Orthodox Church. But ſome doing it ſincerely, and others by force, the Biſhops applied themſelves carefully to diſtinguiſh them, and receiv'd only into the Church thoſe who were real Converts. The *Arians* had been ruin'd by particular Edicts, ſo that all Hereſies ſeem'd to be aboliſh'd in the *Roman* Empire.

* *Euſeb. in ejus Vit. l. 3. c. 64.*

But *Conſtantine*, who had at firſt ſlighted the Subject of the Diſpute between *Arius* and *Alexander*, as conſiſting only of different Expreſſions, and who afterwards had conſidered it as a Point of the greateſt importance,

portance, return'd again to a good Opinion of *Arius*; whether he acted according to his preſent Intereſts, or that he ſuffer'd himſelf to be led by thoſe who were moſt about him; or that, in fine, he really changed his Opinion. * *Conſtantia*, Siſter of *Conſtantine*, and Widow of *Lucinus*, had among her Domeſticks, a Prieſt, a Friend to *Arius*, who held the ſame Opinions as he did, and who perſuaded this Princeſs that *Arius* held not thoſe Opinions he was charged with, in the manner as they were uſually expreſs'd; that *Alexander* had accuſed him through Envy, becauſe he was eſteem'd by the People; and that the Council had done him wrong. *Conſtantia*, who much confided in this Prieſt, eaſily believed him, but dared not ſpeak her Mind to the Emperor; and being faln dangerouſly ſick, all that ſhe could do before ſhe died, was to recommend this Prieſt to her Brother, as a Man highly Vertuous, and much devoted to the Service of her Family. A while after ſhe died, and this Prieſt having gotten the Favour of *Conſtantine*, held to him the ſame Diſcourſe, telling him, That if he pleas'd to admit *Arius* to come before him, and to explain his Opinion, he would find, that at bottom, his Doctrine was the ſame as that of the Council which condemn'd him.

* *Socrat. l. 1. c. 25. ex Ruffino.*

Constantine, surpriz'd at the oddness of this Discourse, answered, That if *Arius* would sign the *Nicene Creed*, he would let him come into his Presence, and would send him honourably to *Alexandria*.

This Priest having assured him of it, *Constantine* sent Word to *Arius* to come to Court; and *Arius* not daring at first to do it, the Emperor wrote a Note to him, in which he ordered him to come immediately at his Charge. *Arius* obeyed this reiterated Order; and being come to *Constantinople* with *Euzoius*, they presented to the Emperor a Confession of their Faith, wherein they barely said, *They believ'd that the Son was begotten of the Father before all Ages; and that the Reason, who is God, had made all things, as well in Heaven as in Earth.*

If *Constantine* was fully satisfied with this Declaration, either he had chang'd his Mind, or given small Attention to it, or little comprehended the Sence of the *Nicene* Creed. However it was, it appears by the sequel, that the *Arian* Bishops came by degrees into Favour, and that the Emperor treated *Arius* with great Kindness, and permitted him to return to *Alexandria*.

It's not punctually known when *Arius* was recall'd; but it's certain he had been already, when *Eusebius* and *Theognis* were, which

which happen'd three years after the Council of *Nice*, in the Year 328, according to the Relation of * *Philostorgus*; these two Bishops wrote from the Place of their Banishment a Letter, wherein they complain, † 'That they had been condemn'd without 'being heard, although their Conduct had 'been approved of in the Council of *Nice*, 'where having well examin'd the word '*Consubstantial*, they had in fine approved 'of it. —— They added, They had only 'refused to Anathematize *Arius*, because 'they knew he was not such a one as he 'was described; and seeing this was ac-'knowledged by his being recalled, it could 'not be just, that they who suffer'd only on 'his account, should remain in Exile after 'his Revocation. —— This Letter was directed to the principal Bishops, whom *Eusebius* and *Theognis* entreated to interceed for them with the Emperor.

* L. 3. c. 18.

† Socrat. l. 1. c. 14.

In speaking of the Repeal of *Arius*, they directly attribute it to these Bishops; *Your Piety* (say they) *has thought fit treat him gently, and to recall him.*

A learned Man || observes in this place, that *Eusebius* and *Theognis* attribute to the Bishops what the Emperor had done, seeing it was he that had recall'd *Arius*; and that the Ecclesiastical Historians attribute likewise sometimes to the Emperor the Actions

|| Valesius ad locum.

of the Bishops; as when *Socrates* says that the Council of *Nice* forbad *Arius's* return to *Alexander*, whereas it was the Emperor. But in truth, the Emperor did then few things of his own pure motion, being only the Church-mens Tool; which falls out but too often, even among the greatest Princes.

The Letter of *Eusebius* and *Theognis* produced the effect which they hoped from it. They were recall'd, with *Theonas* and *Secondus*, who would sign nothing. The two first being return'd to their Bishopricks, drove out thence those who had gotten into their Sees, when they were sent to their Places of Banishment. They are charg'd with having immediately after sought out ways to make *Athanasius* undergo the same Punishment which they came from suffering, by getting it told the Emperor, that he had been elected in a manner little Canonical, and with endeavouring to induce the same *Athanasius*, both by Prayers and Threatnings, to permit *Arius* to return to *Alexandria*. However, they could not then accomplish their purpose; and we shall see in the sequel, the Bickerings which they had with this Bishop.

Since the Council of *Nice* had been dismist, and that they had been banisht, this Usage, and the Decisions of *Nice*, had but

but only outwardly allay'd the Disputes, which lasted still when they were recalled. *Eusebius* assures us, that the Bishops of *Egypt* had been ever since over head and ears in Quarrels. And * *Socrates* says, * L.1.c.23. that he found, from the Letters of the Bishops of those times, that some were scandaliz'd at the word *Consubstantial*; 'Examining (says he) this term with too great 'application; they fell foul on one another, 'and their Quarrels did not ill resemble a 'Combat in the dark. It appears, they 'bespattered one another with Calumnies, 'without knowing wherefore. Those who 'rejected the word *Consubstantial*, thought 'the others hereby introduced the Opinions 'of *Sabellius* and *Montanus*, and treated them 'as impious, as denying the Existence '(ὑπαρξιν) of the Son of God. On the 'contrary, those who stuck to the word '*Consubstantial*, imagining the others would 'introduce a Plurality of Gods, had as great 'an aversion for it, as if they would have 're-establish'd Paganism. *Eustathius* Bishop 'of *Antioch* accused *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæ*'*sarea* of corrupting the *Nicene* Faith. *Eu*'*sebius denied it*, and charged, on the other 'side, *Eustathius* with *Sabellianism*. Thus 'the Bishops wrote one against another. 'They all accorded in saying the Son has a 'particular Existence, and that there is only

'one

'one God in three Hypoſtaſes; yet they 'could not agree, nor remain quiet.

This is the effect of equivocal Terms, which were introduced into Chriſtianity, without well defining them; and the bad cuſtom of moſt of the Antients, who never ſpeak calmly of theſe Matters; who have thought of nothing leſs than the expreſſing themſelves clearly, and who ſeem to prove they ſpake ſincerely, when they teſtified to believe, that the Myſtery about which they diſputed was Incomprehenſible, by expreſſing themſelves thereon in an unintelligible manner.

* *Socrat. l.* 1. *c.* 24. *Theod. l.* 1. *c.* 21. *Sozom. l.* 1. *c.* 19.

Euſtathius Biſhop of *Antioch* * accuſing of Arianiſm *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea*, *Paulinus* of *Tyre*, and *Patrophilus* of *Scythopolis*; and theſe Biſhops accuſing him in their turns of *Sabellianiſm*; to know who had Reaſon on their ſide, a Synod was aſſembled at *Antioch*, in the Year 329, the Concluſions of which were diſadvantageous to *Euſtathius*. It conſiſted of Biſhops who had ſign'd the *Nicene* Creed only by force, among whom were the two *Euſebius*'s, *Theognis* of *Nice*, *Theodotus* of *Laodicea* in *Syria*, *Narciſſus* of *Neroniada*, *Aetius* of *Lydda*, *Alphæus* of *Apamea*, and *Theodorus* of *Sidon*.

As ſoon as ever they arrived at *Antioch*, a Woman of ill Fame preſented her ſelf to 'em

'em with a little Child, which ſhe ſaid to have had by *Euſtathius*, and deſired them to do her Right againſt him, as refuſing to receive his Child. *Euſtathius* made great Proteſtations of his Innocency; but this Woman having been believed upon her Oath, he was Depoſed. * Some Authors affirmed, that the *Arian* Biſhops had ſuborn'd her, to have an occaſion for the Depoſing of *Euſtathius*; and that the true cauſe of his Depoſal, was his adherence to the *Nicene Creed*. Others ſay, it was the pretended *Sabellianiſm* of which he was accuſed; and ſome have contented themſelves with ſaying, there were other Accuſations for which he had been depoſed. Whereupon † *Socrates* makes this remarkable Reflexion; *The Biſhops are wont to deal thus with all thoſe whom they Depoſe; accuſing and declaring them Impious, without ſhewing wherein.*

* *Theod. & Sozom.*

* *Loco cit.*

A Biſhop was afterwards to be ſubſtituted in *Euſtathius*'s Place, and the *Arian* Biſhops caſt their eyes on *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea*. But there aroſe a violent Sedition hereupon; ſome willing to retain *Euſtathius*, and others accepting *Euſebius*. They had come to Fiſticuffs, had not the Emperor taken care, by ſending one of his Officers, who appeaſed the People, and made them underſtand how *Euſtathius* deſerv'd to be ſent into

into Exile, and in effect he was sent into *Thrace*.

However, *Eusebius* did a thing which made him receive very honourable Letters from the Emperor, which he has inserted in the Life of this Prince, which is, that according to the Canons, he refused to pass from one Church to another. *Constantine* heap'd up Praises on him, by reason of this refusal, and wrote to the Council, and the Church of *Antioch*, to let him remain where he was. So that instead of *Eusebius*, there was elected *Euphronius* Priest of *Cappadocia*, whom the Emperor had named with *George* of *Arethusa*, to the end the Council might chuse which they pleased.

* *Soc.* 1. 27, *& seq. Soz.* 2. 27, *& seq. Theod.* 1. 26, *& seq.* * Having deposed *Eustathius*, the *Arian* Bishops laboured co procure the return of *Arius* to *Alexandria*; where *Athanasius* would not permit him to enter, as has been already said. They engaged the Emperor to write to this Bishop; but *Athanasius* still defended himself, in that he could not receive into the Church those who had forsook the Faith, and been excommunicated; so that *Constantine* wrote to him an angry Letter, that he should receive into the Church those he ordered him, under pain of Banishment.

The Obstinacy of this Bishop, who would part with none of the Advantages which

which the Council of *Nice* had granted to his Predecessor against the *Meletians*, had also drawn on him the Enmity of these Schismaticks. The Council had ordained that *Melece* should only retain the Name of Bishop, without Exercising the Function of his Office, and without ordaining any Successor; and that those whom he had Ordained, should have no part in Elections. However, *Melece*, at his death, had ordained one *John* for his Successor, and the *Meletian* Priests would have the same Privileges as others. *Athanasius* could not consent to any thing of this, and equally ill treated the *Meletians* and *Arians*.

This Conduct re-united the two Parties, who had been till that time opposite. The *Meletians* were of the *Nicene* Opinion; but by conversing with the *Arians*, they soon entred into their Sentiments, and join'd together, to induce *Constantine* to accept of several Accusations against *Athanasius*; as having imposed a kind of Tribute on *Egypt*, in ordering it to furnish the Church of *Alexandria* with a certain number of Linnen Garments; in having supplied a certain seditious Person with Money, named *Philumenus*; in having caused a Chalice to be broken, overthrown the Table of a Church, and burnt the Holy Books; for having misused several Priests, and committed divers Violences;

Violences; in having cut off the Arm of a *Meletian* Bishop, named *Arsenius*, and keeping it to use in Magical Opperations.

Constantine acknowledged the Innocency of *Athanasius*, in regard of the two first Accusations; and for the rest, he referr'd it to an Assembly of divers Bishops which was at *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*; where *Athanasius* not appearing, he was cited to a Synod at *Tyre*, in the Year 334, and which consisted of Bishops of *Egypt*, *Lybia*, *Asia*, and *Europe*.

Athanasius was in suspence, whether he should present himself to this Synod, which consisted of his principal Enemies: Yet *Constantine* having threatned him with Banishment if he refused, he therefore appeared, and justified himself of the Accusation touching the Arm of *Arsinius*, by bringing in this Person into the midst of them, and deriding his Accusers. It's said moreover, that a Woman being introduced into the Assembly, accused him for having dishonoured her, after she had entertain'd him in her House, although he knew she had made a Vow of Virginity. But it appeared, that she did not so much as know *Athanasius*, seeing she took one *Timotheus* a Priest for him, who pretended to be the Bishop of *Alexandria*.

The business of the broken Chalice, and the misusing the Priests, was a little more difficult.

difficult. *Athanasius* began by an Appeal from *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, and the rest of the Bishops of his Party. He afterwards said, That he whose Chalice was pretended to have been broken, and whose Name was *Ischyras*, was not a Priest. However, without any regard to these Reasons, there were sent some *Arian* Bishops, to take Informations against him at *Alexandria*, with *Ischyras* his Accuser; but he protested highly against this Proceeding, and went to *Jerusalem*, where the Emperor was.

In the mean time, the Informations from *Egypt* were received, and *Athanasius* being loaded with them, he was deposed in his absence, and forbid to go to *Alexandria*. *Arsenius* having been admitted into Communion by the Council, and made Bishop of *Hypsyle*, a Town of *Egypt*, subscribed to the Deposition of *Athanasius*, although he had justified him, in reference to one of the Accusations brought against him. The Sentence of the Council bore, That he had slighted the Emperor's Orders, and made the Assembly wait for him in an indecent manner; That he came to *Tyre* with a great multitude of People, and endeavoured to make a Disturbance there; That he had for some time refused to purge himself of the Crimes laid to his Charge, and uttered Injuries to divers Bishops; That he would not

not submit to their Judgment; That he was convicted of breaking a Chalice, by the Informations made against him at *Alexandria*.

Thus was *Athanasius* condemned by his Enemies, who were his Judges, as *Arius* had been anathematiz'd by *Alexander* his Predecessor, and several other Bishops, who had declared themselves against him, before the Convocation of the Council. The same usage has been observed in all the Assemblies of Bishops which have met since; the Clergy having this Advantage above the Laity, that they can be both Judges and Parties.

After the Deposal of *Athanasius*, the Emperor wrote to the Fathers of the Council, to repair as soon as possible to *Jerusalem*, to celebrate the Dedication of the Church of the Apostles, which was now finished. Where being arriv'd, they were magnificently receiv'd, and made several Orations, for the greater Solemnity of the Festival, which happened to be very luckily, in the same Year in which the *Tricennales* of the Emperor * were to be celebrated, which is to say, the 30th. Year of his Reign. † *Eusebius* particularly made several Harrangues before the Emperor, who took a great deal of pleasure in hearing them, insomuch that he would hear standing a long Oration which

* In the Year 335.

† *In Vit. Const. l. 4. 46, & 33.*

this

this Bishop made on the holy Sepulchre. *Eusebius* well remembers this Honour the Emperor did him, and the Praises he gave to his Oration touching *Easter*, and carefully inserts, in the Life of *Constantine*, all the Letters he had received from the Emperor; perhaps, not out of Acknowledgment, but rather to do himself Honour, * as he has been reproach'd with it.

* *Baronius ad hæc Tempora.*

The Bishops assembled at *Jerusalem*, † having ended the Dedication of the Church which *Constantine* had newly built, and there received into Communion *Arius* and *Euzoius*, on the Emperor's Recommendation. *Eusebius* and *Theognis* say, that *Arius* had been *kindly* received by the Bishops; but in no sort, that he was received into Communion: Which was, perhaps, for some years refused him, to try his Sincerity. Afterwards they wrote to the Church of *Alexandria*, that she might receive them; and be assured, she would enjoy henceforward a full Tranquility, Envy having been driven out thence, by the deposal of *Athanasius*. || In the mean time, this Bishop had gotten to *Constantinople*, to complain to the Emperor of what he had suffered; but he could obtain no Audience from him; all that he could be heard to say, was, That he entreated the Emperor to cite to *Constantinople* the Bishops

† *Socrat. l. 1. c. 33.*

|| *Sozom. l. II. 28.*

which were at *Jeruſalem*, to have another Examination of his Affair.

Conſtantine wrote to *Jeruſalem*, and complains in his Letter, that in a time wherein the *Barbarians* began to acknowledge the True God; 'The Chriſtians, who would 'be thought to have the Myſteries of God 'in their keeping, (for he durſt not ſay that 'that they kept them,) laboured only to 'entertain Diviſions and Hatred among 'them, not to ſay, for the Deſtruction of 'Mankind. —— And therefore he deſired that the Biſhops aſſembled at *Jeruſalem*, would meet at *Conſtantinople*, to examine once for all, the Affair of *Athanaſius*, and put ſome end to it. This Letter being to *Jeruſalem*, ſome of the Biſhops return'd to their Dioceſſes, and others to *Conſtantinople*. Theſe laſt perſuaded (according to *Sozom. id. ſome * Authors) the Emperor, that *Athanaſius* had effectually broken a Chalice; † *Socrat. l. 1. c. 35.* or (according to † others) that he had threatned to ſtop the Convoy of Proviſions which went every year from *Alexandria* to *Conſtantinople*, of which three Biſhops were Witneſſes. The Emperor, provoked by theſe Accuſations, order'd him to retire to *Triers*, a Town of the *Belgick Gaul*, where he remain'd about two years.

The Biſhops who were met at *Conſtan-* || Id. c. 36. *tinople*, || depoſed, after this, *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*,

Ancyra, as being faln into the Opinion of *Paul* of *Samoſatia*. One *Aſterius*, who had taught Rhetorick in *Cappadocia*, having embraced the Chriſtian Religion, had wrote ſome Books, wherein he ſpake of the Divinity of the Son, in the ſame terms as *Arius*. *Marcellus* undertook to refute them; but far from eſtabliſhing the Pre-exiſtence of the Son, he denied the Divinity of Jeſus Chriſt exiſted before his Birth; or at leaſt expreſt himſelf in ſuch a manner, that one might believe he regarded the Reaſon or the Word, not as a Being that has his particular Exiſtence, but as I know not what kind of Accident, ſuch as is the Word, or the Sound which is made in ſpeaking. He alſo very ill treated, * in the ſame Book, ſeveral *Arian* Biſhops, as the two *Euſebius's*, *Paulinus* and *Narciſſus*. He charged likewiſe *Origen*, for expounding the Holy Scripture according to the Notions of Heathen Philoſophers, and eſpecially according to thoſe of *Plato*; from whom *Marcellus* affirmed, he had taken his Doctrine of Principles, which is to ſay, of the Holy Trinity, of which he had treated after the Platonick faſhion. * *Euſeb. cont. Marcel. l. 1. c. 4.*

The *Arian* Biſhops, offended with this Book, had begun to examine it, when they were as yet at *Jeruſalem*; but having been obliged to paſs over to *Conſtantinople*, they

had only enjoined *Marcellus* to *alter his Opinion*, according to the Style of that time. He promis'd to burn his Book; but having not done it, and even refuſing to do it, his Affair was re-aſſumed at *Conſtantinople*, and he was depoſed.

Euſebius of *Cæſarea* wrote two Books expreſly againſt him, wherein he criticizes his Work; and three others, which he entituled, *Of Eccleſiaſtick Theology*, wherein he eſtabliſh'd the Opinions which he thought Orthodox touching the Divinity, and refuted thoſe of *Marcellus*, and divers other Hereticks.

* *Socrat. l.2. 20. & Sozom. l.2. c.29.*

Marcellus was afterwards * re-eſtabliſh'd in the Synod of *Sardica*, becauſe he affirmed his Expreſſions had been miſ-underſtood; and being an Enemy to the *Arians*, he inſinuated himſelf into the Friendſhip of *Athanaſius*, who perhaps was ſurpriz'd by the equivocal Expreſſions uſed by *Marcellus*. It's certain, that if we may judge of him by the Fragments which *Euſebius* cites, he ſcarcely knew what he would ſay himſelf; or elſe he conceal'd his Opinions under obſcure terms, leſt he ſhould fall into trouble.

† Id. l. 1. c.27, & ſeq.

After that *Athanaſius* had been ſent into Exile, † *Arius* had returned to *Alexandria*; but his Preſence being likely to cauſe a Diſorder, by reaſon of the great number of thoſe who followed the Sentiments of *Athanaſius*,

naſius, the Emperor recalled this Prieſt to *Conſtantinople*; and to aſſure himſelf entirely of his Belief, of which the Orthodox ſtill doubted, he offered him the *Nicene Creed* to ſign; which he did without ballancing, and moreover ſwore he was of that Opinion. A report ran, that he had hid under his Arm a Writing which contain'd his Opinion, and that he barely ſwore he believed what he had wrote; but there is no great certainty to be expected in what his Enemies ſay of him. Perhaps he thought, like *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea*, that one might give to the words of the Creed, a ſence which amounted to his Sentiment, although he wiſht they had made uſe of other terms. What the Fathers of *Nice* ſaid more than he, conſiſting in ſomething abſolutely incomprehenſible; perhaps moreover he counted that for nothing. However, *Alexander* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* refuſed to receive him into Communion, although the Emperor had ordered him to do it, and a great number of Biſhops and of the People urged him to it.

Beſides this, the *Arian* Biſhops were preparing to hold a Council, to examine afreſh the Queſtion agitated at *Nice*, and had mark't a day in which they were to meet to diſcourſe about it, and to conduct *Arius* into the Church, maugre *Alexander*.

In this Extremity knowing not how to maintain his Refusal, History tells us, that he shut himself up in a Church called *Peace*, and set himself very devoutfully to pray to God, not that he would convert *Arius*, or that he would discover to himself the Truth; but, 'That if the Opinion of '*Arius* was true, he himself might not see 'the day set apart to discourse of it: — Or, 'That if his own Belief were true, *Arius*, 'who was the cause of so great Mischiefs, 'might be punisht for his Infidelity. — A Prayer so little charitable, and whence might be seen that this Bishop was more concerned for his Reputation than the Truth, fail'd not of being heard, seeing that the next Morning, which was *Sunday*, or the same Day at Night, as *Arius* went to the Church, accompanied by those of his Party, or in some other Place, (for the Historians vary,) in passing by the Market of *Constantine*, he had so great occasion to go and ease himself, that he was forced to betake himself to the common Privies, where, instead of finding ease, he evacuated his Bowels, and thus died suddenly. Since that time, Passengers were commonly shewed these Places of Easement, and no body dared sit down on the same place where *Arius* sate. 'Tis said, that a rich *Arian*, to abolish the memory of it, bought after-

afterwards this Place of the Publick, and there built an House.

It's thus that *Rufinus*, *Socrates* and *Sozomen* relate the last Events of the Life of *Arius*. But St. *Athanasius* says, that having * having been recalled by the Sollicitations of those of his Party, he offered his Confession of Faith to the Emperor, and swore that he did not believe any thing. After which, those that protected him, would introduce him into the Church, at his going out of the Emperor's Palace, but that he died (as hath been said) without having been received into Communion. A † learned Man is of Opinion in this matter, 'That 'the *Arius* who was received into Commu-'nion at *Jerusalem*, was a Priest of the Party 'of the famous *Arius*; and not he himself, 'who had already died out of the Commu-'nion of the Church: — Because without this, it must be said that *Athanasius* has been mistaken. But were it granted him that this Bishop was mistaken, in speaking of a Man whom he every moment o'erwhelm'd with Injuries, it cannot be found strange, especially not having been at *Constantinople* then, when what he relates must have happened.

* *In Epist. ad Serapionem.*

† *Valesius.*

One may further say, that *Athanasius* has related, by way of abridgment, and little exactly, what he had heard say of *Arius*;

and that he regarded him as an excommunicated Person, having been only received by a Council whose Authority *Athanasius* would not acknowledge, it consisting principally of Persons whose Opinions had been anathematized at *Nice*. It is far more natural thus to interpret this Passage of *Athanasius*, than to reject wholly, as false, an History so circumstanc'd as that of the later years of the Life of *Arius*, in respect of certain Facts which the Historians we have already cited had no interest to alter.

Arius being dead, apparently of a sudden Death, which may have given occasion to the tragical manner in which the Historians mention it, the Disputes started on his occasion died not with him: * Those who were of *Athanasius*'s Party at *Alexandria*, besought of God his return, in the Publick Prayers, and ceased not to importune the Emperor to make him be recalled. *Constantine* was obliged to write to the People of that Town a Letter, wherein he upbraided them for their Lightness and Folly, and enjoyns the Ecclesiasticks to remain quiet; and wherein he declares he would not recall *Athanasius*, whom he treats as a Seditious Person, and one who had been condemned by a Council. He answers likewise to *Anthony* the Hermit; 'That he could not slight the Judgment of 'the

* *Sozom. l. 2. c. 31.*

'the Council of *Tyre*; because that supposing some among the Bishops were Passionate, yet it is not probable that so 'great a number of Wise and Learned Bishops should all of them act by Passion; 'and that *Athanasius* was an Insolent, Proud 'Troublesom Fellow.

Constantine wrote these Letters but a little time before his Death, which happen'd in the Year 337, the Circumstances of which may be seen in his Life, writ by *Eusebius*. Yet we must remember, that this is rather a Panegyrick, than an unintersest History; whence it is that he says nothing of the Death of his two Wives, and the Eldest Son of this Emperor, whom he had put to Death, through Jealousie or Revenge.

Eusebius lived not long after him; he died towards the Year 340, and left in his Place *Acacius* his Disciple, * who wrote his Master's Life, which we have not.

* *Socrat. l. 2. c. 4.*

I shall not relate what happened afterwards with respect to the *Arian* Disputes; because I only design'd to mention the Events which happened during the Life of *Eusebius*, or in which he was somewhat concerned. He was always of the *Arians* side, and St. *Athanasius* and St. *Jerom* have accused him of being of their Opinion. In effect, 'tis scarce credible, that if he had been

been Orthodox, he would have ſo much favoured *Arianiſm*, and given his Conſent to the Depoſal of St. *Athanaſius*. Yet
* Ib. c. 21. * *Socrates* hath undertaken to juſtifie him, by citing ſome Paſſages wherein he ſpeaks as the Orthodox did; and ſeveral modern Authors have done the ſame, as Dr. *Cave* in the Life of *Euſebius*, which he hath writ in Latin and Engliſh. This latter ſeems to have thought himſelf obliged to't through Chriſtian Charity; but others are of opinion, that Chriſtian Charity, that is, the Love we ought to have for all Chriſtians, ſhould oblige all Hiſtorians to mention ſuch Truths, as make no Alteration in the ſtate of thoſe that are Dead; and are very uſeful to the Living, who learn thereby to judge ſoundly of things. That pretended Charity, which extends it ſelf only to the Fathers who are look'd upon as Orthodox, hath been the cauſe why we have in a manner only *Panegyricks* of the Antients, wherein their Defects are always ſuppreſt, when they cannot be covered with the Mask of ſome Vertues.

Euſebius, as it appears by his Conduct at the Council of *Nice*, was a dextrous Perſon, which made no ſcruple to ſubſcribe to Terms which he did not like, provided he could expound them in a ſence agreeable to his mind, though little agreeable to that of thoſe

thoſe who ſet them up. Indeed, a Man muſt ſhut his Eyes, who doth not ſee, by what he ſays in his Letter to the Church of *Cæſarea*, that he underſtood otherwiſe the Terms of the *Creed*, than *Athanaſius* (for example) did. So that we ought not to mind the Terms which he uſes to accommodate himſelf to ſuch ways of ſpeaking as were authorized, and which he look'd upon as equivocal; but only ſuch places wherein he ſpeaks after a manner altogether oppoſite to the received Opinions. In his Books *De Theologia Eccleſiaſtica*, he explains himſelf with ſo great clearneſs in ſeveral places, that if ſome equivocal Paſſages may be oppoſed to them, there is ſcarce any Citation but what may be eluded. 'You are afraid (ſays he to *Marcellus*, Book. 3. chap. 7.) 'leſt by owning Two Hypoſtaſes, you 'ſhould introduce Two Principles, and de- 'ſtroy the Unity of God. Learn therefore, 'that there being but One God, without 'Generation and Beginning, who begot the 'Son; there is but One Principle, One only 'Monarchy, and One Reign, ſince the Son 'acknowledges the Reign of his Father. 'For God is the Head of Jeſus Chriſt, as 'the Apoſtle ſays. But you very much 'fear (ſay you) leſt thoſe who confeſs that 'the Father and Son have Two Hypoſtaſes, 'are obliged to acknowledge Two Prin- 'ciples.

'ciples. Learn therefore, that thoſe who 'maintain that there are Two Hypoſtaſes 'in God, are not obliged to acknowledge 'Two Fathers, nor Two *Sons*; but they 'will only grant, that one of them is Fa-'ther, and the other Son. So thoſe who 'admit of Two Hypoſtaſes, ought not ne-'ceſſarily to own that there are Two Gods. 'For we do not ſay that they are *Equal in* '*Honour* (Ἰσοτίμους) nor that Both have 'no Beginning, or are not Begotten; but 'that the one is without Generation and Be-'ginning, and the other is Begotten, and 'hath the Father for his Principle. Hence 'it is that the Son calls his Father his God, 'when he ſays, *I go to my God, and to your* '*God*, &c. wherefore the Church teaches 'only One, who is the God of the Son, &c. He goes on in the ſame ſtrain, and declares, that that paſſage and the like cannot be underſtood of the *Fleſh* or Humane Nature of Chriſt. Theſe Principles are very different from thoſe of St. *Athanaſius*, who ſays that there is but One God, though there is Three Perſons; * becauſe thoſe Three Perſons are altogether Equal, and there is but One Deity in Kind.

*In 1. Dial. de Trin. Tom. 2. p. 160. Vid. & Curcellæi Quaternion. Diſſ. 1.

This is one of the chief things which ought to be obſerved in reading the Writings of *Euſebius*: To which muſt be added, that he was a Diſciple of *Origen*, of whom

whom one may ſee ſeveral Opinions in the Life of *Clemens Alexandrinus*. It remains only to give a Catalogue of his Works, as I have done in the Life of *Clemens*. I ſhall make uſe of Dr. *Cave*'s *Chartophylax*, adding to it what I ſhall think fit.

1. *A Chronicle*, or an Univerſal Hiſtory: The Firſt Part whereof, which is now very imperfect, contains the Antiquities of almoſt all Nations, of the *Chaldæans*, *Aſſyrians*, *Medes*, *Perſians*, *Lydians*, *Hebrews*, *Egyptians*, &c. *Euſebius* took it from *Africanus*. The Second, entitled *A Chronological Canon*, is an Abridgment of the Firſt, and reduces all the Chronology into Decades, from *Abraham*, to the 25th. year of *Conſtantine*: Which makes one believe that that Work was finiſhed a little before the Council of *Nice*. St. *Jerom* tranſlated it into Latin, adding ſeveral things to it, eſpecially with reſpect to the *Roman* Hiſtory, in which *Euſebius* was not very well skill'd. The *Greek* Original is loſt; and *Joſeph Scaliger* endeavour'd to recover it as much as he could, by collecting all the Fragments he found in *Syncellus*, *Cedrenus*, and the *Chronicle of Alexandria*. He cauſed them to be printed at *Leyden*, in 1606, with his Notes; but they have been re-printed ſince at *Amſterdam*, in 1658, with more Notes.

2. *The*

2. *The Evangelical Preparation*, in Fifteen Books, which he publiſhed after the Council of *Nice*, ſince he cites his *Chronological Canons* in them. The Deſign of *Euſebius* in that Work, is, to confute the Religion of the *Pagans*, and to prove ſome Principles of ours by their Philoſophers, to diſpoſe 'em to embrace it more eaſily. He ſhews therefore, 1ſt. That the Chriſtians had very good Reaſons to renounce the Heathenish Religion, and gives ſome Abridgments of the Theology of the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians*, and of the Opinions of the *Græcians* concerning the Beginning of the World, whereby it appears that all of them acknowledged that the World is not Eternal. 2*dly*. That the *Græcians* borrowed their Divinity from the Eaſtern Nations, and that their Gods were only Dead Men, whoſe Graves were turned into Temples, and whoſe Fabulous Hiſtory was ſo ridiculous, that *Plato* laught at it. 3*dly*. That to defend their Fables, they have in vain explained them after an Allegorical manner, a Method whereof he ſhews the Vanity. 4*thly*. That the Pagan Oracles contain only the Anſwers and Cheats of Bad *Dæmons*. 5*thly*. That nothing was ſo falſe, as what the *Stoicks* ſaid concerning *Fate*. 6*thly*. That the Opinions and Cuſtoms of the ancient *Hebrews* were very agreeable to the Sentiments

ments of the moſt rational Pagan Philoſophers, eſpecially to thoſe of *Plato*. 7. That the Hiſtory of the *Hebrews* is confirmed by the Teſtimony of ſeveral Heathen Hiſtorians. 8*thly*. That the *Græcians* took their Philoſophy from the *Barbarians*, eſpecially from the *Jews*, to whom *Plato* and the Platonicks owe what they ſaid concerning their Three Principles, and ſeveral other Doctrines which the *Greeks* admired. 9*thly*. That the Philoſophers had an infinite number of different Opinions, which may eaſily be confuted the one by the other, as it appears by *Euſebius* his Eſſay towards it. One may ſee by this whole Work, that he was very well vers'd in Heathen Authors, and had taken care, in his Study, to collect whatever might be of uſe to prove or confirm the Chriſtian Religion by the Teſtimony of Philoſophers. It affords ſeveral Fragments of Authors who are loſt, as *Sanchoniathon*, and ſeveral Platonicks, out of whom he cites ſome long Paſſages.

3. *The Evangelical Demonſtration*, which contain'd Twenty Books, is now reduced to Ten. The Author explains in it the Old Jewiſh Religion, and undertakes to prove by the Prophets the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion. But he grounds all his Arguments upon ſome Myſtical or Allegorical Explications of ſome Places of the Old

Old Teſtament, without being able to prove againſt thoſe who would have denied it, that they ought to be underſtood ſo. He lends, if I may ſo ſay, his Principles to the Prophets, and then fixes to their Terms the Idea's he had of them, by virtue of thoſe Principles. Thus *Book* 5. *chap.* 1. where he explains at large the famous Paſſage of *Solomon* concerning Wiſdom, *God hath begotten me before the Mountains*; he finds in the word to *Beget*, all the Subtilties which the *Arians* uſed after the Council of *Nice*, to explain it according to their Mind, without openly ſhocking the Orthodox.

4. The Ten Books of the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* came out after the preceding, which are cited in them. It begins with Chriſt, and ends in the Year 324, before the Council of *Nice* met. One may complain of *Euſebius*, becauſe he hath incerted ſeveral Fables in it, as that of *Agbarus*, &c. and committed ſeveral Faults in Chronology (of which I have already ſaid ſomething.) But one ought to forgive him thoſe Faults, becauſe he is the firſt who hath compoſed any Work concerning the Chriſtian Hiſtory; for he hath preſerved a great number of Fragments of ancient Authors whom we have loſt, and related their Opinions faithfully enough. Beſides, 'tis he chiefly who can give us ſome light concerning the Canon of

of the Books of the New Teſtament. He dedicated that Book to *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Tyre*, who hath been rank't among the Prelates, who favoured *Arius*. The neateſt Greek Edition we have of this Work, is that of *Robert Stephen*, in 1544; and the beſt Tranſlation is that of *Valeſius*, which was printed together with the Greek in Columns, at *Paris* and *Francfort*. Yet the Tranſlation of that learned Man is not without Faults. I am perſuaded, that the greateſt part of them come from meer Inadvertency; but it cannot be doubted that ſome ariſe from his underſtanding the Terms of the Antients according to the Modern Notions; as when he renders the words of *Alexander* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, which I before mention'd, *Duas Perſonam Unam eſſe*, &c. Τὴν ἕνωσιν δύο Φύσεις. One cannot alledge any place wherein the word Φύσις what we call now-a-days *Perſona in Divinis*, but by ſuppoſing that the Antients ought to think as we do; and δύο φύσεις ἕνωσιν can ſignifie only *Two Natures in Exiſtence*; that is, which do not differ in Kind, as a Man and a Horſe, but only in *Exiſtence*, or Number, as Two Men. This *Lucas Holſtenius* obſerved in a Diſcourſe which *Valeſius* himſelf cauſed to be printed at the end of * *Theodoret*, *Evagrius*, &c. wherein he ſays that this Place

* Pag. 199.

must needs be corrupted either by some Hereticks or Transcribers, because he knew not how to reconcile it with the Orthodox Opinions.

5. *Of the Martyrs of Palestine.* This Book is to be found next to the Eighth of the Ecclesiastical History.

6. The Book against *Hierocles* was writ against a Judge of *Nicomedia*, who, * in the time of *Diocletian*'s Persecution, had composed two Books entitled *Philalethes*, wherein he compared Jesus Christ to *Apollonius Thyaneus*. *Eusebius* hath shewed the absurdity of that Comparison, by a short Critick of the Eight Books of the Life of that Philosopher, written by *Philostratus*. This *Hierocles* must be distinguish'd from a Philosopher of the same Name who lived almost a hundred years after, and wrote a fine Commentary upon the *Golden Verses* of *Pythagoras*.

