THE

WORKS

OF

NATHANIEL LARDNER, D.D.

IN ELEVEN VOLUMES;

CONTAINING THE

CREDIBILITY OF THE GOSPEL HISTORY;

JEWISH AND HEATHEN TESTIMONIES;

HISTORY OF HERETICS;

AND HIS SERMONS AND TRACTS;

WITH

GENERAL CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES, AND COPIOUS INDEXES.

TO THE FIRST VOLUME IS PREFIXED

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

BY

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

VOLUME IV.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON, N° 72, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

M,DCC,LXXXVIII.

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THE

CREDIBILITY

OF THE

GOSPEL HISTORY;

PART II.

[VOL. VII. FIRST PUBLISHED IN MDCCXLVIII.]

CHAP. LXIV.

ARNOBIUS.

I. *His history, and work, and time.* II. *His character.* III. *Select passages:* 1. *The sum and design of the Christian religion.* 2. *Arguments for the truth of the Christian religion.* 3. *Objections against it.* 4. *His notion concerning the divinity of Christ, and the Spirit.* 5. *Whether he was a Manichee?* 6. *Miracles in his time.* 7. *Ends of Christ's death.* 8. *Of Free-will.* 9. *Heathens offended at Cicero's works.* 10. *An argument for free inquiry.* IV. *His testimony to the scriptures.* V. *Extracts out of another Arnobius's Commentary upon the Psalms.*

SAYS Jerom in his Catalogue: 'Arnobius in [a] the time of 'the emperor Diocletian, taught rhetoric at Sicca in Africa, 'with great reputation, and wrote those volumes against the 'Gentiles, which are well known.'

In his letter to Magnus, shewing the merit of Christian writers, and particularly their Latin authors, he says: 'Arno-'bius [b] published seven volumes against the Gentiles, and his 'scholar Lactantius as many: who also wrote two other vo-'lumes, Of the Wrath, and the Workmanship of God: which 'if you read, you will find in them an epitome of what is va-'luable in the Dialogues of Cicero.'

[a] Arnobius sub Diocletiano principe Siccæ apud Africam florentissime rhetoricam docuit, scripsitque adversus Gentes quæ vulgo extant volumina. De V. I. c. 79.

[b] Septem libros adversus Gentes Arnobius edidit, totidemque discipulus ejus Lactantius, qui de Ira quoque & Opificio Dei duo volumina condidit: quos si legere volueris, dialogorum Ciceronis in eis ἐπίλυσιν reperies. Ep. 83.

In another place Jerom passeth a severe and ill-natured censure upon Arnobius's performance, saying, that [c] he is unequal and prolix, and for want of divisions of his work (A) confused.

Arnobius is likewise mentioned by Jerom [d] with some other learned ecclesiastical writers, who, he says, ought to be read with discretion, taking what is good in them, and rejecting what is bad.

In Jerom's Chronicle at the 20th year of Constantine, or the year of Christ 326, are these words: 'Arnobius 'a rhetorician 'is famous in Africa, who while he taught the youth rhetoric 'at Sicca, and was yet a heathen, was admonished in his 'dreams to embrace Christianity. But when he applied to the 'bishop of the place for baptism, he rejected him, because he 'had been wont to oppose the Christian doctrine. Whereupon 'he composed an excellent work against his old religion, and 'thus at length, as by hostages of his piety, he obtained the 'seal of the covenant.'

According to this account, Arnobius's work against the Gentiles was composed by him, whilst a catechumen only, and before he was a complete Christian. Nay, Tillemont from this passage argues, that [f] Arnobius was not baptized, nor so much as a catechumen. And Cave too, without hesitation says, that [g] 'he was not then so much as a catechumen, in-'structed in the first rudiments of the faith.'

But each of those suppositions appears to me inconsistent with Arnobius's ordinary style, who continually speaks of himself as a Christian, and reckons himself one of them. Many such passages might be alleged; and I put [h] a few in the margin: but it is the whole strain of the work.

[c] Arnobius inæqualis & nimius, & absque operis sui partitione confusus. Ad Paulin Ep. 49. al. 13. T. 4. p. 567.

(A) Cave, in his English life of Arnobius, at the end of his second volume of The Lives of the Fathers, says: 'His style, 'though censured by Jerom, is yet sufficiently elegant.—Nor is his work so con-'fused and immethodical, as that father 'seems to insinuate: as is evident to any 'that will be at the pains attentively to 'read it, and observe how his design is 'laid, his argument prosecuted, and how 'the several parts of it do naturally enough 'one depend upon another.' So Cave.

[d] Ego Originem propter eruditionem sic interdum legendum arbitror, quomodo Tertullianum, Novatum, Arnobium, & nonnullos ecclesiasticos scriptores Græcos pariter & Latinos: ut bona eorum eligamus, vitemusque contraria. Hier. Ep. 56. al. 76. T. 4. p. 589. [e] Arnobius rhetor clarus in Africa habetur. Qui quum in civitate Siccæ ad declamandum juvenes erudiret, & adhuc ethnicus ad credulitatem somniis compelleretur, neque ab episcopo obtineret fidem, quam semper oppugnaverat, elucubravit adversus pristinam religionem luculentissimos libros, & tandem velut quibusdam obsidibus pietatis fœdus impetravit. Chr. l. ii. p. 181. [f] —puisque c'est la production d'un homme qui n' etoit batizè, ou qui même n' étoit pas encore catecumene. Tillem. Arnobe. Mem. Ec. T. 4. P. 2. p. 1209. [g] See Cave's life of Arnobius in English, as above, p. 2. at the bottom. [h] Nihil sumus aliud Christiani, l. i. p. 41. f. Nationibus enim

It

It may be argued likewiſe, that he was not barely a catechumen at that time, from [i] the deſcription he gives of the Chriſtian worſhip in their aſſemblies: not only diſcourſes, but prayers likewiſe; at which laſt, as is generally ſaid, catechumens were not allowed to be preſent.

Indeed I do not ſee how Arnobius could ſo confidently aſſert the innocence and uſefulneſs of every part of Chriſtian worſhip, as he does, if he was not fully acquainted with it. Not to add, that it would ſeem a very extraordinary ſtep, for a man to undertake the public defence of a religion, who did not underſtand the rudiments of it.

I muſt therefore take the liberty to ſay, that I cannot but queſtion the genuineneſs of that paſſage.

That Arnobius was once a blind and zealous idolater, is fully owned and confeſſed by [k] himſelf. And he profeſſeth to have been taught by Chriſt, or that Chriſt was his maſter. But I do not perceive him any where to aſcribe his converſion to dreams, by which he had been admoniſhed whilſt a heathen. Nor does Jerom elſewhere mention, or hint at that matter. It is alſo obſervable, that in Jerom's Catalogue, Arnobius is ſaid to have flouriſhed in the time of Dioclefian; whereas in the paſſage in the Chronicle, he is placed at the twentieth year of Conſtantine. And if Arnobius had been in the circumſtances intimated in that paſſage, he muſt have been intent upon diſpatch. But it is manifeſt from the work itſelf, that it is no haſty performance, but a laboured compoſition, fit to ſee the light: and many authors, both Greek and Latin, are here [l] quoted. Nor has Arnobius any where hinted, that he was under any ſort of compulſion or neceſſity to engage in this work. But at the beginning he ſpeaks of his undertaking as

ſumus in cunctis, p. 10. m. Audetis nos ridere —— ! l. ii. p. 51. Non ergo quod ſequimur novum eſt, ſed nos ſero addidicimus, ib. p. 95. & paſſim. [i] Nam noſtra quidem ſcripta cur ignibus meruerunt dari? cur immaniter conventicula dirui? in quibus ſummus oratur Deus, pax cunctis & venia poſtulatur magiſtratibus, exercitibus, regibus, familiaribus, inimicis, adhuc vitam de gentibus, & reſolutis corporum vinctione: in quibus aliud auditur nihil, niſi quod humanos faciat, niſi quod mites, verecundos, pudicos, caſtos, familiaris communicatores rei, & cum omnibus conſolidæ germanitatis neceſſitudine copulatos. Arnob. l. iv. p. 152. Lugdun. Bat. 1651. Vid. & lib. i. p. 14. f. 15. in.

[k] Venerabar, ô cæcitas, nuper ſimulachra modo ex fornacibus promta, in incudibus deos, & ex malleis fabricatos: elephantorum oſſa, picturatas veternoſis in arboribus tænias ſi quando conſpexeram, lubricatum lapidem & ex olivi unguine ſordidatum, tanquam ineſſet vis præſens, adulabar, affabar, & beneficia poſcebam nihil ſentiente de trunco.——Nunc doctore tanto in vias veritatis inductus, omnia iſta, quæ ſint, ſcio: digna de dignis ſentio, contumeliam nomini nullam facio divino: & quid cuique debeatur, vel perſonæ, vel capiti, inconfuſis gradibus atque auctoritatibus tribuo. Id. l. i. p. 22, 23. [l] Catalogues of authors quoted by Arnobius may be ſeen in Fabr. Bib. Lat. Vol. iii. p. 391. &c. Nourry Apparat. Tom. ii. p. 537, &c.

perfectly free and voluntary; and says, that [m] some injurious reproaches cast upon the Christians, induced him to write in their defence.

Add these considerations to that before-mentioned, that Arnobius writes as a Christian; and it must I think, appear somewhat probable, that Jerom was not the author of that article in the Chronicle; and that it was inserted after his time by some credulous person, not thoroughly acquainted with Arnobius's history, or work.

According to Cave, Arnobius flourished about the year 303. However, it is not easy to settle exactly the time of the work he has left us.

Tillemont is inclined to the year [n] 297, or sooner: whom [o] Beausobre follows, supposing Arnobius to have written in 295. Basnage [p] thinks the year 303, or 304, more likely.

The article in Jerom's Chronicle, whether his or not, seems to deserve but little regard. Arnobius must be there wrong placed, at the year of Christ 325 or 326; for in his Catalogue Jerom says, that Arnobius flourished under Diocletian, and that Lactantius, Arnobius's scholar, was appointed professor of rhetoric at Nicomedia under the same emperor: which must be understood to have been done before the persecution which began in 302 or 303. For after that it cannot be supposed, that Diocletian would invite a Christian to come and settle in the city, where his palace was.

There are some notes of time in the work itself. For Arnobius says, that [q] it was then three hundred years, more or less, since the rise of Christianity. And heathens are brought in objecting, that [r] the Christian religion had not a being four hundred years ago. And soon after it is said to be [s] a thousand and fifty years since the foundation of Rome, or thereabout.

Following the ordinary computation of that epoch, Arnobius must have written in the year of our Lord 297, or 298. And [t] Pagi was once of opinion, that Arnobius's books were published in the year of Christ 298, or 299, at the latest. But afterwards observing, that Arnobius useth words denoting such suf-

[m] Quoniam, comperi nonnullos—statui pro captu & mediocritate sermonis conterere invidiæ & calumniolas dissolvere criminationes, l. i. in. [n] Mem. Ec. T. iv. P. 3. p. 1210. & 1371. [o] Hist. de Manich. T. ii. p. 412. Note (2.)

[p] Annal. 303. n. 24. [q] Trecenti sunt anni, minus vel plus aliquid, ex quo cœpimus esse Christiani, & terrarum in orbe censeri, l. i. p. 9. in. [r] Ante quadringentos annos religio, inquit, vestra non fuit, l. ii. p. 94. in. [s] Ætatis urbs Roma cujus esse in annalibus inscribitur? Annos dicit quinquagintà & mille, aut non multum ab his minus, l. ii. p. 94. infr. m.

[t] Pag. in Baron. Ann. 302. n. 14, 15, 16.

ferings as followed Dioclesian's edict for a general persecution, he was induced to alter his mind, and to conclude, that he did not write till after the year 302. And from hence he was led to infer, that Arnobius followed another, and very uncommon computation of the Roman æra, which placeth the foundation of the city thirteen years later than the Varronian account. Consequently Arnobius wrote in the year of Christ 310, which, according to the last mentioned computation, is in the 1050th year of Rome.

I think, that if the demolition of the churches, and the burning of the Christian scriptures, and other afflictions of Christians for the sake of their principles, which [t] Arnobius speaks of, relate to the persecution under Dioclesian; Arnobius could not write till the year 303, or after. Nevertheless, as he speaks in a loose and general manner, both of the time of the rise of Christianity, and of the foundation of the city; I see no reason to conclude, that he made use of a different computation from the common. For though it were then 1056 or 1057 years from the foundation of Rome, (according to the common computation, and that too followed by him;) he might express himself as he has done, or say, it was about 1050 years.

It may be reckoned somewhat strange, that Lactantius, when [x] he mentions the Latin Christian apologists, Minucius, Tertullian, and Cyprian, should take no notice of Arnobius; if he was his master, as Jerom says in his Catalogue, and if he wrote before him.

With regard to this difficulty, I would say, Lactantius appears to be so honest and generous a man, that I cannot imputate his silence to envy, or any other bad principle. Indeed, according to the whole strain of Arnobius's work, he wrote, when Christianity was under discouragements, and therefore before the sun-shine of Constantine's reign: whereas it is a common opinion, that the Institutions of Lactantius, written against the Gentiles, were not published, as we now have them, before the year 319, or 320, or 321. But however that may be, I think it probable, that the main part of the Institutions was written during the time of Dioclesian's persecution; when Lactantius might be intirely ignorant of what Arnobius had done, or was doing in Africa, at a great distance from him. For they might be both writing at one and the same time, without any communication of their several designs to each other, and without a possibility of it. Arnobius was a heathen

[t] See before note (i) p. 3.

[x] Inst. l. v. c. 1. p. 459.

a good while. His work is the work of a man of vast reading, and of a mature age at least. Nor have we any account of any thing done by him afterwards: possibly he was then far advanced in life, and died soon after. And if his books were not composed before the year of our Lord 305, or 306, Lactantius, probably, would be intirely unacquainted with them, when he wrote his Institutions. Moreover, supposing the persecution to have been begun before Arnobius's work was composed, there might be no fair opportunity to make it public, till that affliction ceased.

Cave[y] and some others say, that Arnobius did not write till after the beginning of Diocletian's persecution. And it is certain, that he not only often speaks of the afflictions endured by Christians, but as if they suffered at the very time: for he prays to God[z] to forgive those that persecuted his servants; and he sometimes speaks of their sufferings in the present[a] tense. If the persecution was begun before he was converted, and set about his work, it must have raged for some good while, before his Apology was finished. Consequently, it could not be written, much less published, quite so soon as some have thought.

Upon the whole I am inclined to think, without being positive, that Arnobius did not write till some time after the beginning of the persecution ordered by Diocletian, possibly about the year 305, or 306.

Were we inquiring, at what time Arnobius flourished as a rhetorician, I should make no scruple to say, that he flourished about the year 290, or sooner. But as our inquiry is, when he wrote for the Christians, we place him somewhat lower.

Though Arnobius has quoted a large number of Greek and Roman authors, he has not mentioned any Christian writers. Some think, that[b] he made great use of Clement of Alexandria: but he has not named him.