* Vid. *Lactant. Instit. l.* 5. *c.* 2, 3, 4.

7. I have already spoken of *Eusebius* his Books against *Marcellus*, and of the *Ecclesiastical Theology*. I shall only add here two things: The first is, that *R. M.* which are seen in the Title, signifie *Richard Montagu* Bishop of *Chichester*, who first publish'd them. The second is of greater moment, *viz.* that *Eusebius* wrote 'em in anger, and not only gives his Adversary no quarter, but besides Disputes with him about things that

that are clear, and which himself had proved elsewhere. * *Marcellus* said, 'That if 'we ought to tell the truth about *Origen*, it 'must be acknowledged, that he was but 'just come from the study of Philosophy, 'when he applied himself to the reading of 'the Scripture; and that before he under-'stood it well, he betook himself to write 'sooner than he ought to do, because of his 'great Learning in the Pagan Sciences; 'from whence it is that Philosophy made 'him wander, and that he had writ some 'things which are not true. For Example '(says *Marcellus*) having his mind full of '*Plato*'s Doctrines, and the Difference he 'teaches between the Principles, he wrote 'his Book *Of Principles*, and entitled it so. 'That Title only was sufficient to make 'one clearly perceive, that he took from '*Plato* the first Words of his Work, as 'as well as the Title; for he begins thus, '*Those who have believed, and those who* '*have been believed*, &c. words taken out 'of *Plato*'s *Gorgias*. —— There is nothing truer than what *Marcellus* says here; and all who have read something of *Origen* will grant it. Yet *Eusebius* answers him in these extremely morose terms; 'Supposing this 'were true, there was no need of calum-'niating *Origen* for it; since he immediately 'after adds, that *Grace and Truth are by*

* *L.* 1. *c.* 4.

'*Jesus Christ*, and that Jesus Christ is that 'Truth. What is there in it that's com-'mon to *Plato*? I never heard that *Plato* 'wrote a Book of *Principles*; and *Origen* 'hath not taught the same thing as *Plato*, 'concerning those Principles. *Origen* ac-'knowledged only One Principle, without 'Generation and Beginning, and above all 'things, who is the Father of an Only Son 'by whom all things were made. —— One may plainly see, that *Eusebius* made as if he understood not *Marcellus*, or that Anger hinder'd him from understanding him. The Bishop of *Ancyra* meant only this, *viz.* that *Origen* had spoken of the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity, after the same manner as *Plato* spoke of the *Three Principles* of all things, and that he borrowed the word *Principle* of him, and the first words of his Book wherein he treated of them. *Eusebius* might have easily apprehended his meaning; and he was so far from believing that *Plato* was of another Opinion in this matter than the Sacred Writers and *Origen*, that he he undertakes to prove the contrary at large in his *Evangelical Preparation, lib.* 11. *chap.* 13, &c. which are worth the reading. In effect, what he adds concerning the Father and the Son, is equally agreeable to *Origen*'s and *Plato*'s Opinion. *Eusebius* seems to have followed at this time St. *Jerom*'s Maxim, who ascribes it to him too; as he himself made no scruple to follow it: '* 'Tis one 'thing to write in order to Dispute, and 'another to write in order to Teach. In 'the first Method, the Dispute is very 'much extended, and one minds only to 'answer one's Adversary. Sometimes one 'thing is proposed, and sometimes ano-'ther: Men argue as they please; speak 'after one manner, and act after ano-'ther, &c. In the second, an open and 'ingenuous Face is necessary, &c. *Origen*, '*Methodus*, *Eusebius*, *Apollinarius*, have 'writ a great deal against *Celsus* and *Por-'phyry*. Consider what *doubtful* Arguments 'and Problems they use to confute some 'Writings composed by the Spirit of the 'Devil. And because they are forced to 'say, not what they think, but what the 'Dispute requires, (*non quod sentiunt, sed 'quod necesse est*,) they contradict the Hea-'thens. —— We may see thereby whe-ther we ought always to believe what the Holy Fathers say; and that *Eusebius* was no *Arian*, only because he denied it, and used all the terms of the Orthodox. In the Writers of this kind, a word spoken against the common Opinion, proves often more than a hundred places wherein they speak as the Vulgar.

* *In Apol. pro lib. cont. Jov. p. 106, &c. Edit. Gryph.*

8. The *Letter to thoſe of Cæſarea* concerning the *Nicene Creed*, which I have already mention'd.

9. *Of the Places named in the Old Teſtament*, which is a little Geographical Dictionary of the Places mention'd in the Hebrew Books of the Scripture. St. *Jerom* tranſlated it, and added to it what he thought fit. *Jacobus Bonfrerius* printed the Original, with St. *Jerom*'s Tranſlation and his own, at *Paris*, *Anno* 1659, in *Fol.*

10. *The Life of Conſtantine* is (as hath been ſaid) rather a Panegyrick than a Hiſtory; and the Style of it alſo (as *Photius* hath obſerved) more florid than that of the other Works of *Euſebius*, which is ſomewhat careleſs. However, there is afterwards a Panegyrick of that Emperor in due form, which *Euſebius* recited *Anno* 335, at his *Tricennales*.

11. *An Expoſition of the Song of Solomon*, printed at *Leyden* by *Meurſius*, in the Year 1617, in *Quarto*, with *Polychronius* and *Pſellus*.

12. *The Lives of the Prophets* are aſcribed to *Euſebius* in an ancient Manuſcript, and are joined with *Procopius* his Commentaries upon *Iſaiah*, in Greek and Latin. *John Courtier* publiſh'd them at *Paris*, in 1580, in *Fol.* Thoſe who have publiſh'd a new Edition of the *Evangelical Demon-*

Demonſtration at *Cologne*, in 1688, would not have done amiſs to join thoſe Pieces with it, or to endeavour to get ſome of thoſe which are not yet printed.

13. Of that number are Four Books entitled *Eclogæ Prophetic æ de Chriſto*, which (as *Lambecius* ſays) are in the Library of *Vienna*, and in that of the *Eſcurial*. But 'tis with thoſe two Libraries as with that of *Buda*: The Keepers of them are ſo faithful and jealous, that they let nothing come out of them. *Labbæus* ſays, that beſides there is ſome Libraries ſome *Commentaries* of *Euſebius* upon *Iſaiah*, a *Diſcourſe upon the Three Days that our Lord remained in the Grave*; and two more concerning the Women who went to it, and the Angels they found in it.

14. We have loſt of *Euſebius*, 1. Some Books concerning the *Eccleſiaſtical Preparations*. 2. Concerning the *Eccleſiaſtical Demonſtration*. 3. Thirty Books againſt *Porphyry*, which, in all probability, are the greateſt loſs we have ſuſtained with reſpect to the Writings of *Euſebius*; for we might have learn'd by them the Objections of the moſt learned Philoſopher of his time, and the Anſwers of the moſt learned Biſhop of his Age. 4. *Some Varieties of the Evangeliſts*. 5. Five Books concerning the *Coming of Jeſus Chriſt*. 6. *Some Commen-*

taries upon the Psalms, of which we have some Fragments in the *Catena* of the Greek Fathers upon that Book. 7. *Of Topical Names*. 8. *An Apology for Origen*, whereof the Sixth Book only (as hath been said) was *Eusebius*'s. 9. Three Books of the *Life of Pamphilus*, which he mentions in the 11th. Chap. of the Book of the *Martyrs of Palestine*. 10. An *Apology* for himself, perhaps a Vindication of himself against those who accused him of following the Opinions of *Arius*. 11. *A Collection of Ancient Martyrdoms*, which is reported to be in the Library of the *Escurial*. 12. *A Description of a Church of Jerusalem*. 13. *Of the Feast of Easter*. 14. Three Epistles, the First, to *Constantia*, *Constantine*'s Sister; the Second, to *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, for the Re-establishment of *Arius*; the Third, to a Bishop named *Euphration*. Some Fragments of those Letters may be found in the *Acts* of the Second Council of *Nice*, *Act.* 5. & 6. 15. An *Ancient History*, which perhaps is the same with his Chronicle, and is cited by *Anastasius Sinaita*, as well as a Book dedicated to *Marinus*.

15. Father *Sirmond*, a Jesuite, printed at *Paris*, in 1643, several Latin *Homilies*, which two Manuscripts ascribe to *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, and which *Valesius* thought to be his; but Dr. *Cave* rather believes they were

were written by *Eusebius of Emesus*, a Semi-*Arian*, who lived towards the middle of the Fourth Century.

After all, the same may be said of the *Cologne* Edition (1688) of *Eusebius* his *Evangelical Preparation*, and *Evangelical Demonstration*, &c. as of *Clemens Alexandrinus* his Works of the same Edition. They have added nothing to the *Paris* Edition but new Faults. Although *Eusebius* doth not observe in those Discourses a very exact Order, yet because he divides them into Chapters, one may more easily follow him than *Clemens*; and in this Edition the Citations are better distinguish'd from the Words of the Author, than in the Works of the Catechist of *Alexandria*; for there is some *Comma's* in the Margin of the Passages that are quoted, or they are in *Italick* Characters. However, there is still some Distinctions of *Paragraphs* wanting in it, as well as in that of *Clemens*.

The

The Life

OF

Gregory Nazianzen.

GREGORY was * born, according to the most exact Chronology, in the Year 300, in a Village of the *Second Cappadocia*, named *Arianzum*, near the City of *Nazianzum*, from whence comes the Sirname that is commonly given him. His Father and Mother † were Persons of Quality, and their Vertue was esteem'd by those who knew them, if we may believe their Son, who always speaks of them with great Commendations. He says, that his Father, whose Name was *Gregory* too, was born of Parents who had I know not what Religion, which did partake of the Heathenish and the Jewish. || They had neither Idols nor Sacrifices, but they worshipped *Fire* and *Torches*. They kept the *Sabbath*, abstained from

* Vid. *Pagi Crit. Baron. ad An.* 354, & 368.

† *Greg. Presb. in ejus Vita.*

|| *Orat.* 19. *p.* 289.

from eating the Flesh of certain Beasts, and yet despised Circumcision. They went by the Name of Ὑψιστάριοι, because they boasted of worshipping none but the *Supreme God*, Ὕψιστον. They seem to have taken the Worship of *Fire* from the *Magi* of *Cappadocia*, who went by the Name of * *Pyrethes*, because of the respect they had for *Fire*, which they look'd upon as the Symbol of the Supreme Deity. But they were not like them in other things. 'Tis a surprising thing, that *Gregory*, who (as hath been said) denies that they worshipped Idols, and says that his Father was born with those Sentiments, † should positively say elsewhere, that he was *subject to the Images of Animals*. It seems that either his Memory was somewhat weak on this occasion, or his great Zeal made him fall into that Contradiction; unless one had rather excuse him, by looking on what he says of the *Idols of Animals*, which his Father worshipped, as a Rhetorical Exaggeration, a Figure common enough in *Gregory*'s Style. As for his Mother *Nonna*, she was born of Christian Parents, who had been careful of her Education, and found her extremely enclined to Piety. Her Son doth also infinitely praise her Parts and Conduct.

* *Strab. l.* 15.

† *Carm.* 1. *de rebus suis. v.* 125. ὑπ' εἰδώλοις πάτερ ἦν Ζώων.

A Woman with such Dispositions could hardly allow that her Husband should profess

ſeſs the Errors of the *Hypſiſtarians*. Beſides, *Gregory* was a good-natur'd and temperate Man; ſo that tho' he had ſome erroneous Opinions, yet his Life was unblameable. *Nonna* was continually urging him to get himſelf inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion; but he could not be perſuaded to't, till he had a Dream, which made him reſolve upon it. He dreamed that he was ſinging thoſe words of the Cxxii. *Pſalm, I was glad when they ſaid unto me, We will go into the Houſe of the Lord.* That way of Singing, though new, pleaſed him; and his Wife failed not to take hold of this Opportunity, to perſuade him to embrace Chriſtianity.

It happen'd at the very ſame time, that *Leontius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, went that way with ſome other Biſhops, in his Journey to *Nice*, where *Conſtantine* had called a Council. *Gregory* went to ſee him, and told him that he had a mind to turn Chriſtian. *Leontius* cauſed him to be inſtructed; and whilſt they were inſtructing him, to admit him amongſt the *Cathecumeni*, he was upon his Knees, without being bid to riſe, whereas the *Cathecumeni* commonly ſtood whilſt they were inſtructed. Thoſe who were there, obſerved that Poſture, becauſe 'twas the Poſture of the Prieſts, when they were conſecrated. And his Son * ſays, that every Body look'd upon it as an *Omen* of his being ſome time or other honour'd with the Orders of a Prieſt. Afterwards, as the Biſhop of *Nazianzum* was baptiſing him, thoſe who ſtood by, ſaw him come out of the Water ſurrounded with Light, and the Biſhop could not forbear ſaying that *Gregory* ſhould ſucceed him in his Biſhoprick; as it happen'd, when the See of *Nazianzum* had been vacant for ſome time. His Son, who relates theſe two Circumſtances, ſtyles them *Miracles*: And becauſe then, as now-a-days, every body believed not whatever Church-men ſaid, he declares that he relates theſe Wonders only to the *Faithful, becauſe none of thoſe great things appear true to profane Men.* But a Man that is not profane, can't forbear ſuſpecting, not of want of Sincerity, but of Credulity and Exaggeration, thoſe *Rhetorical Souls* who take Advantage of every thing. By relating Facts of that nature, when Men think that they ſay what they have ſeen, they often ſay what they have thought, concerning things at which they were ſurprized; and inſtead of the undeniable of their Eyes, they give out the doubtful Conſequences of a prejudiced Mind. They believe, without any Examination, whatever is advantageous to the Party they have embraced; and whatever is contrary to it, is falſe, or at leaſt ſuſpected.

* *Orat.* 19.

Thoſe who will read *Gregory Nazianzen*, without making theſe Reflexions, will run the hazard either of looking upon him as a Man of little Sincerity, or of believing many unlikely Miracles.

Nonna had but one Daughter in the beginning of her Marriage, if *Gorgonia*, whom *Gregory* her Brother mentions in ſeveral places, was the firſt Child ſhe had; * and ſhe did heartily deſire to have a Son. She made a Vow to God to conſecrate him to him, if he gave her one; and ſoon after ſhe had a Dream, in which ſhe ſaw the Face of the Son ſhe was to have, and learned what ſhould be his Name. Inſtead of one, ſhe had two; and as ſoon as they were born, ſhe took great care of their Education, having obſerved in them ſome Diſpoſitions which deſerved to be cultivated.

* *Greg. de Vita ſua, p. 2.*

As ſoon as *Gregory* came to years, he was ſent to *Cæſarea*, † the Metropolis of *Cappadocia*, where he was put under the beſt Maſters, to learn Humane Learning; that is to ſay, to underſtand the Greek Poets and Orators, and to write well in that Tongue. 'Twas the only thing that was minded in *Aſia*; and the reading of the Pagan Authors who had writ well in that Tongue, was the Study which they applied themſelves to. 'Tis thought that about that time *Gregory* became acquainted with *Baſil*,

† *Greg. Presb. in Vit. Gr. p. 4, &c.*

Baſil, whoſe Friendſhip was ſo dear to him afterwards. From *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia* he went afterwards * to *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, whereof *Euſebius* was Biſhop. He applied himſelf there † to Declaming, according to the Cuſtom of that time, under a famous Rhetor named *Theſpeſius*. Having ſtay'd ſome time at *Cæſarea*, he went to *Alexandria*, which for ſome Centuries was much celebrated, by reaſon of the learned Men who were there. His ſtay there was not uſeleſs to him; but he did not think he could be accounted a learned Man, without going to *Athens* the Mother of Learning.

* *Orat. 10. p. 163.*

† *Hieron. de Script. Eccleſ. in Euzoio.*

Wherefore || he embarked on a Ship of the Iſland of *Ægina*, which is not far from the City of *Athens*. Foraſmuch as 'twas in the middle of *November*, he had not a very proſperous Paſſage. Being near the Iſle of *Cyprus*, his Ship was toſſed with a violent Storm for ſeveral Days; and Proviſions failing, the trouble they were in was attended with Hunger; ſo that the Seamen would not have been able to do their Duty, had not a *Phœnician* Ship, which the Wind carried towards them, afforded them ſome Proviſions. *Gregory* ſays, that his greateſt grief at that time, was, that he was not Baptized. That Thought affected him ſo much, that he moved the Seamen with Pity, though they were already afflicted enough

|| *De Vita ſua, p. 3, 4. Orat. 19. p. 306, 307.*

enough with the Peril they themſelves were in. He made a Vow to God, that he would get himſelf Baptized, and conſecrate himſelf to God, and the Storm ceaſed ſome time after. It ſeems he was afraid of being damned, if he ſhould die without Baptiſm; and it being the Opinion of that time, 'tis a wonder that his Father and Mother, whoſe Piety he doth ſo much extoll, ſhould not take care that he ſhould be Baptized, from his very Childhood. 'Tis true, Baptiſm might be put off, leſt they ſhould fall off from Grace, which they thought God gave to thoſe who received it; or for fear they ſhould be Excommunicated, if they ſhould live after a manner unworthy of thoſe who were Baptized. But thoſe Fears don't take away the Difficulty; ſince Men are no leſs in danger of being damn'd if they live ill, without having received Baptiſm, than if they diſhonour it after they have received it. However, *Gregory* ſays that his Parents were warned of the Danger he was in, by a Dream which made 'em pray for him. One of thoſe who were in the ſame Ship ſaw alſo *Nonna*, *Gregory*'s Mother, walking upon the Sea, and drawing afterwards the Ship to the ſhore, and then the Storm ceaſed. They ſailed towards *Greece*, and having paſſed by *Rhodus*, at laſt they arrived at the Iſle of *Egina*, from whence *Gregory* went to *Athens*.

He

He had not been there long, before * *Baſil* came to it. Then the Friendſhip which they had begun to contract at *Cæſarea*, did very much encreaſe. Foraſmuch as they applied themſelves to the ſame Study, and had the ſame Inclinations, they grew ſo intimate Friends, that *Gregory* ſays they were but *One Soul in Two Bodies*. We ſhall ſee afterwards what altered that Friendſhip. The *Sophiſts*, or Maſters of Rhetorick, who lived at *Athens*, had every one of them their Faction, and endeavoured by all imaginable means to get Diſciples. In order to it, they kept ſome of their Party in all the Avenues of the City of *Athens*, and as ſoon as they ſaw ſome Young Men who came to ſtudy there, thoſe who happen'd to be the ſtrongeſt, ſeized them, and then lodged them at their Friends. Thoſe who who were able to bring many Diſciples to their Maſter, paid nothing to him; which made the poor Scholars watchful to obſerve the Strangers who came to *Athens*. A Young Man being thus got into their hands, ſome among the Scholars put ſome Queſtions to him, and delighted to contradict him, to know whether he had any Wit. Afterwards, they conducted him in a ſolemn manner to the Publick Baths; and thoſe who had taken him, went before him two and two. When he came to the Door,

* *Orat.* 20. *p.* 326. *Vid. & Olympiad. ap. Photium. Cod.* lxxx.

they made as if they were not willing that he ſhould go in, and made a great noiſe to fright him: yet they ſoon after let him go in; and when he had waſhed himſelf, they they put the *Philoſophical Cloak* upon his Shoulders, which before he was not allowed to wear. *Baſil* was exempted from that Ceremony, becauſe he had made much greater progreſſes than thoſe who commonly came to *Athens* to ſtudy there; but it doth not appear that *Gregory*, who relates that, had a like Privilege. I have obſerved that Cuſtom, though not very conſiderable in it ſelf; becauſe one may thereby apprehend how much in love they were then with the *Sophiſtical* Art, or Rhetorick, and how greedy the Maſters were of getting Diſciples. One may alſo perceive thereby, that the Academies of thoſe times were not better regulated than thoſe of our time; and that in all likelyhood when the Students left 'em, they were not more improved than they are now.

The two greateſts Sophiſts that were then at *Athens*, were *Himerius* and *Proereſius*, who both were very much eſteem'd by the Emperor *Julian*. The latter being * an *Armenian* by Birth, had for that reaſon in his School all the Youth of *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, *Bithynia*, and the other Provinces in the neighbourhood of this Country. Which makes

* *Eunap. Sard. in Vita Proæres.*

makes one believe that *Gregory* ſtudied at *Athens* under him. The ſame Sophiſt was ſo much eſteem'd, that the Emperor *Conſtans* treated him at his own Table, and ſent him to *Rome* with a magnificent Train, where they erected a Statue to him, with this Inſcription upon the Pedeſtal, *ROME* THE QUEEN OF CITIES, TO THE KING OF ELOQUENCE.

Baſil having received an Honour at *Athens*, * which was ſeldom beſtowed upon thoſe who went thither, contracted Envy thereby. Some Young Men of *Armenia*, who had put on the *Philoſophical Cloak*, and were admitted into thoſe Schools, († where they only learned to Prattle) before him, thought themſelves bound in Honour to humble that Freſh-Man. They undertook to Diſpute with him; but finding him too ſtrong for them, they would have been forced to leave him the Field of Battle, had not *Gregory*, who ſeriouſly believed that the Glory of *Athens* was concerned in it, come to their help, and made the Combat even on both ſides. But he ſoon after perceived that the *Armenians* acted out of Envy, which made him ſide with *Baſil*, who afterwards put his Adverſaries to flight. From that time their Friendſhip took deeper root, and they lived very amicably together. Had it not been for the lucky meeting of

* *Nazianz. Orat.* XX. *p.* 328.

† Λαρυγίζειν περὶ μαλακήσαντας.

ſuch a Friend as *Gregory*, *Baſil* would have been weary of *Athens*, where he found not the Learning he hoped to find in it; but *Gregory* comforted him with his Converſation, and gave him to underſtand, that it required ſome time to know throughly all the learned Men of a City, and to be able to judge of them without raſhneſs. Both of them applied themſelves to the wiſeſt and moſt rational of thoſe who ſtudied at *Athens*, not to thoſe who made the greateſt figure, and diſputed beſt. *Baſil* left that City firſt, from whence he undertook ſome Travels, and at laſt retired to *Cæſarea*. *Gregory*, ſome time after, returned to *Cappadocia*, to aſſiſt and comfort his Father and Mother in their Old Age. He deſcribes, * in more than one place, in a very tender manner, a Separation which coſt him many Tears; whereby one may know that *Gregory* was very tender of, and heartily loved his Friends.

* *De Vita ſua, p. 4. & alibi.*

Gregory had then ſpent thirty years either in learning or teaching Rhetorick, as he himſelf ſays; that is to ſay, he left *Athens* towards the Year 354, or 355. It were almoſt incredible, that having a Father and a Mother very old, he ſhould not have ſooner thought to retire and live near them; nor have undertaken to do the Chriſtian Church greater ſervice, than to Study or Teach

Teach Rhetorick, * were it not that the whole Series of his Life ſhews it, (as the Reader will eaſily perceive by the remaining part of this Hiſtory.) *Julian*, who was afterward Emperor, was alſo there, rather (as *Gregory* ſays) to conſult the Diviners concerning his Fortune, than to ſtudy Philoſophy. From that time *Gregory* began to hope no good thing from him, (as I ſhall obſerve, when I come to the Orations he made againſt him.) After *Baſil*'s departure, he applied himſelf eſpecially to Eloquence, and Declamed with ſo much Applauſe, that every body look'd upon him as one of the chief Orators of that time. He was not naturally enclined, as he himſelf ſays, to that ſort of life; and he ſoon after made his eſcape from *Athens*, where he had been detained, as it were, againſt his will, without taking his leave of any Body. † He loved naturally a quiet life, which made him averſe to any manner of life that would have made him too buſie. Thoſe who live after that manner, and perform well their Employments, ſeemed to him to be only uſeful to others; and thoſe who live altogether in a retreat, ſeem'd to him to be only good for themſelves. He wiſhed he might keep a *Medium* between thoſe two Extreams, and lead a kind of a Monaſtical life in the midſt of the World, without

* Vid. *Pagi Crit. Baron. ad An.* 354, & 388.

† *De Vita ſua, p. 5, 6. & Orat. 8. p. 165.*

taking upon him any Employment but ſuch as he would have choſen, and without being obnoxious to ſome troubleſom Irregularities, which render the beſt Employments unpleaſant.

He departed from *Athens* full of thoſe thoughts, and went to *Conſtantinople* by Land. He found there his Brother *Cæſarius*, who came thither by Sea, at his return from *Alexandria*, where he had ſtudied Phyſick. * He had got ſo great a Reputation, during the little time that he ſtay'd at *Conſtantinople*, that the Emperor would keep him for his Phyſician, make him a Citizen of *Conſtantinople*, and confer upon him the Dignity of a Senator. Though *Cæſarius* was very willing to yield to thoſe Solicitations, yet his Parents Wiſhes, and his Brother's Exhortations prevailed, and he ſet out with him to go to *Nazianzum*. But having ſtay'd there ſome time, he returned to *Conſtantinople*, where it was much more pleaſant to live than in a deſart Town of *Cappadocia*. As for *Gregory*, he was Baptized at *Nazianzum*, and his Father perſuaded him ſoon after to renounce that quiet life, which he deſigned to lead, and to take the Orders of a Prieſt. *Gregory*, a great while after, could not † forbear naming that Action || of his Father a *Tyranny*. But the Reſpect he had for him, and the Troubles that

* *Orat.* x. *p.* 164.

† *De Vita ſua, p.* 6.

|| *Ep.* xi.

that good Men were put to, during the *Arian* Controverſies, wherein his Father himſelf was concerned, obliged him patient to bear the yoke that was laid on him.

Baſil had made him * promiſe, that when he ſhould leave *Athens*, he would come and live with him: But *Gregory* could not be as good as his Word, being obliged to live with his Parents. He invited *Baſil* to come and ſee him ſometimes, but it doth not appear that they were ever long together. Several Perſons † wiſhed that he would take Prieſts Orders, but afterwards did not oftener frequent the Church of *Nazianzum* for all that, as he upbraids them with it in one of his *Orations*, in which, notwithſtanding, he praiſes the Concord and Orthodoxy of that Church. He doth alſo beſtow upon them a conſiderable Commendation, *viz.* that they made Piety to conſiſt, not in ſpeaking much of God, but in being ſilent, and obeying him. If Ancient and Modern Divines had endeavoured to deſerve that Praiſe, Chriſtianity would not have been torn by ſo many Diſputes, nor would it be ſo now.

* *Ep.* v. *Greg.*

† *Orat.* xi.

Conſtantius, in order to allay the *Arian* Quarrels, if it were poſſible, called an *Oecumenick* Council, in the Year 359, which was divided into two Aſſemblies. The Eaſtern Biſhops were to hold theirs at

Seleucia in *Isauria*; and the Western, at *Ariminum*, a Town of *Romania*. The *Arians* who were at *Seleucia* * made a Confession of Faith, in which supposing that no unscriptural Term was to be used, and consequently that the word *Consubstantial* ought not to be used, they only said, *that the Son was like the Father, according to the Apostle, who says, That the Son is the Image of the Invisible God.* Those who said that the Son was not like the Father, were also condemned in it. *Acacius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, drew up that Confession of Faith. The same *Acacius*, and those of his Party, approved the Confession of *Ariminum*, which was worded after the same manner. † They only added to it, that in this matter, the words *Substance* and *Hypostasis* ought not to be used; because those words which had caused so many Disputes, were not to be found in the Holy Scripture. In the mean time, the *Arians* being urged by the Orthodox to say in what that Resemblance of the Father did consist, made it to consist only in the Will: Whereas the others maintained, That the Substance of the Son, though distinct, was altogether like the Substance of the Father. But forasmuch as equivocal Terms were used by both Parties, it gave occasion to those who were not skill'd in those Subtilties, to

* *Socrat. l.* II. *c.* 40.

† *Socrat. l.* II. *c.* 41. *& Sozom. l.* 4. *c.* 29.

equivocate, and confound two very different Opinions. *Gregory*'s Father was one of those who fell into that Snare; * he subscribed to the Confessions of Faith of *Seleucia* and *Ariminum*: The miraculous Light which appeared at his Baptism, and his Study since that time, had not enlightened his Mind to such a degree, as to make him understand the *Arian* Controversies. That Action of the Bishop of of *Nazianzum* allarm'd the Monks of *Cappadocia*, who being full of Zeal for the *Consubstantiality*, refused to Communicate with the good Man, and got part of the People on their side. 'Tis likely that his Son *Gregory* was not then at *Nazianzum*; for he would have hindred his Father from committing a Fault, which he obliged him to acknowledge by a publick Recantation.

* *Orat.* six. *p.* 297. *& Vit. Greg. p.* 11.

Having thus appeased the Monks, *Gregory* the Son got into the Pulpit, and made the Discourse concerning *Peace*, which is his XII. *Oration*, in the presence of his Father, who was not to be compared to him for Eloquence and Learning. 1. He says, That the pleasure he had to see Peace restored to the Church of *Nazianzum*, had induced him to make that Discourse, whereas before nothing could persuade him to speak. 2. That he had been extremely moved at the Division which had before happened; especially

especially considering the austere and holy Life of the Monks, which he describes by the bye, with great Rhetorical Exaggerations. 3. That Divisions are the cause of all sorts of Mischiefs; and that they had reason to thank God, because that which arose in the Church of *Nazianzum* was over. 4. That the Church of *Nazianzum*, which before that last Division, knew not what Schism was, ought to endeavour for the future to enjoy a perpetual Peace. 5. That in the last Discord, Men were so fully persuaded that the Bishop of *Nazianzum* acted sincerely, and kept the Truth of the Faith, that they upbraided him only with his being imposed upon by equivocal Words. 6. That every thing invites us to Peace; God, Angels, and all Creatures which are maintained by Concord. 7. That the *Jews* had been happy whilst they were at Peace one with another, but became unfortunate as soon as they were divided. 8. Notwithstanding, that all manner of Peace ought not to be sought after, but that a *medium* ought to be kept; and that 'tis one's Duty to oppose Heresie with all one's might, when any body professes it openly; but that one ought to forbear making a Schism upon meer Suspicions. ' * When (*says he*) ' that which troubles us, is only a Suspicion, ' and a Fear grounded upon no Certainty; ' Patience

* *Pag.*203.

' Patience is more useful than Precipitation, ' and Condescension more than Passion. 'Tis ' much better to remain united together, ' to correct mutually one another, as the ' Members of the same Body; than to condemn one another by a Schism, before they ' understand reciprocally one another; or ' to lose the Trust which they put one in ' another by a Division, and than to undertake to correct others, not after a brotherly, but tyrannical manner, with Edicts ' and Laws. — Lastly, *Gregory* exhorts the Church of *Nazianzum* to keep the good *depositum* concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity, which he expresses in these terms: ' * We worship a Father, a Son, and a Holy ' Spirit; in the Son we acknowledge ' the Father, and in the Holy Spirit the ' Son, *&c.* Before we join them, we distinguish 'em; and before we distinguish ' 'em, we join 'em. We don't look upon ' those Three Things as One (GOD,) for ' they are not things † destitute of a distinct ' Existence, or that have but One Existence, ' so that our Riches be only in Names, not ' in Things, and that Three Things be ' really but One. 'Tis One Thing not in ' Existence, but in Divinity. We worship ' an Unity in a Trinity; and that Trinity ' re-united in the Unity, is all adorable ' and Royal; it hath but One Throne and ' Glory;

* *Pag.*204.

† Ἀυπόστατα ἢ μετὰ μιᾶς ὑποστάσεως. See the Life of *Eusebius.*

'Glory; it is all above the World, above 'Time, Uncreated, &c.

That Speech, as almoſt all the Speeches of *Gregory*, is, 1*ſt*. Without any great Order: Thoughts are heaped one upon another, as they came into the Author's Mind; a Defect which almoſt all the ancient Orators were guilty of, as well as he, and which makes him repeat the ſame things to no purpoſe. 2*dly*. His Reaſonings ſeem too far-fetch'd, and are not very convincing; as when he ſays, That *the World is preſerved by Peace*: That's a far-fetch'd Thought; and the contrary might be ſaid, as indeed ſome Philoſophers have aſſerted, That the Oppoſition which is between the ſeveral Parts of the Univerſe, keeps them in the ſtate they are in, becauſe they hinder one another from leaving it. 3*dly*. The Style of that *Oration* is too full of Figures, little correct, and even ſometimes harſh; all which things often breed Obſcurity. However, it muſt be confeſt, that he abounds in noble Compariſons, and happy and Energick Expreſſions, ſuch as thoſe * which he uſes in that place wherein he condemns the Schiſm which I have mentioned. He is alſo full of Ornaments taken out of Hiſtory, or Heatheniſh Fables; nay, he ſpeaks ſometimes of the later, as the Pagan Philoſophers did, without openly rejecting them. Thus,

* τὸ ἀξιόπιστον τῆς χωρεμπῷ λύσεως τὰ, ἐκ τῶν τέλματος, ὥσπερ τινὲς ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀσθλοὶ, νομοθετῆν τὸν διάβολον.

Thus, ſpeaking of the Flames of *Mount Ætna*, he uſes this Expreſſion, * *whether it be ſomething elſe, or the blowing of a Giant in torment.* Elſewhere, having ſpoken of the Torments of *Tantalus*, *Ixion*, † and *Tityus*, he adds; *whether it be True, or a Fable, which teaches us the Truth under a Fiction.* Yet there is no doubt but *Gregory* look'd upon all thoſe things as meer Fables; but the Greek Philoſophers, whom he had carefully read, ſpoke after the ſame manner. It ſeems, that the cuſtom of ſpeaking as others did, made *Gregory* ſay many things, which he had read in Pagan Authors, without being willing to examine 'em. But he is far from equalling the Neatneſs, Exactneſs and Elegancy of *Iſocrates*, whom, they ſay, he propoſed to himſelf as his Model. I thought my ſelf obliged to ſet down here, in a few words, what may be ſaid of *Gregory*'s Style, that I may forbear repeating it, when I come to ſpeak of his other *Orations*. I ſhall only preſent the Reader with ſome Examples of what I have ſaid, when occaſion offers.

* *Orat.* iii. p. 86.

† *Orat.* iv. p. 132.

I muſt alſo obſerve here, once for all, that *Gregory*, with reſpect to Philoſophy, followed the *Platonick*, from which he borrows ſeveral terms, which can't be underſtood without the knowledge of it. Thus, he ſays, "‖ That God is the moſt Excellent "and

‖ P. 132.

" and Higheſt of all Beings, if one had not " rather place him above the Eſſence, and " put in him the Whole Being, ſince he " gives it to other things. —— To under-ſtand the meaning of thoſe words, *to be above the Eſſence*, we muſt know, that the *Platonicks* eſtabliſh'd ſome *Chains* of Beings, as they worded it; that is, a *Series* of Beings placed one above another: ſo that going up by degrees, in that Chain, more excellent Beings did ſtill offer themſelves; and at laſt the Supreme Trinity, which is above all the Eſſences of thoſe Beings, that is to ſay, which can't be referred to any particular *Species*, but contains in it ſelf all their Eſſences, and therefore can produce 'em. * Whence it is that thoſe Philoſophers ſay, that the Gods have ſome *Super-eſſential* Qualities. Without the knowledge of that Platonick Doctrine, one can't know *Gregory*'s meaning in the words which I have juſt now quoted.

* Vid. *Proclum. Theol Platon. l. 3. c. 20. & alibi.*

He ſays in the ſame Page, " That An-" gels partake firſt of the Light; That they " are enlightned by the True Reaſon, and " that they are ſome Beams of that Perfect " Light. —— All thoſe terms are taken from the bottom of *Platoniſm*, as I could eaſily ſhew by explaining them, were it not that I ſhould too much enlarge.

To

To return to the Hiſtorical part: The *Arians* being informed of the Diviſion which happened at *Nazianzum*, took advantage of it, and laughed at the Orthodox. Which gave occaſion to *Gregory* to make the Homily, which is the XIII. amongſt his *Orations*; wherein he ſhews the *Arians*, that the Diviſion of *Nazianzum* having been only by a Miſtake, and having not laſted long, they did unjuſtly inſult over that Church. Beſides, he ſhews the advantage which the Orthodox had over the *Arians* and *Sabellians*, by comparing the Opinions of thoſe three Societies one with another. Though that Paſſage is ſomewhat long, yet I ſhall ſet it down here; becauſe thoſe who have not very well ſtudied thoſe Matters, will better underſtand what was the Opinion of the Orthodox at that time, than they have done from the Paſſage of the XII. *Oration*, which I have cited.