It is supposed, that[c] this work is not come down to us complete; but that somewhat is wanting at the end, if not also at the beginning.

Arnobius's books against the Gentiles have never yet been divided into chapters or smaller sections: though as[d] Nourry

y Scripti enim sunt hi libri anno 303, vel non diu post, exorta jam persecutione. Cave H. L. in Arnobio. z Da veniam, rex summe, tuos persequentibus servos, &c. l. i. p. 18. in. a Vid. l. ii. p. 44, 45. b Vid. Nourry, Diss. in Arnob in App T. ii. p. 490. C. 481, 482, 487. C. D. 491. D. E. & 492.

c Id. ib. p. 287. D. E. d Quapropter si quis in nova aliqua horum librorum editione, eos, quod non ita difficile est, in capita aut sectiones distribuat; is sane & huic confusioni medebitur, & tædium laboremque lectoris plurimum sublevabit. Id. ib. p. 287. C.

says,

ſays, it might be eaſily done, and would remove the ſeeming confuſion which there is in the method, and render the reading of this author more agreeable. However, as yet we have only the original diviſion of this work into ſeven books.

There is another of this name, author of Brief Commentaries upon the 150 Pſalms, formerly ſuppoſed the ſame with our Arnobius, but now univerſally allowed by learned men to be a different perſon, and to have lived in the fifth century, about[e] the year 461.

I deſign at the end of this chapter to inſert a brief account of his teſtimony to the ſcriptures.

II. Having given a general account of Arnobius, and his work, I ſhall add ſome things to illuſtrate his character.

It has been often ſaid of Arnobius and Lactantius, that[f] they undertook the defence of Chriſtianity before they underſtood it. In anſwer to which it is obſerved by a learned and judicious writer, 'That[g] this muſt be underſtood of the Chriſtian 'ſyſtem, as to doctrines and precepts: which it is not to be 'wondered, if he was not perfectly acquainted with, ſince 'he wrote his books before he was admitted by baptiſm 'into the church, and fully inſtructed in thoſe points. But 'as to the general evidence of Chriſtianity, that he underſtood 'very well, and by his knowledge and ſerious conſideration of 'it, embraced the faith in that diſcouraging ſeaſon the reign 'of Diocleſian.'

I wiſh that vindication of our Chriſtian apologiſt had been more complete. For in order to judge of the evidence of a religion, it ſeems requiſite, that a man underſtand its doctrines; or what it teaches, and conſiſts of. Nor do I perceive, how Arnobius could be acquainted with our Lord's works, or miracles, and not alſo know his[h] words, or the doctrines and precepts of the Chriſtian religion.

I obſerve then, that Arnobius knew and believed the ſeveral following things: 1. He[i] believed in one God Almighty, the creator of all things. 2. He believed, that[k] Jeſus Chriſt came from God, and that he proved his divine commiſſion. 3. He was acquainted with * the ſublime morality taught by our Saviour on the mount and elſewhere. 4. He believed, that †

e Cave Hiſt. L. in Arnobio Juniore.

f See Mr. Warburton's Divine Legation, Vol. i. p. 3.

g See Dr. Chapman's Euſebius, Vol. i. p. 272.

h Neque enim qualitas & deformitas mortis dicta ejus immutat aut facta, l. i. p. 23. m. Vid. & p. 6. in.

i Audetis ridere nos, quod Patrem rerum & Deum veneramur & colimus, quodque illi dedamus & permittamus ſpes noſtras? l. ii. p. 51. m. & alibi paſſim.

k —— rei maximæ cauſa a ſummo rege ad nos miſſus, l. i. p. 24. & paſſim.

* Ib. p. 5. & 6.

† Sed ſi, inquiunt, Chriſtus in hoc miſſus

Jeſus Chriſt came to ſave loſt ſinners: 5. And that [l] he promiſed eternal life, and gave full aſſurance of his being able to perform what he promiſed. 6. He likewiſe [m] believed and expected the reſurrection of the dead. 7. He knew that [n] the goſpel of Chriſt, or the Chriſtian religion, did not make promiſes of temporal, earthly bleſſings; but taught men to bear afflictions, and even death itſelf, with meekneſs, patience and fortitude. 8. And finally, he was ſo fully perſuaded of the real excellence and manifeſt certainty of the Chriſtian religion, as to ſay, that [o] it needed not any apology, but ſtood firm upon the foundation of its own truth and reaſonableneſs, though all the world ſhould gainſay it. He had therefore conſidered the internal, as well as the external evidence of Chriſtianity.

A man who knew all theſe things, and was acquainted with the hiſtory of our Lord's life, death, and reſurrection, and his and his apoſtles miracles; I think may be eſteemed ſufficiently qualified to write a defence of the Chriſtian religion. Indeed, the faith of the ancient apologiſts, and other primitive Chriſtians, was in ſome reſpects more plain and ſimple than ours: but it was a faith, that [p] produced good works, that taught them ſelf-denial, and made martyrs. Nor was it, poſſibly, becauſe of its plainneſs and ſimplicity, the leſs conformable to

a Deo eſt, ut infelices animas ab interitionis exitio liberaret, —— l. ii. p. 87.

[l] Ut enim dii certi certas apud vos habent tutelas, licentias, poteſtates, —— ita unius pontificium Chriſti eſt, dare animis ſalutem, & ſpiritum perpetuitatis apponere, l. ii. p. 89.

Si nobis hæc gaudia, hoc eſt, viam fugiendæ mortis, Plato in Phædo promiſiſſet, aliuſve ex hoc choro, poſſetque eam præſtare, atque ad finem pollicitationis adducere; conſentaneum fuerat ejus ſuſcipere nos cultus, a quo tantum doni expectaremus & muneris. Nunc cum eam Chriſtus non tantum promiſerit, verum etiam virtutibus tantis manifeſtaverit poſſe compleri: quid alienum facimus, aut ſtultitiæ crimen quibus rationibus ſuſtinemus, ſi ejus nomini, majeſtatique ſubſternimur, a quo ſperamus utrumque, & mortem cruciabilem fugere, & vitæ æternitate donari? l. ii. p. 66, 67.

[m] Audetis ridere nos, quod *mortuorum* dicamus reſurrectionem futuram? l. ii. p. 51. [n] Nihil enim eſt nobis promiſſum ad hanc vitam, nec in caruncula hujus folliculo conſtitutis opis aliquid ſponſum eſt auxiliique decretum. Quinimo edocti ſumus minas omnes, quæcunque ſunt, parvi ducere atque æſtimare fortunæ. Ac ſi quando ingruerit vis quæpiam gravior, qua finem neceſſe ſit conſequi vitæ, eam nec timere, nec fugere, —— l. ii. p. 98. [o] Neque enim res ſtare ſine ædertoribus non poteſt & religio Chriſtiana: aut eo eſſe comprobabitur vera, ſi adſtipulatores habuerit plurimos, & auctoritatem ab hominibus ſumſerit. Suis illa contenta eſt viribus, & veritatis propriæ fundaminibus nititur. Nec ſpoliatur vi ſua, etiamſi nullum habeat vindicem: immo ſi linguæ omnes contra faciunt, contraque nitantur, & ad fidem illius abrogandam coelentium unitæ animo litate conſpirent, l. iii. in. p. 100. [p] Οὐ γὰρ λόγοις ἀλλ' ἔργοις τὰ τῆς κυβερνήσεως δόγματα πραγματεία. Juſt. M. ad Gr. Coh. p. 33. B. Οὐ γὰρ μύθοις λέγομεν, ἀλλ' ἐπιδείξει καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ χρώμεθα τοιαύτῃ. Athenag. leg. p. 37. B. vid. ib. p. 12. A. Non habitu ſapientiam, ſed mente præferimus. Non eloquimur magna, ſed vivimus. Min. Fel. cap. 38. Nos autem, — qui philoſophi non verbis ſed factis ſumus, nec veſtitu ſapientiam ſed veritate præferimus,——qui non loquimur magna, ſed vivimus. Cypr. De Bono Sap. ſub init. Noſtro autem populo, quid horum poteſt objici, cujus omnis religio eſt, ſine ſcelere, & ſine macula vivere. Lact. Inſt. l. 5. cap. 9. ſub fin.

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the Christian doctrine contained in the New Testament, which is summarily set forth by St. Paul in these words: *For the grace of God that bringeth salvation*, or the salutary, saving grace of God, *has appeared unto all men, teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world; looking for the blessed hope, and the appearance of the glory of the great God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ: who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people zealous of good works.* Tit. ii. 11—14. But to proceed.

Another learned modern speaks of Arnobius after this manner: 'He[q] was very shy of determining abstruse and difficult 'points of a speculative nature. He supposed the Christian 'religion to consist in the clear and certain doctrine of our 'Saviour, omitting whatever is not plainly taught by him. 'Far from being curious and dogmatical, he was timorous and 'reserved: which, perhaps, is no great fault; for it is the de-'ciding positive temper, that produceth sects and schisms.'

Arnobius was learned and pious; as every one must perceive, who looks into him. And though his style is generally reckoned rough and unpolished, and hath in it some uncouth and obsolete words; it is strong and nervous, and[r] there are in him shining and beautiful passages, which must highly please attentive readers of good taste. It is very much to the honour of this rhetorician, learned in all[s] the learning of Greece and Rome, that he embraced the Christian religion when under persecution: and that like Moses, *he chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season: esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches, than the treasures* of all the world. Heb. xi. 25, 26. And see Acts vii. 22.

III. I shall now make some extracts out of Arnobius. 1. He represents the sum of the Christian religion in this manner: 'We[t] Christians are men that worship the great Lord and go-

[q] Tout cela, selon lui, sont des questions vaines & curieuses, qu'il est impossible de déterminer, parceque la raison humaine manque de lumieres suffisantes pour cela, & que le Fils de Dieu ne s'est point expliqué là-dessus. Arnobe faisoit consister la religion Chrétienne dans la doctrine claire & certain du Sauveur, & en retranchoit tout ce qu'il n'a pas enseigné avec evidence. On peut bien croire que je n'approve pas les hypotheses d'Arnobe. Mais pourquoi faut-il, que les anciens ayent été animez d'un esprit aussi curieux & aussi decisif que celui du savant Arnobe étoit timide & reservé? C'est cet esprit decisif, qui a fait naitre tant de sectes & schismes. Beauf. Hist. de Manich. T. ii p. 515.

[r] Negari tamen non potest, plurima passim occurrere apte, polite, eleganter & rhetorice dicta, ac gravissimis ornata illustrataque verbis & sententiis. Nourry Diss. in Arnob. cap. ii. p. 287. A. B [s] Quem quidem locum plane jamdudum homines pectoris vivi tam Romanis literis explicavere quam Græcis, l. iii. p. 103. [t] Nihil famus aliud Christiani, nisi magistro Christo summi regis & principis veneratores. Nihil, si consideres, aliud invenies in ista religione

'vernor

'vernor of the world, according to the direction of Jesus 'Christ. If you examine it, you will find nothing else in this 'religion: this is the sum of the whole affair: this is the scope 'and design of all our religious offices: to this supreme Lord 'we all bow down: him we worship with united prayers: to 'him we present holy, and innocent, and honourable requests, 'fit to be heard by him.'

I place [a] another like passage at the bottom of the page, without translating it, but referring it to the consideration of my readers.

2. It is worth while to observe, what arguments Arnobius makes use of to prove the truth and divine original of the Christian religion.

1.) One argument insisted on by him is its excellence. For this I would refer to what was before said [x] concerning Arnobius's knowledge of the Christian religion and its evidences, and to his passages just alleged, containing his summary accounts of the great design of it. I might also refer to other passages, where [y] he insists upon those laws of Christ, which teach men to bear injuries, and not to return evil for evil: as likewise to some other places, where [z] he puts the heathens in mind of the innocence of Christ himself, and of his whole undertaking: which, as he tells them, is alone sufficient to shew, how unreasonable their fierce opposition against him was. And there are in him many other passages to the same purpose, which will offer themselves to an attentive reader.

2.) He insists [a] upon the virtues of our Lord's life, and the perfection and amiableness of his conduct upon all occasions.

versari. Hæc totius summa est actionis. Hic propositus terminus divinorum officiorum, hic finis. Huic omnes ex more prosternimur, hunc collatis precibus adoramus. Ab hoc justa, & honesta, & auditu ejus condigna deposcimus, l. i. p. 14. & 15.

[a] Qui [Christus] si dignus non esset, cui auscultare deberetis, ut credere; vel hoc ipso fuerat non aspernandus a vobis, ostenderet quod vias vobis ad cœlum & vota immortalitatis optaret, —— qui hominibus cæcis, & revera in impietate degentibus, pietatis aperuit januas, & cui se submitterent indicavit? An ulla est religio verior, officiosior, potentior, justior, quam Deum principem nosse, scire Deo principi supplicare, qui bonorum omnium solus caput & fons est, perpetuarum pariter fundator & conditor rerum, a quo omnia terrena, cunctaque cœlestia animantur, —— & qui si non esset, nulla profecto res esset, quæ aliquod nomen, substantiamque portaret? l. ii. p. 42, 43. Vid. & p. 13. f.

[x] See p. 7, 8. [y] Nam cum hominum vis tanta magisteriis ejus acceperimus ac legibus, malum malo rependi non oportere; injuriam perpeti quam irrogare præstantius, l. i. p. 6. in. [z] — quid causæ est, quod tam gravibus infectamini Christum bellis? Numquid regiam sibi vindicans potestatem, terrarum orbem cunctum legionibus infestissimis occupavit? - Numquid ardoribus avaritiæ flagrans universas opes illas, quibus se genus humanum studiose contendit impleri, possessionis suæ mancipio vindicavit? Numquid — l. ii. p. 42.

[a] Ipse denique non lenis, non placidus, non accessu facilis non familiaris affatu, non humanas miserias indolescens, omnes omnino cruciibus & corporalibus affectos malis unica illa benignitate miseratus reddidit & restituit sanitati? Quid ergo vos subigit,

3.)

3.) Another argument is taken from our Lord's miracles. Several of the paſſages where Arnobius ſpeaks of them, will be produced hereafter, in the article of his teſtimony to the ſcriptures. He obſerves particularly, that [b] our Lord's great works were very numerous, and were performed without the uſe of any external means, and were healing and beneficial: that [c] they were performed without ſhow and oſtentation, in order to convince, if poſſible, a hard-hearted and unbelieving race of men, of the truth of the doctrine taught by him. He likewiſe obſerves, that [d] Chriſt diſcovered a knowledge of men's inward thoughts: that [e] after he had been put to death, he roſe again, and ſhewed himſelf to many. He farther [f] inſiſts largely upon our Saviour's conferring a like power of doing miracles, equal to all thoſe which had been done by himſelf, upon his diſciples, who were poor fiſhermen, or of other low occupations, ignorant, illiterate, and unſkilful: a full proof, he ſays, that thoſe works were not the effect of magic, or any human art, but of the power of God. And whereas ſome might be apt to inſinuate, that the writers of our Lord's hiſtory had magnified his works beyond the reality; he anſwers, that [g] they had related but a ſmall part of them. And he wiſheth they had recorded them all, if it had been poſſible, and likewiſe all the miracles of his diſciples, the more to increaſe the aſtoniſhment and wonder of ſuch incredulous men. He

quid hortatur, maledicere —— quem redarguere, quem terrere, nemo hominum poſſit ullus Deorum in reatu? l. i. p. 30.