' * Why (*ſays he*) d'ye love Vanity, * *Pag.* 208.
' and look after Lyes, by giving (*he ſpeaks*
' *to the* Arians) to the Deity a Nature
' which is neither One, nor Simple, but
' Three Natures which are divided and ſe-
' parated, and even contrary, by reaſon of
' the Proprieties which the one hath, and
' the others want; or by eſtabliſhing One
' only Nature (*he ſpeaks to the* Sabellians)
' but a narrow and ſtreightened one, and

' which

'which hath not the Propriety of being 'the Principle of great things, either for 'want of Power or Will. It ſhould be 'either out of Envy or Fear, to eſtabliſh 'nothing which ſhould equal it in Honour, 'or oppoſe it. But by how much God is 'more Excellent than the Creatures, by ſo 'much is it a thing more worthy of the 'Firſt Cauſe to be the Principle of a DEITY, 'than of Creatures, and not to come to the 'latter but by a DEITY which is between 'both; than if a Deity * exiſted (*according to the* Arians) becauſe of the Creatures, 'as it ſeems to thoſe who are too ſubtle. 'If when we confeſs the Dignity of the Son 'and Spirit, we acknowledged no Principle 'of them, or if we referred them to a Prin'ciple of another nature, one might have 'ſome reaſon to fear that we diſhonour the 'Deity, or introduce ſome Gods contrary 'one to another. — *A little lower, he ſays,* 'That the Unity moved it ſelf, becauſe of 'its Riches; and that the Number of Two 'was encreaſed, becauſe the Deity is above 'Matter and Form, which are the Two 'Principles which Bodies are made of; 'That the Trinity is bounded, becauſe of 'its Perfection, and ſurpaſſes the Conjun'ction of Two; ſo that the Deity is nei'ther too much ſtreight'ned, nor enlarged 'to Infinity. — The former (*as he goes on*) 'hath

* Τπόστασις, from whence comes the word Τπόστασις.

'hath ſomewhat that's mean; and the lat'ter would breed a Confuſion. The former 'is altogether *Jewiſh*, and the latter *Hea'theniſh*. ——— The word, *to move one's ſelf*, here is a *Platonick* term, * which thoſe Philoſophers uſe, when they ſpeak of the Productions of the Deity: And *Gregory* means, that the Divine Nature was multiplied to Three *Hypoſtaſes*, or Three *Idividuum's*; which is oppoſite to *Judaiſm*, which acknowledges but One Supreme Nature; and to *Paganiſm*, which admits of too many Gods. The *Platonicks* diſputed about this among themſelves; ſome maintained, That the Supreme Deity had multiplied it ſelf only to Three Gods, and that whatever is beyond it is not of a like Nature; and others extended it to a greater number of Deities. *Plato* and † *Porphyry* were of the former Opinion, and *Plotinus* of the latter.

* Vid. *Plotin. Ennead.* v. *l.*1. *c.*6,7.

* Vid. *Cyryl* viii. *cont. Julian. & Plotin. Ennead.* v. *l.*8. *c.*12.

Julian being come to the Throne, in the Year 361, ſought for all manner of ways to ruine the Chriſtians; and perceiving that they made a great uſe of the Pagan Authors, either to fit themſelves for Eloquence, or to take from them ſome Reaſons fit to defend the Chriſtian Religion, and attack Paganiſm, he undertook to hinder the Chriſtians from applying themſelves to the ſtudy of Humane Learning. Some Antients ſay

* Vid. *Pagi ad An.* 362. that he forbad 'em * not only to keep Schools to teach it, but alſo to go to thoſe of the Pagan Grammarians and Orators; others ſeem only to ſay that the Chriſtians were forbidden to keep Schools. *Julian* † *Ep.* xlii. himſelf ſays in expreſs † words, in one of his Letters, that the Children of Chriſtians ſhould not be forbidden to go to the Schools of Pagans, however without forcing them to't; becauſe thoſe who ſin only for want of Underſtanding, ought to be taught, not puniſhed. *Gregory Nazianzen* mentions that Prohibition of *Julian* in his Third *Oration*: || *Pagi ad Ann.* 362. But, as a || Modern Author judiciouſly obſerves, foraſmuch as he ſpeaks there more like an Orator than an Hiſtorian, tis a difficult thing to find out what he means. 'Tis an ill effect of the continual Rhetorick of moſt of the Antients: They are ſo Eloquent, that they can't be underſtood. 'Tis likely that *Julian* did not forbid the Children of Chriſtians to go to the Schools of Pagan Teachers, either becauſe he himſelf ſays ſo, or becauſe it was a good way to ſeduce 'em. Hence it is, that ſome learned Men amongſt the Chriſtians, as both *Apollinaris*'s and *Gregory*, put the Scripture and Doctrines of Religion in Greek Verſes, or fine Proſe. Thoſe Writings might ſupply the room of thoſe of the Ancient Pagans, and the Youth needed no Grammarians to underſtand 'em. Parents might eaſily be inſtead of Tutors to their Children, to explain thoſe Chriſtian Verſes to them, after they had read the Holy Scripture. However, that Prohibition made the Chriſtians very angry, who could not abide that their Grammarians, Rhetors and Philoſophers ſhould have been ſent back *to the Churches of the Galileans* (theſe are *Julian*'s words) *to explain there* Matthew *and* Luke. Had they never done any thing elſe, they would not have introduced ſo many new words, nor handled the Doctrines then in queſtion with ſo many Subtilties, nor would the *Platonick* Philoſophy have had ſo great a ſhare in their Deciſions.

About that time, *Cæſarius*, *Gregory*'s Brother, who was returned (as hath been ſaid) to *Conſtantinople*, was made *Julian*'s Chief Phyſician; and becauſe of his Learning, he was admitted into the number of the Friends of that Emperor, who loved learned Men. Whereupon *Gregory* wrote to him a very ſharp * Letter, wherein he tells him, That he had made all his Family aſhamed, by reaſon of his Conduct; That every body wonder'd that a Biſhop's Son ſhould follow the Court, and endeavour to get Honours and Riches among the Pagans; That he made his Father's Life unpleaſant to him, who could not blame in others what his Son did; * *Ep.* xvii.

did; That they were obliged to conceal his Conduct from his Mother, leſt ſhe ſhould die with Grief; That he had enough to live handſomly, without expoſing himſelf to ſo great danger. Laſtly, That if he went on in the ſame manner of life, he muſt be rank't among thoſe Chriſtians who leaſt deſerve that Name. If *Cæſarius* was not perſuaded by that Letter to return to his Parents, 'tis likely however that it ſtrengthened him againſt *Julian*'s Endeavours to induce him to renounce Chriſtianity, which his Brother mentions in * one of his *Orations*. He ſays, that *Cæſarius* having anſwer'd all his Reaſons, proteſted to him that he was a Chriſtian, and would be ſo all his life-time; and that *Julian*, in the preſence of many Perſons of his Court, cried out, thinking of the Biſhop of *Nazianzum* and his two Sons, *O Happy Father! O Unhappy Children! Cæſarius* being either weary of *Julian*'s Solicitations, or moved with his Brother's Advice, returned to *Nazianzum*, when *Julian* ſet out to go againſt the *Perſians*.

Orat. x. *p.* 167, 168.

It ſeems that about the ſame time, *Julian* ſent a Captain with ſome Archers † to *Nazianzum*, to take poſſeſſion of the Church of the Chriſtians. But he was ſo far from being able to perform what he deſired, that if he had not ſpeedily made his eſcape, by the

† *Orat.* xix. *p.* 308.

the Biſhop's or ſome other's Advice, he muſt have *retired with broken Legs*; * *ſo great was the Ardour of that Prieſt's* (*Gregory* the Father) *Anger and Zeal for that Church!* Thoſe are the very words of his Son: Which ſhews, that thoſe good Men did not always preach up *Paſſive Obedience*.

* Ποδὰς ξαγῆναι πεδίοις λαεσσιν.

In the Year 363, *Julian* was killed in his Retreat before the *Perſian* Army: †An effect, if we believe charitable *Gregory*, of the Prayers of the ſame Biſhop and People, who deſigned to break the Legs of the Captain of the Archers, whom I mentioned juſt now.

† Ibid.

At that time *Gregory* compoſed his two Invectives againſt *Julian*, wherein he omits nothing that can make him odious to all Poſterity. Thoſe two *Orations* are as full of Reſentment and Paſſion, as can be imagined, againſt a Man, who, abating of his Paganiſm, had been one of the Greateſt Emperors that ever were in the *Roman* Empire. A learned Man believed that thoſe two *Orations* were made publick whilſt *Julian* was alive; but 'tis a Miſtake: *Gregory* mentions his Death in both of them. The ſame || Author obſerves, not without reaſon, 'That we are extremely deceived by the 'Authority of ſome of thoſe who have been 'formerly illuſtrious in the Church, when 'we come to judge after them of ſome 'Princes of their time. Prejudices are ſo

|| *P. Cunæus Præf. in Cæſares Juliani.*

'strong (*as he goes on*) that most Men 'examine nothing, but are drawn by the 'Holiness of those great Men. The Vulgar 'fancies that 'tis a great Sin to believe that 'the Piety of those Men was not always at-'tended with a great Candour. For my 'part, as I am persuaded that they had 'great Vertue, so I do believe that they 'have committed some Faults out of Pas-'sion, and I remember that they are very 'sharp. To say nothing of others, those 'who had some Reputation in *Greece*, were 'apt, according to the ill Custom of their 'Nation, to fall into Extreams, *&c.* They 'cast into Hell those with whom they 'were angry, although their Vertue had 'raised them to Heaven: And on the con-'trary, they have so much extolled those 'whom they undertook to Praise, that 'Posterity admires now-a-days their Vertue, 'which was scarce of the second Order. — Those who will judge soundly of the *Panegyricks* and *Invectives* of the Christian Antiquity, ought necessarily to remember that *Genius* of the *Greeks*.

* *Orat.* iii. *p.* 49. 1. *Gregory* begins his * First *Invective* with opprobious Words against *Julian*; to the hearing of which he invites Heaven and Earth. He addresses himself particularly to the Soul of *Constans*, who made *Julian* Cæsar: speaking to him he adds these words,

words, * *If the Dead perceive any thing*: From whence it appears, that he doubted whether the Dead know any thing of what passes below. Yet he says elsewere, † *That he censures him, as if* Constans *was present and heard him, although he was with God, and enjoyed his Glory*: Which shews that this was only a meer Rhetorical *Apostrophe*, from which nothing can be concluded.

* *Pag.* 50.

† *Pag.* 63.

2. He very much wonders that *Constans* raised *Julian* to the Dignity of *Cæsar*, knowing what he was; and at the same time makes the *Encomium* of the *former*, whose Piety he praises every where: || He defends him against those who accused him of Imprudence, for having raised *Julian* so high, after he had put to death his Brother *Gallus*; and says, that he hoped to allay the Mind of *Julian* by his Favours, and that trusting altogether to his own strength, he did not fear him in the least, as one might have seen, if *Constans* had not died. In the following Speech against *Julian*, speaking of the same Emperor, he excuses him * for the Protection he granted to the *Arians*. He says that he was imposed upon, out of Simplicity, and want of Firmness, and that he was deceived by the seeming Zeal he perceived in the *Arian* Officers of the Court. It would be a difficult thing to reconcile that with the Principles of *Gregory*, who

|| *Pag.* 65.

* *Orat.* iv. *p.* 119.

look'd upon the *Arian* Diſputes as material ones, were it not that 'tis well known that the words of an Orator are not to be urged as thoſe of a Mathematician. But it would be a hard matter to reconcile him with St. *Hilary* Biſhop of *Poitiers*, who treated *Conſtans* much worſe than *Gregory* did *Julian*. Thoſe Great Men acted as others do; they ſpake according to the preſent Paſſion they were led by, without very much weighing the Figures and Expreſſions which they uſed.

* Pag. 51. 3. *Gregory* * doth juſtly laugh at *Julian*, who forbad the Chriſtians to teach Profane Learning; for the Reaſons of the Chriſtians would not have been leſs ſtrong, though they were not propounded with ſo great Eloquence. But he feigneth to deſpiſe Eloquence and Politeneſs, which certainly he did not deſpiſe, and which he diſplays, as much as he can, in all his Writings, which would be very often clearer, if there was not ſo much Rhetorick in them. He doth alſo upbraid *Julian*, who truſted much his Eloquence, with the great deſire he ſhewed of taking from the Chriſtians the Means of acquiring it; which (ſays he) is the ſame thing as if a Champion ſhould Hector, and play the Couragious Man, after he hath forbidden all other Champions to fight with him.

4. He

4. He aſſures * that *Conſtans* had taken a particular Care of the Education of *Gallus* and *Julian*, Sons of one of his Uncles, Brother of *Conſtantine*, and whoſe Name was alſo *Conſtans*, to ſhew that he had no hand in the Murther of the latter, which was committed when *Conſtans*, *Conſtantine*'s Son, came to the Throne. Nay, he deſigned to impart the Empire to his two Sons, who were of a very different Temper, if we believe *Gregory*. Though they had been inſtructed after the ſame manner, and would both be *Anagnoſtes*, or read the Holy Scripture in the Church, it appeared afterwards that one of them was no Chriſtian. Beſides, there was a report, and *Gregory* believed it was true, that *Gallus* and *Julian* building a Temple, at common Coſts, to the Honour of ſome Martyrs, that which *Gallus* cauſed to be built, did ſenſibly encreaſe; but the Earth quaked in the place wherein *Julian* was building, and whatever was raiſed, ſunk down. There happened many other Miracles beſides, all different from thoſe of the Goſpel, which were not wrought ſo much in the behalf of Unbelievers, as of thoſe whoſe Diſpoſition made 'em not altogether unworthy of them. 'Tis true, that † *Gregory* ſays, that ſome Lyes had been mixed with the Truth, and relates only, in a doubtful way, what was reported,

* Pag. 58.

† Pag. 70.

that

that *Julian*, as he was ſacrificing, ſaw a a Crowned Croſs in the Bowels of a Victim. But he aſſures as certain ſome things that are much more incredible, in the following
* Pag. 71. *Oration*; * and in this he ſays, that *Julian* having called out the *Dæmons*, with certain Sacrifices, could not forbear being frighted, as ſoon as he heard the Noiſe, and that he ſaw certain Fires which commonly precede their Apparition; and that foraſmuch as he had been bred up in the Chriſtian Religion, he made the Sign of the Croſs, which preſently drove away all thoſe *Spectrum's*. The Prieſt, who performed the Ceremonies, and perceived the trouble *Julian* was in, told him that the Gods abhorred him upon that account, not that they were afraid of the Sign of the Croſs, which he had made.

† Pag. 72. 5. *Gregory* † derides the Artifices which *Julian* made uſe of to perſecute the Chriſtians, without procuring them the Honour of Martyrdom, and without ſeeming to treat them ill; becauſe whatever Pretence he uſed, one might eaſily ſee that their greateſt Crime was Chriſtianity. Perſecution upon the account of Religion, is ſo odious of it ſelf, even to all thoſe who have ſtill ſome ſenſe of Humanity left, that even thoſe who practice it, are aſhamed of it, when Superſtition and Cruelty allow them ſome time to think ſomewhat more calmly on

on what they are doing. This is ſo true, that moſt of thoſe who have ſuffered themſelves to be led by the blind Zeal of Perſecution, have uſed the ſame Artifices. We have ſeen an egregious Example of it in our Age; and if what *Gregory* ſays here of the pitiful Arts and Cunnings of *Julian*, be compared with what was lately done in a great Kingdom, one will find a great Reſemblance between both. I ſhall omit it here, leſt any body ſhould think that I deſign to inſiſt upon ſo odious a Parallel.

6. Amongſt other Reaſons, which *Gregory* uſes, to ſhew that *Julian* could not ſucceed in his Deſign, he deſcribes thus the Power of the Saints which the Chriſtians honoured; ‘ * Did you not fear thoſe on * Pag. 76, ‘ whom ſo great an Honour is beſtowed, 77. ‘ and for whom ſolemn Feaſts have been ‘ inſtituted; by whom the *Dæmons* are ‘ driven away, and Diſeaſes cured, whoſe ‘ Apparitions and Predictions are known; ‘ the very Bodies whereof have as much ‘ Vertue as their holy Souls, whether they ‘ be touched or honoured; ſome drops of ‘ whoſe Blood only have the ſame Vertue ‘ with their Bodies? —— It appears from thoſe words, and ſeveral other places out of *Gregory*, and other Fathers in his time, that they had already a great reſpect for the Relicks of Saints, and vented a great many

many Miracles wrought at their Graves. 'Tis to be wondered how *Gregory*, who loved Exaggerations, ſaid not that the Bodies of the Saints had a greater Vertue after their Death, than during their Life; for there is no compariſon between the multitude of Miracles which are ſaid to have been wrought at the Graves of Martyrs, and thoſe which they wrought whilſt they were alive. Several People believe that the want of Sincerity of ſome Chriſtians, and the Credulity of ſome others, did very much contribute to the keeping up of Paganiſm.

* *Pag.* 77. 7. Our Author * makes afterwards an *Encomium* of the Monks, and deſpiſes *Socrates*, *Plato*, and all the Heathen Philoſophers. *Gregory* upbraids *Julian* with his not eſteeming Vertue in his Enemies; but certainly his Zeal made him on this occaſion commit ſomewhat like it; and 'tis very certain that he had learned more by the reading of *Plato* and *Socrates*'s Diſcourſes, than by his Converſation with all the Monks he had ſeen. As for Manners, the continual Seditions of thoſe Pious Hermits, and their implacable Temper, do plainly enough ſhew that they were infinitely below thoſe great Patterns of the Pagan Antiquity.

† *Pag.* 80. 8. He † rightly obſerves, that to deſign the ruine of the Chriſtian Religion, in a time

time when the *Roman* Empire was full of Chriſtians, was to undertake to ruine the Empire it ſelf. When they were but a ſmall number, they might have been ill treated without any danger to the State; but it could not then be done, without cauſing great Commotions, and too great Diſorders in it. It were to be wiſhed that the Imitators of *Julian* had well conſidered that Advertiſement of *Gregory*, who deſpiſes, with great reaſon, whatever might be good in *Julian*'s Government, if compared with the miſchief which ſo deteſtable a Deſign would have been the cauſe of, if he had been able to execute it. Beſides, one could have wiſh'd that our Age * had been well acquainted with the horror the Chriſtians had for the Snares which *Julian* laid for his Officers and Soldiers. *Gregory* ſays that ſome Chriſtian Soldiers having, on one day wherein *Julian* was diſtributing ſome Liberalities to his Army, thrown Incence into the Fire in his preſence, according to an ancient Cuſtom; it had been interpreted, as if they had incens'd the Idols; and having been told of their fault, *as they were praying to Chriſt by making the Sign of the Croſs after a Meal*, by ſome who told 'em that they had renounced him, they preſently went into the publick Place, and cried even in the Emperor's hearing, that they had been

* *Pag.* 83, 84.

been surprized, and were Christians. *Julian* being angry because they had found out that Surprize, sent 'em into Banishment.

* *Pag.* 87, 88. 9. *Gregory* describes * some horrible Cruelties against the Christians, which *Julian* had either commanded or suffered in *Egypt* and *Syria*. He says, that the Inhabitants of *Arethusa*, a Town of *Syria*, after they had exposed some Virgins consecrated to God to a thousand Infamies, killed them, ate their Liver raw, and threw their Bodies to be eaten by Dogs, having cover'd them with Barley. The same People treated with an abominable Barbarity, the Bishop of that Town, who notwithstanding seemed to be insensible in the midst of Torments. There might be some Exaggerations in this, and † *Gregory* says, that that Bishop had, in *Constans*'s time, demolished *an Habitation of Dæmons*; that is, a Pagan Temple, according to the Power he had received from the Emperor. That Action of *Mark* of *Arethusa* drew on him the Hatred of the People, as a Heathen would have been detested by the Christians, if he had pull'd down one of their Churches. Notwithstanding, *Gregory* says || a little lower, not only that the Christians had not treated the Pagans, as they were treated by them; but he asks them *what Liberty the Christians took from them?* As if it was nothing to pull down

† *Pag.* 88.

|| *Pag.* 97.

down their Temples, as they did * since the Empire of *Constantine!* They went on with the same Rigour, under the following Emperors; and to leave nothing that the Pagans might be upbraided with, they forbad, on pain of Death, to sacrifice to Idols, with the Applauses of all Christians, if we believe † St. *Augustine*. I must not forget here to observe another effect of *Gregory*'s Rhetorick, *viz.* speaking of the Christian Virgins of *Arethusa*, who had been so ill treated, he doth not only inveigh against the Pagans, but also addresses himself to our Saviour, by way of *Apostrophe*, in these words; *O Jesus Christ! how shall I suffer the Patience you shewed then?*

* *Sozom. l.* 2. *c.* 5.

† *Ep.* 48. *ad Vincentium.*

10. *Julian* added || Insults to ill Treatments; and when he deprived the Christians of their Estates, he said that he only helped them to observe the Gospel, which commands to despise them. That Railery may be seen in *Julian*'s Forty third Letter, where he says, that the Church of the *Arians* of *Edessus* having used them violently, he had confiscated all the Money of that Church, to distribute it to the Soldiers; and kept their other Goods for himself, lest the *Arians* being too rich, should not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. To which *Gregory* answers, amongst other things, that *Julian*, by acting so, must needs have fancied

|| *Pag.* 94.

fancied that the Gods of Pagans are well pleaſed that Men ſhould be deprived of what they have, without having deſerved it, and ſo that they approve Injuſtice. He might have been content with that Anſwer; but he adds, That Chriſt hath commanded ſome things as neceſſary, and propounded ſome others only for thoſe who would obſerve them, without abſolutely obliging any body to do it. Such is (according to *Gregory*) the Command of *forſaking what one hath.*

11. One of the things which offended moſt the Chriſtians of that time, and about which they did not always defend themſelves ſo well as they might have done, is, their being upbraided by the Pagans with keeping up Ignorance, * ſince they preached nothing but Faith: *You don't reaſon* (ſaid *Julian* to them,) *you are meer Clowns, and all your Wiſdom conſiſts in ſaying*, Believe. *Gregory* anſwers to that, 'That if *Julian* 'derided the Chriſtians, by reaſon of that 'Method, he ſhould alſo have derided *Py-* '*thagoras*, whoſe Diſciples were wont to 'ſay, when they were ask'd the Reaſon of 'ſomething, *That* Pythagoras *had ſaid ſo*, 'which is all one.—*He adds*, That the Chri-'ſtians mean only by it, That it is not law-'ful to refuſe to believe what hath been ſaid 'by Men Inſpired of God; but that they ſo 'much

* *Pag. 99.*

'much deſerve to be believed, that that 'only is a Demonſtration of what they ſay, 'ſtronger than the whole Faculty of Rea-'ſoning and Contradicting.—— *Celſus* had raiſed the ſame Objection, * and laughed at thoſe who ſaid, *Examine nothing, but believe.* *Origen* anſwered, That it was indeed impoſſible for the Common People to examine things throughly; and that there was nothing more convenient for them, than to Believe, without knowing why. Such Anſwers could not very much recommend Chriſtianity, nor put the Chriſtians in a Condition of Triumphing over the Pagans, who might have ſtopt their mouths with like Anſwers. For, if one muſt Believe, without knowing why, one may as well believe any thing, though never ſo abſurd.

* *Origen. in Celſum. p. 8, &c.*

12. *Julian* having obſerved that the Church Diſcipline and good Order among the Chriſtians, did very much contribute to unite them one with another; and to encreaſe their number, was reſolved to introduce them into Paganiſm. He deſigned to † ſet up Schools in every Town, where- * *Pag. 102.*
in the Pagan Religion and good Manners ſhould be taught; to order publick Prayers and Cenſures againſt thoſe who ſhould commit ſome Faults; and to erect Monaſteries, and Hoſpitals where the Poor, Sick, *&c.*

should be taken care of. The Christians had maintained themselves, and encreased, in the midst of Persecutions, by such means which were much more proper to work upon the Common People, than Reasoning. Those who have writ concerning the manner how Christianity was propagated, have most of them omitted, I know not why, the good Order and constant Charity practised among them.

13. To make an end of the Extract of that *Oration*, I shall only say, that *Gregory* doth afterwards * fall upon the *Theology* of the Pagans. He is much stronger on this occasion, than when he defends himself; and it seems that he knew much better the weak-side of the Pagan Religion, than the strong one of his own.

* *Pag.* 103, *&c.*

I shall further give an Extract of the chief places of his Second *Oration* against *Julian*, and then I shall only in general shew the Subject of the other Writings of *Gregory*, which will be sufficient to know his *Genius*. That *Oration* contains in general the ill Designs of *Julian* against the Christians, some of his Actions, and his Death.

† *Orat.* iv. *p.* 111.

1. He † would favour the Jews, to oppose them to the Christians, and rebuild the Temple of *Jerusalem*. When the Jews began that Work, there happened, as when *Julian*

Julian himself was building with his Brother *Gallus*, so great an Earthquake, that they all ran away. As they were going into a neighbouring Temple to secure themselves, the Gates shut themselves of their own motion, as some reported it. But every body, if we believe *Gregory*, affirmed, that, as they intended to force their entrance into that Temple, some Flames came out of it, which consumed part of them, and lamed the rest. If any miraculous thing happen'd on this occasion, it must be confest, that they took little care to write it faithfully; since History varies so much about it, as one may see by comparing only *Socrates* and *Sozomen* with *Gregory*. However, the latter speaks very positively of that Fire, which came out of the Foundations, or out of the Temple; and to convince altogether Unbelievers, he adds, 'Let no body refuse to 'believe those Miracles, unless he rejects 'the other Miracles of God too. That 'which is most admirable and glorious, *is*, 'that a Light was seen in Heaven, which 'represented the Cross, *&c.* — *The Miracle did not stop there*; 'Let those who 'have seen that Miracle (says *Gregory*) shew 'their Cloaths mark'd with the Cross. 'As soon as any one, either of ours, or a 'Stranger, related this, or heard some body 'who related it, he perceived that Wonder

'either in himſelf, or thoſe who were by 'him. He ſaw it ſhine in his Cloaths, or in 'thoſe of others, after a more artificial man- 'ner than the fineſt Weaving, or the moſt 'exact Picture can repreſent it. —— That Miracle, together with the fore-going, converted an infinite number of People, if we believe *Gregory*.

* *Pag.* 114, *&c.*

2. Afterwards he * deſcribes *Julian*'s March, and Behaviour againſt the *Perſians*, and his Death, about which they did not agree, ſome relating it one way, and ſome another; a variety to be obſerved not only amongſt thoſe who were not at the Fight, where he died, but alſo amongſt thoſe who were in it. *Gregory* ſays what he heard concerning it, but he hath not related that was reported about it, as it appears from what *Sozomen* relates, *lib.* 4. *c.* 1, 2. But he forbears eſpecially ſaying that *Libanius* the Sophiſt accuſed the Chriſtians of having killed that Emperor. From whence one may learn, that when the Queſtion is about Facts, one ought not to rely too much upon Circumſtances. Our Author, who takes advantage of every thing,

† *Pag.* 118.

preſers *Conſtans* before *Julian*, † becauſe *Conſtans* his Funeral was better ordered than his Couſin's, and becauſe he was Praiſed after his Death; whereas the Memory of *Julian* was abhorred by the Chriſtians. Among the

the Ceremonies wherewith they honoured that of *Conſtans*, *Gregory* reckons * the *Nocturnal Hymns and Torches*, as if *Conſtans* had been the happier for it after his Death.

* Ibid.

3. After having upbraided *Julian* with his Inconſtancy, Covetouſneſs, angry Temper, and ſeveral other Vices, † he ſays, that he had foreſeen a great while before, when he was at *Athens*, what others knew by experience of that Emperor. It ſeem'd to him, that no good thing could be expected from a Man who ſhook his Head at ever minute, who moved and raiſed up his Shoulders, who had wandring Eyes, a furious Look, ſtaggering Feet, an inſolent Countenance, together with ſomething that was ridiculous, an exceſſive breaking in laughter, and a broken Voice; who asked impertinent Queſtions, and returned no better Anſwers.

† *Pag.* 121, *&c.*

When *Gregory* ſaw this, he ſaid, in the preſence of many Perſons, that he wiſhed to prove a falſe Diviner, but, *that the Roman Empire was breeding a great Evil.* A || learned Man, whom I have already quoted, could not abide that *Gregory* ſhould find fault with *Julian* for ſome things, which of themſelves have no relation with Vertue.

|| *Cuneus Præf. in Cæſares.*

4. *Gregory*, * who had begged of God that *Julian* ſhould be puniſhed; as ſoon as he died, look'd upon the Pagans with Pity, and exhorted the Chriſtians to treat 'em with Mildneſs; though he rejoyces becauſe the Chriſtian Churches would be no more polluted, the Altars profaned, Things conſecrated to God raviſhed, Church-men ill treated, the Relicks of Martyrs burnt, &c. Afterwards he inſults over the Falſe Gods, and admoniſhes the Chriſtians not to make an ill uſe of Proſperity, and to forbear doing what they reproached to the Pagans. In the beginning of his † Exhortation, he ſpeaks of himſelf thus, to excite the Attention of the Hearers: *Hear the Diſcourſe of a Man who hath not acquired a mean knowledge of thoſe things, either by the experience of what happens every day, or by the reading of ancient Books, and ancient Hiſtories.*

* *Pag.* 124, 127.

† *Pag.* 128.

5. However, the greateſt || Satisfaction of the Chriſtians, after *Julian*'s Death, was, according to *Gregory*, that thoſe who had perſecuted the Chriſtians, were ridiculed upon the Stage, and in Publick Places and Aſſemblies. "That which is ſurpri-
"ſing (*ſays he*) is, that thoſe who perſe-
"cuted us together with others, do now
"overthrow, with great Acclamations, the
"Statues of the Gods, by whom they were
"ſo long deceived: Thoſe who worſhipp'd
"them

|| *Pag.* 131.

"them yeſterday, do now uſe them op-
"probriouſly. —— But thoſe who continued in the Heatheniſh Religion, were undoubtedly very much offended to ſee the Statues of their Gods ſo dealt with, and could not look upon the Chriſtians as moderate Men. For certainly thoſe Statues were as dear to them, as the moſt Sacred Things were to the Chriſtians. Beſides, thoſe who changed their Religion, as often as they had a new Emperor, and became ſo ſuddenly Enemies to the Gods whom they had worſhipped all their life, could not but be very much ſuſpected.

6. Laſtly, *Gregory* having * derided *Julian*'s Speeches and Writings, which notwithſtanding are not ſo contemptible, tells him that he boaſts in vain of having never contracted any Crudity by eating too much; ſince the Harm he had done the Chriſtians, was infinitely greater than the Good which might accrue to the Empire from his Sobriety. "When one only Man (*ſays he*)
"is troubled with Crudities, and feels
"the Inconveniences of it, Is the Com-
"monwealth the worſe for it? But the
"whole Empire muſt needs ſuffer upon
"the account of ſo violent a Perſecution,
"and ſo many Troubles, —— In effect,
the want of Royal Vertues in a Prince, is a greater defect, than to be deſti-

* *Pag.* 183.

tute of those which Private Men ought to have.

To return to our History, *Gregory* having been ordained a Priest against his Will, as hath been already said, resolved to retire into the solitary places of *Pontus*, without his Father's leave. His Brother *Cæsarius* being then returned from Court, to live with his Parents, helped him to it. In the mean time, his Father being a very Old Man, and no longer able to bear the burthen of a Bishoprick, obliged him to return, to help him. *Basil* himself endeavoured to persuade him not to deny his Father. He was made a Bishop, to be his Coadjutor, and performed the Episcopal Functions, which his Father was not able to perform. At that time he made the *Oration*, which is the Fifth in order, wherein he addresses himself to his Father and to *Basil*, * and says, that he took the *Long Habit and Miter* at their Sollicitation. 'Tis a hard matter to know whether he pronounced that Complement, or was contented to write it down; but he recited before the People the Forty first *Oration*, which runs upon the same Subject. Not long after, he made the long Apology for his Flight, which is in the beginning of his Works. He sets down at large the Difficulties which attend the Exercise

* Pag. 136.

Exercise of Episcopacy, and says, that notwithstanding, he was resolved to come, to comply with the Church of *Nazianzum* and his Parents Desires, who equally wished for his return.

Among the Reasons which had deterred him from Episcopacy and Priesthood, he reckons the shameful manner after which many endeavoured to come to it, though they were never so unworthy of it, and and the multitude of Pretenders. ' * They ' look upon that Dignity (*says he*) not as ' an Employment wherein they ought to be ' Examples of Vertue, but as the means of ' Maintaining themselves; not as a Mi- ' nistry, of which they must give an Ac- ' count; but as a Magistracy, which is liable ' to no Examination. They are almost ' more numerous than those whom they ' govern, &c. And I believe, that the ' Evil growing worse in time, they'll have ' no body to govern, but all will be Teachers, ' and *Saul* himself shall be seen among the ' Prophets. —— He says, * That ignorant Men and Children were brought into the Pulpits; † That Church-men were not better than the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*; || That no Charity was observed in them, but only Anger and Passion; That their Piety did only consist in condemning the Impiety of other Men, whose Conduct they observed,

* *Orat.* i. p. 5.

* *Pag.* 21.

† *Pag.* 30.

|| *Pag.* 33.

not

not to reclaim them, but to defame them; That they blamed or praiſed Men, not becauſe of their good or bad Life, but according to the Party which they had embraced; That they admired among themſelves, what they ſharply cenſured in another Party; That there was nothing to be ſeen amongſt 'em but Diſputes like *Night-Fights*, wherein Friends are not diſtinguiſhed from Enemies; That they wrangled about Trifles, on the ſpecious Pretence of defending the Faith: Laſtly, That they were abhorred by the Heathens, and deſpiſed by good Men among the Chriſtians. This is a true Picture of the Lives of the Eccleſiaſticks in his time, as it doth but too plainly appear by the Hiſtory of that time. It's an unlucky thing, that thoſe of our time are ſo much like them, that were it not known from whence thoſe Complaints come, one would be apt to look upon them as a Picture of our Modern Divines.

Another Difficulty which attended the Exerciſe of Epiſcopacy, conſiſted in diſcourſing well of the Myſteries of Chriſtianity, and eſpecially of the * Holy Trinity; concerning which, acccording to *Gregory*, a *medium* ought to be kept between the *Jews*, who acknowledge but One God; and the *Pagans*, who worſhip Many: A *Medium* which *Sabellius* did not keep, by making the ſame God, conſidered

* *Pag.* 16.

ſidered under ſeveral Relations, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; nor *Arius*, by maintaining that they are of different Natures. As for him, he believed (as we have already ſeen, and as he repeats it here and in many other places) that he kept that wiſhed for *Medium*, by eſtabliſhing Three Principles Equal in Perfection, though the Father be the Principle of the Son and Holy Spirit.

It ſeems that *Gregory* had not been long his Father's Coadjutor, when his Brother *Cæſarius* died. 'Twas not long after the Earthquake which happen'd in *Bithynia*, in *October*, in the Year 368. He was then at * *Nice*, where he exerciſed the Office of *Queſtor*, or the Emperor's Treaſurer. That City was almoſt altogether ruined, and he was the only Officer of *Valens* who ſaved himſelf from that Danger. *Gregory* made a Funeral Oration in his Praiſe, which is the Tenth of thoſe that are extant. He makes a ſhort Deſcription of his Life, the chief Circumſtances of which I have related; deſcribes the Vanity of whatever we enjoy here; and makes ſeveral Obſervations upon Death, and the manner of comforting one's ſelf upon the Death of one's Relations. He wiſhes that his Brother may be in † *Abraham's Boſom, whatever it may be*: And towards the || end, deſcribing the Happineſs of Good Men after Death, he ſays, that according

* *Orat.* x. *p.* 169.

† *Pag.* 168.

|| *Pag.* 173.

according to Wiſe Men, their Souls are full of Joy, in the Contemplation of their future Happineſs, until they are received into the Heavenly Glory after the Reſurrection. *Cæſarius* had given his Eſtate to the Poor at his Death, yet notwithſtanding they had much ado to ſave it; thoſe who were at his death having ſeized the greateſt part of it, as *Gregory* complains in his Eighteenth Letter, whereby he deſires *Sophronius* Governor of *Bithynia* to uſe his Authority in it.

Baſil, *Gregory*'s Friend, having been made Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, * in the Year 370, had ſome difference with *Valens*, which I ſhall not mention here, becauſe it doth not at all relate to the Life of his Friend. This was perhaps the reaſon that moved that Emperor to divide *Cappadocia* into Two Provinces, and to make *Tyane* the *Metropolis* of the *Second Cappadocia*. Foraſmuch as the Juriſdiction of the Metropolitans reached as far as the extent of the Province, ſeveral Biſhops who were before Suffragan of *Cæſarea*, became Suffragan of *Tyane*; ſo that *Baſil* ſaw himſelf at the head of a leſſer number of Biſhops than before. † The new Metropolitan drew to himſelf the Provincial Aſſemblies, ceaſed the Revenues of his Dioceſs, and omitted nothing to leſſen the Authority and Revenues of *Baſil*. *Anthimus* (ſuch

* Vid. *Pagi Crit. ad hunc ann.*

† *Orat.* XX. *p.* 456.

(ſuch was the Biſhop of *Tyane*'s Name) who was an *Arian*, ſhelter'd himſelf under the pretence of Piety, and ſaid that he could not give up the Flocks to *Baſil*'s Inſtruction, whoſe Opinions concerning the Son of God were not right, nor ſuffer that any Tribute ſhould be paid to Hereticks. *Gregory* aſſures us, that he got ſome Soldiers to ſtop *Baſil*'s Mules, to hinder him from receiving his Rents. *Baſil* found no other remedy to it, but to make new Biſhops, who ſhould have a greater care of the Flocks than he could have; and by whoſe means, every Town ſhould carefully receive what was due to them. *Saſime* being one of thoſe Towns in which he was reſolved to put ſome Biſhops, he caſt his Eyes upon his Friend *Gregory*, to ſend him to it, without conſidering that that Place was altogether unworthy of a Perſon of ſuch Merit: 'Twas a * little Town, without Water and Graſs, and full of Duſt; a Paſſage for Soldiers, and inhabited only by ſome few poor Men. The Income of that Biſhoprick was very ſmall; and beſides, he muſt either reſolve to defend it by Force againſt *Anthymus*, or ſubmit to that new Metropolitan. *Gregory* refuſed that Employment; but at length the Importunity and Dexterity of *Baſil*, who wrought upon *Gregory*'s Father, obliged him to accept of it.

* *Greg. de Vita ſua, p.* 7.

It

It ſeems, that about that time he made his Seventh *Oration*, wherein he addreſſes himſelf to his Father and *Baſil*, and deſires their Help and Inſtruction to govern his new Church at *Saſime*. Notwithſtanding, he ſays freely enough to *Baſil*, that the Epiſcopal *Throne* had made a great Alteration in him, and that he was much milder when he was among the Sheep, than ſince he was a Paſtor.

* *Orat.* vi. The next day, he made * another *Oration* on the Arrival of *Gregory Nyſſen*, *Baſil's* Brother, to whom he further complains of the violence his Brother had done him; and becauſe 'twas a Day of ſome Martyr's Feaſt, he adds ſeveral things on that occaſion, concerning the Manner of Celebrating *Holy-days*, not with Profane Rejoycing, but Pious Exerciſes. He ſays, amongſt other things, " That 'tis then time to raiſe one's " ſelf, and become *God* (Θεώσεως) if one " may ſo ſay, and that the Martyrs per- " form therein the Office of *Mediators* " (Μεσιτεύσι.) —— That Expreſſion, to *become God*, inſtead of, to become a Good Man, and deſpiſe Earthly things, doth often occur in *Gregory*'s Writings. He ſays elſewhere, That the Prieſts * are *Gods*, and *Deifie* other Men; † That *Solitude Deifys*. Introducing || *Baſil*, who refuſed to embrace *Arianiſm*, he makes him ſay, " That he " could

* *Orat.* i. p. 31. & *Orat.* xxiii. p. 410.
† *Orat.* ii. p. 46.
|| *Orat.* xx. p. 349.

" could not worſhip a Creature, he who was " a Creature of God too, and had received " a Commandment of being God. —— It ought to be obſerved, that that Expreſſion was uſed among the *Pythagoreans*; as may be ſeen by the laſt *Golden* Verſe of *Pythagoras*, upon which *Hierocles* may be conſulted.

When *Gregory* came to *Saſime*, the miſery of that Place made him believe that *Baſil* deſpiſed him, and abuſed altogether his Friendſhip. Though he took upon him the Government of it for a little time, yet he exerciſed no Epiſcopal Function in it. He did not Pray publickly with the People, nor lay his Hands on any body. Foraſmuch as he went thither againſt his Will, and without engaging himſelf to ſtay there, he thought he might leave that Church, and return into the Solitary Place out of which they took him, when he came to *Nazianzum*. He * complained ſharply of *Baſil's* Pride, whom the Epiſcopal *Throne* of *Cæſarea* had ſo blinded, that he had no more any regard to his Friends. Thoſe Complaints, tho' never ſo juſt, were look'd upon as a Rebellion, by the Metropolitan; who ſeemed to have forgot the Eſteem he formerly had for *Gregory*, and the Services the latter had done him, in his Promotion to the See of *Cæſarea*. Yet *Gregory* continued to com-

* *Ep.* 31, 32. & *de Vita ſua*, p. 7. & *alibi*.

plain

plain that he had been shamefully dealt with by his Friend.

* *Greg. Presb. in ejus Vita, p.* 14.

Gregory having left *Sasime*, * retired into an Hospital of Sick Men, whom he took care to console; and his Father desired him, in vain, to return to *Sasime*; he could never resolve himself to do it, nor brook the Unkindness of *Basil*, who out of fifty Bishopricks, which were in his Diocess, had given him the least. All that *Gregory* the Father could obtain from his Son, was, that he should re-assume the care of the Bishoprick of *Nazianzum* during his Life, † without engaging himself to succeed him.

† *Ep.* xlii. & *Orat.* viii.

It seems that at that time, a Commissary of the Emperor, who had been a very good Friend of *Gregory*, came to Tax the Inhabitants of *Nazianzum*: They fearing he would not Tax them according to Equity, obliged *Gregory* to make the Discourse which is his Ninth *Oration*, wherein he exhorts Men of all Conditions to Piety, and addresses himself to *Julian*, who was the Emperor's Commissary, to induce him to lay that Tax like an Honest Man. Yet there happened a Tumult at *Nazianzum*, which exasperated the Imperial Commissary, and gave *Gregory* occasion to pronounce his Seventeenth *Oration*, which is upon the same Subject, and wherein he exhorts the People

People to Patience, and the Commissary to Moderation.

'Tis also believed that his Sister *Gorgonia*, who married a Man of Quality, whose Name was *Vitalian*, died about this time. *Gregory* made her *Funeral Oration*, which is the Eleventh in order. I shall not mention the Praises he bestows upon her, upon the account of her Piety, and wise Conduct. I shall only observe these Two things: *1st.* That *Gorgonia* * was Baptised with her Husband but a little while before she died, according to the Custom of that time. Her Brother did so much esteem her Piety, that he doth not stick to say, that there is scarce any body else to whom Baptism was *rather a Seal than a Grace*; that is to say, rather a Confirmation of the Vertue she had before, than the Infusion of new Holiness. 2. At the end of his *Oration*, having said, in his Address to her by a Rhetorical Figure, very frequent in our Author, *that she enjoys the Contemplation of the Heavenly Glory*, he goeth on thus; *If you have any regard to us, and if God hath given to Holy Souls the Privilege of perceiving such things, receive our Oration rather than Funeral Gifts.* It appears from thence, that he doubted whether the Souls of Dead Men know what's done here. One may also observe, that the word which I have rendred *Privi-*

* *Orat.* xi. *p.* 188.

* Τέκνα Hes. Opera & Dies verſ. 125.

lege, * is the ſame which *Heſiod* uſes, when he ſays that *Jupiter* hath given to Kings the *Advantage* of being after their death the Guardians of Men.

In the Year 371, *Athanaſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria* being dead, *Gregory* † made his *Funeral Oration*, ſome Years after, ‖ being at *Conſtantinople*. I ſhall ſay ſomething of it, when I come to that part of *Gregory*'s Life.

† Orat. xxi.

‖ V. p. 376.

In the Year 374, *Gregory* made another *Funeral Oration*, in Praiſe of his Father, which is the Nineteenth in order. He ſays that he died, being almoſt a Hundred Years old, having been a Biſhop Five and forty Years. His Son makes his *Panegyrick* at large, by giving an Abridgment of his Life; and endeavours to conſolate his Mother *Nonna*, whom he alſo praiſes very much. He addreſſes himſelf to his Father, * whom he deſires to let him know what " Glory he was in, and to govern both " the Flocks and Paſtors, of which he was " named the Father, and eſpecially his " Son. —— Here he uſes no word which may excuſe ſo violent a Figure as that *Proſopœia* is; and had he not uſed elſewhere ſome ſoftening words in the like occaſions, it would perhaps be a difficult thing to diſtinguiſh that *Apoſtrophe* from a true Invocation.

* Orat. xix. p. 314.

His

His Mother *Nonna*, who was almoſt as * old as her Husband, died ſoon after; and it was not neceſſary that *Gregory* ſhould make any Diſcourſe to her Praiſe, becauſe he had already made her Panegyrick, in the *Funeral Oration* of his Father. After the death of the latter, they would oblige him to take upon him the Biſhoprick of *Nazianzum*; and 'twas pretended that he had engaged himſelf to keep it, when he began to take care of it. But † he excuſed himſelf, becauſe of his Old Age; and the Biſhops of the Province named *Eulalius* to ſucceed his Father; and becauſe 'twas reported that that Election was made againſt *Gregory*'s Will, he wrote to *Gregory Nyſſen*, to let him know that there was nothing done in it but at his deſire.

* Pag. 315.

† Ep. xlii.

Foraſmuch as things were not preſently brought to that iſſue, and *Gregory* ‖ was afraid that he ſhould be forced to ſtay at *Nazianzum*, he retired to *Seleucia* in a Monaſtery, where he ſtaid long enough, till the Church of *Nazianzum* ſhould be provided. However, he returned to that Town before the Election was made; and he was again urged to take his old ſtation, but he would never do it. The Author of his Life aſſures, that *Baſil* built at this time an Hoſpital for thoſe that were ſick of the Leproſie, and that *Gregory* made on that

‖ Carmen de Vit. p. 9.

occaſion his * Diſcourſe concerning *Charity towards the Poor, eſpecially towards thoſe that are ſick of the Leproſie.* That *Oration* contains ſeveral Reflexions concerning Piety in general, and the uſe of the Good things and Evils of this Life. *Gregory* doth ſeldom confine himſelf to one Subject only, and obſerve an Order clear and free from Digreſſions.

* 'Tis the Sixteenth *Oration.*

During the Empire of *Valens*, who favoured the *Arians*, that Sect, and thoſe that ſprung out of it, did very much encreaſe. † *Conſtantinople* eſpecially was full of *Arians* and *Apollinariſts*, who believed that the Divinity of Chriſt was inſtead of a Soul to his Body. Whereupon ſeveral Biſhops, and many amongſt the People, who followed the Council of *Nice*, obliged *Gregory* to go to *Conſtantinople*, to confirm the Orthodox, and oppoſe the Hereticks. He ſays that he undertook that Journey againſt his will, eſpecially becauſe 'twas reported that there was to be a Synod made up of *Apollinariſts*, to eſtabliſh their Opinion.

† *Carmen de Vita ſua, p.* 10.

Being arrived at *Conſtantinople*, † towards the end of the Year 378, he lodged at a Kinſman's of his, whom ſome Authors conjecture to have been *Nicobulus*, who had marry'd *Alypiane* Daughter of *Gorgonia*, *Gregory*'s Siſter. *Valens* had given to the *Arians*

|| *Orat.* 28. *p.* 484.

Arians all the Churches of *Conſtantinople*, ſo that *Gregory* was obliged to Preach at his Kinſman's Houſe. There was ſoon after ſo great a concourſe of People, that that Houſe having no Chamber that might hold them, the Owner of it pull'd it down to make a Church of it. * It was named *Anaſtaſis*, that is, the Church of the *Reſurrection*; becauſe the Orthodox Faith had been, as it were, raiſed in that Place. Then the *Arians* ſtirred up almoſt the whole City againſt him, by accuſing him of believing *Three Gods.* He aſcribes the Zeal of the People againſt him, to their ignorance of the manner how to reconcile the Trinity with the Unity of God. It was not altogether the People's fault; becauſe *Gregory* himſelf ſpeaks of it ſo as to make one believe that he introduced what we ſhould call *Three Gods*, according to the common way of ſpeaking; though, according to his manner of defining the Unity, it muſt be ſaid he believed but One. He complains, that they threw † Stones at him, upon that account, and that he was ſummoned before the Judges as a Seditious Perſon.

* *Orat.* 32. *p.* 527.

† *Carm. de Vita, p.* 10, 11.

All that helped to make him more Famous, and encreaſe the number of his Admirers. 'Twas then that St. *Jerom* heard him, as he ſaid in || ſeveral places. I have quoted elſewhere a Paſſage out of that

|| *Ep. ad Nepot. Catal. Script. Eccleſ. cont. Jovinian. lib.* 1.

Father, wherein he gives but an ill Character of *Gregory*'s Eloquence, whom he describes as a Declamator, and whom the People applauded, without understanding what he said.

The number of the Orthodox encreasing every day, they desired to have a Bishop of their Opinion, and generally cast their Eyes upon *Gregory*. The Eastern Orthodox Bishops, especially *Meletius* of *Antioch*, *Basil* of *Cæsarea*, and *Peter* of *Alexandria*, did openly favour him. Yet they succeeded not in their Design.

There was at *Alexandria* * one *Maximus*, a Profest *Cynick*, and yet a Christian. He pretended to be descended from a Noble Family, and in which there had been some Martyrs. After the Death of *Athanasius*; the Orthodox having been persecuted in *Egypt*, he had been banished into a Village of the Wilderness of *Thebais*, named *Oasis*. He went dress like the Philosophers, that is, with a ragged Cloak on his Back; he never cut his Hair, nor shaved his Beard, and went with a Stick, as *Diogenes*. Thus living a very austere life, he took upon himself to censure every body's Vices, without any regard to any one's Quality, as the Ancient *Cynicks* did. Yet under that severe Out-side, and mortified Countenance, there lay a Soul Deceitful, Ambitious, Malicious, Covetous, and full of the most shameful Passions.

* *Carm. de Vita sua, p.* 12.

Passions. But because those things appeared not to the Eyes of Men, he got a great Reputation, not only among the People, but also among the most learned Men. He kept Correspondence with the Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, *Gregory*'s Friend, * as it appears from two Letters of *Basil*, which are directed to him.

* *Basil. Ep.* 41. *&* 42.

Gregory received him so well, at his arrival at *Constantinople*, that he made an *Oration* in his Praise, † wherein he omits nothing that might contribute to make that Impostor be look'd upon as a Great and Good Man. But having since found out his Cheat, || instead of the Name *Maximus*, which was prefix'd to that *Oration*, he put that of *Heron*, and entitled it thus; *An Oration in the Praise of* Heron *a Philosopher of* Alexandria, *sent into Exile because of the Faith, and returned three Years after.* *Gregory* shews, in that Discourse, what use might be made of the *Cynick Philosophy*, in the Christian Religion; and mentions the Persecutions which the Princes who favour'd *Arianism* had exercised against the Orthodox, especially in *Egypt*, and against the Philosopher *Maximus*. He concludes with explaining the Mystery of the Holy Trinity, and exhorting his Philosopher constantly to persevere in the Sound Doctrine, which kept a *medium* between *Judaism*

† *Orat.* 23.

|| *Hieron. in Cat. in Greg.*

†Pag. 425, &c. and * *Arianism.* He often makes that Observation, when he mentions the Holy Trinity; and one may observe in general, by reading his Works, that the same Thoughts do frequently occur. He advises his Philosopher to despise the Objections that are raised against that Doctrine, and bids him 'not be ashamed of the Charge of *Tritheism*, 'whilst others (the *Arians* and *Macedo*-'*nians*) run the hazard of establishing Two 'Gods; for (says he) either you'll resolve 'the Difficulty as they do, or you will 'not be able to resolve it no more than 'they, &c.

Gregory having thus made the Panegyrick of *Maximus*, received him at his House, Instructed, Baptized and Ordained him, and imparted to him his most secret Thoughts. † But as soon as *Maximus* thought himself Learned enough, he saw with grief that they designed to make *Gregory* Bishop of *Constantinople*. He thought he deserved that Station better than his Master and Benefactor; and perceiving that one of the Chief Priests of that Church envied also *Gregory* that Dignity, he joined with him to cross him. In order to it, *Maximus* got on his side *Peter* of *Alexandria*, who before favoured *Gregory*. Some time after, the *Corn Fleet*, which came every year from *Alexandria* to *Constanti-*

† *Carm. de Vita sua, p.* 12, &c.

nople,

nople, arrived there; and the Masters of the Ships *Hammon*, *Aphammon*, *Harpocras*, *Steppas*, *Rhodon*, *Anubis* and *Hermanubis*, joined presently with *Gregory*'s Assembly, though they had Orders to favour the Design of *Maximus*, whom two or three *Egyptian* Bishops designed to uphold more vigorously afterwards. In the mean time, the arrival of the *Egyptians*, and the care they took to join with *Gregory*, rejoyced him so much, that he made * an *Oration* thereupon, wherein he doth very much extoll the Piety and Constancy of those of *Alexandria*, and explains to them his Opinion concerning the Equality of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. He doth especially enlarge to prove the Divinity of the Holy Spirit; and among other Reasons, he uses this Argument, the Terms whereof would seem strange, had I not already observed the like before: † *If the Holy Spirit is not God, let him be made God first, and then let him make me God equal to him in Honour.* The meaning of that harsh Expression seems only to be this, *viz.* that if the Holy Spirit is not God, he cannot sanctifie Men, which *Gregory* styles elsewhere, *to make Men Gods.*

* *Orat.* 24.

† Pag. 429.

Some learned Men conjecture that about the same time *Gregory* made the Panegyrick of St. *Athanasius*, which is his One and twentieth *Oration*. He displays in it not only

the

the Vertues of the Bishop of *Alexandria*, but also relates at large the Persecutions he suffered, and the Troubles that happen'd during his life. He praises him especially for his Orthodoxy and Constancy in the defence of the Truth: 'All those (says *he) 'who profest our Doctrine, were divided 'into Three Parties - Some did not think 'well of the Son, and worse yet of the 'Holy Spirit: Those who had a sound Be- 'lief in those two Points, were very few: 'He was the first and only Man who durst 'openly publish the Truth, or at least he 'was seconded by very few People. —

*Pag. 394.

†*Pag.* 395. *Gregory* gives also St. *Athanasius* † the Glory of having brought to an Agreement the Eastern and Western Churches, which disputing only about Words, yet look'd upon one another as Hereticks: 'We said, agree- 'ably to the Doctrine of Godliness, that 'there is One Essence, and Three Existences '(*Hypostases*,) the Former relating to the 'Nature of the Deity; and the Second, to 'the Properties of the Three. The Bishops 'of *Italy* apprehended it so; but because of 'the scantiness of their Tongue, they could 'not distinguish the *Hypostasis* from the 'Essence, (*because the Latin Churches* ‖ *ren- 'der'd the word* Hypostasis *Substance*;) and 'they introduced the word *Person*, lest it 'should seem they acknowledge Three Es- 'sences.

‖ *Hieron. in Ep. ad Damas. T. 2. p. 13. Ed. Gryph.*

'sences. What followed from it? Some- 'thing ridiculous, or rather, that deserves 'Pity. A meer Dispute about Words, was 'look'd upon as a Dispute concerning the 'Faith. Those who said that there are 'Three *Persons*, were suspected (*in the East*) 'of *Sabellianism*; and those who mention'd 'Three *Hypostases*, were suspected (*in the 'West*) of *Arianism*. Such was the effect 'of those Disputes, &c.) St. *Athanasius* 'remedied it, by mildly conversing with 'every Party, and carefully examining the 'senses of the words which they used; and 'as soon as he perceived that the Eastern 'and Western Bishops were of the same 'Opinion as to the thing, and differed only 'in Expressions; he allowed the use of dif- 'ferent Terms, and re-united them as to 'the Substance of the Doctrine.

To return * to *Maximus*, his Party grew stronger, by the arrival of his Country-men, in the Year 379; and the better to engage the Bishops of that Country to serve him, he sent to them considerable Presents. Wherefore, he borrowed some Money of a Priest who was lately come from *Thassus*, an Island of the *Archipelago*, with Orders to buy at *Constantinople* some Marble, and other Materials for a Church, which they design'd to build in that Island. Not long after that, *Gregory* being indisposed, went out

* *Carm. de Vit. p.* 14, *&c.*

out of *Constantinople*, to take the Air, and so gave occasion to the Bishops to go very early to his Church, and to place *Maximus* upon the Episcopal See. They could not make an end of the Ceremony of that *Cynicks* Ordination, before it was noised about in the City. Whereupon the Magistrates of *Constantinople*, the Clergy, and the People, without excepting the *Arians* themselves, went in a Crowd to the *Anastasis*, and turned those Bishops out of the Church. They retired into a Play-house that was hard by, where they cut his Hair, and Consecrated him. Which did but exasperate the People, who gave *Maximus* all sort of ill Language, and blamed *Gregory* for having too kindly received that wicked Man into his House.

Gregory having notice of what past, returned presently to *Constantinople*, and made that *Oration*, which is the Twenty-eighth in order; wherein he says, that he was gone out of Town with some repugnancy, and that the little time he had been absent, had but encreased his Love for his Flock. He doth again shew the Perfidiousness of *Maximus*, and those of his Party; to which he adds a Description of a true Christian Philosopher. He excuses himself for his having been deceived by *Maximus*; because Good Men being not Suspicious, he could

could not suspect that that Philosopher would deceive him. Lastly, He says, that he is ready to leave the Episcopal See, and that he never desired it. He mixes several general Reflexions in that Discourse, and seems to prepare himself to Patience, by the Consideration of the Miseries of this Life. It appears that he was an Old Man, because he says that *Maximus* * would perhaps *upbraid him with his Old Age, and want of Health*; which is contrary to the Opinion of those who believe that *Gregory* was born about the time of the Council of *Nice*.

* *Pag.* 483.

Indeed, *Gregory*'s Return got him the People on his side, and obliged *Maximus* to leave the City, but not to give over his Design. It seems that he wrote to the † Bishops of the *Italick Dioceses*, met in a Synod at *Aquileia*, to whom he imparted the News of his Election, which had been approved by the Communicatory Letters of *Peter* of *Alexandria*, which he sent to them, to be read in their Council. He confest he had been Ordained in a Private House; but he said it was because the *Arians* had seized all the Churches, and that he was forced to give way to their Violence. The Council, who knew not the Circumstances, approved his Ordination, thinking that *Gregory*'s Promotion was not according to

† *Ep. Ambros. & Epp. Italiæ ad Theod. Imp. Conc. T.* 2. *col.* 1007.

to the Canons; becauſe a Biſhop was not allowed to leave one Church, and ſettle himſelf in another. Their Approbation of *Maximus*'s Ordination was alſo the reaſon why they refuſed ſince to Communicate with *Nectarius* his Succeſſor, and wrote to the Emperor to deſire him to have an eye to it, and to reſtore *Maximus*; or to call a General Council at *Rome*, to examine that Buſineſs. *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome* diſappaoved alſo *Gregory*'s Election, who, according to the Canons, ſhould have ſtay'd at *Saſime*, ſince it was not lawful for a Biſhop * *to leave the People committed to his Charge, to remove to another out of Ambition, which breeds Quarrels and Schiſms.* Thus he ſpeaks of it in a Letter written to ſome Biſhops of *Egypt*, wherein he alſo blames *Maximus*'s Election, as being contrary to the Canons. He wrote † further to *Acholius* Biſhop of *Theſſalonica* againſt the ſame, and exhorted him to endeavour to get a Catholick Biſhop eſtabliſhed at *Conſtantinople*. It appears from thence, that *Gregory*'s leaving *Saſime*, had offended ſeveral People; and perhaps he was ſomewhat too Nice, for one who was ſo little addicted to the World, as he himſelf ſays he was. Beſides, his reſolving to go to *Conſtantinople*, after he had deſpiſed *Saſime*, was a thing that might raiſe Suſpicions in the Mind of ill-

* *In Collect. Rom. Holſten. p.* 37.

† Ibid. *p.* 43.

ill-affected Perſons. 'Tis not to be doubted but *Maximus* did maliciouſly make uſe of all that, to ruine *Gregory*'s Reputation; and this perhaps emboldened him to go to *Theſſalonica*, to deſire *Theodoſius* to reſtore him by an Edict. But he was ſo far from obtaining what he deſired, that the Emperor ordered him with Threatnings to give over his Purſuits. Being enraged at his having miſſed his aim, he went to *Alexandria*; where having drawn ſome People to his Party, he threatned *Peter* Biſhop of that City to deprive him of his Place, if he he did not help him to invade the Biſhoprick of *Conſtantinople*. The Governor of *Alexandria* having had notice of this Inſolence, and being afraid that the *Cynick* would cauſe ſome Diſturbance, baniſh'd him out of the City; and Hiſtory doth not tell us what became of him afterwards.

Gregory being thus got rid of *Maximus*, was now expoſed to the *Arian* Faction, which endeavoured to cry him down, by ridiculing his Countrey and Relations. Beſides, they accuſed him of ill Humour, Careleſneſs, and other like Defects. But becauſe thoſe Reproaches were either ill grounded, or inconſiderable, he eaſily juſtified himſelf, as may be ſeen in his Twenty-fifth *Oration*. That which did him the greateſt Prejudice, is, that though he was a great

great Orator, according to the manner of the Age he lived in, yet he was not really fit to do a thousand other things neceſſary to maintain himſelf againſt the *Arians*. He ſhould have made his Intereſt at Court, and got the Favour of the Grandee's, to promote the Intereſt of his Church: But this he was not capable of, having ſpent the greateſt part of his Life in Study and Quiet. Hence it is that that Prieſt, who had favoured *Maximus* (as I have ſaid) drew ſeveral Catholicks to himſelf, who began to ſay that *Gregory* was not capable of well performing the Epiſcopal Duties; which required no leſs Experience and Skill in Affairs, than Eloquence and Learning.

Gregory was ſo weary of the Complaints and Croſſes of thoſe Men, that one day * he undertook to take his leave of his People. But he had no ſooner ſaid that he would go, than that the whole Aſſembly did ſo earneſtly deſire him not to leave them, and not to ſuffer the Orthodox Doctrine to periſh by the *Arians* Endeavours, after his departure; that at laſt he was perſuaded to ſtay till the Eaſtern Biſhops, who were to meet ſhortly, as 'twas reported, would chuſe another to fill up the Epiſcopal See of *Conſtantinople*.

* *De Vita ſua, p.* 17, 18.

Such was the ſtate of Affairs, until the arrival of *Theodoſius* at *Conſtantinple*, the 22d. of

22d. of * *November*, 380. That Emperor had been lately Baptized at *Theſſalonica*, by *Acholius* an Orthodox Biſhop, who had inſpired him with the Deſign of reſtoring the *Nicene* Faith. He had already ordered, being at *Theſſalonica*, † by an Edict bearing date the 27th. of *February*, That all his Subjects ſhould have ſuch a Belief concerning the Holy Trinity, as they had at *Rome* and *Alexandria*; That thoſe who would profeſs it, ſhould be called *Catholicks*, and the others *Hereticks*; That the Aſſemblies of the latter ſhould not be called Churches; and, That they ſhould be liable to Civil Puniſhments, as well as to the Divine Vengeance. Being at *Conſtantinople*, and having obſerved the great multitude of Heterodox, of which that City was full, he publiſhed yet a more ſevere Edict ‖ the 10th. of *January*, in the Year 381, whereby he annuls all thoſe which might have allowed the Hereticks ſome liberty, and takes from them all the Churches they had in the Towns, ordering them to reſtore 'em to thoſe who followed the *Nicene* Faith. Afterwads he ſent word * to *Demophilus*, an *Arian* Biſhop, to ſubſcribe to the Council of *Nice*, or to reſolve to leave the Churches of *Conſtantinople*. *Demophilus* did the latter without any Heſitation, and told the People that the next day they ſhould meet out of

* Vid. *Pagi ad hunc Ann. n.* 7.

† *C. Th. l.* 16. *T.* 1. *c.* 2.

‖ *Ibid. T.* 5. *l.* 6.

* *Socrat. l.* 5. *c.* 7. *Soz. l.* 7. *c.* 5.

the City. Thus the *Arians* were deprived of the Publick Churches, which they had kept Forty Years. * Notwithſtanding, *Theodoſius* was accuſed of want of Zeal, and they would would have him uſe Violence, to reduce the *Arians*, (as *Gregory* ſays;) though he doth not approve the Heat of thoſe who found fault with *Theodoſius*'s Conduct upon that account, and declares himſelf againſt thoſe who pretend to force the Conſcience.

* *De Vita ſua, p. 20, &c.*

The Emperor having ſent for *Gregory*, received him very kindly, and told him he was going to put him in poſſeſſion of the Cathedral of *Conſtantinople*. Leſt the People, the greateſt part whereof followed the Opinions of *Arius*, ſhould riſe up, *Theodoſius* ſent ſome Soldiers to ſeize the *Church of the Apoſtles*; and ſent *Gregory* to it, attended with ſome others, through the midſt of the People, who cried on every ſide, and were as much afflicted as if *Conſtantinople* had been taken; which could not be a pleaſant Spectacle to a wiſe and moderate Biſhop. Though the Sun was up, it was ſo clouded, that one would have thought it was Night; but the Sun ſhone all of a ſudden, when *Gregory* came to Church. That Circumſtance ſhould not deſerve to be taken notice of, were it not that our Biſhop relates it as an extraordinary thing;

thing; having ſaid, " * That though he " is one of thoſe who are moſt oppoſite " to ſuch Thoughts; yet he believes 'tis " better to believe all things, than to re- " fuſe to believe what is ſaid. —— As ſoon as they came to Church, all the People that were in it, cried out, they would have *Gregory* to be their Biſhop. He ſilenced them, getting a Prieſt to tell them, that they ought not to cry, but to give Thanks to God. As for the reſt, he was threatned with no danger, except that one Man only drew his Sword, which he preſently put up into its Scabboard.

* *Carm. de Vita ſua, p. 22.*

But though the *Arians* had yielded their Churches, yet they murmured about it among themſelves, and were angry becauſe they had been turned out. *Gregory* believed, with great reaſon, that the Heterodox might be wrought upon by Mildneſs, which he more willingly uſed than the Emperor's Authority. He complains, " That a Com- " pany of wretched Young Men call'd " Mildneſs *Cowardice*, gave to Fury the " name of *Courage*, and would have the " *Arians* to be exaſperated and inflamed " with Anger.

The Moderation of *Gregory* was not unpleaſant to *Theodoſius*, who ſometimes ſent for him, † and made him eat at his Table. Notwithſtanding, our Biſhop went ſeldom

† *Carm. to. T. 2. p. 80.*

to Court, * though the others were constantly there, to be in the Emperor's or his Officers Favour; and made use of Piety, as a pretence to raise themselves, and ruine their Enemies. Forasmuch as he was Old, and of a Weak Constitution, he was often indispos'd; which his Enemies ascribed to too great a Delicacy. As he was once in his Bed, they sent a Man to kill him; who moved with repentance, confest to him, at the feet of his Bed, that they had incited him to commit that Crime; the Pardon of which he presently obtained.

* *Carm. de Vita sua, p.* 23.

As for the Revenues of the Church, *Gregory* says, that having not been able to find any Account of them, neither among the Papers of those who had been Bishops of *Constantinople* before him, nor among those to whom the care of gathering them was committed; he would not meddle with them, and took nothing out of them, to avoid giving an account of them.

Theodosius called at that time a Council at *Constantinople*, either to condemn several Heresies, or to settle *Gregory* Canonically in the Episcopal See of that City. But before I relate what past with respect to *Gregory*, it will not be amiss to say something of the *Orations* he made whilst he was at *Constantinople*, and which are extant.

Basil

Basil Bishop of *Cæsarea* * being dead on the First Day of the Year 380, *Gregory* made an † *Oration* in his Praise some time after; having not been able to pay that last Duty to his Friend as soon as he could have wished. He praises *Basil*'s Ancestors, who were Persons of Quality, and besides, Christians for a long time. He says, that ‖ during *Maximin*'s Persecution, some of *Basil*'s Ancestors having retired into a Forest of *Pontus*, without any Provision, and without Arms to go a Hunting, they prayed to God that he would send them some of the Fowls, or a little of the Venison, which they saw in that Wood; and God presently sent 'em a great number of the fattest Stags, who seemed to be grieved because they had not called them sooner. *Gregory* delights in that Subject, according to the Custom of the Pagan Orators, who did the same with respect to the Fables of Paganism: The worst of all, is, that it makes one suspect the other Relations of *Gregory*.

* Vid. *Pagi ad An.* 378. *n.* 1.

† *Orat.* 20.

‖ *Pag.* 319.

2. Afterwards, he gives a short Account of *Basil*'s Life, and insists upon every Particular, according to his custom, with a great deal of Exaggeration, many Figures, and Moral Observations. Speaking of the manner after which he himself had spent his Life, he says, that he wishes * *his Affairs*

* *Pag.* 333.

may better proſper hereafter, by the Interceſſions of Baſil.

* *Pag.* ib. 3. The manner of getting * Church-Preferments in his time, was not more Canonical than the Means which are now-a-days made uſe of for the ſame end, if we believe *Gregory*.

Having ſaid, that in other Profeſſions Men raiſed themſelves only by degrees, and according to their Capacity, he aſſures, 'That the Chief Dignity was got as much 'by Crimes as by Vertue; and that Epiſ'copal Sees were not for thoſe who deſerved 'them beſt, but for the moſt Powerful, *&c.* 'No body takes the Name of a Phyſician, 'or a Painter, before he hath ſtudied the 'Nature of Diſeaſes, well mixed his Colours, 'and made ſeveral Pictures; but a Biſhop 'may be eaſily found, not after he hath 'been carefully formed, but upon the ſpot, 'as the Fable feigneth, That the Giants 'were no ſooner ſowed, but they ſprung 'out of the Earth. We make † SAINTS 'in one day, and we exhort to Wiſdom 'thoſe who have not learn'd to be Wiſe, and 'who have brought nothing to perform 'well the Epiſcopal Duties, but the Deſire 'of being Biſhops.

† The Biſhops were then called *Saints*, as now-a-days *Lords*.

|| *Pag.* 340, & 358. 4. *Gregory* aſcribes to *Baſil* || ſome Monaſtical Laws, and written Prayers. We have the former ſtill, without any great alteration; but the *Liturgy* which bears his Name hath been very much alter'd ſince.

5. He not only praiſes his Friend, but alſo makes his Apology againſt thoſe who accuſed him of Pride, (of which notwithſtanding he himſelf accuſes him in ſeveral places,) * and ſuſpected he did not believe the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, becauſe he had not ſtiled him *God*, in his Book. *Gregory* ſays that *Baſil* did ſo, for fear of exaſperating the Hereticks, who could not abide that that Title ſhould be beſtowed upon the Holy Spirit, becauſe the Scripture doth not aſcribe it to him; but that he had ſaid ſomething equivalent to it, which was the ſame thing; ſince Words do not ſave us, but Things. * *Pag.* 364.

6. Laſtly, Having deſcribed *Baſil*'s Funeral, he goes on thus; '† He is now in 'Heaven, where he offers, as I think, Sa'crifices for us, and prayeth for the People; 'for when he left us, he did not altogether 'forſake us, *&c.* He adviſes me ſtill, and 'chides me in Night-Viſions, when I de'part in ſomething from my Duty. —— At the end of his *Oration*, he addreſſes himſelf to him, and asks his Help in energick terms, as if he heard him; though he ſeemed to doubt whether he was in *Heaven*, that is, in the Place of greateſt Bliſs; into which † *Pag.* 372.

which the Antients believed no body went, except Martyrs, but after the Reſurrection, (as we have already ſeen by another Paſſage of *Gregory*.)

There is ſome likelyhood that he compoſed at *Conſtantinople* moſt of the other *Orations* which are extant, which I have not mention'd yet, eſpecially thoſe which he made againſt the *Arians*; wherein he hath been thought to have ſo well defended the Doctrine of the Council of *Nice*, as well as in his other Writings, that for that reaſon they have given him the Title of *Theologue*. One may read eſpecially his Thirty third *Oration*, and the Four following, upon that Subject. In order to give an *Idæa* of thoſe Five *Orations*, I ſhall obſerve, that the Deſign of the Firſt, is to ſhew, that it doth not belong to All to diſpute about Religion, and that it ought not to be done before every body, neither at all times, nor with too great a heat. He cenſures the Hereticks, as if they had no regard to any of thoſe things, and preaches ſome common places which all Parties have always equally made uſe of. He complains, * 'That they make Saints the very ſame 'day they go about it; That they chuſe 'Divines, as if they had inſpired them with 'Learning, and, That they make a great ma-'ny Aſſemblies of *Ignoramus*'s and Babblers.

* *Orat.* 33. p. 535.

Foraſmuch as he knew that ſome Men can't forbear Diſputing, he tells 'em, to ſatisfie their Deſire, that he will give them a large Field, in which they may exerciſe themſelves without danger: ' * Philoſophize '(*ſays he*) about the World or Worlds, 'the Soul, Rational Creatures leſs or more 'Excellent, about the Reſurrection, the 'Judgments, the Rewards, the Sufferings 'of Chriſt. 'Tis not an uſeleſs thing to 'ſucceed in thoſe Matters, as there is no 'great danger in being miſtaken about 'them. — Chriſtians have been ſince of a very different Opinion; and 'tis certain, that one may fall into dangerous Errors, and that there hath been real Miſtakes about thoſe Articles.

* Ib. p. 536.

In the † Second *Oration*, he comes to the Matter in hand, and doth chiefly enlarge to prove againſt the *Eunomians* the Incomprehenſibility of God, which he doth often. He ſhews, that there is an infinite number of things in Nature, which we do not comprehend, to conclude from thence, that 'tis no good Reaſoning, to deny that ſomething is in God, only becauſe we do not comprehend it.

† *Orat.* 34.