[b] Poteſtis aliquem nobis deſignare, monſtrare ex omnibus illis magis, qui unquam fere per ſæcula, conſimile aliquid Chriſto poſſeſſum ex parte qui fecerit? qui ſine ulla vi carminum, ſine herbarum & graminum ſucis, ——? Atqui conſtitit Chriſtum ſine ullis adminiculis rerum, ſine ullius ritus obſervatione, vel lege, omnia illa quæ fecit, pro arbitrii ſui poſſibilitate feciſſe: & quod proferam, cæcitatem, diſcum Deo facere non, non nocere, aut nexum, ſed opferam, ſed curare, ſed auxiliaribus plenam manum poteſtatis munifice liberalitate donare? l. i. p. 25. [c] Quæ quidem ab eo geſta ſunt, & fertilata, non ut ſe vana oſtentare poſſent, ſed ut homines duri & incredibiles ſcirent, non eſſe quod ſpernerent infimum, l. i. p. 27. [d] Unus fuit e nobis, qui quod ſingulis volverent, quid tibi obſcenis cogitationibus continerent, penitorum in cordibus pervidebat? p. 27. ib. [e] Unus fuit e nobis, qui depoſito corpore immanem ſe hominum perniciem in hoc detexit? p. 27. [f] Quid quod illos arguatis, qui ſunt a nobis imma-

nitatem, non ut rei poſcebat magnitudo, depromtæ, non tantum ipſe perfecit vi ſua, verum quod erat ſublimius, multos alios experiri, & facere ſui nominis cum affectione permiſit. Nam cum videret futuros vos eſſe geſtarum ab ſe rerum, divinique operis abrogatores, ne qua ſubeſſet ſuſpicio, magicis ſe artibus munera illa beneficiaque largitum, ex immenſa illa populi multitudine, quæ ſuam gratiam ſectabatur admirans, piſcatores, opifices, ruſticanos, atque id genus elegit imperitorum, qui per varias gentes miſſi cuncta illa miracula ſine ullis fucis atque adminiculis perpetrarent. — Neque quicquam eſt ab illo geſtum per admirationem ſtupentibus cunctis, quod non omne donaverit parvulis illis & ruſticis, & eorum ſubjecerit poteſtati, p. 30. Vid. & p. 32. [g] Sed conſcriptores noſtri mendaciter iſta promſerunt, extulere in immenſum exigua geſta, & anguſtas res ſatis ambitioſo dilatavere præcomio. Atqui utinam cuncta referri in ſcripta potuiſſent, vel quæ ab ipſo geſta ſunt, vel quæ ab ejus præconibus pari jure & potentia terminata. Magis vos incredulos faceret vis tanta virtutum. —— l. i. p. 33.

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particularly asserts, that [h] the miracles done by Christ himself, and by his apostles, whom he sent forth to preach in his name, are a just foundation of faith in him, as a divine messenger. And he says, that [i] those great works had excited the attention of all mankind, and induced distant nations, and people of very different manners and customs, to unite in respect for his high character.

I presume it will be allowed, that Arnobius has done justice to this argument, and treated it in a handsome manner.

4.) He argues [k] from the great effect of the Christian religion upon men, in softening their tempers, amending their manners, sowing the seeds and principles of benevolence, peace and friendship, among men. Which advantages, he says, would have been greater, and more general, provided all, who made an appearance of being men, would have exercised their rational powers and faculties, and would have laid aside their prejudices, and their pride, and would have candidly attended to the doctrine of Christ. Then wars and disturbances might have ceased in the earth.

He observes particularly, and with much thankfulness, that [l] Christ had delivered men from great errors: he had brought them from idolatry to the knowledge of the true God, and taught them how to worship, and pray to him.

5.) Another argument insisted on by him is [m] the great progress of the Christian doctrine, and the vast numbers of people

h Atque si causas causis, partes partibus voluerimus æquare, magis nos valemus ostendere, quid in Christo fuerimus secuti, quam in philosophis quid vos. Ac nos quidem in illo secuti hæc sumus: opera illa magnifica, potentissimasque virtutes, quas varias edidit exhibuitque miraculis, quibus quivis posset ad necessitatem credulitatis adduci, & judicare fideliter, non esse quæ fierent hominis, sed divinæ alicujus atque incognitæ virtutis. Vos in philosophis virtutes secuti quis estis, — — ? l. ii. p. 49. i Virtutes sub oculis positæ, & inaudita illa vis rerum, vel quæ ab ipso fiebat palam, vel ab ejus præconibus celebratur in orbe toto, ea subdidit appetitionum flammas, ut ad unius credulitatis assensum mente una concurrere gentes & populus fecit, & moribus dissimillimas nationes, ib. p. 50.

k Habet a Christo beneficium jamdudum orbis ingratus, per quem feritatis mollita est rabies, atque hostiles manus cohibere a sanguine cognati animantis occœpit. Quod si omnes omnino, qui homines se esse non specie corporum, sed rationis intelligunt potestate, salutaribus ejus pacificisque decretis aurem vellent commodare paulisper, & non fastu & supercilio luminis ——— universus jamdudum orbis mitiora in opera conversis usibus ferri, tranquillitate in mollissima degeret, & in concordiam salutarem incorruptis fœderum sanctionibus conveniret, l. i. p. 6. l ——— honoribus quantis alliciendus est nobis, qui ab erroribus nos magnis infinuata veritate traduxit? qui velut cæcos passim, ac sine ullo rectore gradientes, ab deruptis, ab deviis, locis planoribus reddidit. Qui, quod frugiferum primo atque humano generi salutare, Deus monstravit quid sit, quis, quantus, qualis: — Qui, quod omnia superavit, & transgressum est numera, ab religionibus nos falsis religionem traduxit ad veram. Qui ab signis, inertibus atque ex vilissimo formatis luto ad sidera sublevarit & cœlum, & cum Domino rerum Deo supplicationum fecit verba atque orationum colloquia miscere, l. i. p. 21, 22. m Si Alamannos, Persas, Scythas, idcirco voluerunt devinci, quod habitarent in eorum gentibus Christiani: quemadmodum Romanis tribuere victoriam, cum habitarent & degerent in eorum quo-

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that had embraced it in many and remote kingdoms of the earth, in a very ſhort time. He ſays, that there were then Chriſtians in all countries: he particularly mentions Syria, Perſia, Scythia, Africa, Spain, Gaul, and divers other people and countries; ſome under the Roman government, others out of it.

The dignity of our Lord's perſon, he [n] ſays, and the divine original of his religion, muſt be hence manifeſt, that in ſo ſhort a time he filled the whole world with that doctrine.

6.) This argument is confirmed, foraſmuch [o] as this religion had been embraced under the greateſt difficulties and diſcouragements by men of all ranks; by orators, grammarians, rhetoricians, lawyers, phyſicians, philoſophers, and the greateſt wits, as well as by men of low condition, and ſmaller attainments. Nor could the heavieſt ſufferings induce men to renounce it. Yea, this doctrine continued to ſpread, and make converts, at the very time that the profeſſors of it endured a cruel perſecution.

7.) He argues, that [p] it would be altogether abſurd to ſuppoſe, that ſo many people ſhould on a ſudden, without any good ground and reaſon, change their former opinions and cuſtoms, and forſake the religion of their anceſtors. They

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que gentibus Chriſtiani? Si in Aſia, Syria, —— quod ratione conſimili habitarent in eorum gentibus Chriſtiani? in Hiſpania, Gallia, cur eodem tempore horum nihil natum eſt, cum innumeri viverent in his quoque provinciis Chriſtiani: Si apud Getulos, Tinguitanos, hujus rei causa ſiccitates fatis ariditatemque miſerunt: eo anno cur meſſes ampliſſimas Mauris, Nomadibuſque tribuerunt, cum religio ſimilis his quoque in regionibus verteretur? —— nationibus enim ſumus in cunctis, l. i. p. 9. 10. [n] Unus fuit e nobis, qui cum officia religionis certæ ſuis ſectatoribus traderet, mundum totum repente complebat, quantuſque, & qui eſſet, revelata nominis immenſitate monſtrabat? l. i. p. 27. in.

[o] Nonne vel hæc ſaltem fidem vobis faciunt argumenta credendi, quod jam per omnes terras, in tam brevi temporis ſpatio, immenſi nominis hujus ſacramenta diffuſa ſunt? quod nulla jam natio eſt tam barbari moris, & manſuetudinem neſciens, quæ non ejus amore verſa molliverit aſperitatem, & in placidos cenſus aſſumta tranquillitate migravit? quod tam magnis ingeniis præditi oratores, grammatici, rhetores, conſulti juris, ac medici, philoſophiæ etiam ſecreta rimantes, magiſteria hæc expetant, ſpretis quibus paulo ante fidebant? quod ab dominis ſe ſervi cruciatibus affici, quibuſ ſtatuerint, malunt, ſolvi conjuges matrimoniis, exheredari a parentibus liberi, quam fidem rumpere Chriſtianum, & ſalutaris militiæ ſacramenta deponere? quod cum genera pœnarum tanta ſint a vobis propoſita religionis hujus ſequentibus leges, augeatur res magis, & contra omnes minas atque interdicta formidinum animoſius populus obnitatur, & ad credendi ſtudium prohibitionis ipſius ſtimulis excitetur? An numquid hæc fieri paſſim & inaniter creditis? fortuitis cauſibus adſumi has mentes? Itane iſtud non divinum & ſacrum eſt, aut ſine Deo, eorum tantas animorum fieri converſiones, ut cum carnifices unci, aliique innumeri cruciatus, quemadmodum diximus, impendeant crediturıs, veluti quadam dulcedine atque omnium virtutum amore correpti, cognitas, accipiant rationes, atque mundi omnibus rebus præponant amicitias Chriſti? l. ii. p. 44, 45. [p] Nulla major eſt comprobatio, quam geſtarum ab eo fides rerum, quam virtutum novitas, quam omnia victa decreta, diſſolutaque fatalia, quæ populi gentesque ſuo geri ſub lumine nullo diſſentiente videre: quæ nec ipſi audent falſitatis arguere, quorum antiquas ſeu patrias leges vanitatis eſſe pleniſſimas atque inaniſſimæ ſuperſtitionis oſtendit, l. i. p. 24, 25.

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had therefore good proof and evidence of the great works said to be done by Christ.

It is still the more unreasonable, as he argues, to suppose, that [q] men should act here without good evidence; when it is considered, that by change of sentiment, and embracing this doctrine, they exposed themselves to the greatest dangers, and the heaviest sufferings.

8.) Finally, he argues, that [r] the things said of Christ must be true; forasmuch as they who first reported, or recorded them, had no interest to induce them to falsify, and by only not bearing testimony to him, they might have avoided many sufferings, and have lived quietly and comfortably among their neighbours. Would men in such a circumstance, pretend to have seen what they never saw? and assert facts they had no knowledge of? Would men bring upon themselves enmity and hatred, and expose themselves to universal infamy, for no reason at all? They were therefore fully persuaded of the things they related, and knew them to be true.

I have allowed myself to enlarge in these extracts; for I think no one can be displeased to see, how solidly this Christian rhetorician and apologist argued above a thousand, almost fifteen hundred years ago, in behalf of the religion of Jesus, whose disciples we profess ourselves to be.

3. Let us now attend to the objections, or at least some of the objections against the Christian religion, which we find to be taken notice of and considered by this writer.

I have not observed any notice taken by Arnobius of those scandalous imputations upon the Christians, of sacrificing young children, and practising promiscuous lewdness in their religious assemblies. It is likely therefore, that the Christians had so fully confuted those stories, and all men were so fully satisfied of their falshood, that they were no longer mentioned by the enemies of the Christian religion. Our author indeed speaks [s]

q Quod si falsa, ut dicitis, historia illa rerum est, unde tam brevi tempore totus mundus ista religione completus est? aut in unam coire qui potuerunt mentem gentes regionibus dissitæ, ventis, cœli convexionibus dimotæ? Asseverationibus illectæ sunt nudis, inductæ in spes cassas, & in pericula capitis immittere se sponte temeraria desperatione voluerunt, cum nihil tale vidissent, quod eas in hos cultus novitatis suæ possit excitare miraculo? Imo quia hæc omnia & ab ipso cernebant geri & ab ejus præconibus, qui per orbem missi beneficia patris & munera sanandis animis hominibusque portabant, veritatis ipsius vi victæ, & dederunt se Deo, nec in magnis posuere dispendiis membra vobis projicere, & viscera sua lanianda præbere, l. i. p. 33.

r An numquid dicemus, illius temporis homines usque adeo fuisse vanos, mendaces, stolidos, brutos, ut quæ nunquam viderant, vidisse se fingerent? & quæ facta omnino non erant, falsis proderent testimoniis, aut puerili assertione firmarent? cumque possent vobiscum & unanimiter vivere, & inoffensas ducere conjunctiones, gratuita susciperent odia, & execrabili haberentur in nomine? p. 33. sub in. s Quantum-

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of their being called impious, irreligious, atheiſtical. But that is another thing, and relates only to their diſowning the heathen deities, and abandoning their worſhip, together with all their rites and ceremonies.

2.) But his book begins with that popular heathen complaint and calumny againſt the Chriſtians, that [t] they were the occaſion of all the calamities that befel mankind. This complaint, taken up [u] long before, was continued a good while after this, and is finely anſwered by [x] our Arnobius, as well as by later [y] Chriſtian writers. That abſurd and ridiculous charge ſeems to have been the immediate occaſion of Arnobius's reſolving to write an apology for the Chriſtians.

3.) Another objection againſt the Chriſtians was, that [z] their religion was new. To which good anſwers may be ſeen in Arnobius, to [a] whom I refer.

4.) Another was, that [b] Chriſt came no ſooner. To which Arnobius makes ſeveral [c] anſwers, and among the reſt this: that there [d] may be good reaſons, well known to God, though men be unacquainted with them; and that this is a ſufficient anſwer.

5.) They objected: if [e] Chriſt came to ſave men, why are not all ſaved?

6.) They excepted [f] againſt Chriſt's birth as a man.

libet nos impios, irreligioſos vocetis, aut atheos, nunquam fidem facietis eſſe amorum deos, &c. l. iii. p. 116. f. Trophonius nos impios, Dodonæus aut Jupiter nominat, — l. i. p. 14. — ut convitio utamur veſtro, infauſti & athei nuncupamur, ib. p. 16. [t] Quoniam comperi nonnullos, qui ſe plurimum ſapere ſuis perſuaſionibus credunt, inſanire, bacchari, & velut quiddam promtum ex oraculo dicere: poſtquam eſſe in mundo Chriſtiana gens cœpit, terrarum orbem periiſſe, multiformibus malis affectum eſſe genus humanum: ipſos etiam cœlites derelictis curis ſolemnibus, quibus quondam ſolebant inviſere res noſtras, terrarum ab regionibus exterminatos: ſtatui pro captu ac mediocritate ſermonis contraire invidiæ, & calumnioſas diſſolvere criminationes; ne aut illi ſibi videantur, popularia dum verba depromunt, magnum aliquid dicere; aut nos, &c. l. i. p. 1. [u] Vid. Tertul. Ap. c. 40. [x] p. 2, 3, &c.