Having thus prepared the Mind of his Reader, or Hearer, he propoſes his Opinion concerning the Divinity of the Son, || and the Holy Trinity in general, which he doth in

|| *Orat.* 35. p. 562.

in these remarkable terms: 'That which 'we worship is a Monarchy. I don't call 'Monarchy, what is possest by one Person 'only, (for it may happen, that a Person 'not agreeing with himself, produces the 'same effect as if there were many,) but 'what is grounded upon the Equality of 'Nature, the Consent of the Will, the same 'Motion, and the same Design, with respect 'to the things which that Monarchy pro-'duces, (which is not possible in Created 'Natures;) so that although those that 'compose that Monarchy differ in *Number*, 'yet they differ not in Power. —— Had *Gregory* believed the *Numerical* Unity of the Divine Essence, he would have spoken very weakly and obscurely; since instead of the *Equality of the Nature*, he should should have said the *Identity*, and not mention'd the *Consent of Will*, but *One only Will in Number*. In that Oration, *Gregory* answers the Objections which the *Arians* raised against the Eternal Generation of the Son, which are often very weak, either because they are not well propounded, or because the *Arians* argued not better. However, as one might Personate an *Arian* better; so so one might perhaps maintain with greater advantage the Sentiments of the Council of *Nice*.

Among

Among the *Arian* Objections which *Gregory* proposes to himself, this is one of them, which is the Eighth; *viz.* * *That if the Son is, as to the Essence, altogether as the Father is; it will follow, that the Son is not Begotten, as the Father is not.* —— *Gregory* answers not, as the *School-men* do, That the Son is not Begotten, as to the Essence, which is the same in Number with the Fathers, as he should have said according to the Principles of the Modern Schools; but that *not to be Begotten*, is not a thing Essential to the Deity. To which he adds; 'Are you the Father of your Father, that 'you may not be inferiour to him in any 'thing; because you are the same thing as 'to the Essence? —— If any one should doubt still, whether the *Unity* which our Orator speaks of, is a *Specifick* or a *Numerical* one, he needs only read these words, which are at the bottom of the following Page; † This is our Doctrine, As we judge 'alike of things which are under the same 'Species, as a Horse, an Oxe, and a Man, 'and every thing is properly called by the 'Name which suits the Nature of which it 'partakes, whereas that which doth not par-'take of it, doth not go by that Name, or 'hath it but improperly: so there is but 'One Essence and Nature in God, which 'hath the same Name; though the Per-

'sons

* Pag. 569.

† Pag. 570.

'sons and Names are distinguished by the 'Thoughts.

* *Orat.* 36. In the * Fourth *Oration*, *Gregory* resolves, according to his way, the Objections of the *Arians*, by which they pretend to shew the Unequality of the Father and the Son.

† *Orat.* 37. In the † Fifth, he disputes about the Consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit, against the *Macedonians*.

Some of those who believed the Divinity of the Son, denied that of the Holy Spirit, and were even so bold, as to call the Holy Spirit a *Strange God*; because he is styled *God* no where in the Holy Scripture. *Gregory* made his Fifth and last Theological *Oration* against them.

In that Discourse, speaking of the several Opinions that have been about that, he

|| *Orat.* ib. p. 595. says, amongst other things, '|| That the 'greatest Theologers among the Pagans, 'and those who came nearest to us, have 'an Idea of Him; though they gave him 'another Name, having called him, *The Soul 'of the World*, and, *The Soul which comes 'from without*; and used some other such 'Names. As for the Wise Men of our 'times, some believe that the Holy Spirit 'is a Faculty; some, that he is a Creature; 'some, that he is a God; and some know 'not in what Order of Things they should 'place him; by reason of the respect they 'have for the Scripture, which is not clear 'upon that Point. —— *Gregory* maintains, That 'tis a Person *Consubstantial* with the Two other: And when he answers his Adversaries, who ask'd him wherein the *Generation* and *Procession* differed, he hath recourse to the *Incomprehensibility*.

But one of the chief Objections against the *Orthodox*, was, * That they acknowledged Three Gods. *If there is* (said their Adversaries) *a God, and a God, and a God; how comes it that there are not Three Gods?* &c. 'This is (replyes *Gregory*) 'what is said by those whose Impiety is 'come to its height, and even by those 'who are in the Second rank, that is, who 'have a right Belief concerning the Son. 'I have a common Answer to both, and 'another which concerns only the latter: 'I ask therefore the latter, why they call 'us *Tritheists*, since they honour the Son; 'and whether, though they leave out the 'Holy Spirit, they are not *Ditheists*? How 'd'ye explain your *Ditheism*, when they 'offer you this Objection? Teach us how 'we ought to answer; for the Answer by 'which you will clear your selves from '*Ditheism*, will serve us to vindicate our 'selves from *Tritheism*, &c. Thus we 'shall get the Victory, and our Accusers 'will be our Defenders, &c. But we have 'a

* *Pag.* 600.

'a Diſpute with thoſe two ſorts of Adver-
'ſaries, and a common Anſwer to both:
'We have but One God, becauſe there is
'but One Godhead; and that thoſe who
'emaned from it, refer to One only thing,
'though we believe Three of them. The
'one is not more God than the other;
'the one is not Anterior, and the other
'Poſterior. They are not divided in Will,
'nor ſeparate in Power, and there is no-
'thing in them that is found in things di-
'vided; but to ſay all in a word, the God-
'head is without Diviſion in Three Di-
'vided Perſons; as in Three Suns faſtened
'one to another, there would be but One
'Mixture of Light. When we conſider
'the Deity, and the Firſt Cauſe of the
'Monarchy, we conceive but One Thing;
'but when we conſider thoſe in whom the
'Deity, and thoſe who emaned from the
'Firſt Cauſe before Time was, and enjoy
'the ſame Glory, we worſhip Three.

'But it will be ſaid, *Is there not One only*
'*Deity among the Pagans, as their moſt*
'*learned Philoſophers ſay? All Mankind*
'*hath but One Humanity, and yet there are*
'*Many Gods among the Pagans, not One only,*
'*as there are Many Men.* I anſwer, That
'in thoſe things the Unity lies only in the
'Thought. Every Man is divided from
'others, by Time, Paſſions, and Power,
'which
'which is not in God. Therein doth the
'UNITY of God conſiſt, as far as I can con-
'ceive it. If that Reaſon be Good, let God
'be thanked for it; if not, we muſt look
'for a Better.

Afterwards *Gregory* propoſes to himſelf an *Arian* Objection, which ſhews more clearly ſtill, that the *Orthodox* placed not the Unity of God in the *Numerical Unity* of the Divine Eſſence, but in a *Specifick Unity* of Diſtinct and Equal Eſſences, and in a perfect Agreement of Wills. * *Things which are of the ſame Eſſence* (ſay ye) *are ranked in the ſame Order of Things;* —— *and thoſe which are not Conſubſtantial, are not ſo ranked. From whence it follows, that you cannot but confeſs, that there are Three Gods, according to your reckoning: For as for us, we are not in the ſame danger, becauſe we do not ſay that the Perſons are Conſubſtantial.* — The *Arians* meant, That foraſmuch as they admitted but of One Supreme God, and who hath created all other things, they might ſay, in that reſpect, that there is but One God; becauſe that God could not be ranked in the ſame Order, and under the ſame Name with his Creatures: but that the *Orthodox* acknowledging Three Beings of a perfectly like Nature, they could not deny that they acknowledged Three Gods, properly ſpeaking. *Gregory* anſwers only,

* Pag. 602.

That

That Things which are not of the ſame *Species*, are often reckoned in the ſame Rank (Συναριθμεῖ), of which he gives ſeveral Inſtances out of the Scripture. That ſhews, that the *Arians* might be accuſed of admitting of Many Gods, as well as the *Orthodox*; not that the *Orthodox* acknowledged not Three Eternal Minds, though perfectly Equal, and having the ſame Will.

* *Pag.* 611. A little lower, in the ſame *Oration*, * *Gregory* ſays, That having ſought among Created Things ſomething like the Holy Trinity, he could find no ſatisfactory Compariſon: He thought of an *Eye*, a *Fountain*, and a *River*, but he found not thoſe things proper enough to expreſs his Thoughts. 'I was afraid (*ſays he*) Firſt, that I ſhould 'ſeem to introduce a cetain *Fluxus* of Di'vinity, which ſhould have no Conſiſtency: 'Secondly, eſtabliſh a Numerical Unity by 'thoſe Compariſons. For an *Eye*, a *Foun'tain*, and a *Sun*, are One in Number, 'though differently Modified. I was think'ing of the *Sun*, the *Beams*, and the *Light*; 'but it was to be feared ſtill on this occa'ſion, Firſt, That we ſhould ſuppoſe a 'Compoſition in a Nature wherein there is 'none; ſuch as the Compoſition of the Sun, 'and what is in the Sun. Secondly, That 'indeed, we ſhould give an Eſſence to the 'Father, but ſhould not aſcribe a Diſtinct Exiſtence to the other Perſons, by making 'them to be ſome Faculties which exiſt in 'God, and have no diſtinct Exiſtence. The 'Rays, or the Light, are not other Suns, (*as the Son and the Holy Spirit are other Minds diſtinct from the Father*,) but ſome Emanations 'and Eſſential Properties of the Sun. Laſtly, '*Gregory* * found nothing better, than to * *Pag.* 612. 'lay aſide thoſe Images and Shadows, as 'being Deceitful, and very Remote from 'the Originals.

After all *Gregory* believes † that the Holy † *Pag.* 608. Trinity was only revealed by degrees; ſo that the Revelation manifeſted to Men, firſt God the Father, without ſpeaking of God the Son but obſcurely; afterwards the Son, without requiring from Men the Belief of the Holy Spirit; and laſtly, the Holy Spirit, after the Aſcenſion of the Son.

One may judge from thoſe places, of the Doctrine of *Gregory*, and the *Orthodox* of his time; with whom the *Orthodox* of ours agree as well in Terms, as they differ from them in Sence. One may alſo obſerve in the Expreſſions of our Biſhop a remarkable Effect of Diſputing; *viz.* when Men are afraid that their Adverſaries will take advantage of certain Expreſſions, they carefully forbear uſing them, for fear of lying open to 'em; though thoſe Expreſſions are very proper to expreſs the Doctrine they

maintain. 'Tis manifeſt, that *Gregory*, to be well underſtood, ſhould have anſwered the *Arians*; 'Yes, 'tis true, we worſhip 'Three Gods, ſince we acknowledge Three 'Eternal Minds, who have Diſtinct Eſſences: 'But thoſe Gods are perfectly Equal, and 'as perfectly United as Diſtinct Beings can 'be, having the ſame Thoughts, and the 'ſame Will; hence it is that we commonly 'ſay, that we acknowledge but One God.— But had he ſpoken thus, the *Arians*, who boaſted of their ſtudying, and following the Scripture, would have preſently replied, that the Scripture repreſents the Unity of the Supreme God, as a *Numerical* Unity, not as a Unity of *Species* and Agreement. They would have ſaid (as they already did) but with greater ſhew of Reaſon, that the *Homoouſians* introduced a New Paganiſm, by acknowledging Three Collateral Gods. So that they were obliged, to avoid thoſe Reproaches, ſtoutly to maintain that there is but One God, according to the *Nicene* Opinion. The *Platonicks*, who had the ſame Thought, but were not confined to Expreſſions, ſpoke it out, and ſaid, that the Principles of All Things are Three Gods. I cannot forbear quoting, on this occaſion, ſome remarkable Words of St. *Auguſtine*, which do admirably confirm what I have juſt now ſaid; * *Liberis Verbis loquuntur Philoſophi, nec in rebus ad intelligendum difficillimis, offenſionem Religioſarum aurium pertimeſcunt. Nobis autem ad certam Regulam loqui fas eſt, ne verborum licentia, ETIAM in rebus quæ in his SIGNIFICANTUR, impiam gignat opinionem. Nos autem non dicimus Duo vel Tria Principia, cum de Deo loquimur; ſicuti nec Duos Deos vel Tres nobis licitum eſt dicere, quamvis de unoquoque loquentes vel de Filio, vel de Spiritu Sancto, etiam ſingulum quemque Deum eſſe fateamur.* 'The Philoſophers do freely 'uſe any Words, and are not afraid of 'offending Pious Ears, in Matters very dif- 'ficult to underſtand. As for us, we are 'not allowed to ſpeak, but according to 'a certain Rule; leſt ſome Words uſed 'with too great a licence, ſhould produce 'an impious Opinion, if underſtood ac- 'cording to their Signification. When we 'ſpeak of God, we neither mention Two 'nor Three Principles; as we are not al- 'lowed neither to ſay that there are Two 'or Three Gods, though ſpeaking of every 'one of them, either of the Son or Holy 'Spirit, we ſay that each of 'em is God.

Such a Conduct, was the Cauſe of departing by degrees from the ancient Notions; becauſe the word *Unity* was taken in its ordinary Signification, without minding that the Antients underſtood it in a particular

* *De Civit. Dei, l.* 10. c. 23.

Sence. The ſame hath happen'd in ſeveral other Doctrines.

Having thus alledged ſo many Proofs of our Biſhops Opinion concerning the Doctrines which then divided Chriſtians, 'tis now time to return to his Hiſtory. The Council, which I have already mention'd, * met at *Conſtantinople* in *May*, in the Year 381. It was made up of a CL. Orthodox Biſhops; and XXXVI. *Macedonians*, whom they hoped to bring to the Orthodox Faith. Beſides, ſome Canons made in it concerning the Diſcipline, which I ſhall not mention, the Buſineſs of *Gregory* and *Maximus* was debated in it, and they made a *Creed*. *Maximus*'s † Ordination, and all thoſe which he might have conferred, were judged Null; and then || they declared *Gregory* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, though he endeavoured to be excuſed from it. They made him promiſe he would ſtay in it; becauſe he perſuaded himſelf, that being in that Station, he could more eaſily reconcile the different Parties which divided Chriſtianity. Indeed, it was ſaid againſt *Gregory*'s Promotion, that having been Biſhop of *Saſime* and *Nazianzum*, he could not be transferred to *Conſtantinople*, without breaking the Fifteenth Canon of the Council of *Nice*, which is Formal thereupon. But *Meletius* Biſhop of * *Antioch* replied to that, That the Deſign of that Canon was to bridle Pride and Ambition, which had no ſhare in that Buſineſs. Beſides, it ſeems, that that Canon was not obſerved in the *Eaſt*; ſince † *Gregory* calls what they oppoſed to him, *Laws dead long ſince*. Furthermore, he had exerciſed no Epiſcopal Function at *Saſime*; and as to *Nazianzum*, he had been only his Father's Coadjutor.

That Buſineſs being over, they came to treat of the chief Subject for which they were met; *viz.* *Macedonius*'s Opinion, who had been Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, and believed that the Holy Spirit is but a Creature; though all the Diſciples of that Biſhop agreed not about the Nature of that Divine Perſon, (as may be ſeen from a Paſſage of *Gregory*, which I have quoted.)

The *Nicene Creed* was preſently confirmed in the Council, and 'twas thought fit || to make ſome Additions to it, eſpecially to what concerns the Holy Spirit. That Addition is expreſt in theſe words, *I believe in the Holy Ghoſt, the Lord and Giver of Life, who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together, is worſhipped and glorified, and who ſpake by the Prophets.*

The Council did alſo Anathematize the Opinions of *Sabellius*, *Marcellus*, *Photinus*, *Eunomius*,

* *Socrat. l. 5. c. 8. & Sozom. l. 7. c. 7.*

† *Conc. C. P. c. 4.*

|| *Carm. de Vit. p. 14.*

* *Theodor. l. 5. c. 8.*

† *Carm. de Vit. ſua, p. 29.*

|| *Vid. Conc. Chalced. Act. 2.*

Eunomius, *Apollinaris*, and *Macedonius*; but I shall not enlarge upon those Errors, because they have no essential relation with the Life of *Gregory*. For the same reason, I shall omit what concerns the Discipline.

All things went quietly enough with respect to *Gregory*, till there arose a Storm, which deprived him of the Episcopal See of *Constantinople*, when he least expected it. The Spirit of Vengeance, of a Party which he opposed, was the cause of that Disturbance; which *Gregory*, who was not courageous enough to sustain the shock of his Adversaries, could not get himself rid of, but by running away.

There happen'd, some time before, a mischievous Schism in the Church of *Antioch*, where there were Two Orthodox Bishops at the same time. *Meletius* being dead at *Constantinople*, before the Council was ended, 'twas proposed to give him a Successor. Thereupon *Gregory* proposed an Expedient to put an end to that Schism; *viz.* That *Paulinus*, who was the other Orthodox Bishop, * and had been Ordained by *Lucifer* of *Cagliari*, should govern alone the Church of *Antioch* during the rest of his life; and afterwards, those of *Melelius*'s Party being reunited with those of *Paulinus*'s, should chuse a Bishop by common Votes.

* *Carm. de Vit. p.* 25.

Lest it should be thought he had some Interest in favouring *Paulinus*, and that he designed to make a Party; he offered the Counsel to leave the Episcopal Throne of *Constantinople*, on which he was just setled. But the *Ambitious* Men, and *Incendiaries*, (as *Gregory* calls 'em) who began to move to give a Successor to *Meletius*, would not hearken to that Proposal. * A company of Young Men fell a crying like *Mag-pies*, and made so great a Noise, that they drew in even the Old Bishops, who should have resisted them, and brought to a second Examination the Business of *Gregory*, which was just before ended. *Gregory* describes admirably well their Ambition, Ignorance, and their other Defects, in the *Poem* he made concerning his Life: One had better read it in the Author himself, than here. In the mean time, the People having heard that *Gregory* began to be weary of the Council, and was talking of retiring, fell a crying that they would not take their Pastor from them, and desired him that he would not leave his Flock.

* Ib. *p.* 27.

Thereupon, *Timothy* Bishop of *Alexandria*, who had succeeded *Peter*, and was of a violent and quarrelsom Temper, arrived with several *Egyptian* Bishops. The old Grudge they bore *Gregory*, on the account of *Maximus* the *Cynick*, had inflam'd them

to such a degree against our Bishop, that the first thing they did, was to complain that they had broke the Canons, by transferring *Gregory* from one Bishoprick to another. This caused a great stir in the Council, and on that occasion *Gregory* made his *Oration* concerning *Peace*, which is the Fourteenth, wherein he describes at large the Advantages of Concord, and the Mischiefs which arise from Divisions. He severely censures the Inconstancy of the Bishops, who had other Thoughts of him, without any reason, and suffered themselves to be imposed upon by the Calumnies of his Adversaries. He says, that the ill Reports which are commonly spread against Moderate Men, ought to be despised.

Lastly, One may easily perceive, by all that he says, that 'tis not only in our time that Men have cover'd their most shameful Passions, with the specious Name of Zeal for the Purity of the Faith. Wherefore *Gregory* says * that he told 'em, 'That they 'should not trouble themselves so much 'with what concerned him, but that they 'should endeavour to be re-united; That 'twas time for 'em to expose themselves no 'longer to be laught at as Wild Men, and 'such as have learned nothing but Quarrelling; That provided they would agree, 'he would willingly be the *Jonas* who should 'make

* Ibid. p. 29.

'make the Storm to cease; That he had 'accepted of the Episcopal See against his 'will, and willingly parted with it; and 'that his Body, weakened with Old Age, 'obliged him to't.

But because notwithstanding they charged him with Ambition still, he made a Discourse which is his Twenty seventh *Oration*; whereby he protests that he had accepted the Bishoprick of *Constantinople* against his will, and appeals to all the People for it. He says, * he doth not know whether he ought to call the See of *Constantinople* the *Throne of a Tyrant*, or a *Bishop*: He complains of his Enemies Evil-speaking, and the Envy they bore him, † because of his Eloquence and Learning in the Sciences of the Pagans. That perhaps raised the Envy of some; but the Station he was in, raised without doubt the Envy of many more. He might have made use of all his Rhetorick at *Sasime*, without being put to any trouble upon that account.

* *Orat.* 27. p. 465.

† *Pag.* 466.

Having declared, a Full Council, that he desired to leave the Place, which was so much envied; he went to the Emperor's Palace, to desire him to give him leave to retire. He obtained it with some difficulty; and having obtained it, his only Thoughts were to take his leave publickly; which he did in the Cathedral, in the presence of

of a Hundred and Fifty Biſhops, and all the People. The Diſcourſe he made is extant ſtill, and is the Thirty ſecond in order. He deſcribes the bad Condition he found the Orthodox Church of *Conſtantinople* in, and the Alteration he made in it: He makes a Confeſſion of his Belief concerning the Holy Trinity, and ſhews that he had done nothing that deſerved to be cenſured: He exhorts the Fathers of the Council to chuſe a Perſon worthy of the See of *Conſtantinople*, to ſucceed him; and laſtly, takes his leave of all thoſe who heard him. In that **Oration* he complains of his Old Age. And in the *Poem* concerning his *Life*, † he ſays he was then but *a Dead Man Animated*: Which he could not ſay, had he been but Fifty ſix, or Fifty ſeven years old, according to the ordinary Supputation.

* *Pag.* 523.

† *Pag.* 30.

As ſoon as he had taken his leave, the People, and generally all thoſe who heard him at *Conſtantinople*, ſhewed a great grief for it. The Conduct of the Council muſt needs have appeared to them very inconſtant and violent, ſince after they had confirmed *Gregory* in the See of *Conſtantinople*, they obliged him to leave it, when he was above Fourſcore Years old. Without doubt, ſo imprudent and Unchriſtian a Behaviour gave matter of Sport to the Enemies of the Council, and leſſen'd in a great meaſure the

the Authority of their Deciſions. For how can it be imagined that Biſhops, as Factious, Unjuſt and Ignorant as *Gregory* deſcribes them in ſeveral Places, were able to examine with Deliberation the Doctrines then in queſtion? If their Intereſt made 'em not encline to Orthodoxy, 'twas a meer Chance which led them into the right way. The love of Truth is ſeldom to be found with ſo much Vanity and Ignorance.

Thus *Gregory* left the Biſhoprick of *Conſtantinople*, ſome Weeks after he had been ſetled in it by the Council that turned him out of it: He retired into *Cappadocia*, (according to *Gregory* the Prieſt, the Author of his *Life*,) and went to live at *Arianzum*, where he was born.

Among thoſe who were preſented to the Emperor, ſome Biſhops * put in *Nectarius* a Senator of *Conſtantinople*, a Man of an Exemplary Life, and good Mien, but was not Baptized yet, and had ſcarce any Learning. 'Tis not known whether *Gregory* ſet out for *Cappadocia* before that Election was made, or whether he ſtay'd at *Conſtantinople* till they had named him a Succeſſor. However, *Gregory* wrote † an Inſtruction for *Nectarius*, wherein he begins with ſaying, "That it ſeems, God's Providence, "which heretofore took care of the "Churches, had altogether given over the "Con-

* *Sozom. l.* 7. *c.* 8.

† *Orat.* 46.

" Conduct of the Things of this Life. —— He ſays, that his Private Afflictions, though ſo great, that they would ſeem intollerable to any body elſe, induced him not to ſpeak ſo: He aſſures, that the Condition only the Church was in, extorted thoſe words from him. Afterwards, he deſcribes to *Nectarius* the Boldneſs of the *Arians* and *Macedonians*, who were at leaſt as numerous as the Orthodox, and dared to meet publickly. A horrible Undertaking, after the Deciſions of a Council ſo well regulated as that which was held a little before! *Gregory* could not apprehend how his *Holineſs* and his *Gravity* (ſo the Biſhops were called) ſuffered the *Apollinariſts* to meet. He lets him know, that *Apollinaris* aſſerted, That the Body of the Son of God exiſted before the World; That the Divinity ſupplied the Place of the Soul; and, That the Body, which deſcended from Heaven, and is Eſſential to the Son, did notwithſtanding die.

Gregory fancied, I know not why, that to ſuffer thoſe Men to Meet, was to allow 'em that their Doctrine was Truer than that of the Council, ſince there cannot be Two Truths: As if to ſuffer ſome body, is to denote that one believes their Opinion to be True!

Laſtly, He exhorts *Nectarius* to tell the Emperor, That what he had done in the behalf of the Church, would ſignifie nothing, if Hereticks were ſuffered to Meet.

Thus good *Gregory*, who, whilſt the *Arians* were ſtrongeſt, having the Emperor on their ſide, would not have that practiſed, which was blamed in them, exhorted his Succeſſor to forget that good Lecture. So difficult a thing it is not to contradict one's ſelf, when one doth not take great care to be free from Paſſion!

The next Year * there was an Aſſembly of Biſhops held at *Conſtantinople*, to which *Gregory* was invited: But he refuſed to go; and he anſwered thoſe who invited him to it, thus; † 'If I muſt write the Truth t'ye, 'I am ſo affected, that I will always avoid 'any Aſſembly of Biſhops; becauſe I never 'ſaw any Synod that had good Succeſs, or 'which did not rather encreaſe the Evil, 'than leſſen it. Without any Exaggeration, 'the Spirit of Diſpute and Ambition is ſo 'great in them, that it can't be expreſt. — One ought not to think that our Biſhop ſaid ſo, without thinking well on't, and in a Fit of Paſſion. He repeats it in his Sixty-fifth, Seventy firſt, Seventy ſecond, and Seventy fourth Letters; and beſides, he diverted himſelf, by putting in Verſes the ſame Thought in his Poetical Pieces: || 'I'll 'never go (*ſays he*) to any Synod, be-'cauſe

* *Theod. l.* 5. *c.* 8.

† *Ep.* 55.

|| *Carm.* 10. *p.* 80.

* *Pagi ad an.* 389. *n.* 5.

Gregory drew, for Example, *Baronius*, * or ſome of his Tranſcribers, into an Error; ſince they believed, that when *Gregory*, a ſhort time after the Death of his Brother *Cæſarius*, and Siſter *Gorgonia*, ſaid that he was an *Old Man*, it was to be underſtood of a *Premature* Old Age; becauſe the Tranſlator made uſe of that term, in tranſlating the 363 Verſe of the Poem entitled, *Carmen* I. *de Rebus ſuis*, though there is no ſuch thing in the Original. As for the Tranſlation of the Works writ in Proſe, 'tis incomparably better; and it may be ſaid, that the Abbot *de Billy* was as fit for Proſe, as he was unfit for Verſes. 'Tis a ſurpriſing thing, that a Man of his Learning took ſo much pains to tranſlate into bad Verſes, what he might have better tranſlated in Proſe. However, one may obſerve a thing, in the Tranſlation both of *Gregory*'s *Orations* and *Letters*; which ſhews, that one ought always to have recourſe to the Original, *viz.* That the Punctuation of the Tranſlation is often altogether different from that which is in the Greek, which makes it appear neater. This may ariſe partly from the fault of thoſe who put the Greek over againſt his Tranſlation, (for he publiſh'd it by it ſelf, and were not careful enough to correct it; and partly from the liberty the Tranſlator took, who cut ſeveral Periods

Periods that were too long, and lengthened thoſe which ſeemed to him too ſhort. However, it may be ſaid in general, that 'tis one of the beſt Tranſlations of the Greek Fathers that we have, and at the ſame time one of the moſt difficult, by reaſon of *Gregory*'s Style being too Florid, and even Harſh and Obſcure in ſeveral places wherein he handles ſome controverted Doctrines.

I ſhould end here the Life of *Gregory*, becauſe there is nothing elſe to be ſaid of him that is certain, were it not that I perceived, a little too late, that what I have ſaid concerning the putting off of Baptiſm, may be cleared by *Gregory* himſelf. He diſputes at large, in his Fortieth *Oration*, wherein he treats of Baptiſm, againſt thoſe who put it off, for the above-mention'd Reaſons. After all, it appears, to ſay ſo in a word, from that *Oration*, that *Gregory* believed, 1. That all paſt Sins are forgiven and blotted out by Baptiſm. 2. That 'tis a very difficult thing to be reſtored into a ſtate of Salvation, if one commits a mortal Sin after Baptiſm. 3. That thoſe who neglect Baptiſm, and die without it, are Damned. 4. That thoſe who die without being Baptized, but have not neglected or put off their Baptiſm by their fault, are

neither Glorified nor Puniſhed; whether they die in Childhood, or in a more advanced Age, wherein they wiſhed in vain to be Baptized.

It appears from that Doctrine, and ſeveral others, that Chriſtian Societies now-a-days, without excepting one, cannot boaſt to follow the Doctrine of the Fathers in every thing. *Theology* is ſubject to Revolutions, as well as Empires; but though it hath undergone conſiderable Changes, yet the Humour of Divines is not very much alter'd; as will eaſily appear, by comparing what we ſee in thoſe of our time, with the Complaints *Gregory Nazianzen* makes againſt thoſe who lived in his.

The

The Life

OF

PRUDENTIUS.

Aurelius Prudentius Clemens was born in *Spain*, in the Year 348, (* as he himſelf ſays, in ſome places of his Works.) His Anceſtors and Quality are not known, but it appears that he had afterwards ſome conſiderable Employments. † After his Childhood, he applied himſelf, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Times and the foregoing Ages, to the Study of *Eloquence*, under the Direction of a *Rhetor*. Youth learned, in thoſe Ages, to *Declame* upon all ſorts of Subjects, before they applied themſelves to the Sciences neceſſary to dive into the Nature of thoſe Subjects, and handle them well.

* *Præfat. Cathem.*

† Ibid.

That way of Inſtructing Young Men was not New; and the Abuſes that crept into

into it, were not introduced all of a ſudden.
* *L.2. c.4.* * *Quintilian* aſſures us, that 'twas only in *Demetrius Phalerianus*'s time, about 300 Years before Chriſt, that the *Athenian* Maſters of *Rhetorick* began to exerciſe Young Men, who deſired to advance themſelves, and get ſome Preferments in the State, by propoſing ſome feigned Subjects to them, like thoſe that were treated before the People, or at the Barr, and obliging them to diſcourſe upon thoſe Matters in their Schools. But in *Socrates*'s time, who lived a hundred years before, there were already ſome Maſters whoſe Profeſſion was to teach to defend all ſorts of Cauſes, and who boaſted to argue them ſo, as to make what
† *Cicero in Bruto.* §.8. is Unjuſt, appear Juſt; ſuch were † *Gorgias Leontinus*, *Thraſimachus* of *Calcedonia*, *Protagoras Abderinus*, *Prodicos* of *Ceos*, *Hippias Elæus*, and many others, who promiſed, with great inſolence, to teach how a Bad Cauſe might become Good, by pleading it as one ought to do: *Quemadmodum cauſa inferior dicendo fieri ſuperior poſſet.* One may ſee a bloody Satyr againſt thoſe Men in *Ariſtophanes* his *Nubes*, who indeed very unjuſtly aſcribes that Doctrine to *Socrates*, but grounds that Calumny only upon this, *viz.* That there was at that time ſome Men who maintained it, and upon ſome outward reſemblance which might be between

between *Socrates*'s Diſcourſes and theirs. He that will form yet a more compleat Idea of thoſe Sophiſts, muſt read *Ariſtotle*'s Books concerning *Sophiſtical Arguments*, wherein he aſſures us, that the Art of thoſe Men was, *a ſeeming Wiſdom, but not really ſo.*

Socrates, and the wiſe Men of his time, omitted nothing to ridicule thoſe Men, and hinder that ſo pernicious an Art ſhould be eſteemed, as it may be ſeen by Three *Dialogues* * of *Plato*, wherein he very ingeniouſly mocks the Sophiſts of his time. But they did not ſucceed in their Deſign, ſince *Greece* proved afterwards full of that ſort of *Rhetors*; and *Iſocrates*, whom *Plato* did much eſteem, made two *Orations* like thoſe of *Gorgias*, wherein he praiſes two Perſons that are extremely to blame, *viz. Helena* and *Buſiris.*

* *Hippias, Protagoras, & Euthydemus.* See *Cicero de Orator. l.* 3. *c.* 16.

Whatever *Socrates*, and thoſe that were of his Mind, might have ſaid, a Diſcourſe artificially compoſed, and attended with the other Ornaments of Rhetorick, made ſo great an Impreſſion upon the People, that by the means of ſuch Art, they overcame the beſt Reaſons. This could not fail to make a great many People deſirous to learn it, and to corrupt the Minds of moſt Men: Therefore they endeavoured to know how to ſpeak agreeably and readily upon

upon all Subjects; and becauſe ſuch a thing depended much more upon Exerciſe, than the Knowledge of the Things themſelves, they ſpent a great deal more time in Declaming, than in Forming their Judgment, and Studying the other Sciences. If they applied themſelves to Philoſophy, it was not ſo much to pleaſe themſelves with the Knowledge of the Truths which it might contain, as to appear Learned, and make uſe of them at the Barr. They chiefly applied themſelves to *Dialectick*; which was nothing elſe but the Art of Wrangling upon every thing, and Arguing Sophiſtically, rather than Rationally. They pretended, that they were not bound to uſe, upon the Subjects which they treated, Demonſtrative Arguments, or ſuch as come as near them as can be; and they thought that it was enough to alledge Likely Arguments, not in ſuch a degree of Probability which moves the Mind by it ſelf, but in ſuch a degree as belongs to the Things which are not oppoſite to clear Truth. 'Twas almoſt enough, to ſay nothing either altogether abſurd, or whereof the Weakneſs was palpable almoſt to every body. * *Ariſtotle*, who propoſed Two things to himſelf in his Writings, what is *Probable* (Πιθανὸν,) and what is *True*, handled the former, in his *Dialectick* and *Rhetorick*; wherein he ſhews how to make upon every thing Probable Diſcourſes, that is, of the Falſity whereof every body is not ſenſible.

* Vid. *Diog. Laert. in ejus Vita*, p. 319. *Ed. Hen. Steph.*

One may alſo convince one's ſelf of all this, by reading of the other Ancient Rhetors, and eſpecially the Rhetorical Books which *Cicero* wrote. That Art, as he himſelf ſays, came from *Greece* to *Rome*; and beſides the *Greeks* who taught Rhetorick in it from the time of the Second *Punick* War, ſome Maſters did alſo teach to Declame in Latin. 'Twas one *Lucius Plotius* who began to exerciſe the Youth in that Language, *Cicero* being but a Child.

They diſtinguiſhed thoſe Exerciſes into ſeveral kinds; ſometimes they took a Moral Subject, which they handled ſo as to alledge nothing that was particular, but only ſome general Notions, which had no relation to any Fact or Circumſtance. This they called *Theſes*, and * *Seneca* the Rhetor ſays that thoſe were the Exerciſes practiſed before *Cicero*; although it appears from what hath been ſaid, that they had ſome other Exerciſes, which conſiſted in ſome Diſcourſes which they made upon a true Fact taken † out of Ancient or Modern Hiſtory: Whereupon they enquired what ought to be done on ſome Occaſions; wherein they praiſed or blamed ſome Action. *Cicero* calls thoſe Subjects *Cauſes*; and ſays in ſeveral

* *In Præf. Cont.*

† *Sueton. in lib. de Claris Rhetoribus.*

several places, that he * had much exercised himself in them: Nay, he says, in one of his *Letters*, † that *Hirtius* and *Dolabella* Declamed at his House, in an Age in which it seems that those Exercises were unseasonable. Afterwards they found, that true Subjects taken out of ancient History, or such as lately happen'd, were not fit for that: They feigned some Facts, and to have more occasion to say some extraordinary things, || they cloathed them with strange Circumstances. There was nothing to be heard but Discourses upon what a Man should do, when he is ready to escape from a Shipwrack, and seeth upon the Shore some Pyrates who will bind him with Chains; or concerning a Man whom a Tyrant should command, upon pain of Death, to kill his own Father; or concerning a Father who should see his Children carried away to be sacrificed, by the Command of an Oracle. One may see a great number of such like Subjects in *Seneca*'s and *Quintilian*'s Controversies. They handled them with such an Eloquence, as came much nearer the Style of a Tragical Poet, than a Judicious Orator. That manner of Studying, which was admired in the following Ages, in which Men were much less polite, made most Writers meer Declamators, full of Exaggerations, strained Figures, Witticisms, Equivocations, Punns, Arguments which prove nothing, and all the other Defects of a false Rhetorick. They undertook to maintain all sorts of Subjects, without having any regard to Truth, thinking that one might more improve, by exercising one's self to defend bad Causes, than to maintain good one's. Thus *Julian*, being yet a Christian, Declamed against the Christian Religion in the School of *Libanius*, only said they to form his Mind, and use himself to find out probable Arguments *pro* and *con* on all Subjects.

* *Tuscul.* 1. c. 4.

† *Ep. Famil. l. 9. Ep.* 16.

|| *Petron. Init.*

I was obliged somewhat to enlarge upon the Manner of Studying in those Centuries; because without having some Notion of it, these words of *Prudentius*, in the *Abridgment* which he himself made of his *Life*, cannot be understood:

Ætas prima crepantibus
Flevit sub ferulis, mox docuit toga
Infectum vitiis falsa loqui, non sine crimine.

That last Verse denotes well enough the Rhetorical Exercises which I have mention'd, which Young Men applied themselves to, when they had put on *the thorough White Gown*, that is, at Seventeen or Eighteen Years of Age. In effect, they learned thereby to speak *false things* (*falsa loqui,*)

loqui,) which though ſpoken, as it were, out of an ingenious Fancy, yet were *criminal*, (*non ſine crimine*,) becauſe by that means they uſed themſelves by degrees to Lye, and ſpeak againſt their Conſcience. Father *Chamillard* [*who put out* Prudentius, *in uſum Delphini*] hath paraphraſed thoſe words with ſome that are more obſcure: *Plenus criminibus didici dicere falſa criminosé.* But I have not mention'd the Studies of *Prudentius*'s time, only by reaſon of that place; but becauſe, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, there is a great many others in our Poet, which require that we ſhould think of the Manner of Studying, and the Eloquence of his Time.

The Chriſtians Studied as others did, and Reaſoned almoſt as they did. One may find a pleaſant Deſcription of the Eloquence of that time, in St. *Jerom*'s Letter to *Nepotianus*, * concerning the manner how Eccleſiaſticks ought to behave themſelves:

* *Pag.* 12. *Ed. Gryph.*

'Don't you require of me (*ſays he*) 'Childiſh Declamations, wherein one may 'find Sentences ſpread as it were Flowers 'through the whole Diſcourſe; far-fetch'd 'Expreſſions, to flatter the Hearer's Ear; 'and at the end of every Article, Witticiſms ſhut up within few Words, to excite the Applauſes and Exclamations of 'thoſe that hear us: — *Ne à me quæras pueriles declamationes, ſententiarum floſculos, verborum lenocinia, & per fines capitulorum ſingulorum acuta quædam breviterque concluſa, quæ plauſus & clamores excitent audientium.* For then, to ſay ſo by by the bye, Acclamations and Applauſes were uſed in Churches, as well as Theaters: * Which appears by St. *Jerom*'s Advertiſement in the ſame Letter: 'I will not have you '(*ſays he*) to be a Declamator, and a Babbler without Reaſon; but underſtand the 'Myſteries, and be inſtructed in the Secrets of your God. 'Tis the part of Unlearned Men, to ſeek to be Admired by 'the ignorant Vulgar, by rowling as it 'were ſome words, and reciting with an 'extraordinary ſwiftneſs. An impudent 'Man doth often explain what he knows 'not; and after he hath impoſed upon 'others, fancies himſelf to be Learned. 'I deſired once *Gregory Nazianzen*, who 'was formerly my Maſter, to explain to 'me what's meant by the *Second Sabbath 'after the Firſt*, in St. *Luke*: And he pleaſantly anſwer'd, I will teach you that at 'Church, where, when all the People ſhall 'applaud me, you will be forced to know 'what you do not know; or if you only 'keep ſilence, you will be look'd upon as 'a Fool: *Docebo te ſuper hac re in Eccleſia, in qua mihi omni populo acclamante, cogeris invitus*

* Ib. *p.* 14.

invitus scire quod nescis ; aut certè si solus tacueris, solus ab omnibus stultitiæ condemnaberis.

To return to *Prudentius* : He confesses, that when he applied himself to the Study of Eloquence, he lived after a manner somewhat licentious. Afterwards he began to make use of his Eloquence at the Barr ; where his desire of gaining all the Causes he undertook to defend, either good or bad, exposed him, as he says, to great Dangers. Next to that, he obtained twice the Government of some Provinces which he doth not name : He was in the Army for some time, and was raised by *Theodosius*, or *Honorius*, to a considerable Employment, which he describes in these terms :

Tandem militæ gradu
Evectum Pietas Principis extulit,
Assumptum propiùs stare jubens ordine proximo.

Perhaps he had been *Præfect* of the *Prætorium*, which was the Chief Dignity of the Empire. 'Tis not known why, nor upon what occasion, he retired Home ; but it appears, that in the Fifty seventh Year of his Age, he wrote the Preface of his *Hymns for Every Day* ; wherein he alludes to his several Works (*Vers.* 35, *&c.*) which he designed, or had already composed; but perhaps were not yet made publick. They all run upon some Subjects of Devotion, and part of them are in *Lyrick*, and part in *Heroick* Verses ; yet he was not born for Poetry, and it doth not appear that he had much Learning. He doth very often mistake the Quantity not only of Greek Words, the Orthography of which he doth not seem to have well understood, but also of Latin Words, of which one may find some Lists in his Interpreters. He also uses many words of the Latinity of his time, and a Style which could only be liked then. The noble Facility of the ancient Poets, nor so much of *Claudian*, who lived at the same time, doth not appear in it ; and the bottom of his Style is low, and prosaick enough, though he doth whatever he can to raise it. His Heat fails him at every moment : One may perceive that Age had lessen'd the Heat of his Fancy, and that he could not supply it by the Light of his Mind. But if his Poetry doth not please by its Elegancy, yet it may be useful, because one may learn from it several Opinions and Customs of his time, besides some Facts concerning the History of Martyrs ; as it will appear by the following Examination of some Places of our Poet.

I. The Book entitled *Hymns for Every Day*, contains Twelve of them, composed as if they were to be sung or recited on several Occasions, at Break of Day, at one's Rising, before and after Meals, when they light the Candle, when one goes to Bed, on a Fast and after Fasting, at all times, at a Funeral, on *Christmas-Day*, and on the *Epiphany*. The Preface which is before those Hymns seems to be rather a General Preface for all the Poems of *Prudentius*; since (as I have already observed) he alludes therein to all his Works; and says, that he is resolved to leave for ever his worldly Employments, that he might altogether apply himself to write Verses to the Praise of God, against Heresies, and the Pagan Religion, to explain that of Christ, and upon the Martyrs and Apostles. Those are the Subjects upon which all the Poems of *Prudentius* run.

1. One may observe, that that Poet mentions several popular Opinions of the Christians in his time, which they took from the Heathens, as that which is to be found in the First Hymn (*Vers.* 38.) wherein he assures us that they said, *That the Dæmons, whom the Darknesses of the Night rejoyces, withdraw when the Day appears.* The Pagans believed that the Demi-Gods retired into some Desart Places, and wandred in the

the Night, and at Full-Noon, (as I have observed elsewhere; to which the 72, 73, and 74 Verses of *Callimachus* his Hymn, entitled *The Baths of Pallas*, may be joined, wherein he says that that Goddess bathed herself at the same time that Mount *Citheron* enjoyed *the Rest of Noon.* What the Latins said concerning their *Lemures* and *Striges*, is well known.

2. There is many Expressions in *Prudentius*, which are very harsh, and seem to say much more than he designed. For Example, * speaking of St. *Peter*, he says; * Ib. v. 58.

Flevit negator denique
Ex ore prolapsum nefas,
Cum Mens maneret Innocens,
Animusque servaret fidem.

It seems that he meant no more than this, *viz.* That though St. *Peter* had sworn that he knew not our Lord, yet he kept in his mind the same Sentiments for him which he had before. But his words taken in a rigorous sence, seem to say that a Man may speak against his Conscience, and yet have his Mind free from Guilt, as in *Euripides*'s Verse:

Juravi Lingua, Mentam Injuratam gero.

Thoſe who delight too much in a Figurative Style, are liable to the like Expreſſions. Thus St. *Cyprian*, in his Book *de Lapſis*, ſpeaking of thoſe who were overcome by the violence of Torments, ſays, *Infirmitas viſcerum ſenſit, nec animus ſed corpus dolore defecit*: "'Tis not the "Mind, but the Body that failed.

*Oxon. Ed. 127.

We ſhall ſee in the Sequel of this Diſcourſe another remarkable Example, by which it will appear that *Prudentius* ſays more than he means.

3. In the Eveleenth Hymn, to be recited in the Morning, † there is a ſlight Imitation of *Horace*; wherein having ſaid, that in the Morning every body betakes himſelf to his Affairs, *Prudentius* adds:

† Verſ. 29.

Miles, Togatus, navita,
Opifex, arator, inſtitor:
Illum forenſis gloria
Hunc triſte raptat claſſicum, &c.

One may ſee the beginning of the Firſt Satyr of *Horace*, by which it will appear that by *Togatus*, we are to underſtand a *Juris Conſulti*, or a Lawyer. F. *Chamillard* underſtands a Judge by it: But what I have ſaid, and *forenſis gloria*, which follows, ſhew that the Poet means, a Perſon who frequented the Barr, to get Glory by Pleading, not to do Juſtice in it. This agrees well enough with the Diviſion of the Day, which we find in *Martial*, *l.* 4. *Ep.* 8.

Prima ſalutantes atque altera diſtinet Hora,
Exercet raucos tertia Cauſidicos.

In the words of *Cicero*, cited by F. *Chamillard*, *Cedant arma togæ*, *Toga* doth not ſignifie the Judgments given in time of Peace, and hath no relation with Junicature; but denotes *Eloquence*, as it appears by the reſt of the Verſe, *Concedat Laurea Linguæ*. This is not the only place wherein Criticks will not agree with our Commentator.

4. For Example; *Prudentius*, in the Third Hymn * *to be recited Before Meals*, calls Chriſt *Verbigena*; where F. *Chamillard* doth well obſerve, that according to the Analogy of the Latin Tongue, that word ſignifies *Begotten*, or *Born of the Word*, as *Martigena* ſignifies *Born of Mars*. Yet he maintains that this is not *Prudentius*'s meaning, becauſe it is contrary to the Faith, which teaches us, that Chriſt is the very Word of his Father, not a Production of the Father's Word; ſo that he explains *Verbigena*, *Begotten Word*. But as we would not have our Words to be always explained according to the Notions and Terms of the

* Verſ. 2.

Antients; 'tis not just that we should make 'em speak as we do, unless it be evident that they have really used the same Expressions in the same sence. That Rule ought always to be observed, but especially when the Question is about an Incomprehensible Subject, as on this occasion; for indeed, whatever Expressions be used, it doth not become more Intelligible. Besides, it appears from another place of *Prudentius*, that by *Verbigena*, he understood, *Begotten by Speaking*. Here are his words in * the Eleventh Hymn of the same Book:

* Vers. 17.

Ex ore quamlibet Patris
Sis ortus, & Verbo Editus,
Tamen paterno in pectore
Sophia callebas priùs.

"Although Thou camest out of the Father's "Mouth, and wast begotten as the Word, "yet Thou wast before his Wisdom, in his "Breast.

Prudentius expresses in those words the Opinion of several Antients who liv'd before the Council of *Nice*, and believ'd that the Substance of the Son of God had existed after an Incomprehensible manner, and without Generation in the Father, from whom it emanated after an unspeakable manner

ner * before the Creation of the World; and that Emananation they call his Generation. Notwithstanding, they do sometimes explain that Generation by the Example of the Production of the Word; which made *Tertullian* say, *Hunc ex Deo prolatum didicimus, & prolatione generatum:* "†We have learn'd that God produced him, "and begot him by Production. —— Hence it is that the Fathers of the Council of *Nice* anathematized those who should say that *the Son existed not before he was begotten*: So that, in their Opinion, the Nature of the Son of God existed not only before the World, but is Co-Eternal with God, properly speaking; whereas his *Personality* is only Eternal, inasmuch as it did exist before Time, that is, the Duration of the World. The same Fathers teach, that after the Generation of the Son, he created the World, (as one may see in Dr. *Bull.*) *Prudentius* says also, agreeably to that Notion, in the following words,

* Vid. *Bull Def. Fid. Nican.* §. 3. p. 5, &c.

† Vid. *Iren.* l. 2. c. 48.

Quæ prompta Cœlum condidit,
Cœlum, Diemque & cætera.

"Which being emanated from the Father, "created Heaven, the Day, and all Things "else. —— Those who will give themselves the trouble to compare this Remark with

with F. *Chamillard*'s Note, will be able to judge whether it be safe to explain the Antients according to the Modern Notions. If any one desires to have a clear Idea of the manner after which the Antients apprehended that the Essence of the Son existed without Generation in his Father, and how he was emanated from him, I refer him to the same Fathers, who will tell him that 'tis a Mystery they comprehended not no more than we.

* *Vers.* 58. 5. In the same Hymn, * wherein the word *Verbigena* is to be found, there is also an Opinion singular enough, and which favours more of a *Pythagorean*, or *Manichean*, than an Orthodox. Having said that the Earth affords all sorts of Fruits to the Christians, he adds:

Absit enim procul illa fames,
Cædibus ut pecudum liceat
Sanguineas lacerare dapes.

The *Ebionites* are accused, as well as the *Manicheans*, of having believed that 'tis not lawful to eat Meat, and one may see St. *Epiphanius* upon those two Heresies. *Prudentius* might have said in this place more than he thought, as F. *Chamillard* believes, who observes, that he only meant, that many abstained from Meat, tho' they thought it not unlawful, only to live a more austere Life.

6. To-

6. Towards the end of the same Poem, * *Prudentius*, speaking of Christ's Resurrection, says: * *Vers.* 19.

Nam modo corporeum memini
De Phlegethonte *gradu facili*
Ad superos remeasse Deum.

"For I remember that a Corporeal God "easily came up again from *Phlegethon*.— F. *Chamillard* paraphrases this latter word by that of *Limbus*; as if *Prudentius*, by the Name of one of the Rivers of Hell, understood what they call *Limbus Patrum*. Tis certain, that the Pagans, who first used the word *Phlegethon*, denoted by it, not a River of the *Elysian Fields*, or *Fortunate Islands*, but of Hell, and the Place of Torments. So that unless *Prudentius* explains it elsewhere, or the general Opinion of the Christians of that time leads that way, the Criticks will have much ado to apprehend why the word *Phlegethon* should not denote in *Prudentius* the Place of Torments. Now, having examined all the Passages in *Prudentius*, wherein that Name, and those of the other Rivers of Hell are used, I find that *Prudentius* denotes by those terms, not a Place of Rest, but a Place wherein the Souls are Tormented. He describes that Place as the Heathen Poets do,

either

either with respect to its Situation, or the Torments which they suffer there. Thus in the *Apotheosis*, Vers. 743, he speaks to *Lazarus* in these terms, *Dic cujus vocem tellure sub ima*, &c. 'Tell us whose Voice 'you heard under the lowest Places of the 'Earth, and what Force went through the 'hidden Places where the Dead make their 'abode: Since when Christ recall'd you, 'and order'd you to come forth from the 'Black Depth wherein you was, you heard 'it as if you had been near. By what so 'neighbouring an Abyss is the Kingdom of 'of Darkness almost joined with the Upper 'Parts of the Earth? Where is the dismal 'Tenarus, by which they go down through 'a vast Extent? and that Hidden River, 'which rouls Flames in its Channel, which 'nothing can fill?

It appears from thence, that *Prudentius* placed Hell under the Earth, at a very great distance from the Place wherein the Living dwell: as *Homer* and *Hesiod*, who say that *Tartarus* is as far from hence, as Heaven is; and that an Iron Anvil thrown from Heaven upon Earth, or from hence to *Tartarus*, could get thither but in Ten Days.

In his *Hamartigeny*, Ver. 824. he describes Hell in the following words:

Præscius

Præscius inde Pater liventia Tartara plumbo
Incendit liquido, piccasque bitumine fossas
Infernalis Aquæ furvo subfodit Averno,
Et Phlegethonteo sub gurgite sanxit edaces
Perpetuis scelerum pœnis inolescere vermes.

One would almost think that 'tis a Heathen Poet who speaks thus; but he is not the only one who hath done the same; the Jews before and after Christ, and the ancient Christians, expresst themselves in the same terms.

Now, if it be asked what was the Opinion of the Fathers concerning the Place into which Christ descended, and those he took out of it; I answer, That there was some diversity of Opinions amongst 'em upon that Subject, although they agree in some respects. They * all constantly say that Christ descended into the subterranean Places where the Dead make their abode; but they don't agree about the Persons to whom he made himself known, and the End for which he went to them, because they had not the same Notions concerning the State of the Dead. Some who by the words *Hades* and *Infernus*, understood the Places wherein the Souls of all Men, both Good and Bad, are expecting the Resurrection, believed that the Soul of Christ descended towards the Souls of those who

died

* See *Pearson* upon the Fifth Article of the *Apostles Creed*, pag. 256, &c.

died in the fear of God, as the Patriarchs and Prophets. But some others, as St. *Auguſtine*, who thought that thoſe words are never to be found in the Scripture for a Place of Happineſs, and conſequently could not apprehend that the Souls of the Patriarchs and Prophets ſhould be detained in it; thoſe Fathers, I ſay, could not believe that Chriſt, in his Deſcent into Hell, went to the Prophets and Patriarchs who were not there.

Some of thoſe who followed the former Opinion, as *Euſebius*, St. *Ambroſe*, and St. *Jerom*, believed that Chriſt took from Hell the Souls of Good Men, and led them into Heaven. That's the Opinion of the modern School-men, and which F. *Chamillard* ſeems to follow in his Paraphraſe. But others who had the ſame Thoughts, with reſpect to the word *Hades*, believed that the Souls were ſtill in a ſubterranean Place, which they call *Abraham's Boſom*, where they were to ſtay till the Day of the Reſurrection. *Juſtin Martyr*, St. *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, St. *Hilary*, and St. *Gregory Nyſſen*, were of that Opinion.

Others, who maintained that the Souls of the Patriarchs could not be in a Place call'd *Hell*, which, in their Opinion, denotes only the Place of Torments in the Scripture, ſaid that Chriſt really deſcended into

into the Place wherein the Devils and wicked Men are tormented. They believed he went thither to deliver the Souls which were there to ſuffer the Puniſhment which their Sins deſerved. Some pretended that Chriſt had only delivered a certain number of thoſe Souls; and others, that he had altogether emptied Hell. St. *Auguſtine* * calls this latter Opinion a Hereſie, and follows the former. However, it was St. *Cyril's* Opinion, † who aſſures us, that when Chriſt was riſen, he *left the Devil alone in Hell*. *Prudentius* ſeems to have been of the ſame Mind too; at leaſt, in his || Fifth *Hymn*, he ſays that every Year, on the Night in which Chriſt roſe, the Damned feel no Pain; which ſuppoſes that Chriſt deſcended into that Place, and took the Damned out of it on that very Night:

* *Hæreſ.* 79.

† *Hom. Paſch.* 7.

|| *Verſ.* 125. & 133.

Sunt & Spiritibus ſæpè nocentibus
Pœnarum celebres ſub Styge feriæ,
Illa Nocte ſacer qua rediit Deus
Stagnis ad ſuperos ex Acheronticis.
Marcent ſuppliciis Tartara mitibus,
Exultatque ſui carceris otio
Umbrarum populus liber ab ignibus
Nec fervent ſolito flumina ſulphure.

"The Spirits of the Wicked, the Night
"in which God came from the Lakes of
"*Acheron*,

" *Acheron*, have some solemn releases from " their Torments. *Tartarus* languishes " with milder Punishments; the People " of the Shades, free from Fire, are glad to " have some rest in their Prison, and the " Rivers of Brimstone don't boil as they are " wont to do. ——— F. *Chamillard* observes that the Poet was mistaken in that respect, altho' St. *Augustine* * believed also that the Damned had sometimes some release. The School-men, and other Divines, who are so positive upon that Matter, should produce a clear Revelation, or the Testimony of some that have been in the Places which they speak of. But it appears, by the variety of Opinions, that no body hath any such Proof; and all that can be said, is, that it were better ingeniously to confess that they know nothing of it, no more than those who formerly spoke of it so differently. We shall see again, in the sequel of this Work, a Thought of *Prudentius*, extraordinary enough, concerning the State of the Dead.

* *Enchir.* c. 12.

† *Vers.* 95. 7. In the Hymn † to be said *before Sleep*, speaking of the Divine Justice, which can kill the Soul, as well as the Body, he says,

Idem tamen benignus
Ultor retundit iram
Paucosque non piorum
Patitur perire in ævum.

" Notwith-

" Notwithstanding, that Revenger, full of " Goodness, stops his Wrath, and only " permits that some impious Men perish " for ever. ——— Had *Prudentius* read *Plato*, one might believe that he should have taken that Opinion from him; for that Philosopher introduces *Socrates*, in his *Phædon*, dividing Men into Three Orders; the last whereof, which contains but a small number of them, is of those who are come to the highest pitch of Wickedness, and who being past curing, are precipitated into *Tartarus*, never to come out of it. It may be also that our Poet, by *Periræ in Ævum*, meant, not meerly to be excluded from Heaven, or to be in Hell, but to suffer the highest degree of Punishment in it; for he acknowledged several Degrees of it, as he says in the end of his *Harmartigeny*, of which I shall speak hereafter.

The Fathers have very differently spoken of the State of Souls after Death, and the Punishments of another Life; so that 'tis no wonder that *Prudentius* should have an Opinion of his own upon that Subject. We have seen what they said concerning the Place into which Christ descended, whilst his Body was in the Grave: And several of their Opinions concerning the Duration of the Punishment of the Wicked, may be seen in *Huetius* his *Origeniana*, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 2. *q.* 11.

by which it will appear, that *Justin Martyr* and St. *Irenæus* believed that after a certain time they should be annihilated. But, says that learned Man, the Church had decided nothing then concerning those Questions; so that what was look'd upon as uncertain at that time, became certain, since some Councils were pleased to tell what was their Opinion concerning it; which Opinion cannot be grounded upon a constant Tradition, seeing the Antients spake so differently of it.

8. 'Twas the Custom to make the Sign of the Cross when they went to Bed, thinking that that Sign did drive away the Devil; as it appears by these words of * *Prudentius* in the same Hymn: *Vers. 131.

Frontem locumque cordis
Crucis figura signet.
Crux pellit omne crimen,
Fugiunt crucem tenebræ, &c.

"Make the Sign of the *Cross* upon the "Forehead and Heart. The Cross drives "away all manner of Crimes, and Dark-"ness flies from the Cross, &c. —— The Respect which the Antients had for that Figure, gave occasion to their being accused of worshipping the Cross, (as may be seen in *Minutius Felix*, who vindicates himself from

from it;) but at last the time came, when Men were not ashamed to maintain that it ought to be worshipped. Thus Outward Practises, which strike the Eyes of the People, and are performed without Trouble, are easily kept up and encreased; whilst the Inward Dispositions of the Mind, which cannot be acquired without Pains, and without renouncing one's Passions, are neglected.

9. In the * Seventh Hymn, which is *for those who Fast*, *Prudentius*, speaking of the Fast of the *Ninivites*, affords us an Example of a manner of Speaking, which may easily lead one into an Error, if he doth not read with great Attention. He speaks after the manner of his time, of a thing that was done in a very remote time, and which those who did it, would not have expressed after the same manner: *Ver. 147.

Placet frementem publicis jejuniis
Placare Christum.

"It was resolved to appease *Christ* with "Publick Fastings. —— If the *Ninivites* well known, and if we knew not the Fast which *Prudentius* mentions, was celebrated many Ages before Christ, we might conclude from thence, that the People knew Christ. But 'tis very likely that our Poet had

had no such Thought, but only spake as they did in his time; and in all probability, those who spake of the Father's of the Old Testament in Christian terms, did the same.

10. *Prudentius* is not very exact in his Expressions, as one may easily perceive by the reading of some Pages with a little Application. Here is a remarkable Instance of it in the two Verses of his * Tenth Hymn, wherein he describes Death thus:

* Ver. 12.

Humus excipit arida Corpus,
Animæ rapit Aura Liquorem.

"The Earth receives the Body, and the "Wind carries away the Soul. — If we had nothing of him but those two Verses, and if we knew not that he was a Christian, we should maintain, that he believed that the Soul dies together with the Body; for the second of those two Verses doth naturally signifie so much, and an *Epicurean* could not express himself better. But besides that it cannot be doubted, after the reading of *Prudentius*, that he believed the Immortality of the Soul, he explains himself in his second Book against *Symmachus*, wherein he introduces † *God* speaking thus; 'The Inward Man, who lives in you, shall 'not die; he shall be punish'd with an Ever-'lasting

† Ver. ib.

'lasting Punishment, because he hath ill 'govern'd the Members that were subjected 'to him. 'Tis no difficult thing for me to 'surround a Liquid Substance with Flame, 'though it flies as the Wind:

Nec mihi difficile est liquidam circumdare flammis
Naturam, quamvis perflabilis illa feratur
More Noti.

He would have the Soul to be a very subtle Liquor, which the Wind carries away; but he pretended, that it could not be dissipated. The question is not, whether he had a clear Idea of what he said, and whether his Opinion is rational; 'tis enough to shew that he believed those two things, lest he should be suspected of *Epicureism*. F. *Chamillard* conjectures, that he might believe that the Soul was of the same Nature with Heaven, or of the *Quint-Essence* which Heaven is made of. But *Prudentius* his *Chimera's* were not perhaps the same with those of the *Peripateticks* of our time.

11. The Work entitled *De Coronis*, contains a Preface, and Fourteen Hymns, in Praise of several Martyrs, especially of *Spain*, which was our Poet's Native Country.

1. It doth clearly appear from ſeveral Places in thoſe Hymns, that they Prayed to Martyrs at that time, and believed that they were appointed Patrons of ſome Places by God. Some Proteſtant Writers, who fancy that the Tradition of the Four or Five firſt Centuries of the Church ought to be joined with the Scripture, have denied that the Saints were Prayed to in the Fourth Century; but they ſhould not have framed a Notional Syſtem, before they were well inſtructed in Facts, ſince they may be convinced of this by ſeveral places out of *Prudentius*. Thus in the * Firſt Him, which is in Praiſe of two Martyrs of *Calahorra*, a City of *Spain*, he ſays, *Exteri nec non & Orbis*, &c. 'Strangers come hither in 'Crowds, becauſe Fame hath publiſh'd 'through the whole World, that the Pa'trons of the World (*Patroni Mundi*) are 'here, whoſe Favour may be ſought for by 'Prayers. No Body did ever offer here 'pure Oraiſons in vain. Whoſoever came 'to Pray to them, perceiving that his juſt 'Requeſts had been granted him, went 'away full of Joy, having wept off his 'Tears. Thoſe Martyrs are ſo careful 'to intercede for us, that they ſuffer not 'that they ſhould be Prayed to in vain: 'Whe-

* *Ver.* 10.

'Whether it be done with a loud or a 'low Voice, they hear it, and report it 'to the Ears of the Eternal King. —— Thoſe who deſire more Proofs of it, need only read the Paſſages marked in the * Margin.

* *Hymn.* II. *ver.* 457. III. 311. IV. 175, & 196. V. 545. IX. 97. X. 130. XIV. 124.

It doth alſo appear from *Vigilantius* a Prieſt † of *Barcelona* his upbraiding moſt of the Chriſtians of his time upon that account, that there were already great Abuſes in the Honour which they paid to the Saints. St. *Jerom*, who anſwer'd him, confirms the ſame, by his manner of vindicating himſelf: He feigneth ſo to underſtand the Objections of *Vigilantius*, as if that learned Man had ſaid that the Martyrs were Honoured as Gods, whereas he only complained that they Prayed to them, and Kiſſed their Relicks. Hereupon his Antagoniſt denies that they Worſhipped the Martyrs, and believed they were Gods; but he doth not deny that they Prayed to them. One may ſee his violent Invective againſt *Vigilantius*, in the Second *Tome* of his Works.

† Vid. *Hieron. T.* 2.

2. Although *Prudentius* relates a great number of Circumſtances of the Torments of the Martyrs, whom he mentions; yet he complains that Time and the Heathens

have deſtroyed abundance of Acts, from which one might have learned them.

O vetuſtatis ſilentis obſoleta oblivio!
Invidentur iſta nobis, fama & ipſa extinguitur,
Chartulas blaſphemus olim nam Satelles abſtulit.

* *Hymn* I. *Ver.* 73. " * O Forgetfulneſs of Antiquity! We are " deprived of the knowledge of thoſe Facts; " and the very Fame, which would have " mention'd them, is extinguiſhed; for " the *Satellites* of the Heathens have long " ſince taken from us the Acts. ——— The Hiſtory of the Martyrs hath been the better adorned for it; they are repreſented to us not as Men, but as Perſons that have no Feeling, and at the ſame time are almoſt out of their Wits, (as it appears by the Hymns upon *Lawrence* and *Agnes*.) Hence it is alſo that *Prudentius* made but Two Perſons of ſeveral, *Hippolytus*'s and *Cyprian*, as F. *Chamillard* hath obſerved upon the Eleventh and Twelfth Hymns.

3. They believed, in our Poet's time, that *Rome* was full of the Graves of Martyrs, † *Hymn* II. *Ver.* 541. whereof the Number was not known, † as may be inferred from the following words:

Vix fama nota eſt, abditis
Quàm plena ſanctis Roma ſit,
Quàm dives urbanum ſolum
Sacris ſepulchris floreat.

" 'Tis ſcarce known how full *Rome* is of " hidden Saints, and how rich and adorned " with holy Sepulchres the Soil of that " City is. ——— The great Crowds of People about the Graves of the Martyrs, brought then too great a Gain to the Eccleſiaſticks in whoſe Pariſh they were found, to believe them altogether upon their Word. However, they began then to ſet up the *Catacombs*, of which here's a Deſcription taken out of the * Eleventh Hymn : * *Ver.* 158.

Haud procul extremo culta ad pomœria vallo,
Merſa latebroſis crypta patet foveis, &c.

' Not far from the Walls of the City is a ' Vault, that lies open through dark Pits: ' They go down into it by winding Stairs, ' without ſeeing any thing at all, for there ' is but a ſmall Light that gets into it through ' the Door of the Stairs; but when they go ' forward to the darkeſt Place, after they ' have walked through the winding Bye-' ways of that Den, the Light comes in ' through a Gap that is above: And al-' though thoſe Paths are very narrow and ' wind-

'winding, yet one ſees often the Light 'through ſuch like Gaps which are in the 'pierced Vault, &c. The Body of *Hyp-* '*politus* (ſays *Prudentius*) was laid in that 'hidden Place.

4. 'Tis not only the Behaviour of the Chriſtians towards the Martyrs, after their Death, which may be obſerved in the Works of *Prudentius*; one ought alſo to remark how they behaved themſelves towards them whilſt they were alive. In the *Fifth Hymn, which contains St. *Vincent*'s Paſſion, *Prudentius* repreſents the Chriſtians going in Crowds to the Priſon, wiping and kiſſing the Wounds which he received when he was pinched with Tongs (*ungularum duplices ſulcos*) licking his Blood, or dipping a Cloth in it, to keep it as a kind of Preſervative for them and their Poſterity. It appears alſo from the † Sixth Hymn, that *Fructuoſus* Biſhop of *Sarragoza* was attended with many Friends of his as far as the burning Pile, and that they deſired him to remember them. Afterwards they gathered carefully his Aſhes and Bones, and having ſprinkled them with Wine, they buried them magnificently enough. In the Tenth Hymn, || which contains the Paſſion of *Romanus*, a Chriſtian Woman being at his Execution with a Child, delivers him to be ask'd

*Ver. 333.

†Ver. 75, &c.

||Ver. 665, &c.

ask'd whether 'tis not better to worſhip One God than Many? The Child anſwers, Yes, and ſays that his Mother taught him ſo: Whereupon the Pagan Judge cauſes him to be whipt till the Blood runs before his Mother who exhorts him to ſuffer, is angry with him becauſe he calls for ſome Drink, and afterwards carries him to be Beheaded.

If thoſe Circumſtances, and many more, are true, it doth neceſſarily follow, that they ſpared then, in ſome meaſure, the Blood of the Chriſtians, and put but few of them to death, to terrifie others, ſince they did not put to death ſuch Perſons as made a publick Declaration. Yet if we believe thoſe who wrote ſince the Hiſtory of thoſe Times, 'twas enough to ſhew that one was a Chriſtian, to ſuffer Martyrdom; and the Rivers were red with the innocent Blood that was ſhed, to confeſs the Name of Chriſt. Thoſe who have no great love for Truth, and maintain it with the ſame Spirit that ſtirs thoſe who defend a Faction, have always done the ſame: They never believed that ſimple Truth was ſufficient to maintain it ſelf, but that it wanted to be adorned and upholden with Lyes. A fatal Conduct, and which hath done Truth ſo great a wrong, as will never be repaired. All that can be done by thoſe who love it, is to endeavour to diſintangle

tangle it from Fables as much as they can, and ingenuously to confess that an infinite number of Falshoods hath been mixed with some true Facts. This we are obliged to do, especially in the History of the Martyrs; and Mr. *Dodwell* hath happily performed it in his *Cyprianick Dissertations*, wherein he shews that there hath not been so many Martyrs as the Martyrologies reckon.

5. Although the Heathenish Custom, of filling the Churches with Images, is not approved, because it hath been found by Experience that they do more harm than good; yet it must be confest, that that Custom was practised in *Italy* in the beginning of the Fourth Century, and perhaps before. We learn it from *Prudentius*, in the Ninth Hymn, wherein he says, * That as he was going to *Rome*, he went into a Church at *Imola*, where St. *Cassianus* a Martyr was buried, and that being upon his Knees before his Grave, he saw there the Representation of his Martyrdom, over-against him:

* *Ver.* 9.

Erexi ad Cœlum faciem, stetit obvia contrà
Fucis colorum picta imago Martyris, &c.

The same thing may be observed in the Eleventh Hymn, concerning † St. *Hyppolitus*, in

† *Ver.* 123.

in whose Chappel *Prudentius* reports that the same thing may may be seen as in that of *Cassianus*.

Exemplar sceleris paries habet illitus, in quo
Multicolor fucus digerit omne nefas.
Picta super tumulum species liquidis viget umbris,
Effigians fracti membra cruenta viri.

It ought to be observed, that upon that Grave there was a Table, or an Altar, on which they celebrated the * *Eucharist*; so that, that Image precisely upon the Altar where they are wont to place Images now in the Church of *Rome*.

* Ibid. *ver.* 170.

Thus those who had but a confused Notion of Christian Piety, believed that it could not maintain it self without the help of Outward Objects, and I know not what Heathenish Pomp, which hath at last extinguished the Spirit of the Gospel, and substituted Paganism in its room. Whatever hath an Outward Appearance of Piety, and may be observed without having any Vertue in the Soul, was always easily entertained amongst ignorant Nations; who, on the contrary, did always neglect whatever requires some Vertue to be practised. However, we must acknowledge, that Images were not yet permitted every where at that time; witness

witneſs St. *Epiphanius*'s Action, who tore a Vail in a Church of a Village in *Paleſtine*, named *Anablatha*, becauſe there was a Picture upon it, ſaying, that it was againſt *the Authority of the Scripture*. He himſelf relates that Action, in a Letter to *John* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, which St. *Jerom* tranſlated into Latin, and ſpeaks of it as of an Action which no body could blame, and which was grounded upon the Doctrine of the Apoſtles. However, it apears from *Prudentius*, that this was not the Opinion of the whole Chriſtian Church; and one may ſee thereby, that the ſingle Teſtimony of one Father is not ſufficient to judge of the Opinions of all the Chriſtians, as 'tis but too often practiſed.

III. *Prudentius* his *Apotheoſis* is a Poem in Heroick Verſes, wherein he aſſaults ſeveral Errors either of ſome Hereticks, or of the Jews. He attacks,

1. The *Patripaſſians*, or Diſciples of *Noëtus*, who lived about the Year 240, who diſtinguiſhed no *Hypoſtaſes* in the Deity, and believing that it was united to Chriſt, maintained that the Father had ſuffered as well as the Son. 'Tis a difficult thing to know whether the Opinion of that Heretick is faithfully related, or whether they

they did not aſcribe to him the Conſequences which they drew from it. However, *Prudentius* endeavours to prove againſt him, that the Father never made himſelf Viſible, and that conſequently it cannot be ſaid that he dwelt in Chriſt; but it muſt be confeſt that this is a very weak Argument, according to the Notions of our Modern Divines. For if the Eſſence of the Son became in ſome reſpect Viſible by being United to Chriſt, that of the Father became Viſible at the ſame time, becauſe 'tis but One only Eſſence in *Number*.

2. The next Hereticks againſt whom *Prudentius* writes, are the *Unionites*, that is to ſay, the *Sabellians*, who began to appear about twenty Years after *Noëtus*. They uſed the ſame Arguments with that Heretick, to prove the Unity of a Divine Hypoſtaſis; and they were anſwered as *Noëtus* was, (as may be ſeen in * St. *Epihanius*.) *Prudentius* upbraids *Sabellius* with ſaying nothing that's new; becauſe the Pagans, eſpecially the Philoſophers, acknowledged the Unity of a Supreme God, as well as he, although they did ſometimes mention many:

* *Hæreſ.* 57, & 62.

Cum

Cum ventum tamen ad normam rationis
& artis,
Turbidulos ſenſus, & litigioſa fragoſis
Argumenta modis concludunt Numen in
Unum.

Afterwards he ſhews, that the Chriſtians ſurpaſs thoſe Pagan *Unionites*, becauſe they believe Three *Hypoſtaſes* in that One Deity; and that if there was but One *Hypoſtaſis*, the Son would be Son of Himſelf; which is abſurd. That whole Diſpute is a very intricate one, becauſe it runs upon a Subject equally incomprehenſible to the Orthodox and Hereticks; and thoſe who will carefully read the Reaſonings of *Prudentius* and St. *Epiphanius* upon that Matter, will perceive that they prove not *Three Modifications* of One Eſſence, but *Three* equally Glorious *Eſſences*.

This the Hereticks upbraided the Orthodox with, when they asked 'em, as St. *Epiphanius* relates it, *Have we One God, or have we Three?* *Prudentius* anſwers that Queſtion, in his * *Hamartigeny*, thus:

* *Ver.* 347.

—— Deus Pater eſt & Filius unum,
Quippe unum Natura facit quæ conſtat utrique
Una voluntatis, juris, virtutis, amoris;
Non tamen idcircò Duo Numina, nec Duo rerum
Artifices; quorum generis Diſſentio nulla eſt.