[y] Vid. P. Oroſ. Hiſt. & Auguſt. Retr. l. ii. c. 43. [z] Religiones, inquiunt, impias, atque inauditos cultus terrarum in orbem trahitis, l. i. p. 13. Neque quod nobis objectare conſueſtis, novellam eſſe religionem noſtram, & ante dies natam propemodum paucos, neque vos potuiſſe antiquam & patriam relinquere, & in barbaros ritus peregrinoſque reduci, ratione iſtud intenditur nulla, l. ii. p. 90. & paſſim.

[a] Non ergo quod ſequimur novum eſt, ſed nos ſero didicimus, &c. l. ii. p. 95, &c.

[b] Et quid, inquit, eſt viſum Deo regi atque principi, ut ante horas, quemadmodum dicitur, pauculas, ſoſpitator ad vos Chriſtus cœli ex arcibus mitteretur? l. ii. p. 96.

[c] Vid. p. 87, 90, 96, 97. [d] Quænam igitur ratio eſt? Non imus inficias, neſcire nos. Neque enim promtum eſt cuiquam Dei mentem videre, aut quibus modis ordinaverit res ſuas. Homo animal cæcum, & ipſum ſe neſciens, nullis poteſt rationibus conſequi, quid opporteat fieri, quando, vel quo genere. Ipſe rerum cunctarum pater, moderator, & dominus ſcit id ſolus, &c. p. 96, 97. [e] Sed ſi generis Chriſtus humani, ut inquitis, conſervator advenit, quur omnino non omnes æquali munificentia liberat? l. ii. p. 88. [f] Sed non, inquit, idcirco dii vobis infeſti ſunt, quod omnipotentem colatis Deum: ſed quod hominem natum, & quod perſonis infame eſt vilibus crucis ſupplicio interemtum, & Deum fuiſſe contenditis, & ſupereſſe adhuc creditis, &c. l. i. p. 19, 20. Natum hominum colitis, p. 24. m. & paſſim.

7.) And

7.) And we may be assured, they [g] did not fail to make exceptions to his death: the death too of criminals, and mean persons. Arnobius answers, that [h] neither his death, nor the manner of it, makes any alteration in his words, or his works, or any way weakens his authority. Besides, he [i] rose again from the dead in a short time. Nor [k] did his divinity die and suffer, but only his humanity.

4. Bull supposeth, that [l] Arnobius asserts the true divinity of the Son. But it seems to me, that this is far from being clear. Arnobius indeed calls Christ God, and true God: but I think he means no more, than that he is a God, and truly God. For he so distinguisheth Christ from God, the Lord and Sovereign of all, that I do not see how he could think him one God with the Father. For proof of this, I place at the bottom of the page [m] two of those passages, which Bull allegeth as most to his purpose. And I shall add [n] several others, where also Arnobius, in like manner as in those alleged by Bull, remarkably distinguishes Christ from the one God Almighty, from the Supreme King, the first and chief God. By true God he seems to mean no more than truly [o] so, in some sense, in opposition to such as are esteemed and called gods, but are not so at all, and have no right to that title.

[g] Vid. not. (f). [h] Si patibulo affixus interiit. Quid illud ad crimen? Neque enim qualitas & deformitas mortis dicta ejus immutat aut facta: cui rationes videbitur disciplinarum ipse corporis, quia vinculis corporis non animæ dilabentis dissolutione digressus est, sed ut alteri dicebat, l. i. p. 22. m. [i] Deus ille excelsus, qui deposito corpore immortali, ut hominum promta in hunc derisui, l. i. p. 24. m.

[k] Sed mors est hominis intercentus. Non ipse. Neque enim cadere divinus in se posse mortis occasus: nec interitionis dissolutione dilabi id, quod est anima & simplex, nec ullarum partium congregatione compactum. Quis est ergo vivus in patibulo pendere? quis mortuus est? Homo, quem induerat, & secum ipse portabat, l. i. p. 37 & 38. [l] In eo opere veram ille Filii divinitatem sæpius atque apertissimis verbis confitetur. Def. Fid. Nic. p. 151. al. 168. [m] Ergone, inquiet aliquis furens, iratus, & percitus, Deus ille est Christus? Deus respondebimus, & interiorum potentiarum Deus: & quod magis infidos acerbissimis doloribus torqueat, rei maximæ causa a summo Rege ad nos missus. Arnob. l. i. p. 24. Deus ille sublimis fuit, Deus radice ab intima, Deus ab incognitis partibus, & ab omnium Principe Deus fos-

pitator est missus. l. i. p. 32.

[n] —— Omnipotens, & primus Deus —— Novene solus ingenitus, immortalis, & primus solus est? l. ii. p. 95.

Potest ergo fieri, ut tum demum emiserit Christum Deus Omnipotens, Deus solus. —— p. 97.

—— propter quas in mundum venerat Filius, Summa Regis imperio & dispositione servatis, l. i. p. 37. m.

—— cum animas renuamus Dei esse Principis prolem, l. ii. p. 76.

—— vilum est Deo Regi atque principi, p. 96. m.

—— unum solum posuisse contenti, nihil a Deo principe quod sit nocens —— proficisci, p. 81.

—— Deus inquam Christus —— Dei principis jussione loquens sub hominis forma —— p. 83. f.

—— in Deo rerum capite, —— Dei principis notioni. —— p. 86.

—— Nonne dignus a nobis est tantorum ob munerum gratiam Deus dici, Deusque sentiri? l. i. p. 21.

[o] Cum enim Dii omnes, vel quicunque sunt veri, vel qui esse rumore atque opinione dicuntur, immortales & perpetui voluntate ejus sint, l. ii. p. 87.

Nor

Nor does Bull ſay, whether this author thought rightly of the Spirit. Indeed I am not certain, that Arnobius has once mentioned the Holy Ghoſt. However, I ſhall [p] put in the margin a paſſage, to be conſidered by my readers.

I ſhall add here a few more ſelect paſſages.

5. Beauſobre once had ſuſpicions, that [q] Arnobius held the Manichæan principle concerning the origin of the human ſoul; but upon farther conſideration he acquitted him. I cannot believe, that Arnobius was at all acquainted with the Manichees. And Beauſobre's opinion, that Manichæiſm had ſpread in Africa before the end of the third century, appears to me to be without good foundation.

6. Arnobius ſeems to ſpeak of ſome [r] extraordinary works done in the name of Chriſt in his own time.

7. He ſuppoſeth Chriſt to have died, that [s] thereby, and by his reſurrection afterwards, he might confirm the truth of his doctrine, and give his followers full aſſurance of immortality.

8. In his anſwer to the foremention objection, If Chriſt came to ſave men, why are not all ſaved? he ſtrongly aſſerts human power and freedom. For he ſays, that [t] the kind propoſal of the goſpel is made to all; if any refuſe it, it is their own fault. It is not to be expected, that God ſhould force their conſent: it is not the method of his dealings with men.

9. Arnobius informs us, that [u] not a few heathens of his time were much offended at Cicero, for the freedom he had

p Ita unius pontificium Chriſti eſt, dare animis ſalutem, & ſpiritum perpetuitatis apponere, l. ii. p. 89. ſub fin. And compare Beauſ. Hiſt. de Manich. T. ii. p. 413.

q See Beauſ. Hiſt. de Manich. T. ii. p. 412, &c. See him likewiſe, p. 145, 146. and p. 330, 331. & 398, 399.

r —— qui juſtiſſimis viris etiam nunc impoſitis, ac diligentibus ſeſe, non per vana inſomnia, ſed per puræ ſpeciem ſimplicitatis apparet? cujus nomen auditum fugat noxios ſpiritus, imponit ſilentium vatibus, haruſpices inconſultos reddit, arrogantium magorum fruſtrari efficit actiones, non horrore, ut dicitis, nominis, ſed majoris licentia poteſtatis, l. i. p. 27.

s Cumque novitas rerum, & inaudita premiſſio audientium turbaret mentes, & credulitatem faceret hæſitare, virtutum omnium dominus, atque ipſius mortis extinctor hominem ſuum permiſerit interfici, ut ex rebus conſequentibus ſcirent in tuto eſſe ſpes ſuas, quas jamdudum acceperant de animarum ſalute, nec periculum mortis alia ſe poſſe ratione vitare, l. i. p. 41.

t Non æqualiter liberat, qui æqualiter omnes vocat? —— Si tibi faſtidium tantum eſt, ut oblati reſpuas beneficium muneris —— quid invitans in te peccat, cujus ſolæ ſunt hæ partes, ut ſub tui juris arbitrio fructum ſuæ benignitatis exponat? —— Vis ſumere quod offertur, atque in tuos uſus convertere? Conſulueris tu tibi —— Nulli Deus infert neceſſitatem —— Immo, inquit, ſi Deus eſt potens, miſericors, conſervator, convertat nobis mentes, & invitos faciat ſuis pollicitationibus credere. Vis ergo eſt iſta, non gratia: nec Dei liberalitas principis, ſed ad vincendi ſtudium, puerilis atque animi contentio, l. ii. p. 88 & 89.

u Adduci enim primum hoc ut credamus non poſſumus, immortalem illam —— naturam diviſam eſſe per ſexus —— Quem quidem locum plene jamdudum homines pectoris vivi, —— explicavere —— & ante omnes Tullius Romani diſertiſſimus generis —— Sed quid aucupia verborum, ſplendoremque ſermonis peti ab hoc edicam, cum ſciam eſſe non paucos, qui averſentur, refugiant, libros de hoc ejus, nec in aurem

taken in exposing some of their absurd sentiments concerning their deities; and that his writings were so serviceable to the Christian cause, that some people were for having his works, or some of them at least, destroyed, or prohibited by order of the senate.

10. Upon occasion of which, Arnobius declares it to be his opinion, that [x] reading and inquiry ought not to be discouraged, and that so doing is a sign of a bad cause.

Mr. Bayle observed this passage of our author: I choose to place his words at the bottom of the [y] page.

IV. I come now to observe this writer's testimony to the scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

1. Arnobius has not expressly quoted any books, either of the Old or the New Testament. It is likely, that he did not judge it proper to allege the scriptures, as books of authority, in an argument with heathens, and was of the same opinion upon this head with Lactantius, who [z] did not scruple to censure St. Cyprian for so doing.

2. We can perceive however, that Arnobius was acquainted with the Jewish Scriptures. For whereas [a] some heathens objected, that those scriptures spake of God, as having bodily parts, and human passions; he recommends it to them, to study the style of those books with greater care, and then, he says, they will better know their true meaning.

Nevertheless it must be owned, that at the end of his sixth book, and in the seventh book almost throughout, Arnobius [b]

velint admittere lectionem opinionum suarum praesumta vicentem? Cumque alios audiam mussitare indignanter, & dicere: Oportere statui per Senatum, aboleantur ut haec scripta, quibus religio Christiana comprobetur, & vetustatis opprimatur auctoritas. Quinimo si fiditis exploratum vos dicere quicquam de diis vestris, erroris convincite Ciceronem, temeraria & impia dictitantem refellitote, redarguite, comprobate. Nam intercipere scripta, & publicatam velle submovere lectionem, non est deos defendere, sed veritatis testificationem timere, l. iii. p. 103, 104. [x] Vid. not. [u].

[y] —— il auroit pu se moquer de ces sectaires, s'ils fussent venus lui alleguer les reflexions que faisoit Arnobe, sur ce que les idolatres demandoient que le senat abolit par ses arrêts quelques livres de Cicerou, ou la vanité des faux dieux est demontrée. Refutez-les, leur disoit Arnobe, s'ils contiennent des impietez. Car d'en interdire la lecture, ce n'est pas soutenir la cause des dieux, c'est craindre le temoignage de la verité. Bayle Dict. V. iv. p. 2840. b. edit. 3. Volkelius, Note (A).

[z] — qua materia non est usus, ut debuit. Non enim scripturae testimoniis, quam ille [Demetrianus] utique vanam, fictam, commentitiamque putabat; sed argumentis, & ratione fuerat refellendus. Nam cum ageret contra hominem veritatis ignarum, dilatis paulisper divinis lectionibus, formare hunc a principio tanquam rudem debuit, atque paulatim lucis principia monstrare, Lact. Inst. l. v. c. 4. [a] Nunc ad speciem veniamus & formas, quibus esse descriptos deos superos creditis —— Neque quisquam Judaicas in hoc loco nobis opponat, & sadducaei generis fabulas, tanquam formas tribuant atque os Deo. Hoc enim putatur in eorum literis dici, & ut vel re certa, atque auctoritate firmari: quae aut nihil ad nos attinent — aut si sunt, ut creditur, sociae, quaerendi sunt nobis altioris intelligentiae doctores, per quos possitis addiscere quibus modis conveniat literarum illarum nubes atque involucra relaxare, l. iii. p. 106, 107. [b] Ergone, o Jupiter, aut quis alius Deus es, humanum est istud

so

ſo argues againſt all manner of ſacrifices, and particularly bloody ſacrifices of animals; that we may be apt to ſuſpect, he was not well acquainted with the Moſaic inſtitution, or elſe had but little regard for it. And it is not unlikely, that about this time Gentile people became firſt acquainted with Chriſtians and their ſcriptures: and they might be converted ſome while, before they were well acquainted with the Jewiſh ſcriptures, and the ancient conſtitution of that people.

3. Arnobius, for certain, was well acquainted with the books of the New Teſtament, though he did not think fit to quote them expreſsly in his books againſt the Gentiles.

4. He ſays, [c] the world has this benefit from Chriſt, that there is already a vaſt multitude of men, who have been taught by his laws, precepts, and inſtitutions, *not to return evil for evil*, and rather to ſuffer wrong than do any.

5. Herein he may be thought to refer to the whole tenor of the Chriſtian doctrine, as contained in the New Teſtament. However it muſt be alſo reckoned probable, that he has ſome particular regard to that part of our Lord's doctrine, which is recorded in the fifth chapter of St. Matthew's goſpel, eſpecially from ver. 38 to the end; and perhaps to ſome other texts, where *recompenſing*, or *rendering evil for evil*, is forbidden in terms, much reſembling thoſe of Arnobius. See Rom. xii. 17. 1 Theſſ. v. 15. 1 Pet. iii. 9.