That

That is to ſay, thoſe are not Three, whoſe Nature is the ſame *Kind*, Ὁμογενὴς in Greek, which is the ſame thing with Ὁμοούσιος, (as I have ſhewed * elſewhere.)

* In the Life of *Euſebius*.

3. Afterwards *Prudentius* attacks the *Jews* ſomewhat weakly, by confuſedly relating ſome Miracles of Chriſt, and ſome Effects of the Goſpel, either true or falſe, as the Hiſtory of I know not what Magical Sacrifice of *Julian*, the Effects whereof a Chriſtian hindred by his Preſence. Yet he ſpeaks well of that Emperor, which is a ſign of his Equity:

—— Ductor fortiſſimus armis,
Conditur & legum celeberrimus ore manuque,
Conſultor Patriæ, ſed non conſultor habendæ
Religionis.

4. The Fourth Error, which *Prudentius* confutes, is that of *Paulus Samoſatenus*, Biſhop of *Antioch*, who believed the Unity of God, in the ſame ſence as *Noëtus* and *Sabellius*; but ſaid, that Chriſt was but a meer Man. To ſhew the falſity of that Doctrine, *Prudentius* relates the Hiſtory of the *Wiſe Men*, and the Miracles of Chriſt. He that ſet down the Titles to thoſe Places of the *Apotheoſis*, wherein our Poet begins to

confute a new Error, calls the Followers of *Paulus*, *Homuncionites*.

5. *Prudentius* explains the Nature of the Soul, against I know not what Hereticks, who seem to have made it Equal to the Divine Nature: He shews, that the Soul hath a Beginning, though it be like God; wherein it differs from the Son, of whom the Essence had no Beginning, having been in his Father from all Eternity. Afterwards he shews how it is subject to several Weaknesses, and may sin. He says that Souls *Ver. 910. * become corrupted, by being united with the Body, which all Men have from *Adam*; whence it is that all Men are born Sinners, and that we must beware of believing that Souls produce other Souls.

6. Our Poet writes against the *Phantasmaticks*, that is to say, those who pretended that Christ had not a True Body. He doth especially endeavour to to shew that, if this were true, God would have deceived us, and that Christ's Genealogy would be but a *Chimæra*; in effect, the *Manichæans*, who were of the number of the *Phantasmaticks*, rejected that Genealogy.

7. *Prudentius*, in the last place, describes the *Resurrection*, in some Verses, and so ends his Poem.

IV. The

IV. The following Poem, entitled *Hamartigeny*, or, *The Birth of Sin*, is against the Opinions of the *Manicheans* and *Marcionites*, who believed Two Collateral Gods, whereof the one was the Author of Good, and the other of Evil. *Prudentius* doth scarce any thing but set down the common Opinion, and repeat several ways, That there is but One All-Good God; and that he whom the Hereticks make Equal with Him, is an Angel fallen from his Innocency, who induced Men to Sin, and is really the cause of most Evils which happen in the World, which our Poet describes at large.

The *Manicheans* and *Marcionites* raised an Objection against the Orthodox, which *Prudentius* *alledges, without abating any thing of its strength; *viz.* That if the God who governs the World did not delight in Sin, he would hinder it; since he is not ignorant of Mens Corruption, and can hinder it. They pretended, that to do Ill, or suffer it, was the same thing, when it can be remedied. *Prudentius* answers, First, That it doth plainly appear, that God delights not in Sin; since he applies a Remedy to it, and saves those who abstain from it. But, replied the Hereticks, Men cannot Sin, if God will not; since he masters Mens Hearts, and turns them as he pleases. Our *Ver. 640.

Poet doth not resolve this Difficulty any other way, than by having recourse to Free-Will, without which, there can be neither Vice nor Vertue. He doth much enlarge upon that, and proves it, not only by the Example of our First Parents, but of *Lot* and his Wife, *Noemi*'s Daughter-in-Law; and of two Brothers, one of whom is seen every day to embrace Vertue, and the other to give up himself to Vice: To which he adds * this general Maxim:

* *Ver.* 508.

Omnibus una subest Natura: sed exitus omnes
Non unus peragit, placitorum segrege formâ.

" All Men are not of the same Nature, but " all have not the same End, because they " do not all pursue the same thing. —

It appears from what hath been said before, that *Prudentius* believed that Men are born corrupted; but one may see by what he says here, that he believed not that that Corruption did irresistibly determine 'em to do Ill. To which he adds, That because Men may be Good or Bad, as they will, God hath appointed Rewards and Punishments. If the *Manicheans* had further objected to him, That it seems 'twere better if there was no Freedom of Will, nor Happiness, bestowed as a Reward, and if Men necessarily applying themselves to Good, were necessarily happy, than to make Men so dismal a Present as Free-Will, which exposes most of them to an Eternal Misery: If, I say, the *Manicheans* had raised such an Objection against him, he would perhaps have made use of his Principle, which I have already mention'd, *viz.* That few Men fall into that Misery. And who knows but *Prudentius* came by that Notion because of that Objection, which might easily come into his Mind?

2. *Prudentius*, describing the Flying of *Lot*, uses a word which cannot be understood without the help of the *Old French*, which hath its Original immediately from the bad Latin: 'Tis in the 773 Verse:

Alter (Lot) se proripit, altera mussat.

That is, *Et l'autre muse*; in better Latin, *Nectit moros*. Father *Chamillard* paraphrases it *Murmure*, in effect *Mussare* signified that in the ancient Latinity, but afterwards it changed its signification. But that's an Observation of no great moment: I had rather observe another thing which *Prudentius* says in the same History, *viz.* That *Lot*'s Wife was not only changed into a Statue of Salt, but also, that that Statue was

perfectly like her, and had the Head turned backwards; That it was still extant; and though the Salt did melt, and was often licked by the Cattle, yet it did not lessen. It seems that our Poet had this out of a Poem upon *Sodom*, ascribed to *Tertullian*, wherein 'tis said moreover, that 'twas known every Month, by a certain Mark, that 'twas a Woman's Statue. I think I am able * to shew, that *Moses* says not that *Lot*'s Wife was metamorphosed into a Statue of Salt; but this is not a fit place to enlarge upon that Matter, or shew, that what is related concerning the Statue of Salt, are meer Fables.

* The Author hath done it since, in his Comment upon *Genesis*.

3. At the end of this Poem *Prudentius* offers a Prayer to God, which deserves to be observed. He prays, 'That when he 'is dead, he may not see a Devil, who car-'ries his Soul into the Black Dens, where 'he will be forced to pay whatever he owes, 'to the last Farthing. He doth not beg to 'be in the Place where the Blessed, espe-'cially the Virgins dwell. He says he'll be 'content, provided he sees no Devil, and 'Hell devours not his Soul; that since is is 'necessary, because of the Corruption 'which his Soul had contracted in his Body, 'he consents to be swallowed up by the 'foul Fire of *Avernus*, provided however 'that

'that it shall not be too hot. Let others '(*says he*) be gloriously crowned in an 'immense Light, and I but lightly burnt.

Esto; cavernoso, quia sic pro labe necesse est
Corporea, tristis me sorbeat ignis Averno:
Saltem mirificos incendia lenta vapores
Exhalent, æstuque calor languente tepescat.
Lux immensa alios, & tempora vineta coronis
Glorificent, me pœna levis clementer adurat.

Prudentius adds not, that he hoped to get out of that Place in the Day of the Resurrection; so that one cannot affirm, that he understands by it what was since called *Purgatory*, as F. *Chamillard* thinks. The Antients differed so much among themselves concerning those Matters, that we cannot tell whether *Prudentius* had not a private Opinion of his own concerning this; and believed not, that a lesser degree of Heat, though it should last for ever, was a kind of Happiness. In effect, he ranks the Place wherein he wished to be, among the several Habitations in the House of God, which Christ speaks of, *John* xix.

Multa in Thesauris Patris est habitatio,
Christe,
Disparibus Discreta locis.

V. The *Psychomachy* is an Allegorical Poem, wherein *Prudentius* describes a Fight of Vertues against Vices, and wherein there is nothing that's remarkable.

VI. The two Books against *Symmachus* were composed a little while after the Defeat of *Alarick* by *Stilichon*, in the Year 402. as it appers from the 695 Verse of the Second Book, wherein *Prudentius* mentions that Defeat, as having lately happened. *Symmachus*, a Pagan and Præfect of the City of *Rome*, the most Eloquent Orator of his time, had about eighteen Years before presented a Request to *Valentinianus*, *Theodosius* and *Arcadius*, to obtain from them the re-establishment of an Altar and Statue of *Victory*, which was in the Place where the Senate met, and which *Gratianus* took away. We have still the Discourse of *Symmachus*, and an Answer to it of St. *Ambrose* Bishop of *Milan*, which he wrote when he had disappointed the Request of *Symmachus*, by another which he presented upon the spot. *Prudentius* did also exercise himself in writing an Answer in Verses to the Discourse of that famous Heathen. He excuses himself for daring to write against so learned a Man. * In effect, the Verses of our Poet are not comparable with *Symmachus's*

* *Lib.* 1. *ver.* 646.

chus's Prose, as to what concerns the Expression; though the Reasons of the latter, being only the Reasons of a Declamator, are very much beneath those of *Prudentius*. Yet *Prudentius* says scarce any thing against the Pagan Religion, but what other Christian Authors, who wrote upon the same Matter, said before him. He spends his First Book in that, and answers *Symmachus's* Reasons only in the Second.

1. One may learn from two Places of the First Book, that there was then but a small number of Heathens in *Rome*, since * *Prudentius* says to the Pagans, 'That to know 'how few People pay Honour to the Altars 'of *Jupiter*, one needs only observe of what 'Religion are those who live in the highest 'Stories of the Houses, those who walk 'through the whole City, those who are 'nourished with the Bread which the Empe-'rors distributed to the People, those who 'lived at the foot of the *Vatican*, and those 'who go to the Church of *Lateran*, to be 'Confirm'd there. —— It appears from thence, that the greatest part of the People were Christians. And a little lower, † *Prudentius* teaches us, that the greatest number of the Senators were Christians too; 'Be-'cause they had thrown down the Images 'of the Gods, by a Decree of the Senate 'made

* *Ver.* 579.

† *Ver.* 609.

'made by the Majority of Votes. *He says*, 'That the Senators gave freely their Con-'sent to the Proposal of the Emperor for it; 'which was evident, because that Prince 'did equally honour Merit in the Pagans 'and Christians.

2. *Simmachus* had drawn an Argument for the Pagan Religion from its Antiquity, which he expressed very elegantly; *Si longa ætas authoritatem religionibus faciat, servanda est tot sæculis fides, & sequendi sunt nobis Parentes, qui feliciter sequuti sunt suos:* 'If length of Time is of some weight in Re-'ligion, we ought not to depart from the 'Belief of so many Centuries; we ought 'to imitate our Fathers, who did so well 'imitate theirs. — This is so well worded, that the ablest Missionary cannot preach better against the Innovators. Yet *Prudentius* answers chiefly two things against that Argument, which are so judicious, that the most learned Innovator cannot answer a Missionary better. The First is, That if the manner of Living of past Ages, is always to be preferr'd before that of the time wherein one lives, the *Romans* of that time should have renounced all the Conveniences of Life, trodden under foot all Sciences, recall'd the Inconveniences and Barbarity of the Age of *Saturn*, and sacrificed Humane Victims to him. The Second thing is, That the Religion of the *Romans* was very much altered since *Saturnus*, and even *Romulus*'s time:

* *Roma Antiqua sibi non constat, versa per ævum,*
Et mutata sacris, &c. *Ver. 303.

What was remarkable in the Religion of the *Romans*, is, that since *Romulos*, the number of the Gods was infinitely encreased:

† *Sanguinis Hectorei populum probo tempore longo*
Non multos coluisse Deos, rarisque sacellis
Contentum paucas posuisse in collibus aras, &c. †Ver. 343.

3. *Symmachus* said also, That as every Body hath a certain Soul; so Cities have some Tutelar Gods, which *Fate* gives 'em. *Prudentius* having laught at those pretended *Genius's*, || doth very much inveigh, as all the Ancient Christians did, against the Opinion of *Fate*. He says, that if it be true, there should be no Laws nor Punishments against Malefactors: || Ver. 460.

— *quos*

——— *quos ferrea Fata*
Cogunt ad facinus, & inevitabile mergunt :
Quin & velle adigunt pravum insinuantia votum,
Ne liceat miseris vetitum committere nolle.

" That Unmoveable Fate doth unavoidably
" force to Sin ; That it disposes the Will
" to do Ill, so that Men cannot forbear be-
" ing willing to do what is forbidden.

4. The Heathen Orator vaunted much the Institution and Chastity of the *Vestales* : But *Prudentius*, who did not suffer himself to be surprized by fine words, when the Question was about *Paganism*, replied, *Ver.1065. * That it must be observed, that the ' *Vestales* were chosen in their Childhood, ' before they came to despise the lawful ' Bond of Marriage of their own motion, ' and kindled with the love of Virginity ' and Religion. They Consecrate (*says he*) ' their Chastity before the Altars against ' their Wills, and those poor Wretches are ' deprived of a Pleasure which they take ' away from them, but they have not de- ' spised it : If they are Chaste as to the ' Body, they are not so as to the Mind : ' They enjoy no Rest in their Beds, where ' an Invisible Wound makes them sigh after ' the Nuptial Torches. —— The same Argument

Argument cannot be made use of against the Christian *Nuns* of that time, who were permitted to Marry, if they were not content with Celebacy. But some things have happen'd since among a part of Christians, by the means whereof we see now-a-days, upon the Theater of Christianity, its several Parties act the same Scene between themselves, which was acted formerly by the Pagans and Christians.

VII. *Lastly*, There are Forty nine Quadrants to be found in the Works of *Prudentius* upon several Histories of the Old and New Testament, which make up a little Book entitled *Enchiridion*, whereby the Style is still less Poetical than that of the other Works of our Poet.

THE

THE HISTORY OF PELAGIANISM.

IN the Fourth Century, a vaſt number of People went to viſit the *Holy Places* in *Paleſtine*; which made the Books of *Origen* to be known in the *Weſt*, where they were unknown before. *Ruſinus*, amongſt others, a Prieſt of *Aquileia*, having lived thirty Years in the *Eaſt*, and ſtudied under *Evagrius* an *Origeniſt*, not only embraced the Opinions of *Origen*, but being returned into *Italy*, ſpread them every where, by tranſlating ſeveral of his Works. *Pelagius* and *Celeſtius* learned of him at *Rome* that Doctrine, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. They were both Monks, and of *Great Britain*; *Celeſtius* was a *Scotch-man*, and *Pelagius* an *Engliſh-man*: The latter's Name was *Morgan*, in the Language of his Countrey,

Countrey, that is, *Born of the Sea*; or in Greek, Πελαγιος, a Name which he took out of his Native Countrey. If we believe * St. *Jeram*, *Pelagius* was an ignorant Fellow, who knew not how to expreſs himſelf, who deſerved more to be pitied than envied; and *Celeſtius* a *Soleciſm-maker*. But St. *Auguſtine* ſpeaks well of their Parts, in ſeveral Places; and indeed, it appears by their Fragments, which remain in his Works, that they did not expreſs themſelves ſo ill as St. *Jerom* ſays. We have ſtill two Pieces of *Pelagius* among the Suppoſititious Writings of this latter; whereof one is a *Letter* to *Demetriades*; and the other is entitled *Symboli Explanatio ad Damaſum*, whereas it ſhould be called *Profeſſio Fidei ad Innocentium*, for *Pelagius* ſent it to *Innocent*. This laſt Piece is alſo to be found in *Baronius*, and in the Firſt Volume of the Councils of *Cologne*, in 1606.

* *In Proem. Dial. cont. Pelag.*

Pelagius made a long ſtay at *Rome*, where he got a great Reputation by his Works and Conduct: Hence it is, that *Auguſtin* Biſhop of *Hippo* praiſed him, and wrote a very obliging Letter to him, before he fell a Diſputing with him. He calls him, in his Book *De Peccatorum Meritis*, † *Vir, ut audio, ſanctus, nec parvo profectu Chriſtianus, bonus ac prædicandus Vir*: "As I hear (*ſays he*) "he is a Holy Man, and very much im-

† *Cap.* 1, 3.

"proved

" proved in Piety, a Good Man, and " worthy of Praise. —— *Petavius*, in his Book * *De Pelagianorum & Semi-Pelagianorum Dogmatum Historia*, observes, that St. *Augustin* wrote the Book in which he speaks so advantageously of *Pelagius*, after the Condemnation of *Celestius* in the Council of *Carthage*, in 412. From whence he concludes, that St. *Chrysostom* doth not mention the same *Pelagius* in his Fourth Letter, wherein he laments the Fall of a Monk of the same Name. 'Tis not more likely that *Pelagius* the Hermit, to whom St. *Isidorus* of *Damietto* wrote † sharp Censures, was the same whose History I write, and whose Life was always unblameable, as it appears by St. *Augustin*'s Testimony.

* *Dogm. Theol. T. 3. p. 586.*

† *Lib. 1. Ep. 314.*

Rome having been taken by the *Goths*, in the Year 410; || *Pelagius*, who was there, left it, and sailed into *Africa*; but he did not stay there, having presently set out for the *East*. In the mean time, *Celestius* his Disciple stay'd at *Carthage*, and aspired to be Priest of that Church; but because he made no scruple to maintain the Opinions of his Master, he was accused by *Paulinus* a Deacon of the same Church, in a Council wherein *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage* presided in the before-mentioned Year. *Celestius* was Condemned and Excommunicated, as having maintained these Seven Propositions.

|| Vid. *Vsser. Brit. Eccl. Antiq. c. 9. p. 16.*

1. 'That *Adam* was created a Mortal Man, 'and would have died, whether he had 'sinned or not. 2. That *Adam*'s Sin had prejudiced none but himself, not all Mankind. '3. That the *Law* brought Men to the *Heavenly Kingdom*, as well as the Gospel. '4. That before the Coming of Jesus Christ, 'Men were without Sin. 5. That New-'born Children are in the same Condition 'in which *Adam* was before his Fall. 6. That 'all Men do not die through the Death and 'Prevarication of *Adam*, as all Men do not 'rise through the Resurrection of Jesus 'Christ. 7. That Man is without Sin, 'and may easily obey God's Commands if 'he pleases.

Celestius answered all those Heads; but we have only some Fragments of his Answers, in St. *Augustine*'s Book; that is to say, we have no other Witnesses of his Doctrine but his Adversaries, who took no great care to propose their Accusations clearly, and to apprehend well of the Opinions of those whom they accused, as it appears by the Obscurity of the before-mention'd Heads. * *Celestius* said, among other things, that as for what concerns the Propagation of Sin, he had heard many *Catholick* Priests, and especially *Rufinus*, deny it. He presented a Request to the Council, wherein he confest, that Children were Re-

* *Aug. de Pecc. Orig. c. 3.*

deemed by Baptism. But he was Condemned notwithstanding; and being obliged to leave *Africa*, he went into *Sicily*, where he wrote some Books in his Vindication. From thence some short Questions were sent to St. *Augustine*, which *Celestius* had composed to prove that Man is not by his Nature unavoidably enclined to do Evil. Those Interrogations are contained in Fourteen Articles: I shall only here set down one or two, by which one may judge of the rest. * 'First (*says he*,) Those who say 'that Men cannot be without Sin, must be 'asked, what Sin is in general? whether it 'be a thing that may be avoided or not? 'If it cannot be avoided, there is no harm 'in the committing of it. If Man can 'avoid it, he may be without Sin. Now, 'there is no Reason nor Justice that allows 'that what cannot any way be avoided, 'should be called a Sin. † Again, It must 'be asked whether Man ought to be without Sin? It will undoubtedly be answered, 'that he ought. If he ought, he can be 'without it; if he can't, he is not obliged 'to it. Besides, if Man ought not to be 'without Sin, he ought not to be a Sinner; 'and 'twill be no more his fault, if it be 'supposed that he is necessarily such.

* *Quest.* 1.

† *Quest.* 2.

At the same time, *Pelagius*, who was at *Jerusalem*, published several Pieces, wherein he explained his Opinion more fully, * and in particular asserted, that although no Man but *Jesus Christ* had been without Sin, yet it did not follow from thence that it was impossible. He affirmed, that he did not Dispute about the Fact, but about the Possibility; and besides, that it was possible only by the Grace and Assistance of God. St. *Augustin* undertook to confute one of those Writings of *Pelagius*, in his Book *De Natura & Gratia*. He accuses him, on the one hand, of confounding the *Graces* which God gives to Men, when he creates them, with those by which he regenerates; and on the other hand, of saying, that God bestows his Graces according to Mens Merits, and that those Graces are only External; but we shall see hereafter how *Pelagius* explained his meaning.

* *Usser. Brit. Eccl. Ant. p.* 125.

Three Years after *Celestius* had been Condemned at *Carthage*, his Master was accused at *Jerusalem* of having the same Opinions. *John* Bishop of that City called an Assembly of some Priests, to examine *Pelagius*, and see whether he really held the Opinions that were ascribed to him. Three Latin Priests, *Avitus*, *Vitalis*, and *Orosius*, were sent for to know what had been done in *Africa* against *Celestius*. *Orosius* was then at *Bethlehem*, studying († as he himself says) at the feet of St. *Jerom*, to whom St. *Au-*

* *De Lib. Arbit. pag.* 621. *Edit. Mogunt. in* 8vo.

St. *Auguſtin* had recommended him. Forasmuch as he happen'd to be in *Africa* when *Celeſtius* was Condemned there, he told the Aſſembly of *Jeruſalem*, with what Zeal that of *Carthage* had Condemned that Heretick, and that St. *Auguſtine* had wrote a Book againſt *Pelagius*; and beſides, confuted the *Queries* of *Celeſtius*, in a Letter ſent to *Sicily*. Having that Letter about him, he offer'd to read it, and read it at the Requeſt of the Aſſembly. 'After the reading of it, Biſhop 'John deſired that *Pelagius* ſhould be introduced. It was permitted, out of Connivance (ſays *Oroſius*) either out of reſpect 'for the Biſhop, or becauſe it was thought 'neceſſary that that Prelate ſhould confute 'him in his Preſence. He was asked whether he acknowledged to have taught what 'Auguſtine Biſhop of *Hippo* had confuted. 'He preſently anſwered, *Who's that Auguſtine?* And every one crying out, That 'a Man, who blaſphemed againſt a Biſhop 'by whoſe Mouth the Lord had preſerved 'Union in all *Africa*, ſhould not only be 'baniſh'd from that Aſſembly, but alſo from 'the whole Church; *John* bad him ſit in 'the middle of the Catholick Prieſts, though 'he was a *Lay-man*, and guilty of Hereſie. 'Afterwards, he told him, *I am Auguſtine*; to the end, that acting as it were in the Name of that Offended Biſhop, he might more

'more freely forgive *Pelagius*, and allay 'the exaſperated Minds. We told him then '(ſays *Oroſius*,) *If you repreſent here the 'Perſon of* Auguſtine, *follow his Opinions.* 'He replied, by asking us whether we 'believed that what was read concerned 'any body elſe, or *Pelagius*? If it be 'againſt *Pelagius*, ſay (*added he*) what 'you have to propoſe againſt him. I anſwer'd, by the Aſſembly's leave, That *Pe'lagius* had told me, he maintained that 'Man might be without Sin, and eaſily 'obſerve all the Commands of God, if he 'would. *Pelagius* confeſt that it was his 'Opinion. Whereupon I ſaid, that this was 'the very thing which the Biſhops of *Africa* 'had condemned in *Celeſtius*, which *Auguſtin* 'declared in his Writings to be a horrible 'Doctrine, and which *Jerom* had rejected 'in his Epiſtle to *Cteſiphon*, and confuted in 'ſome Dialogues which he was then wri'ting. But the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, with'out hearkening to any of thoſe things, 'would have us to proſecute *Pelagius* be'fore him. *We are not* (anſwered we) *the 'Accuſers of that Man; but we declare to 'you, what your Brethren and our Fathers 'have judged and decreed concerning that 'Hereſie, which a Lay-Man publiſhes now, 'leſt he ſhould diſturb, without your know'ing of it, your Church, into the Boſom of*

'*which we are come.* Then, that he might engage us to be in a manner Accusers, he began to cite what the Lord said to *Abraham*, '*Walk before me, and be without spot:* And what was said of *Zacharias* & *Elizabeth*, That '*they were both righteous before God, and walked in all the Commandments of the Lord blameless.* Many of us knew that this was an Observation of *Origen:* And I answer'd him, '*We are Children of the Catholick Church. Father, don't require of us that we should undertake to set up for Teachers, above the Teachers; nor for Judges, above the Judges. Our Fathers, whose Conduct the Universal Church approves, and in whose Communion you rejoyce to see us, have declared that those Doctrines are condemnable. 'Tis just, we should obey their Decrees. Why d'ye ask Children what they think, when you know the Opinions of their Fathers?*

'The Bishop said afterwards, that if *Pelagius* maintained, that Man may be without Sin, without God's Help, it would be a condemnable Doctrine; but that he denied not God's Assistance, and asked what we had to say to that? whether we denied the Necessity of that Assistance? We answered to it, by pronouncing *Anathema* to those who denied it; and we cried out, that he was a *Latin* Heretick; that we were *Latins*; that he ought to be judged by the *Latins*; and that 'twas almost a piece of Impudence in him to pretend to judge of it, since we were not Accusers. Because he said that I was the only Witness against *Pelagius*, and that I was suspected; some of the Company thought themselves obliged to say, that the same Person could not be a Heretick, an Advocate and a Judge at the same time. 'Twas concluded, that *Pelagius* should be referred to the Judgment of *Innocent* Bishop of *Rome*, and in the mean time should be silent.

Thus that Assembly acted, in which *Pelagius*, who understood only *Latin*, spoke by an Interpreter with the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who understood only *Greek*. A Synod was held at *Diospolis* in *Palestine*, towards the end of the same Year 415, where Fourteen Bishops met. *Eros* and *Lazarus*, Bishops of the *Gaules*, had delivered to *Eulogus* Archbishop of *Cæsarea* an Accusation in Writing against *Pelagius*; but they could not come to that Synod, because one of 'em fell sick in his Journey. *Pelagius* appeared in it, and answer'd the several Accusations laid on him; so that the Council acquitted him, and even approved of his Doctrine, according to the Interpretations he put upon it. Here's in a few words an Account of the whole Matter.

* *Aug. de Gest. Pelag. Syn.*

* *Pelagius* was accused of maintaining the following Propositions: 1. *That*

1. *That none can be without Sin, without knowing the Law.* He answered, That he meant only by it, that the Law was a help to avoid Sin; not that such a Knowledge was sufficient not to Sin.

2. *That all Men are led by their Will.* He owned that Proposition, by saying, That though Man hath a Free-Will; yet when he chuses well, 'tis by God's Assistance.

3. *That in the Day of Judgment, God will not forgive the Wicked and Sinners.* That's, said *Pelagius*, the Doctrine of the Gospel.

4. *That Evil doth not so much as come into one's Thoughts.* He assured, he had only said, That Christians should endeavour to have no ill Thoughts.

5. *That the Kingdom of Heaven is promised in the Old Testament.* This he maintained by *Dan.* vii. 18.

6. *That Man may be without Sin, if he will.* *Pelagius* said, That he had maintained, that this was possible by the Grace of God; but, that he never taught, that any Man had lived without Sin from his Childhood to his Old Age. He also denied, that he had maintained some other Doctrines, of which he was accused. Whereupon he was ask'd, whether he did not Anathematize those who were of that Opinion? *I Anathematize*

tize 'em (said he) *as Fools, not as Hereticks; for what they say is not a Doctrine.*

Anno 415 from Pelag. a Heresiarch

7. He was accused of maintaining the Opinions which had been condemned at *Carthage*, which have been before mention'd; and besides, *That a Child may be saved without Baptism.* He replied, by denying that he ever taught any thing after the manner it was reported, especially that ever he said, that those who lived before Christ, have been without Sin.

8. Some places which were said to be extracted out of *Celestius* his Books, were proposed to him; but he said he could not warrant what another had writ, and that he anathematized those who maintained Propositions so worded. Amongst other Propositions, this was one of 'em, *That Sinners who repent, obtain the Forgiveness of their Sins, not by the Grace and Mercy of God, but according to their Merits and Penitence.* Perhaps, this was only a Consequence drawn from *Celestius*'s Opinions; for in this whole Controversie, both Parties ascribed to one another well or ill drawn Consequences, as express and formal Doctrines. Besides, those Propositions which *Eros* and *Lazarus* extracted out of the Books of *Pelagius* and *Celestius*, being separated from the *Series* of the Discourse, might

have

have a Sence contrary to that which they had in those Books.

The Council having approved all his Answers, declared him worthy of the Communion of the Catholick Church. But the Enemies of *Pelagius* accused him of having concealed his true Opinions, and deceived those Greek Bishops, to whom he spoke only by an Interpreter. St. *Augustine* says that *Pelagius* his Answers * were Orthodox, as the Fathers of the Council understood 'em, not as *Pelagius* did. But those who have not so bad an Opinion of *Pelagius* as he had, observe, that St. *Augustine*, who understood not the Greek, could not know, by his own knowledge, the Opinions of the Greek Church concerning that Matter. If he had been able to read those Fathers, say they, he would have found that they spake not otherwise than †*Pelagius*, as may be seen by an infinite number of Places out of St. *Chrysostom*, and St. *Isidorus* of *Damietta*, his Disciple, whom some late Authors have openly accused of *Pelagianism*. Therefore 'tis not to be wonder'd, that Greek Bishops should approve the Language of that *English* Monk.

* *De Gest. Palæst. Syn.* c. 1, 2.

† Vid. *Bull. Harm. Apost. Diss.* 2. c. 7. §. 14. & *Exam. Cens.* p. 157.

Before the Acts of that Council were published, *Pelagius* wrote to a Friend of his, that his Opinions had been approved in it, and

and made his Letter publick. He also made a kind of an Apology for that Council, in the Year 416, which he sent to the Bishop of *Hippo*, who having received no other from *Palestine*, durst not trust it. He, together with some other *African* Bishops, wrote to *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, to have the very Acts of the Council of *Diospolis*. In the mean time, St. *Jerom*, who had written against the *Pelagians*, and especially against the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, occasion'd a Disorder which happen'd at *Bethlehem*, where a Deacon was kill'd, and some Monasteries were burnt. The Bishop was accused of having stirred that Tumult; but they had not time enough to bring him to an account for it, because he died the same Year. St. *Jerom*, having also offended the Bishops of *Palestine*, by despising their Assemblies, thought the best way to maintain himself, was to rely upon the Friendship of those of *Africa*, though he was not of their Opinion in every thing, being of that of the *Semi-Pelagians*, of whom I shall speak in the Sequel of this History. Wherefore he wrote to St. *Austin*, in these terms; "I am "resolved to love, honour, respect and "admire you, and to defend what you say, "as if I had said it: *Mihi decretum est te amare, te suspicere, te colere, te mirari, tuaque dicta quasi mea defendere.*

Pelagius

Pelagius was accused every where of denying altogether the Assistance of Grace. To justifie himself, he wrote a Book concerning Free-Will, where he shewed, that he * acknowledged six sorts of Grace.

* Petav. de Pelag. c. 2, &c.

First, 'Tis a *Grace of God*, according to *Pelagius*, *to have a Rational and Free Soul*; that is to say, which may obey or not obey God, without being unavoidably determin'd either to the one or the other. *Pelagius* maintained, that all Men were born in that state; so that if they applied themselves to Evil, it was not by an Unavoidable Necessity, but by an ill use of their Liberty. St. *Augustine* maintained, First, That what we receive from God by Creation, ought not to be called a *Grace*, on this occasion, but only what we receive from him, by virtue of our Redemption. But that's only a Dispute about Words. Besides, St. *Augustine* denied that Men are born otherwise than unavoidably determined to do Ill; and said, that 'twas impossible for them to do any Good, without an extraordinary Assistance of God, which he only bestowed upon some; and that those who had not that Assistance, were unavoidably inclined to Evil. Thus, though he admitted of the Name of *Free-Will*, he put a new sence upon those words, since *Freedom*, in his Opinion, is only a meer *Spontaneity*, and doth

doth not imply a Power of not doing what one doth. The difference therefore that was between St. *Augustin* and *Pelagius* in this Matter, is, that the former believed, that since the Fall of *Adam*, Men are so corrupted, that they are born with ill Habits, which do necessarily encline them to do Evil; That if God would encline them to Good, he must bestow upon them, for every Good Action, a Grace, which makes 'em unavoidably willing to do Good: And further, That those to whom he gave not that Grace, were Damn'd; God, by a Wisdom which we do not comprehend, being willing that Mankind should be born with an unavoidable Necessity of Offending him, and of being afterwards tormented with Everlasting Punishments, without freeing from that dismal Necessity but a very small number of Persons, upon whom he bestows an Irresistible Grace. St. *Augustine* believed that this was to give God the Glory due to him. *Pelagius*, on the contrary, believed that God had not permitted that *Adam*'s Sin should cause so great a Disorder in the World; that those who descended from him, should not be able still to obey or not obey God's Law, who gave their Souls the power of avoiding Evil, and doing Good; so that they were Damned only by their Fault, without being bound to Sin

and

and Everlasting Misery by any unavoidable Necessity. Having received a Free-Will from God, 'twas not necessary that God should interpose in every Action. * *To be able to do Good* (said *Pelagius*) *comes from God, who gave it to his Creature; but to be willing to do Good, and to practice Vertue, depends on Man.*

* *Usser. p. 141. ubi sup.*

The Second *Grace*, which *Pelagius* acknowledged, is the *Forgiveness of Past Sins*, which God grants to those who mend their Lives. *Pelagius* Anathematized, in the Council of *Diospolis*, whosoever durst say that God hath any respect to *Merits* on this occasion. St. *Augustine* complains, that *Pelagius*, being content to acknowledge that God freely forgives us our Past Sins, confest not that he helps us to abstain from them hereafter. But *Pelagius* maintain'd that that Forgiveness helped us to do our Duty for the time to come, seeing we cannot betake our selves to serve God when we have offended him, but by being persuaded that he will freely forgive us what is past. He further said, that as to those Sins which were committed in the very time of Penitence, that is, in the state of Regeneration, they were forgiven us, in consideration of our Good Works, by which we also come to Glory. And in that sence he maintained that Grace is given according to Merits, that

that is, according to Good Works. For as much as Children, before the use of Reason, commit no Sin, they are not concerned in that kind of Grace.

The *Third Grace* (according to *Pelagius*) is the *Law*, that is to say, the Preaching of the Gospel, and the Example of *Jesus Christ*, which those who lived under the Old Dispensation had not. He said, that this Grace was altogether necessary, to live like Christians.

The *Fourth* sort of *Grace*, is *an Inward Illumination of our Minds*, which *Pelagius* expresst thus: * 'I maintain, that Grace 'doth not only consist in the Law, but in 'the Assistance of God, &c. Now, God 'assists us by his Doctrine and Revelation, 'by opening the Eyes of our Hearts; by 'shewing us things to come, to hinder us 'from being too much taken up with pre'sent things; by discovering to us the 'Snares of the Devil; by enligthning us with 'the various and unspeakable Gifts of his 'Heavenly Grace. Do you think (adds 'Pelagius) that those who speak thus, deny 'the Grace of God? Do they not rather 'acknowledge both Free-Will and the Grace 'of God together? —— St. *Augustine* accuses *Pelagius*, on this occasion, not of having positively denied Grace, but of having denied the Necessity of it; and said, that

* *Apud Aug lib. de Grat. Chr. c. 7.*

God

God did only give it, that Free-Will might the more easily encline to Good. That Grace, according to *Pelagius*, doth not infallibly and by it self produce the Will of Doing Good, and Good Works, but only enclines to be more easily Willing.

The *Fifth* is, the *Grace of Baptism*, by which, according to him, although Children receive not the Forgiveness of Sins, which they have not committed, being, according to *Pelagius*, altogether Innocent, yet they enter into a better state, which consists in their being thereby adopted by God, and becoming Heirs of the Heavenly Kingdom. On the contrary, St. *Augustine* maintained, that Children being born Sinners, Baptism confers upon them the Forgiveness of Sin, and sanctifies them by a Grace which God hath annexed to it.

Lastly, The *Sixth Grace* consists, according to *Pelagius*, in *Eternal Life*, and the *Kingdom of Heaven*. He is accused of having distinguished those two things; and said, that *Eternal Life* might be obtained without the Revelation of the Gospel, but that God gave the *Kingdom of Heaven* only to those who were Baptized. According to *Pelagius*, that Grace was given consequently to *Merits*, that is to say, a Good Life. 'Tis a hard matter to know wherein that Distinction of *Eternal Life* and *Kingdom of Heaven*

Heaven did consist, and to reconcile it with the Accusation raised against *Pelagius*, that the Kingdom of Heaven was promised under the Old Testament. St. *Augustin* said upon this last Article, that if by the Old Testament the *Legal Covenant* was understood, it did not promise Eternal Life; but if all the Books of the Old Testament were understood by it, 'twas true, that it was promised therein, although the *Kingdom of Heaven* is not mention'd in them, that Phrase belonging to the New Testament.

There was never a Dispute more intricate than this, because each Party being urged with some troublesom Consequences, endeavoured to get rid of them with the help of some Terms, upon which they put a Sence different from that which they had in the Mouth of their Adversaries. The word *Grace*, when used by *Pelagius*, did not signifie the same thing as when used by the Bishop of *Hippo*, and the latter gave the Name of *Liberty* to a thing which was not ordinarily so called. In short, several People believe, that if the chief Words that have been used in that Controversie, and the Idea's that have been fixed to 'em, were examined, it would be found, that there is scarce any of those Idea's that is very di-

ſtinct, ſo as to know perfectly the meaning of a Word to which one of thoſe Idea's is fixed, when 'tis pronounced. Nay, there is, in their opinion, ſome of thoſe words to which no Idea at all hath been fixed: ſo that in ſome parts of that Diſpute, both Parties do in a manner imitate a *Frenchman* and an *Arabian*, who knowing only their Mother-Tongue, ſhould ſpeak by turns as loud as they could, and ſometimes both at one time, without underſtanding one another, and ſhould afterwards boaſt each of them of having overcome his Adverſary.

Thus we have ſeen wherein the Opinions of *Pelagius* and his Adverſaries, concerning *Grace*, did chiefly conſiſt. As to *Election*, it ſeems that *Pelagius* believed Two ſorts of it; the one to *Grace*, and the other to *Glory*. God was reſolved, as he thinks, to call certain Perſons to the Knowledge of the Goſpel, to make the way to Everlaſting Happineſs more eaſie for them. That's Predeſtination to Grace. God reſolves afterwards to ſave thoſe whom he hath foreſeen ſhould perſevere to the end in a good uſe of thoſe Graces. That's Predeſtination to Glory, which is grounded upon Merit, whereas the other is altogether Free. St. *Auguſtine*, Diſputing againſt

againſt *Pelagius*, confounded (as * *Petavius* thinks) thoſe two Predeſtinations, and made but one of them; becauſe, according to him, all thoſe who have received the Means neceſſary in order to Salvation, do infallibly come to it. Hence it is that he doth ſo loudly exclaim againſt thoſe who maintain Predeſtination according to Works; as if they meant Predeſtination to *Grace*, whereas they underſtood it only of Predeſtination to *Glory*.

* Pag. 614. ibid.

The next Year after the Council of *Dioſpolis*, that is, in 415. two Councils met in *Africa* concerning the ſame Matter, the one at *Carthage*, and the other at *Milevum*. *Aurelius* Biſhop of *Carthage* preſided in the Firſt, where there was Sixty ſeven Biſhops. The Acts of *Dioſpolis* had not yet been received in *Africa*; but *Eros* and *Lazarus* had writ what paſt there, and ſent their Letter by *Oroſius*, who returned from *Paleſtine* to *Africa*. It was Reſolved, upon that Report, to Anathematize the Opinions of *Pelagius*, leſt they ſhould ſpread; and to Anathematize him afterwards, together with *Celeſtius* his Diſciple, if they did not clearly condemn thoſe Errors. Afterwards they ſent the Acts of the Council to Pope *Innocent*, to engage him to condemn the ſame Opinions. The

Council of *Milevum*, made up of Sixty one Bishops, in which *Sylvanus* Primate of *Numidia* presided, did the same with that of *Carthage*. Besides the Synodal Letters of those two Councils, *Innocent* received some private ones from some Bishops of *Africa*, among whom was St. *Augustine*. The Design of those Letters was the same with that of the foregoing, *viz.* to oblige *Innocent* to condemn the Doctrine ascribed to *Pelagius*, and to summon him to appear, to know whether he continued to maintain it. Wherefore they intimated, that *Pelagius* had perhaps deceived the Bishops of *Palestine*, tho' they durst not assure it positively, for fear of setting the Churches of *Africa* against those of the *East*. The next Year (417.) *Innocent* wrote an Answer to the two Councils, and the Bishops who wrote to him in private. He said that he believed *Pelagius* and *Celestius* deserved to be Excommunicated, and that the former could not have cleared himself at *Diospolis*, but by Equivocations, and obscure Expressions. Notwithstanding, having not yet received any certain News from that Country, and knowing not well how things were done there, he says he can neither approve nor disapprove the Conduct of the Bishops of *Palestine*. He also excuses himself, with respect to

to the summoning of *Pelagius*, because of the Distance of Places. *Innocent* wrote those Letters in the Beginning of the Year, and died soon after; seeing the Tenth of *March*, in *Beda*'s *Martyrology*, is mark'd for the Day of his Death.

After the Death of *Innocent*, * St. *Augustine* and *Alypius* wrote to St. *Paulinus* Bishop of *Nola*, to exhort him to oppose *Pelagianism* in *Italy*, if it was like to make any progress in it. In the mean time, *Celestius*, who returned from *Asia*, whither he was gone, after he had stay'd some time in *Sicily*, went of his own motion to *Zosimus*, born in *Cappadocia*, and Successor of *Innocent*. He delivered into his hands a little Writing, in which he explained his Belief.

* Vid. *Vser ubi sup.* c. 10.

He mention'd therein all the Articles of Faith, from that of the Holy Trinity, to that of the Resurrection from the Dead, and declared that he held the Doctrine of the Catholick Church concerning all those Articles. To which he added afterwards, 'That if some Disputes were started up 'concerning some things which were not 'of Faith, he had not assumed to him-'self the Authority of forming any setled

'Doctrines out of them; but that he offered to the Examination and Judgment of *Zosimus* what he had taken out of the Writings of the Prophets and Apostles concerning those Matters, to be corrected, if there was any Error in it. —— Lastly, He explained the Doctrines which I have before mention'd, and expresly denied that Men are born Sinners.

Zosimus summon'd *Celestius* to appear before him in St. *Clemens*'s Church, where he caused that Writing to be read, and asked the Author whether he truly believed what he said in it. *Celestius* assured it; and then *Zosimus* asked him several questions, which amounted to these two; Whether he condemn'd the Doctrines of which *Paulinus* Deacon of *Carthage* had accused him? To which he answered, That he was able to prove that that *Paulinus* was a Heretick, and he would not condemn the Propositions of which he had accused him. The other Question which *Zosimus* asked him, was, Whether he condemned not what Pope *Innocent* had condemned? and whether he would not follow the Sentiments of the Church of *Rome*? *Celestius* answered, he would.

After

After those Formalities, *Zosimus* wrote a pretty long Letter to the Bishops of *Africa*, wherein he tells 'em after what manner *Celestius* had appeared before him, and how he was examin'd. Afterwards, he reproaches them with having acted in that Affair with too great a Precipitancy (*Fervore fidei præcipitatum esse*) and with having too slightly believed some general Reports and certain Letters of *Eros* and *Lazarus*, without being very sure of their Sincerity. However, he did not take away the Excommunication which the Bishops of *Africa* had pronounced against *Celestius*.

Forasmuch as at that time the Judgment of a Synod, and even of a Bishop, especially of that of *Rome*, was of great moment; and because *Zosimus* was afterwards accused of having Prevaricated, by condemning *Pelagius*, after he had approved of his Doctrine: * St. *Augustine* endeavoured to put as handsom a varnish as he could upon *Zosimus*'s Conduct, as if that Pope grew milder with respect to *Celestius*, only out of Pity; and thinking that *Celestius* having advanced his Opinions only to be better instructed, they could not be ascribed to him as his setled Doctrine, and

* *De Pec. Orig. cap.* 5, 6, 7.

even that it would be no difficult Matter to convert him.

In a word, *Zosimus* (according to St. *Augustine*) had only approved in *Celestius*, (who was a very ingenious Man, and who being corrected, might be serviceable to many others) the Will of Mending his Opinions, not the Falsity of his Doctrine: * *In homine acerrimi ingenii, qui profectò si corrigeretur plurimis profuisset, voluntas emendationis, non falsitas Dogmatis approbata est.* 'But the learned *Vossius* (says † Bishop *Usher*) hath shewed, a great while ago, that that great Bishop sweats to no purpose to hide the Bunch of *Zosimus* with his Purple. It cannot be doubted, after the reading of the Letters which he wrote to the Bishops of *Africa*, that he did favour not only *Celestius*, but *Pelagius*, as being Catholicks, without having ever departed from the True Faith.

* *Ad Bonif. l. 2. c. 3.*

† *Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 147.*

Zosimus having sent his Letter into *Africa*, received from *Palestine* a Packet directed to *Innocent*, whose Death they knew not yet. It contained some Letters of *Praylus* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and an Apology of *Pelagius*, with a little Book, wherein

wherein he explained his Opinions very clearly, as it will appear by the reading of it. *Praylus* did openly side with *Pelagius*, and *Zosimus* caused those Letters and Writings to be publickly read, which were approved by every Body, as *Zosimus* wrote it a little while after to the Bishops of *Africa*: 'Would to God (*says he to them*) 'my most Beloved Brethren, that some of 'you had been at the reading of those Letters! How great was the Joy of the 'Holy Men who were present at it? In 'how great an Admiration were they All? 'some of them could scarce forbear shedding Tears. Is it possible that Men, 'whose Belief is so pure, could be so slandered? Is there any place in their Writings in which they do not mention the 'Assistance and Grace of God?

Besides, he condemned, in that Letter, *Bros* and *Lazarus*, Accusers of *Pelagius* and *Celestius*, as Men guilty of great Crimes, *Erubescenda factis & damnationibus nomina*, and spoke with great contempt of the others, who had prosecuted him.

Yet the Bishops of *Africa* had no regard to those Letters: Two hundred and fourteen of them met together at *Carthage*, and con-

condemned a new *Pelagius* and *Celestius*, till they would acknowledge the Necessity of Grace, in the same sence it was taught in *Africa*, without using any shift, as they had done hitherto.

That Assembly met in the Beginning of the Year 418, and sent its Constitutions with a Letter to *Zosimus*, wherein those Bishops exhorted him to proceed against *Pelagius*, agreeably to their Constitutions. Their Letter had the Effect they wished for; and *Zosimus* and his Clergy, who had admired the Writings of *Pelagius*, wherein he very clearly express his Opinions, 'Being attentive (as St. *Austine* relates it) 'to what the *Romans*, whose Faith is to be 'praised in the Lord, believed concerning 'it; they saw, that all their Opinions, 'which agreed with one another, were full 'of ardour for the Catholick Truth, against 'the Error of *Pelagius*. —— However, when *Zosimus* condemned him, he spoke not so eagerly as he did when he gave Sentence in his Behalf, (as may be seen in Bishop *Usher*.)

The Emperors *Honorius* and *Theodosius* received also the Acts of the Council of *Africa*, and thought themselves obliged to main-

tain them by their Authority, by making an Edict which they sent to the Three *Præfects* of the *Prætorium*, to be publish'd through the whole Empire, by which they banish'd *Pelagius* and *Celestius* from *Rome*, and also condemned to a perpetual Banishment and Confiscation of Estates all those who should maintain their Doctrine, where-ever they might be, authorising all manner of Persons to Accuse them.

The *Præfects* of the *Prætorium* added to that Imperial Law particular Edicts, one of which is still extant in the * *Centuriators of Magdeburg*. 'Tis *Palladius*'s Edict, and it runs thus; 'If he who is fallen into the 'infamous Opinion of that Dark Heresie 'be Lay-Man or a Clergy-Man, by whom-'soever he be drawn before the Judge, 'and without minding the Accuser, his 'Estate shall be confiscated, and he shall 'be condemned to perpetual Banishment: *Et si sit ille Plebeius ac Clericus, qui in Caliginis hujus obscœna reciderit, à quocunque tractus ad Judicem, sine Accusatricis discretione Personæ, facultatem publicatione nudatus irrevocabile patietur exilum.*

* *Tom.* 5. *Col.* 849.

Some

Some will suspect that that Edict, expressed in words so Emphatical, was penn'd by a *zealous Clergy-Man*; but 'tis nothing, if compared with that of the Emperors *Honorius* and *Theodosius*, which may be seen at large in * Bishop *Usher*.

* *Ubi sup.* p. 151.

Those who know the Style of the Preachers of that time, will easily believe that it required a long Experience, to begin an Imperial Edict with these Terms, which I shall not undertake to translate into French. *Ad conturbandam, Catholicæ simplicitatis Lucem, puro semper splendore radiantem, dolosæ antis ingenio, novam subito emicuisse versutiam, pervulgatâ opinione cognovimus; quæ fallacis scientiæ obumbrata mendaciis, & furiata tantum dehacchata luctamine, stabilem quietem cœlestis conatur arrectare fidei; dum novi acuminis commendata vento, insignem notam Plebeiæ æstimat vilitatis sentire cum cunctis, de prudentiæ singularis palmain fore, communiter approbata destruere*, &c. The rest runs in the same strain; and one may see thereby, that in *Honorius*'s time, the *Spiritual Exaltations* to convert the Heretricks, were not very different from those that have been made use of in these latter Times.

In

In the mean time, the same Bishops of *Africa* who had condemn'd *Pelagius*, knowing nothing yet of the Emperor's Edict dated from the last Day of *April*, met again the next Day at *Carthage*, and Anathematized those who should say,

1. That the First Man was Mortal by his Nature.

2. That Little Children ought not to be Baptized, or that they may be Baptized, although they are not infected with *Adam*'s Sin.

3. That the Grace by which we are Justified, serves only for the Forgiveness of Sins, and is not an Assistance to abstain from them for the time to come.

4. That Grace helps us, only by teaching us our Duty, and produces not the Obedience it self.

5. That Grace is given us, that we may more easily do by its means, what we should do with greater difficulty without it.

6. That 'tis only out of Humility that we are all obliged to say that we are Sinners.

7. That every one is not obliged to say *Forgive us our Sins* for himself, but only for others who are Sinners.

8. That

8. That the Saints are obliged to say the same words only out of Humility.

It seems that that Council intended not only to condemn the Opinions of *Pelagius*, but also to anathematize before-hand those who should fall into some Opinions which should have some relation with his. For one may easily perceive, that according to his Principles, he might have altogether denied the Four last Propositions. He did not believe that Grace did only teach us our Duty, nor that any Man had lived without Sin, except *Jesus Christ*.

But it hath always been the Custom of Councils to anathematize such Errors as no body maintained, when they condemned the true Opinions of the Heterodox; perhaps to inspire a greater horror for Heresie, and lest any one should be so rash as to protect Hereticks. 'Thus (as * St. *Au-*
'*gustine* speaks) by the Vigilance of the
'Episcopal Councils, with the Assistance of
'the Saviour who defends his Church (*and*
'*that of the Imperial Edicts,*) *Pelagius* and
'*Celestius* were condemned through the
'whole Christian World, unless they should
'repent.

* *Ep.* 157.

In

In the mean time *Pelagius*, who was at *Jerusalem* still, being urged to it by *Pinianus* and *Melania*, published a Declaration as to what concerns the Necessity of Grace, which he acknowledged to be necessary in every Act and at every Moment. He also said, That with respect to Baptism, he was of the same Opinion which he had set down in his Profession of Faith to Pope *Innocent*, viz. That Children ought to be Baptized as they were wont to be. But whatever he might say, they did not believe that he understood what he said, in the same Sence as the Church of *Africa*. In the mean time *Julian* Bishop of *Celæna* in *Campania*, published some Commentaries upon the *Song of Solomon*, a Book concerning *Constancy*, and four Books against the first of St. *Augustin*, *De Concupiscentia & Nuptiis*, wherein he maintained the Opinions of *Pelagius*. In the last of those Works, he openly called the Bishops of '*Africa Seditious Men* and *Innovators*; and 'said, that they must needs not have Rea-'son on their side, since in the Dispute 'they frighted those who dared oppose 'them, with Imperial Edicts; but that by 'such Proceedings they perswaded not Un-'derstanding but Timorous Men. * *Labo-*
rare illam partem rationis inopiâ, quæ in differendo

* *Ap. Aug. cont. Jul. lib. 3. c. 1.*

differendo cum terrorem surrogat, nullam a prudentibus impetrat; sed cæcum a metu-losis extorquet assensum. He accused *Zosimus* of having prevaricated, by condemning *Pelagius* after he had approved his Opinions: And with respect to the Councils of *Africa*, he said, 'That those who had been 'condemned in them, could not defend 'their Cause; That none is able to judge 'well of controverted Matters, unless he 'examines them with a Mind free from 'Hatred, Friendship, Enmity and Anger; 'and that the Bishops of *Africa* were not 'in that Disposition, seeing they hated the 'Opinions of *Pelagius* before they were ac-'quainted with them; That Advices ought 'not to be numbred but weighed; and in 'short, Whatever is commonly objected 'against the Judgment of Great Assemblies.

A New Council made up of 217 Bishops was held at *Carthage* in the Year 419. wherein whatever was done in the foregoing against *Pelagius* was confirmed, and indeed, to use the Terms of St. *Prosper*, in his Poem *de Ingratis*,

An ullum in finem posset procedere Sanctum
Concilium, cui Dux Aurelius, ingeniumque
Augustinus erat?

But

But the Episcopal Authority was again upheld in this occasion by that of the Emperors, who, by a Letter directed to *Aurelius*, confirmed their precedeing Edict, and ordered, * 'That if any one 'knew in what part of the Empire *Pe-*'*lagius* and *Celestius* lay hid, and did 'not discover 'em, or presently drive 'em from it, they should be liable to 'the same Punishment as Hereticks. 'And in order to correct the Obstinacy 'of some Bishops, who maintained, by 'a tacit consent, those who disputed in 'the behalf of Heresie, or did not de-'stroy it by publickly assaulting it, *Au-*'*relius* should take care to Depose those 'who would not subscribe to the Con-'demnation of *Pelagianism*, and that 'they should be Excommunicated and 'Banished.

* *Usser. ubi sup. p.* 161.

Aurelius received Orders to publish that Edict through all *Africa*; and he did punctually perform them, sending a Circular Letter to the Bishops of the *Byzacene* and *Arzugitane* Provinces, by which he exhorted to subscribe to the Acts of the last Council both those who had assisted at it, and those who could not come to it, that it might appear

that there was in the Bishops 'neither 'Dissimulation nor Negligence, or lest 'perhaps there might remain some just 'Suspicion of some hidden Heresie.

The Bishops who were of *Pelagius*'s Opinion, had much ado to subscribe to the Acts, and Eighteen of them wrote to the Bishop of *Thessalonica*, to endeavour to get the Eastern Bishops on their side. To engage them the more easily to it, they accused their Adversaries of *Manicheism*; because the *Manicheans* maintained also the unavoidable Necessity of Sin, and the Natural Corruption of Man.

That Accusation was so much the more odious, because St. *Augustine*, the chief Defender of those Opinions, had been infected in his Youth with the Opinions of *Manes*; and because having abjured them, he had confuted them by the same Principles which the *Pelagians* used, which he afterwards forsook when he came to be a Bishop.

On the other hand, *Julian* wrote to *Rome*, and *Celestius* went to *Constantinople* in the Year 419, to endeavour to get

get Friends there. But after the beforementioned Imperial Edicts, 'twas not likely they should be successful in it. *Celestius* was ill received by *Atticus*, who had succeeded *Arsacius* substituted to St. *Chrysostom*, who died soon after.

The *Pelagians* were also ill treated (as St. *Prosper* relates it) at *Ephesus*, and in *Sicily*: And *Constantius*, whom *Honorius* had made Partner of the Empire, made, in the Year 420, an Edict like that of that Prince, against those who should conceal *Celestius*.

St. *Jerom* died that Year; and St. *Augustine* wrote his Four Books dedicated to *Boniface*, Successor of *Zosimus*; and Six against *Julian*, dedicated to *Claudius*. He makes the *Encomium* of St. *Jerom* in them, and assures us that he was of the same Opinion with the Bishops of *Africa*, in all likelyhood because he wrote against the *Pelagians*, though he made not use of the same Arguments with St. *Augustine*.

* St. *Jerom* said, 'That God's Com- * *Lib.* 1. *in*
'mands are possible, but that every *Pelag.*
'one cannot do whatever is possible;

'not by any Weakness of Nature, which 'would be a Reflection upon God, but 'by the Custom of the Soul, which 'cannot have all Vertues always and 'at the same time: *Possibilia præcepit Deus, sed hæc possibilia cuncta singuli habere non possumus, non imbecillitate Naturæ, ut calumniam facias Deo, sed animi assuetudine, qui cunctas simul & semper non potest habere virtutes.*

St. *Augustin* was so far from being of that Opinion, that in 191 Sermon *de Tempore*, he speaks thus; 'We de-'test the Blasphemy of those who say 'that God hath commanded Man any 'thing that is impossible; and that 'Gods Commands cannot be observed 'by every one in particular, but by 'All in common: *Execramur blasphemiam eorum qui dicunt impossible aliquid homini à Deo esse præceptum, & mandata Dei non à singulis, sed ab omnibus in commune posse servari.* —— Here we must supply, *By the Assistance of Grace.*

* *Usser. ubi sup.* c. 11.

* While *Pelagius* lay hid in the *East*, and kept silence, *Julian* wrote Eight Books

Books against the Second of St. *Augustine de Concupiscentia & Nuptiis*, having refuted the First in the Four Books above-mention'd. St. *Augustine* undertook to Answer the Last Work of *Julian*, as he had answered the First; but he could not finish his Answer, being prevented by Death. We have Two Books of his with the Two Books of *Julian* which he confutes, printed at *Paris* by the care of *Claudius Menard*, in the Year 1616. *Julian* exprest his Mind boldly in those Books, and seems, by his giving the Adversaries of *Pelagius* ill Words, to have been willing to take his revenge of the severe Edicts which they had obtained against him. But his Conduct proved prejudicial to him, seeing *Celestinus* Bishop of *Rome* caused him to be banished out of *Italy*, together with *Florus*, *Orentius*, *Fabius*, and all the Bishops of the same Party.

It appears notwithstanding that *Pelagianism* spread it self maugre its Opposers, seeing the Emperor *Valentinian* publish'd an Edict at *Aquileia*, in the Year 425, to drive it from the *Gauls*, by which he order'd *Patroclus* Bishop of *Arles* 'to go and see several Bishops

'who followed the Opinions of *Pe-*
'*lagius*, and to let 'em know, that if
'they did not retract their Errors
'within Twenty Days allowed them to
'deliberate about it, they should be
'banisht from the *Gauls*, and deprived
'of their Bishopricks.

Joannes Cassianus, a *Scythian* by Origin, whom some will have to be an *Athenian*, others a *Roman*, and others to be born in the *Gauls*, who had been Deacon of St. *Chrysostome*, and Ordained a Priest by *Innocent* I. having retired to *Marseilles*, betook himself to write some Books then; by which softening a little the Opinions of *Pelagius*, whom he otherwise condemn'd as a Heretick, he gave birth to those Opinions, which went since under the Name of *Semi-Pelagianism*. His Opinions may be seen in his *Collationes*, or Conferences, which St. *Prosper* confuted, and which he maintained to contain meer *Pelagianism*.

Petav. lib. Laud. c. 7.

* Here's in a few words what his Opinions may be reduced to.

1. The *Semi-Pelagians* confest that Men are born corrupted, and cannot free themselves from that Corruption but

but by the help of Grace, which is notwithstanding prevented by some Motion of the Will, as by a good Desire; whence it is that they said, *Meum est velle credere, Dei autem gratiæ est adjuvare*; "To be willing to believe depends on "me, but 'tis the part of God's Grace "to help me. —— God, in their Opinion, expects those First Motions from us, and then gives us his Grace.

2. That God invites All Men by his Grace, but that it depends upon Mens freedom to embrace or reject it.

3. That God caused the Gospel to be preached to the Nations which he foresaw should embrace it, and would not have it to be preached to the Nations which he foresaw should reject it.

4. That although he would have all Men to be saved, yet he had only elected to Salvation those whom he foresaw should persevere in Faith and Good Works.

5. That there was no particular Grace absolutely necessary to Salvation, which God gave only to a certain number of

Men, and that Men could lose all the Graces they had received.

6. That among little Children, who died in that Age, God permitted that those only should be Baptized, who, according to God's Fore-knowledge, would have been Pious Men if they had liv'd; and on the contrary, that those who were to be Wicked, if they had come to a more advanced Age, were excluded from Baptism by Providence.

7. The *Semi-Pelagians* were also accused of making Grace altogether External; so that, in their Opinion, it consisted only in the Preaching of the Gospel. But some of them maintained that there was also an Inward Grace, which *Pelagius* himself did not altogether reject. Some others confest besides, that there is a Preventing Grace.

Thus it seems that the Difference between their Opinions and those of *Pelagius*, consisted in their owning that Men are born in some sort corrupted, and in their insisting more upon the Necessity of Grace, at least in Words.

Although

Although the Difference is not very great, yet they Anathematized *Pelagius*. Which perhaps they did, supposing that *Pelagius* maintained all the Opinions condemned by the Councils of *Africa*. St. *Augustine* accuses them of making the whole Grace of God to consist in Instruction, which concerns only the Understanding; whereas he makes it to consist in a Particular and Inward Working of the Holy Ghost, which unavoidably determines us to Good, and that Determination is not the Effect of the Light we have. The other Opinions of that Father, either contrary to the Doctrine of *Pelagius*, or that of the *Semi-Pelagians*, are well known. One may learn them especially in his Books concerning *Predestination* and *Perseverance*, which he wrote at the Desire of St. *Prosper*, against the *Semi-Pelagians*, and in the Works of this latter.

To return to the History, 'tis said that in the Year 429, one *Agricola* Son of *Severianus* a *Pelagian* Bishop, brought *Pelagianism* into *England*; but St. *German* Bishop of *Auxerre* was sent thither by Pope *Celestinus*, or the Bishops of the *Gauls*, and soon extirpated it. Many

Miracles

Miracles are ascribed to him in that Journey, and whilst he staid in *England*, which may be read in Bishop *Usher*. But if what * *Hector Boetius*, a *Scotch* Historian, who liv'd in the beginning of the last Century, says, be true, he used a Method which is not less efficacious for the extirpating of Heresie; 'tis this, the *Pelagians* who would not retract their Errors, *were burnt by the care of the Magistrates.*

* *Hist. Scot. lib.* 8.

But whilst St. *German* was purifying *England*, the Seeds of *Pelagianism* which *Cassianus* had spread among the Monks of *Marseilles*, and in *Gallia Narbonensis*, made it grow in *France*. St. *Prosper* and *Hilary* wrote to St. *Augustine* about it, and let him know that many Clergymen in the *Gauls* look'd upon his Opinions as dangerous Novelties. St. *Augustine* answered their Objections in the Books which I have just now mentioned: But the Toleration which *Hilary* Bishop of *Arles*, and *Maximus* Bishop of *Riez*, granted the *Semi-Pelagians*, hindred every body from molesting them, though they shewed a great Aversion to the Doctrine of St. *Augustine*.

Julian

Julian, and the other Bishops, who were banish'd (as I have said) from *Italy*, went to *Constantinople*, where they importun'd the Emperor to be re-establish'd: but because they were accused of Heresie, he would grant 'em nothing, without knowing the Reasons for which they were expell'd.

Nestorius Bishop of *Constantinople* wrote to *Celestinus* about it, who returned him a very sharp Answer, and as if it had not been lawful to enquire for the Reasons of their Condemnation, upbraiding him at the same time with his private Opinions. His Letter is dated the 12th. of *August*, in the Year 430.

St. *Augustine* died about that time, whose *Encomium's* may be found in Bishop *Usher*, who approves the Praises bestowed upon him by *Fulgentius*, in his Second Book *Of the Truth of Predestination*, wherein he calls him an *Inspired Man*. A little while after his Death, the Letters of *Theodosius*, who call'd him to the Council of *Ephesus*, came to *Africa*, from whence some Bishops were sent to it.

That

That Council, made up of Two hundred and ten Bishops, met to Condemn *Nestorius*, in the Year 431. *Cyril* of *Alexandria* presided in it; and whilst it sate, *John* Bishop of *Antioch* met, with Thirty other Bishops, who made some Canons opposite to those of that Council. What is singular in it is, that the Party of *Cyril* and that of *John* accused each other of *Pelagianism*; but the greatest Party approved the Deposal of *Julian*, and the other *Italian* Bishops, whom *Nestorius* had treated more mildly. He is accused of having been of their Opinion, and of having maintained that Christ became the Son of God, by reason of the good use he made of his Free-Will; for a Reward whereof, God had united him to the Eternal *Word*. Hence it is that *Pelagianism* and *Nestorianism* were condemned together in that Council.

But notwithstanding all this, and the care of Three Popes, *Celestinus*, *Xystus* III. and *Leo* I. *Semi-Pelagianism* maintained it self in the *Gauls*. Perhaps the manner after which *Celestinus* wrote to the Bishops of *France*, contributed towards it; because although he condemned *Pelagius* with heat, and praised much St. *Au-*

St. *Augustine*, yet he said at the end of his Letter, 'That as to what concerned 'the profound and difficult Questions 'which were mixed with that Controversie, and had been handled at large 'by those who opposed the Hereticks, 'as he durst not despise 'em, he did not 'believe neither that it was necessary to 'determine one's self thereupon.

One may see in * Bishop *Usher*, how much St. *Prosper*, and the Popes *Xystus* and *Leo*, laboured to confute or destroy *Pelagianism* and *Semi-Pelagianism*. About the same time, *Vincentius Lirinensis* wrote his *Commonitorium*, that is, three Years after the Council of *Ephesus*. He is suspected to be the Author of the Objections which St. *Prosper* confuted, under the Title of *Objectiones Vincentianæ*. His *Commonitory* was re-printed last Year (1687.) in *Twelves*, at *Cambridge*, with *Balusius*'s Notes, and St. *Augustine*'s Book *de Hæresibus*.

* *Ubi sup.* c. 12.

One may also see in † Bishop *Usher* the Devastation which the *Scots* and *Picts* made in *England* in that Century, the Arrival of the *Saxons* into that Island, after what manner they made themselves

† Ibid.

selves Masters of it, and the other Events of that Time.

Vid. Usser. ubi sup. c. 13.

Before * those Misfortunes happen'd in *England*, a Monk whose Name was *Faustus* went from that Countrey into *Gallia Narbonensis*, where he became Abbot of *Lerins*, and afterwards Bishop of *Riez* after *Maximus*, to whom he had also succeeded in the Abbey of *Lerins*. He assisted at a Council held at *Rome* towards the End of the Year 462, wherein it was agreed that a Council should be held every Year in the *Gauls*, which should be convocated by the Archbishop of *Arles*. There was one held a little while after in that City, which ordered *Faustus* to declare his Opinions concerning the Matter of *Grace*; and another at *Lyons*, by the Order of which he added something to what he had already written, because some new Errors had been discovered. Those Errors are those to which the Divines of *Marseilles* gave the Name of *Predestinarian* Heresie, which some maintain to have been a true Heresie, and others the Opinion of St. *Augustine*.

We

We have no more the Acts of those two Synods, but *Faustus*'s Work is still extant; it is entitled *De Gratia & Libero Arbitrio*, directed to *Leontius* Bishop of *Arles*, and contains very clearly the *Semi-Pelagianism*. *Erasmus* printed it for the first time at *Basil*, in 1528, and it was since inserted into the Eighth Tome of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

Faustus sent the Opinions of the Second Council of *Arles* to a *Predestinarian* Priest, named *Lucidus*, to oblige him to retract his Errors, and subscribe to the Doctrine of that Council: We have still his Letter to *Lucidus*, and the Answer of that Priest directed to the Bishops who met at *Arles*, wherein he declares, "That he condemns the Opinions of "those who believe that Free-Will was "altogether lost after the Fall of the "First Man; That Christ died not for "all Men; That some are designed for "Death, and others for Life; That "from *Adam* to *Christ*, no Heathen "was saved by the *First* Grace of God, "that is, by the Law of Nature, be-"cause they have lost Free-Will in our "First Father; That the Patriarchs, "Prophets, and greatest Saints, have

"been

" been in Paradise before the time of the " Redemption. ——— This is almost an Abridgment of *Faustus*'s Book.

Some learned Men have maintained that *Faustus* did more than he was order'd, and that many of those who assisted at the Councils of *Arles* and *Lyons* would not have subscribed to his Book. But 'tis hard to apprehend how a Bishop, who was very much esteem'd (as it appears by the Letters of *Sidonius Apollinaris*, Bishop of *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, who makes his *Encomium* in many places, and by *Gennadius*, who praises that Work,) 'tis, I say, somewhat hard to apprehend how he could have been so bold as to ascribe to a Council some Opinions which the greatest part of them would have abhorred, and that the Members of that Council should shew no resentment of it.

Indeed, those who say that *Faustus* did more than he was bid, give no reason for it, only they cannot believe that there was so many *Semi-Pelagians* in the *Gauls*.

One

One may see in Bishop *Usher* the Judgment of several learned Men concerning *Faustus*, and whereof the greatest part do not much favour him. *Baronius* himself speaks ill of him; so that what happen'd formerly to the *Pelagians*, happens now-a-days to the *Semi-Pelagians*, viz. those who maintain their chief Doctrines, condemn them, only because some Men, who were more esteem'd than they, have formerly condemn'd them.

Faustus his Book * did not remain unknown, seeing they brought it to *Constantinople*, where the Minds were divided concerning the Doctrines which it contain'd. Some affirmed it was Orthodox, and others Heretical, as it appears by a Letter of *Possessian* an *African* Bishop, who was then at *Constantinople*, and wrote from thence to Pope *Hormisda*, in the Year 520, to know what he thought of it. Some Persons of the greatest Quality, among which were *Vitalian*, and *Justinian*, who was since Emperor, desired to know the Opinions of the Church of *Rome* thereupon. *Hormisda* disapproved *Faustus* his Book, and referred them to those of St. *Augustine*,

* *Usser. ubi sup.* c. 14.

gustine, Of Predestination and Perseverance.

There was then at *Constantinople* a Monk whose Name was *John Maxentius*, who wrote an Answer * to *Hormisda*'s Letter, wherein he compares the Opinions of St. *Augustine* and *Faustus*, and sharply censures *Possessor*, and those who maintained that *Faustus* his Book was Orthodox. It appears from thence that *Possessor* was a *Semi-Pelagian*, and consequently, that the Councils of *Africa* had not been yet able to bring all the Bishops of that Church to their Decisions.

* *Tom. 6. Bibl. P. P. Ed. Col.*

The *Vandals* had invaded *Africa*, during the heat of the *Pelagian* Controversies; and becaufe they were *Arian*, they turned out a great number of Bishops, who followed the Decrees of the Council of *Nice*.

Thrasamond King of the *Vandals* had sent Sixty of the *Byzacene* Province into Banishment to *Sardinia*. They were consulted from the *East* concerning the Controversies about *Grace*, rather to have a publick Declaration of their Opinions,

Opinions, than to be Instructed; seeing those who wrote to them were already fixed in their Opinion, and condemned in their Letters not only the *Pelagians*, but the Books of *Faustus*.

Fulgentius Bishop of *Esfagues* answered in the Name of the others, and explained the Opinion of St. *Augustine*, in a Letter, and a private Book directed to *Paulus Diaconus*. The same *Fulgentius* wrote also some other Books concerning the same Matter. He had composed Seven Books against *Faustus* his Two *De Gratia & Libero Arbitrio*, but they are lost. Those *African* Bishops returned to their Churches in the Year 523, in which *Thrasamond* died, as we learn from *Victor* of *Tonneins*, in his Chronicle.

Fulgentius had confuted *Faustus*, before he departed from *Sardinia*; from whence it follows, as well as from *Possessor*'s Letter, that *Binius* should not have placed the Third Council of *Arles*, the Opinions of which *Faustus* had explained, in the Year 524. But this is not the only Fault he hath committed: he hath corrected, or rather corrupted,

as he thought fit, a vast number of Places in the Ancient Councils, without having any regard to Manuscripts: Wherefore * Bishop *Usher* gives him the Title of *Contaminator Conciliorum.*

* *Vb. sup. p.* 231.

As *Hilary* and *Leontius*, Archbishops of *Arles*, had favoured *Semi-Pelagianism*; so *Cæsarius*, who succeeded *Leontius*, favoured what the Divines of *Marseilles* call'd *Predestinatianism*, that is, the Opinions of St. *Augustine*. The Second Council of *Orange* was held under his Direction, in the Year 529, which approved St. *Augustine*'s Opinions, and whereof the Acts may be seen entire in † Bishop *Usher*. A little while after, another Council was held at *Valence*, concerning the same Matters, which did also condemn *Semi-Pelagianism*. *Boniface* II. approved the Acts of that Council, by a Letter which he wrote to *Cæsarius*, in the Year 531, which the same learned Primate of *Ireland* hath inserted in his Work.

† *Vb. sup. p.* 262.

Here ends the History of *Pelagianism* and *Semi-Pelagianism*, which notwithstanding was not extinguished in the *Gauls* and *England* by so many Endeavours

vours and Decrees of the Defenders of Grace, as may be seen by the *History of Godescale*, written by the same Bishop. What can one conclude from thence, according to St. *Augustine*'s Principles, but that God was not pleased to bestow his Grace upon *Anathema's*, *Confiscations*, *Deposals* and *Banishments*, which the Godly Emperors and Holy Councils made use of against the Unfortunate *Pelagians*?

FINIS.