6. He has enumerated the miracles of our Saviour in ſuch a manner, as ſhews him to have been well acquainted with our goſpels; and that he gave full credit to them, and paid them great deference. [d] He ſpeaks of our Lord's healing fevers,

& reſtum,—& cum alius peccaverit, ego occidar, & de meo ſanguine fieri tibi patiaris ſatis qui nunquam te læſerim? &c. l. vii. p. 216. — quod eſt iſtud honoris genus, vervecem, arietem, taurum, dei ſub ore connectere, conſpectuque in ejus occidere? Quod eſt honorum genus deum invitare ad ſanguinem, quem cum canibus videas cum ſumere, atque habere communem? ib. p. 222.

[c] Nam cum hominum vis tanta magiſteriis ejus acceperimus ac legibus, malum malo rependi non oportere; injuriam perpeti quam irrogare eſſe præſtantius,—habet a Chriſto beneficium jamdudum orbis ingratus, l. i. p. 5, 6.

[d] Ergo ille mortalis, aut unus fuit e nobis, cujus imperium, cujus vocem popularibus & quotidianis verbis miſſam, valetudines, morbi, febres, atque alia corporum cruciamenta fugiebant? Unus fuit e nobis, cujus præſentiam, cujus viſum gens illa nequibat ferre merſorum in viſceribus dæmonum, conterritaque vi nova membrorum poſſeſſione cedebat? Unus fuit e nobis, cujus fædæ vitiligines juſſioni obtemperabant pulſæ ſtatim, & concordiam colorum commaculatis viſceribus relinquebant? Unus fuit e nobis, cujus ex levi tactu ſtabant profluvia ſanguinis, & immoderatos cohibebant fluores? Unus fuit e nobis, cujus manus intercutes & veternoſæ fugiebant undæ —? Unus fuit e nobis, qui claudos currere præcipiebat? Etiam operis res erat porrigere mancos manus, & articuli immobilitates jam ingenitas explicabant: captos membris aſſurgere. Etiam ſuos referebant lectos alienis paulo ante cervicibus lati: viduatos videre luminibus, etiam cœlum diemque nullis cum oculis procreatis. Unus, inquam, fuit e nobis, qui debilitatibus variis, morbiſque vexatos centum, aut hoc amplius, ſemel una interceſſione ſanabat? cujus vo-

' dropſies, lunacies, leproſies, and all manner of diſeaſes and
' torments, to which the human frame is ſubject; and relieving
' great numbers of thoſe deplorable caſes on the ſudden, by
' his word and command only, without any external means,
' and without charms and incantations: and ſome obtained
' relief by only a ſlight touch of his garment. He ſtrengthened
' the lame to walk, and to carry their beds, who before were
' carried themſelves upon men's ſhoulders: he enabled the
' deaf to hear, and the dumb to ſpeak: he gave ſight to the
' blind, to ſome that were blind from their birth: he calmed
' the boiſterous winds, and the ſtormy ſeas, and himſelf walked
' ſafely upon them: he fed five thouſand people at once with
' five loaves, of which alſo there remained, after all were ſatiſ-
' fied, ſuch an abundance, that twelve baſkets were filled with
' the fragments: a ſure proof,' he ſays, ' that there was no de-
' ceit: he raiſed the dead, and ſome that had been buried.'

7. He obſerves alſo, agreeably to our goſpels, that [e] ſometimes Chriſt by touching the afflicted with his hands, at other times by his ſole command, opened the ears of the deaf, and the eyes of the blind, and unlooſed the tongues of the dumb, or gave feet to the lame, and performed other like works.

8. He takes notice [f] of the uncommon darkneſs, and other ſurpriſing events, at the time of our Lord's paſſion and death; which he deſcribes in a very rhetorical manner.

9. Arnobius, as before ſaid, does not expreſsly quote any books of ſcripture: but it is likely, that he, in the places juſt cited, refers to our evangeliſts, and their hiſtories. It is plain, he does not take his accounts of our Lord's miracles from oral tradition only. For, as he goes along in his argument, he refers to [g] writers, and [h] writings, which alſo he calls ours.

eem ad ſimplicem furibunda & inſana explicabant ſe maria, procellarum turbines tempeſtateſque fidebant? qui per altiſſimos gurgites pedem ferebat inlutum? calcabat ponti terga undis ipſis ſtupentibus, in famulatum ſubeunte natura? qui ſequentium ſe millia quinque, quinque ſaturavit e panibus, ac ne eſſe præſtigiæ incredulis illis viderentur & duris, bis ſenarum ſportarum fragminibus aggerebat? Unus fuit e nobis, qui redire in corpora jamdudum animas præcipiebat afflatus, prodire ab aggeribus conditos? & poſt diem funeris tertium pollinctorum voluminibus expediri? l. i. p. 26.

[e] Chriſtus enim ſcitur, aut admota partibus debilitatis manu, aut vocis ſimplicis juſſione, aures aperuiſſe ſurdorum, exturbaſſe ab oculis cæcitates, orationem dediſſe mutis, articulorum vincula relaxaſſe, ambulatum dediſſe contractis, &c. ib. p. 28.

[f] Exutus at corpore, quod in exigua ſui circumferebat parte, poſtquam videri ſe paſſus eſt, cujus eſſet aut magnitudinis ſciri, novitate rerum exterrita univerſa mundi ſunt elementa turbata, tellus mota contremuit, mare funditus refuſum eſt, aër globis involutus eſt tenebrarum, igneus orbis ſolis tepefacto ardore diriguit, p. 32.

[g] Conſcriptores noſtri, l. i. p. 33. Quicquid dicere de noſtris conſcriptoribus intenderitis, p. 34. [h] Non creditis ſcriptis noſtris? p. 34. —— quæ in noſtris conſignata ſunt literis, confiteamini neceſſe eſt eſſe vera, ib.

10. We

10. We may be confirmed in the ſuppoſition, that he means our evangeliſts, and their goſpels, from the character he gives the hiſtorians of our Lord's miracles, which he ſpeaks of. For [i] he inſiſts, that they are credible witneſſes of the things they relate, becauſe they had ſeen them, and were preſent at the doing them; and they write with evident marks of truth and credibility. He likewiſe owns, that [k] they were unlearned and mean men, and that their ſtyle is deſtitute of ornaments. But then he ſays, that their accounts are not for thoſe reaſons the leſs credible.

11. He ſeems to refer [l] to John xiv. 6. and perhaps to ſome other texts in that goſpel.

12. He ſeems likewiſe to refer to the book of the Acts of the Apoſtles, when he ſays, that [m] Chriſt gave to thoſe little ones, fiſhermen, and other mean perſons, his diſciples, the power of performing the ſame great works that he did: and [n] when he ſpeaks of their exerting that power all over the world, in obedience to the commiſſion they had received. And he may be thought to refer to the great miracle of ſpeaking with divers tongues, recorded Acts ii. when he expreſſeth himſelf after this manner: 'Was [o] he one of us, who, when he ſpake one 'language, was thought by divers people, uſing different lan-'guages, to ſpeak words they were well acquainted with, and 'in their own language?' He may be thought likewiſe to allude to [p] Acts xvii. 25 and 28.

13. In the accounts he gives [q] of our Lord's reſurrection, and the many proofs and inconteſtible evidences, which were

[i] Sed non creditis geſta hæc. Sed qui ea conſpicati ſunt fieri, & ſub oculis ſuis viderunt agi, teſtes optimi, certiſſimique auctores, & crediderunt hæc ipſi, & credenda poſteris nobis, haud exilibus cum approbationibus tradiderunt, p. 32. f. Vid. & p. 33. [k] Sed ab indoctis hominibus, & rudibus, ſcripta ſunt, & idcirco non ſent facili auditione credenda. Vide ne magis hæc ſortior cauſa ſit, cur illa nullis contaminata mendaciis, mente ſimplici tradita, & ignara lenociniis ampliare. Trivialis & ſordidus ſermo eſt. Nunquam enim veritas ſectata eſt fucum, nec quod exploratum & certum eſt, circumduci ſe patitur per ambitum longiorem, l. i. p. 34, 35. [l] Et hoc neceſſe a nobis eſt, ut debeatis accipere, a nullo animas poſſe vim vitæ atque incolumitatis accipere, niſi ab eo, quem rex ſummus huic muneri officioque præfecit. Hanc Omnipotens Imperator eſſe voluit ſalutis viam, hanc vitæ, ut ita dixerim, januam. Per hunc ſolum eſt ingreſſus ad lucem, &c. l. ii. p. 89, 90.

[m] Neque quicquam eſt ab illo geſtum per admirationem ſtupentibus cunctis, quod non omne donaverit faciendum parvulis illis & ruſticis, & eorum ſubjecerit poteſtati, l. i. p. 30. f. [n] Imo quia hæc omnia & ab ipſo cernebant geri, & ab ejus præconibus, qui per orbem totum miſſi beneficia patris & munera ſanandis animis hominibuſque portabant, &c. l. i. p. 33. m.

[o] Unus fuit e nobis, qui cum unam emitteret vocem, ab diverſis populis, & diſſona oratione loquentibus, familiaritas verborum ſonis, & ſuo cuique utens exiſtimabatur eloquio? p. 27. [p] Nonne huic om[illegible] debemus, hoc ipſum primum, quo[illegible] —— Non quod incedimus, q[illegible] & vivimus, ab eo ad nos [illegible] vivendi efficit nos eſſe, ut [illegible] motari? l. i. p. 16. nobis, qui depoſito [illegible]

afforded of it, it is somewhat doubtful, whether he refers only to the histories of that important event at the end of the gospels, or whether he intends likewise the beginning of the book of the Acts.

14. He has the words of [r] 1 Cor. iii. 19. but without any intimation of his borrowing from any particular book.

15. St. Paul says, 1 Cor. xv. 6. that our Lord, after he was risen, *was seen of above five hundred brethren at once.* It is not easy to say, whether Arnobius has any particular reference to that text, when he observes, that [s] Christ in a short time after he had died, shewed himself to innumerable people.

16. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews speaks much of Christ's priesthood: Arnobius also has the expression of Christ's high-priesthood. In Heb. ix. 6. are the words *eternal spirit:* Arnobius has a like expression. I refer to a passage, which [t] may be consulted for both these particulars. But I somewhat question, whether any will think our author had an eye to the Epistle to the Hebrews.

17. It may be proper to observe here, that [u] in one place Arnobius speaks of the burning of the Christian scriptures, and complains of it, as a most unreasonable thing.

18. This is all which we have to produce from this writer upon this head. We have seen good evidence of his being well acquainted with the gospels. And it is likely, that he had read, and highly respected the other books of the New Testament, generally received by Christians. But he did not judge it proper to quote expressly, and as of authority, any books of scripture, in an argument with heathens.

V. I shall now, as formerly proposed, make some extracts out of the other Arnobius's Commentaries upon the Psalms. But a few particulars will suffice out of so late a writer, who flourished not till about the year 460. I shall take it for granted, that he received the Old Testament, and those books of the New, which were always received by all Christians in general. I shall only observe some passages, relating to such books, or parts of books of the New Testament, which have been denied, or disputed by some, together with a few other remarkable things.

hominum pronta in loco detexit? qui sermonem ordir, atque accepit, docuit, colligavit, adnexuit? qui se illo te fallos vanis imaginationibus existimarent, semel, iterum, sæpius familiari collocutione monstravit, l. i. p. 37. [s] Nunquam illud vulgatum pertimuit aures vestras, sapientiam hominis stultitiam esse apud Deum? l. ii. p. 46. in. [s] See before Note (q).

[t] That passage is quoted already, p. 17. Note (o). [u] Nam nostra quidem scripta cur ignibus meruerunt dari? cur immaniter conventicula dirui? l. iv. p. 152. f.

1. There

1. There are in theſe Commentaries ſome indications, that [a] there ſtill were heathens, who practiſed their idolatrous rites and ceremonies.

2. He magnifies the ſpeedy progreſs of the goſpel in this manner: 'For [b] many ages God was known in Judea only. 'But upon the coming of Chriſt, the word of the Lord ran ſwiftly from the eaſt to the weſt, from the Indies to Britain.

3. This writer mentions divers of thoſe Chriſtians, which are called heretics, as [c] the Novatians, the [d] Manichees, and [e] Photinus, and [f] ſome others.

4. This author cites [g] our Lord's genealogy in the firſt chapter of St. Matthew's goſpel.

5. He takes notice of ſeveral things in the ſecond chapter of the ſame goſpel, as [h] the coming of the wiſe men to Jeruſalem, the ſtar that conducted them, and the ſlaughter of the infants at Bethlehem.

6. He alſo mentions ſeveral things, which are in [i] the firſt and ſecond chapters of St. Luke's goſpel.

7. He has ſeveral things out of the book of [k] the Acts.

8. He has twice quoted Philip. ii. 6. and in one of thoſe places ſeems to underſtand [l] the words rendered by us, *thought it not robbery to be equal with God*, as expreſſing our Lord's free and voluntary humiliation.

9. He received [m] the epiſtle to the Hebrews, as St. Paul's.

[a] Uſque hodie gentes fremunt adverſus Chriſtum, qui idolis finem impoſuit. Arnob. in Pſ. ii. p. 3. Baſil. 1560. In Libano ſacrificantes uſque hodie turpiſſimæ Veneri, vitulorum virilia amputant, & in ejus ſacrificio hujuſmodi incenſa ſupponunt, mercedem quam oportuit erroris tui, deæ ſuæ exhibent meretrici. In Pſ. xxviii. p. 64. Vid. & in Pſ. ix. p. 17. [b] Et tam velociter currit ſermo ejus, ut cum per tot millia annorum in ſola Judæa notus fuerit Deus, nunc intra paucos annos, nec ipſos Indos ſaltem a parte Orientis, nec ipſos Britones a parte occidentis, ubique cucurrit velociter ſermo ejus. In Pſ. cxlvii p. 443. Sicut enim eccleſiæ in toto mundo poſitæ civitates ſanctorum ſunt. In Pſ. ix. p. 17.

[c] In Pſ. cv. p. 195. in Pſ. cxxxviii. p. 406 & 407. [d] In Pſ. cx. p. 319. in Pſ. cxxxiii. p. 409. [e] Non ergo ſicut damnabilis Photinus credit, ex Mariæ partu ſumſit exordium, ſed ante luciferum eſt ex patris ore progenitus. In Pſ. cix. p. 317.

[f] Hunc enim eundemque Deum Marcion negat, ſimiliter Apelles & Valentinus & Manichæus, infideles & miſeri. In Pſ. cxliii. p. 430. [g] Sic enim legis evangelii caput: Liber generationis Jeſu Chriſti, filii David, filii Abraham. In Pſ. ciii. p. 277. [h] Sic autem proprium locum relinquentes magi ſtellæ indicio, &c. in Pſ. xviii. al. xix. p. 40. Herodes turbatur, paſtores terrentur, magi fugiunt, infantes occiduntur, angeli pſallunt dicentes: Gloria Deo in excelſis, &c. In Pſ. xlvi. p. 118. Vid. & in Pſ. xlvii. p. 120. [i] In Pſ. xviii. al. xix. p. 41. in Pſ. lxxi. p. 185. Vid. & ſupr. not. (h). [k] Hi autem, qui cum apoſtolis tertia diei hora ebrii ſunt Spiritu Sancto, lætentur, &c. In Prologo. p. 1. —— ita ut univerſarum gentium loquaces dicerent de eis: Nonne hi viri Galilæi ſunt, &c. in Pſ. xviii al. xix. p. 41. Unde & Petrus mendicanti infirmo: Argentum & aurum non habeo, &c. In Pſ. lxviii. p. 178. [l] Ille, cum dominus cœli & terræ eſſet, non rapinam arbitratus eſt eſſe ſe æqualem Deo, ſed ſemet ipſum exinanivit, &c. In Pſ. cxxx. p. 383. Cum in forma dei eſſet, eſſetque æqualis Deo Patri, exinanivit ſeipſum, &c. In Pſ. cxliii. p. 429. [m] Sine fide autem,

10. He quotes [n] the epistle of James, as written by James the apostle.

11. He quotes [o] the book of the Revelation, and ascribes it to John the apostle.

12. He recommends [p] the frequent reading of the scriptures.

CHAP. LXV.

LACTANTIUS.

I. *His history.* II. *His Works.* III. *Select passages:* 1. *The design of the Christian religion.* 2. *Its effects.* 3. *His interpretation of Gen.* vi. 3. 4. *Free will.* 5. *Christian writers mentioned by him.* 6, 7. *Writers against the Christian religion.* 8. *Unsteady Christians in his time.* 9. *Calumnies against the Christians.* 10. *The innocence of Christian people.* 11. *Miracles in his time.* 12. *A future state proveable by reason.* 13. *He did not deny the eternity of hell-torments.* 14. *The value of repentance.* 15. *The ends of Christ's coming and death.* 16. *The great progress of the Christian religion.* 17. *Christian fortitude.* 18. *The right of private judgment.* 19. *Arguments against persecution.* 20. *Christians did not persecute.* IV. *Errors ascribed to him:* 1. *Manichæism.* 2. *He denied antipodes.* 3. *Of the fall of angels.* 4. *Held a millennium.* 5. *Denied the personality of the Spirit.* 6. *Of the origin of the soul.* 7. *Of Christ's priestly office.* V. *His character.* VI. *His testimony to the scriptures:* 1. *Of the Old Testament.* 2. *Of the New Testament, particularly the gospels.* 3. *The Acts of the Apostles.* 4. *St. Paul's epistles.* 5. *The catholic epistles.* 6. *The Revelation.* 7. *Respect for the scriptures.* VII. *Whether he quotes any other writings as of authority.* VIII. *The sum of his testimony to the scriptures.* IX. *Extracts from the book of the deaths of persecutors.*

St. Jerom's history of Lactantius in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, is to this purpose: 'Firmianus [a], called

n: ait Apostolus, impossibile est placere Deo. In Ps. lxxvii. p. 207. Ad hæc Paulus clamat, Hebræus ex Hebræis, Impossibile est mentiri Deum, [Heb. vi. 18.] In Ps. civ. p. 287. o Unde & Jacobus apostolus: Omne, inquit, gaudium existimate fratres cum in tentationibus variis incideritis. [Cap. i. 2.] In Ps. xxxii. p. 73 & 74. o Sicut Ezechielis prophetia, & Joannis Apocalypsis loquitur. In Ps. xx. p. 43. Si vis videre divitem & mendicum, sancti apostoli Joannis lege Apocalypsin. In Ps. cii. p. 274. p Deus enim sciri vult omnia suarum mysteria literarum —— Beatus enim perfectus esse non poteris, nisi scrutatus fueris testimonia ejus, —— Tu, quid facis, Christiane? Si militas homini, scrutaris legem ejus; quia si quid licet jam ignarus incurreris, morieris. Nescire enim legem nemini licet. —— Servus Christi es? Scrutare testimonia ejus. In Ps. cxviii. al. cxix. p. 338, 339.

a Firmianus, qui & Lactantius, Arnobii discipulus sub Diocletiano principe accitus

'also Lactantius, scholar of Arnobius, being sent for in the 'time of the emperor Dioclesian, together with Flavius Gram- 'maticus, whose books of medicines, written in verse, are still 'extant, taught rhetoric at Nicomedia: but not having many 'scholars there, it being a Greek city, he betook himself to 'writing. We have his Banquet, which he wrote when very 'young: an Itinerary from Africa to Nicomedia, in (A) hex- 'ameter verses: and another book, entitled Grammaticus: 'and an excellent book Of the Wrath of God; and seven books 'of Divine Institutions against the Gentiles: and an Epitome 'of the same work in one book, the beginning of which is 'wanting: and two books to Asclepiades: of the Persecution, 'one book: four books of Epistles to Probus: two books of 'Epistles to Severus: two books of Epistles to Demetrian, his 'scholar: and to the same, one book of the Workmanship of 'God, or the Formation of Man. In his old age he was pre- 'ceptor to Crispus Cæsar, son of Constantine, in Gaul, who 'was afterwards put to death by his father.'

Eusebius in his Chronicle, or rather Jerom, (who [b] in his translation of that work of Eusebius, inserted divers things of his own, especially relating to the Roman history and Latin authors,) says, 'That [c] Crispus was instructed in Latin by Lac- 'tantius, the most learned man of his time, but so poor in this 'world, that for the most part he wanted necessaries.'

Cave says, that [d] Lactantius flourished chiefly in the year 303, and onwards; which is not much amiss: for though Lactan-

cum Flavio Grammatico cujus de Medicinalibus versu compositi extant libri, Nicomediæ rhetoricam docuit, & penuria discipulorum, ob Græcam [illegible] delicet civitatem, ad scribendum se contulit. Habemus ejus Symposium, quod adolescentulus scripsit; [illegible] de [illegible] ad Nicomediam, hex[illegible] scriptum versibus; & alium lib[illegible] qui inscribitur Grammaticus; & pulcherrimum de Ira Dei; & Institutionum Divinarum adversum Gentes libros septem; & [illegible] ejusdem operis in libro uno acephalo; & ad Asclepiadem libros duos; de Persecutione librum unum; ad Probum Epistolarum libros quatuor; ad Severum Epistolarum libros duos; ad Demetrianum, auditorem suum, Epistolarum libros duos; ad eundem de Opificio Dei, vel Formatione hominis, librum unum. Hic extrema senectute magister Cæsaris Crispi, filii Constantini, in Gallia fuit, qui postea a patre interfectus. De Vir. Ill. cap. 80. (A) I shall here place an ingenious conjecture of Dr. Heumann: Scilicet apud Hieroynymum pro hexametris scriptum versibus conjiciebam scriptum fuisse hexametris utrumque versibus: Utrumque, id est, tum Symposium, tum Odœporicum Lactantii. Vid. Sympos. Lact. in Præf. n. xix. [b] Sciendum etenim, me esse & interpretis & scriptoris ex parte officio usum, quia & Græca fidelissime expressi, & nonnulla, quæ intermissa videbantur, adjeci, in Romana maxime historia, quam Eusebius hujus conditor libri non tam ignorasse, ut pote eruditissimus, quam Græce scribens parum suis necessariam perstrinxisse mihi videtur. Hier. Præf. in Chr. p. 4. f. [c] Quorum Crispum Lactantius Latinis literis erudivit, vir omnium suo tempore eruditissimus, sed adeo in hac vita pauper, ut plerunque etiam necessariis indiguerit. Chron. p. 180. f.

[d] —— claruit præcipue ann. 303. & deinceps. H. L. T. i. p. 161.

tius

tius lived partly in the third, and partly in the fourth century of the Chriſtian æra, and muſt have been a man of note for polite literature before the year 300; yet it is likely, that moſt of his remaining pieces, particularly the Divine Inſtitutions, his principal work, were not written till after the year 303.

This author's name is now generally written Lucius Cœlius, or Cæcilius Firmianus Lactantius. But whether the names Lucius and Cœlius, or Cæcilius, belong to him, may be queſtioned; they not being given him by any of the ancient writers who lived near his time: and they are generally wanting in the manuſcript copies of his works, and [e] in the moſt early printed editions. In this manner divers learned men [f] argue upon this point: whilſt ſome others contend, that [g] his name is rightly written as above.

The native country of Lactantius is not certainly known. Some have conjectured, that [h] he was born at Firmum, now Fermo, in Italy, and that from thence he was called Firmianus. But it is more generally reckoned, that [i] he was an African: his education under Arnobius, who taught rhetoric at Sicca in Africa, is an argument of ſome weight: and it is confirmed by the Itinerary of Lactantius from Africa to Nicomedia, which, probably, contained a deſcription of his own journey from Africa to Nicomedia, when he was ſent for by Dioclefian.

The original of the names [k] Firmianus and [l] Lactantius, has been largely conſidered by Dr. Heumann, to whom I refer.

e Vid. Monf. Diar. Ital. p. 256.

f Vid. Chr. M. Pfaff. Inſt. Præfat. ad Epit. Inſt. Div. Sect. 12 & 13. Vid. Heuman. Pr. ad Lact. Symp. ſect. 16. p. xxviii. & ſect. 22. p. xxxv.

g Putant Italum, forſan Firmio, quod agri Piceni oppidum eſt ad oram maris Hadriatici oriundos, Cav. ubi ſupra, p. 161. Firmianus cognominatur a Firmo, agri Piceni oppido. Cellar. Excerpt. de Vit. Lact.

h Vid. Paluz. Annot. ad Lact. de M. P. Tillem. Mem. Ec. Lactance, T. 6. P. 1. p. 340. & note 1. Vid. & Heuman. Pr. ad Symp. ſect. 18 & 19. p. xxix——xxxi.

i Caterum vulgata eſt opinio, Lactantium, cognomen Firmiani accepiſſe a patria Firmio, agri Picæni oppido. Sed hic quidem error facile confutatur. Primum enim oſtenderimus ſuperius, Firmianum fuiſſe proprium Lactantii nomen, neque adeo a patria ſublatum. Heum. ib. ſect. 18. p. xxx —— Unde igitur, inquies, Firmiani nomen? Fuiſſe hoc proprium virorum nomen, illo ævo non infrequens, facile ſibi perſuadebit, qui conſideravit, plura veteribus nomina fuiſſe prænia a fimo dedueta. Non enim ſolum ipſum nomen Firmus factum eſt nomen proprium, ſed etiam Firmius, Firmius, Firmianus, Firmilianus, Firmianus, &c. Id. ib. ſect. 20. p. xxxii.

k Supereſt Lactantii nomen, quod communiter creditur ei inditum fuiſſe a lacteo flumine eloquentiæ. Sed & hæc ſententia, & ſimul altera illa de patria ejus Firmo, ſatis refelluntur ſilentio Hieronymi. Is enim cum in catalogo ſuo, tum alibi, ubi Lactantii mentionem facit, perſpicue oſtendit, unumque nomen, & Lactantii & Firmiani, ipſius fuiſſe proprium: ut non lum errent, qui ea pro cognominibus habent a patria & eloquentia impoſitis —— Quomodo enim a lacteo derivatum eſt nomen Lactantii, ſic a prudens, vincens, conſtans,—— habemus nomina valde nota Prudentii, Vincentii, Conſtantii, Fulgentii, Innocentii, Vigilantii. Id. ib. ſect. 21. p. xxxiii.

A good

A good part of the hiſtory of our author, before taken from Jerom, may be confirmed from himſelf. For he ſpeaks of [m] his being invited to Nicomedia, and of his teaching rhetoric there, when the church of the Chriſtians in that city was deſtroyed, at the beginning of the perſecution. He alſo intimates [n] his having been long employed as a profeſſor of rhetoric, and his great diligence in the purſuit of eloquence: which he did not repent of, becauſe he hoped it might be of uſe in the defence of true religion.

In his later works he refers to the more early. In his Divine Inſtitutions he refers to [o] the Workmanſhip of God, inſcribed to his ſcholar Demetrian, and written not long before. In his book of the Wrath of God, he ſeveral times makes mention of [p] the Divine Inſtitutions. I need not add, that theſe laſt are alſo taken notice of in the Epitome, or abridgment of them. And whereas Jerom, among the works of Lactantius, reckons two books to Aſclepiades, we find [q] Aſclepiades mentioned by Lactantius in his Inſtitutions. And we perceive, that Aſclepiades had dedicated to him a book, which he commends. In his Inſtitutions Lactantius alſo declares his intention [r] to write a diſtinct treatiſe upon the ſubject, Of the Wrath of God: which he afterwards did, as has been ſeen.

He alſo ſeems [s] to intimate his poverty, unleſs the words are capable of another ſenſe, and mean only his many employments, by which he was fully engaged; or rather the difficulties of the time in which he lived, by reaſon of the perſecution of cruel tyrants, as [t] Nourry underſtands the expreſſion.

That extreme poverty of our author, which St. Jerom mentions, if Lactantius does not, may be thought to be a reflexion upon Conſtantine, that he ſhould have made no better proviſion for his eldeſt ſon's preceptor. But Du Pin and Tille-

m Ego cum in Bithynia oratorias literas accitus docerem, contigiſſetque, ut eodem tempore Dei templum everteretur. Inſt. l. v. c. 2. ſub in.

n Multum tamen exercitatio illa ſtarum litium contulit, ut nunc majori copia & facultate dicendi cauſam veritatis peroremus. Ib. l. i. c. 1. p. 5.

o —— quam [materiam] ego nunc iccirco praetereo, quia nuper proprium de ea librum ad Demetriadem auditorem meum ſcripſi. Inſt. l. ii. c. 10. p. 100.

p Sed imperitiam horum jam coarguimus in ſecundo Divinarum Inſtitutionum libro. De Ira Dei cap. 2. p. 766. Vid. ib. p. 767. & cap. 11. p. 793. & cap. 17. p. 8. 9.

q Optime igitur Aſclepiades noſter de Providentia ſummi Dei differens in eo libro, quem ſcripſit ad me. Inſt. l. vii. c. 4. p. 660.

r Seponatur interim locus hic nobis de ira Dei differendi: quod & uberior eſt materia, & opere proprio latius exſequenda. Inſt. l. ii. c. 17. ſub fin.

s Quam minime ſim quietus, etiam in ſummis neceſſitatibus, ex hoc libello proteris exiſtimare. De Ira Dei, cap. 1. in.

t Summarum autem difficultatum nomine deſignare videtur horrendam tyrannorum crudelitatem, qua in Chriſtianos incredibilem plane in modum ſaeviebant. Nourr. App. T. 2. p. 582. B.

mont

mont are of opinion, that [u] it was a voluntary poverty. What Jerom therefore writes of that matter is to be eſteemed a grand and magnificent commendation. 'A [x] man muſt be virtuous 'in a high degree, to live miſerably at court, want neceſſa-'ries in the midſt of abundance, and taſte no pleaſures in the 'company of ſuch as wallow in them.'

But I ſee no proof, that Lactantius was deſtitute of neceſſaries, whilſt he was employed in teaching Criſpus; though it happens, that Jerom has mentioned thoſe two things together. And what he ſays is, that for the moſt part Lactantius was poor. Therefore he was not always ſo: there was a time, when he had enough, and perhaps abundance: and he might enjoy it too, with moderation. That time, we may ſuppoſe to have been, when he was in the ſervice of Conſtantine; the reſt of his life he lived in mean circumſtances.

Jerom has informed us, that Lactantius had not many ſcholars, whilſt he taught rhetoric at Nicomedia; for which cauſe he betook himſelf to writing, which likewiſe, is no very profitable employment.

When we obſerve from his works, that Lactantius was a great reader; and conſider, that books in manuſcript muſt have been very coſtly; we can eaſily conceive, how the furniture of his library might keep him low for the moſt part.

Lactantius then may be reckoned to have been poor, and ſometimes almoſt deſtitute, until he was invited to Conſtantine's court. And ſince his pupil Criſpus was put to death by his father, it is likely, he was not much taken notice of afterwards. This, if I miſtake not, is agreeable to St. Jerom's account, that Lactantius plerumque, for the moſt part, the greateſt part of his life, was ſo poor, as to want even neceſſaries. But thoſe expreſſions, in my opinion, give no countenance at all to the ſuppoſition of a choſen and voluntary poverty. Trithemius ſeems to have underſtood [y] the caſe, as I have repreſented it. And Nourry is clearly of opinion, that [z] what is ſaid by Jerom of our author's poverty, does not relate to the time when he had Criſpus under his care.

We are not acquainted with the circumſtances of this writer's family. The Epitome is inſcribed to his brother [a] Pen-

[u] Du Pin. Bibl. T. i. p. 905, Tillem. Mem. T. 6. P. i. p. 345, 346.

[x] Du Pin, as before. [y] Rhetoricam primum Nicomediæ, deinde Romæ, ſub Diocletiano, ab eo vocatus glorioſe docuit. Ubi cum penuria diſcipulorum ad paupertatem devenſſet, ad extremum Cæſaris Criſpi filii Conſtantini præceptor, jam ſenex, in Gallia factus eſt. Trithem. de ſcr. Ec. cap. 56. [z] Sed hanc paupertatem aliis haud dubie temporibus paſſus eſt, quam cum Criſpum, Conſtantini M. filium, diſcipulum habuit. Nourr. ib. p. 382. B.

[a] —— tamen horum tibi epitomen fieri,

tadius:

tadius: but in what ſenſe Pentadius was his brother, does not clearly [b] appear. Nor do we know any thing more of the life of Lactantius, than the particulars already mentioned; his education under Arnobius, his teaching rhetoric at Nicomedia, (where he certainly was at the beginning of the perſecution under Dioclesian: where likewiſe, or in it's neighbourhood, he [c] ſeems to have ſtayed ſome-while after that perſecution was begun), his writing the books above-mentioned, his inſtructing Criſpus in the Latin tongue in Gaul, his being generally poor, and living to a great age, and [d] that he never pleaded as an advocate at the bar. But we are not informed, how he paſſed through that long and dreadful perſecution. Nor can the time of his leaving Nicomedia, or of his coming into Gaul, or of his death, be exactly determined at preſent. If indeed the book of the Deaths of Perſecutors be his, it may be thought, as [e] is argued by Baluze, that Lactantius became acquainted with Conſtantine, and left Nicomedia about the year 314, and ſoon after came into Gaul by order of that emperor.

It has been ſuppoſed by ſome, that Lactantius was at firſt a heathen. Gallæus [f] ſpeaks of this as a point not to be diſputed: Tillemont [g] in a manner takes it for granted: and it was the opinion likewiſe of [h] Du Pin, that Lactantius was converted in his youth. But Cellarius [i] was in ſuſpence about it. Du Pin refers to two paſſages [k] of our author's works; where, as he ſays, Lactantius ſeems to reckon himſelf with thoſe, who having ſeen their error embraced the true religion. But thoſe expreſſions appear to me ambiguous: and, as I apprehend, they rather relate to the ſtate of mankind in general, than to that of Lactantius himſelf, or of any other particular perſon; he there ſpeaking of the great deſign of the Chriſtian religion in general, to deliver men from the errors and ſuperſtitions, in which they had been long involved. So Arnobius ſays: 'It

Pentadi frater, deſideras. Lact. Ep. cap. 1.

[b] Vid. ibid. Pfaff. Annot. [c] Vidi ego in Bithynia præſidem gaudio mirabiliter elatum, —— quod unus, qui per biennium magna virtute reſtiterat, poſtremo cedere victus eſſet, l. v. c. 11. p. 491. [d] Equidem tametſi operam dederim, ut quantulamcunque dicendi aſſequerer facultatem propter ſtudium docendi: tamen eloquens nunquam fui, quippe qui forum ne attigerim quidem. Inſt. l. iii. c. 13. p. 273. [e] Vid. Baluz. Annot. ad libr. de M. P. p. 5. edit. Ultraj.

[f] Gall. de Vit. Lact. [g] Tillem. as before, p. 34. [h] Du Pin, as before, p. 225. [i] Primum ingenii monimentum, Sympoſium, in Africa adoleſcens edidit: utrum tum Chriſtianus, non omnino certum eſt. Cellar. Excerpt. de Vit. Lact.

[k] Supereſt, ut exhortemur omnes, —— ut contemtis terreſtribus, & abjectis erroribus, quibus antea tenebamur —— ad cœleſtis theſauri præmia dirigamur —— Div. Inſt. l. vii. cap. ult. p. 730. In hoc ſtatu cum eſſent humanæ res, miſertus eſt noſtri Deus —— revelavit ſe nobis, —— ut errore prioris vitæ abjecto, —— legem divinam tradente ipſo Domino ſumeremus; qua lege univerſi, quibus irretiti fuimus errores, cum vanis & impiis ſuperſtitionibus tollerentur. Epit. cap. iii. p. 739. Leyd. cap. lx. p. 129. ed. Pfeff.

'is

'[l] is now about three hundred years, since we began to be 'Christians.'

Beside these two passages, Gallæus refers to[m] a third. But the same answer will suffice for that likewise.

His being sent for by Diocletian, to teach rhetoric at Nicomedia, is no proof that he was then a heathen. Diocletian, who[n] was intent upon adorning that city, would be glad of any man of fine parts, who would come and take up his residence, and display them there. It is well known, that before the persecution there[o] were many Christians in the imperial court and armies: and it is past doubt, that Lactantius was a Christian, when the persecution began at Nicomedia. Nor does his great and long diligence in the pursuit of eloquence, and the study of polite literature, afford any argument for his heathenism at that time. It can hardly be suspected, that Lactantius was not a Christian when he wrote the Epistles, mentioned by St. Jerom. Yet pope Damasius writes to him, that[p] he did not read them with pleasure, because, though many of them were very long, they had little about the Christian doctrine, but chiefly related to measures, and the situation of countries, and philosophical questions. Nay, that observation of Damasus does at once afford a proof of our author's Christianity at that time, and of his extensive learning. Nor does the Sympolium, supposing it to be a genuine work of Lactantius, demonstrate his heathenism. It was composed indeed during[q] the holidays of Saturn. But yet there is no heathenism in any part of the work, as is well observed by the learned editor. Finally therefore, since there are no clear

[l] Trecenti sunt anni, minus vel plus aliquid, ex quo cœpimus esse Christiani, & terrarum in orbe centeri. Arnob. l. i. p. 9. in. [m] — cognoscere ministrum ejus, ac nuntium quem legavit in terram; quo dicente liberati ab errore, quo implicati tenebamur formatique ad veri Dei cultum, justitiam discceremus. De Ira Dei, Cap. 2. p. 766. [n] Ita semper dementabat, Nicomediam studens urbi Romæ coæquare. De M. Pers. cap. 7. [o] Vid. Eus. H. E. l. viii. cap. 6. & libr. de M. P. cap. 13.

[p] Fateor quippe tibi, eos quos mihi jam pridem Lactantii dederas libros, ideo non libenter lego: quia & plurimæ epistolæ ejus usque ad mille spatia versuum tenduntur, & raro de nostro dogmate disputant: quo fit, ut & legenti fastidium generet longitudo: & si qua brevia sunt, scholasticis magis sint apta, quam nobis, de metris & regionum situ, & philosophis disputantibus, [aliter dispetantia]. Damas. Pap. ad Hier. T. iv. p. 561. Ed. Bened.

[q] Hoc quoque Sympolium lusi de carmine inepto.

Sic me Sicca docet, Sicca deliro magistra.

Annua Saturni dum tempora festa rediunt.

Symp. Prol.

[r] — Nec enim quicquam in ejus ænigmatibus inest, quod sapiat ethnicismum. Tantum abest, ut probet ethnicismum. Heuman Præf. ad Lact. Symp. Sect. 14. p. v.v. [s] Nam si Lactantius ex ethnicis tenebris ad lucem Christianæ sapientiæ emersisset, videtur summum hoc Numinis beneficium alicubi librorum suorum commemoraturus fuisse prædicaturusque — priscæ religionis si diversam a Christianis prius habuisset, memoriam, tot invitantibus occasionibus, nec debuit supprimere, nec

intima-

intimations of his heathenism, or of his conversion to Christianity, in his own works, nor in any ancient writers who have mentioned him; I rather think, (though without being positive,) that he was from the beginning educated in the Christian religion. Nourry[t] was of the same opinion: and herein I thought I had the honour to agree likewise with Dr. Heumann, who has[u] lately given us a very valuable edition of Lactantius, and had been[x] long before acquainted with his works. But in his preface[y] to that edition, he has let fall some expressions on the other side; as if he had altered his opinion, or forgot what he had well and largely argued[z] formerly.

II. We have seen in Jerom a catalogue of the works of Lactantius: the catalogues in Honorius of Autun and Trithemius are very little different.

1. The last-mentioned writer adds, that[a] beside the books enumerated by him, it was said, that Lactantius had written not a few more, but he had not seen them.

2. Lactantius himself in his[b] Institutions, and in[c] his book Of the Wrath of God, mentions a design to write against all heresies; which we do not know that he ever did, being perhaps prevented by death. I thought it proper, however, to take notice of it in this place, as a proof of our author's zeal for truth, with which he was greatly enamoured, (as some other expressions also of his elsewhere[d] shew,) and his readiness to employ his time in the defence of it.

3. And at the beginning of the seventh book of his Institutions, he promises somewhat[e] against the Jews, which we have not, unless it be in the latter part of that very book.

4. Two of the three books first mentioned by Jerom, the Itinerary and Grammaticus, seem to be irrecoverably lost. And it has been generally thought, that the third, the Symposium, or Banquet, was lost likewise. But Dr. Heumann,

quæ pietas ejus fuit, voluit. Heuman. ib. p. xxiv. & xxv. [t] Nourr. Diss. in Lact. cap. i. p. 578. [u] Gottingæ MDCCXXXVI. [x] The Symposium of Lactantius, with a long preface, was published by Dr. Heuman at HANOVER, in the year 1702. [y] Cum enim nec philosophus esset, nec diu factis versatus in literis, (a puero enim sacra coluerat illa cum suis parentibus quæ postea exsecrabatur, illata menti suæ luce divinæ sapientiæ:) ne satis quidem perceperat ecclesiæ doctrinas, &c. [z] Heuman. Præf. ad opp. Lactant. p. ante f. quart. [a] Several of his passages are alleged above at note (r) and (s). [b] Alia insuper non pauca scripsisse dicitur. Sed in manus nostras non venerunt. Trithem. cap. 56. [c] Postea plenius & uberius contra omnes mendaciorum sectas proprio separatoque opere pugnabimus. Inst. l. iv. c. ult in fin. [d] —— & refutabimus postea diligentius, cum respondere ad omnes sectas cœperimus, quæ veritatem, dum disputant, perdiderunt. De Ira Dei, c. 2. p. 767. [e] Nullus enim suavior animo cibus est, quam cognitio veritatis, cujus asserendæ, atque illustrandæ septem volumina destinavimus, l. i. c. 1. p. 9. [f] Sed erit nobis contra Judæos separata materia, in qua illos errori & sceleris revincemus. Inst. l. vii. c. 1. ad fin.

who

who not very long since published an edition of a work with that title, asserts its genuinness. It is a collection of a hundred tristich epigrams, with a prologue. I do not dispute the favourable judgment, which the learned editor forms of this work. But I shall have no occasion to quote it at present.

5. All our author's book of Epistles are entirely lost. Pope Damasus, as [f] before shewn, did not read them with pleasure; and seems to have set but little value upon them: nevertheless some learned moderns [g] regret the loss of them.

According to the passage before cited from Jerom's Catalogue, there were only two books of Epistles to Demetrian. Nevertheless, in [h] another place Jerom quotes the eighth book of Lactantius's Epistles to Demetrian. I fancy the reason is this; there were in all eight books of Epistles, and those to Demetrian were placed last in the collection. Quoting therefore the second book to Demetrian, he calls it the eighth to him; meaning however no more, than the eighth book of this writer's epistles, which book was to Demetrian.

6. We still have the treatise Of the Workmanship of God, addressed to Demetrian, whom [i] he had taught rhetoric. Demetrian [k] seems to have been a man of fortune, and to have had then some public employment. Lactantius commends him: but he likewise admonisheth him to [l] be upon his guard against the snares of his prosperous condition. And yet it must have been a time of persecution. For with regard to himself, he speaks of the difficulty both of his own [m] circumstances, and of the times: and he says, that [n] the devil then acted as a roaring lion. Tillemont thinks, that [o] this was the first of our author's public labours in the service of religion, because he here expresseth a resolution to employ his time for the future in the defence of truth. But that argument is but barely pro-

[f] See p. 30. [g] Utinam eas epistolas tempus rerum edax nobis non invidisset. Nos libenter legeremus. Basn. Ann. 320. n. iv. [h] —— quod & Firmianus in octavo ad Demetrianum epistolarum libro facit. In Galat. c. iv. p. 268.

[i] Nam si te in literis nihil aliud quam linguam instruentibus auditorem satis strenuum præbuisti: quanto magis in his veris, & ad vitam pertinentibus, docilior esse debebis? De Op. Dei, c. i. p. 829.

[k] Nam licet te publicæ rei necessitas a veris & justis operibus avertat: tamen fieri non potest, quin subinde in cœlum aspiciat mens tibi conscia recti, ibid. [l] Ego quidem lætor, omnia tibi, quæ pro bonis habentur, prospere fluere: vereor enim, —— Ideoque te moneo, repetens iterumque monebo, ne oblectamenta ista terræ pro magnis aut veris bonis habere te credas, ibid. [m] Apud quem nunc profiteor, nulla me necessitate vel rei, vel temporis impediri, quo minus aliquid excudam. De Op. Dei, cap. i. p. 829.

[n] Nam & ille colluctator & adversarius noster, scis, quam sit astutus, & idem ipse violentus, sicuti nunc videmus, ib. p. 830.

[o] See Tillem. as before, p. 349. and Lact. de Op. Dei, Cap. ult.

bable,

bable, since Lactantius expresseth himself much after the same manner again in the introduction to his Divine Institutions.

7. As those Institutions against the Gentiles, in seven books, are the principal work of Lactantius, we should be glad to settle the time of writing and publishing them. As we now have them, they are inscribed to Constantine. And it is thought, that he refers to the Licinian persecution, which began in the year 319. They were not therefore published before the year 320. So say [f] Basnage and [g] Pagi, whose arguments I have briefly placed in the margin, for the sake of such readers as may not have their works at hand. Du Pin says, that [h] Lactantius wrote his Institutions in the time of Licinius's persecution, which began in 320, and that [i] he undertook that work about the year of Christ 320, if his numbers are rightly printed, which I think cannot be properly said. For it is not a work which could be composed in a short time; and we have proofs of his designing it [k] at the very beginning of Diocletian's persecution. Tillemont says, that [l] in the condition we now have it, it seems not to have been published before the year 321; and therefore it might be the fruit of the time that Lactantius spent with Crispus in Gaul. Nourry's [m] opinion concerning the time of this work is very little different from theirs: (though in one place he says, that [n] the Institutions were composed a little after the year 311.) He observes, that [o] Lactantius seems not to have been in Bithynia, when he composed this work; therefore he might be in Gaul with Crispus, who was not placed under his tuition, before the year 318. He too supposeth, that [p] Lactantius in this work speaks of the Licinian

[f] —— quem hoc anno [320.] Divinarum Institutionum libros Constantino nuncupasse existimamus. Arduè quidem Licinii persecutione editos die, verbis monere nos auctoris: [Inst. l. i. cap. 1.] Nam multis qui adversus pulsos in aliis terrarum partibus laxiùs, quanto serius, tanto vehementius idem Omnipotens mercedem fidelem exolvet, &c. Basn. Ann. 320. n. iv.

[g] Sæviebat itaque tunc Licinii persecutio, quando Lactantius opus illud Constantino dicavit, ideoque non anno 316, ut credidit Baronius, sed post annum 319. in lucem emisum. Pag. in Bar. Ann. 315. n. vii. viii. & 316. n. vi. [h] —— il a donc écrit du temps de la persecution de l'empereur Licinius, qui a commencé en 320. Du Pin Bib. T. i. p. 209. [i] Il entreprit ensuite les sept livres des Institutions vers l'an 320 de Jesus Christ. Id. ib. p. 205.

[k] Vid. Inst. l. v. cap. 2. p. 462. & c. 4. p. 470. [l] Tillem. T. 6. P. i. p. 319.

[m] Lactantius igitur non ante hunc annum 319, divinarum institutionum libros edidit. Nonne autem roboris ac firmamenti aliquid hanc posterior opinioni inde accedit, quod Lactantius Nicomediæ videatur se ex Bithynia —— prius recepisse, quam —— hos libros emisisset in lucem? Non enim prorsus incepte colligi inde potest eos ab illo compositos, postquam se contulisset in Gallias, atque ibi Crispus in ejus tradidus fuisset disciplinam. At id anno 318, aut paulo post contigit. Nourry App. T. iii. p. 600. A. B.

[n] Si verior sit secunda opinio, certe Lactantius, qui paulo post annum 311. divinas institutiones composuit —— ib. p. 698. B. [o] Inst. l. v. c. 2. p. 451. The words will be cited below at Note (z).

[p] Et certe Lactantius Diocletiani in Christianos furentis immanem crudelitatem —— depingit. Lib. v. Inst. cap. 11. p. 470.

perſecution. He does not inſiſt upon the paſſage in the inſcription of the Inſtitutions to Conſtantine, which is wanting in ſome manuſcripts, but upon ſome other paſſages in other parts of that work: where, however, I muſt own, I cannot yet diſcern a reference to any perſecution, different from that of Diocleſian.

Cave was rather of opinion, that [b] Lactantius compoſed the Inſtitutions in the time of this laſt-mentioned perſecution. And I beg leave to inlarge in ſupport of his opinion. This work was occaſioned [c] by the writings of two heathens of note, who publiſhed their pieces againſt the Chriſtians at the very beginning of the perſecution under Diocleſian, as Lactantius expreſsly aſſures us. It ſeems not reaſonable to think, that a deſign, formed by him in 302 or 303, ſhould not be executed before 320. And in ſeveral paſſages of his Inſtitutions, he ſpeaks as [d] if the Chriſtians then ſuffered under a general perſecution, all over the world; whereas the Licinian perſecution was in the eaſt only.

Lactantius does indeed ſpeak of ſome ſufferings in the perſecution of Diocleſian as [e] paſt. Which however, I think, is not ſtrange: for though he formed the deſign of this work at the beginning of that perſecution, and carried it on as he had opportunity, in thoſe difficult times; the perſecution might be coming to an end, or be quite concluded, before his work was finiſhed and publiſhed. By which means he certainly would be able to reflect upon, and take notice of divers events, in ſeveral parts of the world, during that long ſcene of affliction and diſtreſs.

490. & ſeqq. Aſt alia his plane ſimilia aut prorſus eadem adhuc cum hos libros exararet, inflicta ſic alibi memorat: Cultores Dei ſummi, hoc eſt, juſtos homines, torquent, interficiant, &c. ib. cap. 1. p. 456. Vid. & cap. 12. p. 403. l. vi. c. 17. p. 603. Notatu ubi ſupr. p. 831. [b] Scripti ſunt hi libri ſub Diocletiani perſecutione, quod ipſe Lactantius, l. v. c. 2, 4. ſatis aperte teſtatur: non, quod multi volunt, ſub Liciniana. Inſcriptiones enim ad Conſtantinum M. quæ in librorum 1, 2, 4, & 5, fronte comparent, nec antiquiores editiones, nec melioris notæ codices Mſſ. agnoſcunt, ideoque ab aliena manu fluxiſſe cenſendæ ſunt. Aliter a ſtilo Lactantiano non multum abhorrent. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 162. [c] Ego cum in Bithynia orationes literas accitus docerem, conjuratique, ut eodem tempore Dei templum everterentur, duo exſtiterunt ibidem, qui jacenti, atque objectæ veritati, neſcio utrum ſuperbius, an importunius inſultarent. Inſt. l. v. c. 2. p. 460. Ii ergo, de quibus dixi, cum præſente me, ac dolente, ſacrilegas ſuas literas explicaſſent: & illorum ſuperba impietate ſtimulatus, —— ſuſcepi hoc munus —— ib. c. 4. p. 470. [d] Hæc enim populus noſter patitur omnia, errantium pravitate. Ecce in eo eſt errore civitas, vel potius orbis ipſe totus, ut bonos & juſtos viros tanquam malos & impios perſequatur, excruciet, damnet, occidat, ib. l. v. c. 12. p. 403. Spectatæ ſunt enim, ſpectanturque adhuc per orbem pœnæ cultorum Dei: in quibus excruciandis nova & inuſitata tormenta excogitata ſunt, l. vi. c. 17. p. 603. [e] Quæ autem per totum orbem ſinguli geſſerint, enarrare impoſſibile eſt. Quis enim voluminum numerus capiet tam infinita, tam varii genera crudelitatis? Accepta enim poteſtate, pro ſuis viribus quiſque ſævit, ib. l. v. c. 11. p. 490.

And

And when I read the Inſtitutions, I am diſpoſed to conſider them, as a work compoſed, for the moſt part at leaſt, under [f] the perſecution of Diocleſian; though perhaps they were not publiſhed till after it was over. It is likely, that others in reading this work, experience the like ſentiments. For ſome have ſuppoſed, that [g] there were two editions of this work; that is, one before that which we now have, with the inſcriptions to Conſtantine: and others, ſupported by the authority of a good number of manuſcript copies, think thoſe [h] inſcriptions not genuine.

Before I proceed, I would obſerve one thing more; that it is not likely, the long argument againſt perſecution, in the fifth book of the Inſtitutions, ſhould be written after Diocleſian's perſecution was over. And the laſt chapter of that book ſeems to ſhew, that [i] as yet there was no Chriſtian emperor: that the perſecuting princes were ſtill living, and that their perſecutions were not yet come to an end. And in the Epitome of the ſame work there are expreſſions, intimating, that [k] ſome of thoſe perſecuting princes, or chief inſtruments

[f] Si vobis ſapientes videmur, imitamini: ſi ſtulti, contemnite, aut etiam ridete, ſi libet. —— Quid laceratis? quid affligitis? l. v. c. 12. ſub in. Cur enim tam crudeliter ſæviant, niſi quia metuunt, ne in dies invaleſcente juſtitia, cum diis ſuis araneoſis relinquantur? eod. cap. ſub fin.

[g] Dici etiam poteſt, Lactantium bis hoc opus edidiſſe, (quod idem Tertulliani Apologetico factum eſſe conſtat:) prius ante regnum Conſtantini, iterum eo rerum potito. Heuman. ad Inſt. l. i. c. 1. p. 6.

Sane Lactantius libros Divinarum Inſtitutionum ſcripſit furente perſecutione, in ipſis ejus initiis, ut ex capite ſecundo & quarto libri quinti colligitur: ſed non emiſit, impeditus videlicet & rei & temporis neceſſitate. —— At quum data eſſet pax. —— Itaque tum Lactantius Divinarum Inſtitutionum libros, in quibus loca quædam ſparſim reperiuntur, quæ manifeſto conſtat ſcripta eſſe poſt bellum ſedatum atque extinctum, recenſuit, pleraque addidit, in primis vero ea quæ in initiis librorum & in epilogo dicuntur ad Conſtantinum, quæ perperam nonnulli judicant notha eſſe & ſuppoſititia. —— Sed haud dubie duæ antiquitus fuere Divinarum Inſtitutionum editiones. —— Qui vero priore editione uſi ſunt, ea profecto non habuerunt quæ poſtea de Conſtantino addita ſunt. Baluz. annot. ad lib. de M. P. ſub. in. Et Conf. Tillem. ubi ſupr. p. 349. & 466. &c. Vid. & Thomaſ. not. ad Inſt. l. i. c. 1: p. 6. edit. Heumanni.

[h] Incluſa de Conſtantino ad num. 17. abſunt a pluribus Mſſ. quinque Vaticanis, & duobus Bononienſibus, Mich. Thomaſio teſte: ab Anglicanis aliquot, & primo Lipſienſi. Habent Gothanus, reliqui Lipſienſes, alii codices. Damnat Joſephus Iſæus non una ratione, quaſi non congruentia temporibus. Tuetur Stephanus Baluzius —— & triſtibus temporibus ſcriptas Inſtitutiones putat: lætioribus autem emendatas, auctas, & Conſtantino dedicatas. Cellar. ad eund. loc. ap. Heuman. ed. p. 6.

[i] Quicquid vero adverſum nos mali principes moliuntur, fieri ipſe permittit. Et tamen injuſtiſſimi perſecutores, quibus Dei nomen contumeliæ ac ludibrio fuit, non ſe putent impune laturos, quia indignationis adverſus nos ejus quaſi miniſtri fuerunt. Punientur enim judicio Dei qui accepta poteſtate ſupra humanum modum fuerint abuſi —— Qua propter non ſperent ſacrilegæ animæ, contemtos & inultos fore, quos ſic obterunt. Inſt. l. v. c. 23. [k] —— nec re nec verbo pugnamus, ſed mites & taciti, & patientes perferimus omnia —— Habemus enim fiduciam in Deo, a quo expectamus ſecuturam protinus ultionem. Nec eſt inanis iſta fiducia. Siquidem eorum omnium, qui hoc facinus auſi ſunt, miſerabiles exitus partim cognovimus, partim videmus. Epit. c. 53. p. 150. ed. Davidſ.

in Dioclesian's perſecution, had died miſerably, whilſt one or more of them ſtill ſurvived: which might lead us to think, that the Epitome itſelf was compoſed not later than the year 311, 312, or 313.

As for the mention, which is made of the Arians in one[l] place, it was an eaſy addition. But it is difficult to defend the genuinneſs of that clauſe upon[m] any ſuppoſition concerning the date of the Inſtitutions.

After all, how much ſoever I have deſired it, I do not imagine, that I have clearly fixed the time of writing and publiſhing this work; but yet I was willing to ſet before my readers a ſtate of the queſtion. And I perſuade myſelf, that in the year 306. Lactantius had begun the work, the deſign of which was formed in 303. I therefore chooſe to conſider him as flouriſhing in the quality of a Chriſtian writer about the year 306.

This work Lactantius intended not only as an anſwer to the two authors before taken notice of, but[n] as a general anſwer, and full confutation of all others, who already had, or hereafter might oppoſe the Chriſtian doctrine.

It is a noble work, and has received juſt praiſes from[o] Jerom. I put in the margin a paſſage of[p] Lactantius, which that author refers to. Nevertheleſs, perhaps this work would have been more curious and entertaining to us now, if he had inſerted more particularly the objections of thoſe two writers,

l Cum enim Phryges, aut —— Marcionitæ aut Anthropiani, aut Ariani, ſeu quilibet alii nominantur. Inſt. l. iv. c. 30. p. 449. m Mais en quelque temps qu'on diſe qu' a écrit Lactance, il eſt bien difficile de croire qu'il ait pû parler des Ariens comme d'heretiques declarez, ce qu'on ne peut preſque pas dire avoir eſté avant le concile de Nicée, & apres toutes les perſecutions. Il ſeroit meſme aſſez aiſé de montrer par la lettre de Conſtantin à S. Alexandre & à Arius, que juſqu'à la fin de l'ann. 323. l'hereſie d'Arius n'avoit encore fait que peu ou point de bruit dans l'Occident. De ſorte que pour ſoutenir que le mot d'Ariani eſt veritablement de Lactance, ——il faudoit rapporter ſe qu'il dit de la perſecution qui duroit encore alors en quelques endroits, non a celle de Licinius, mais à celle de Sapor, &c. Tillem. Note iv. ſur Lactance. Mem. T. 6. P. i. p. 469. So Tillemont. However they, who are deſirous of ſeeing ſomewhat on the other ſide, may conſult Dr. Heumann's note upon the paſſage of Lactantius, where the Arians are mentioned.

n —— ſuſcepi hoc opus: ut omnibus ingenii mei viribus accuſatores juſtitiæ vindicarem: non ut contra hos ſcriberem, qui paucis verbis obteri poterant; ſed ut omnes, qui ubique idem operis efficiunt aut efferunt, uno ſimul impetu profligarem. Inſt. l. v. c. 4. p. 470. o Firmianus quoque noſter in præclaro Inſtitutionum ſuarum opere Y literæ meminit: & de dextris ac ſiniſtris, hoc eſt, de virtutibus & vitiis pleniſſime diſputat. Hieron. Comm. in Ecc. cap. x. T. 2. p. 770. Quis mihi interdicere poteſt, ne legam Inſtitutionum ejus libros, quibus contra gentes ſcripſit fortiſſime? Id. ad Pamm. & Oc. Ep. 41. al. 65. T. 4. p. 345. p Omnis hæc de duabus viis diſputatio ad frugalitatem ac luxuriam ſpectat. Dicunt enim humanæ vitæ curſum Y literæ eſſe ſimilem, quod unuſquiſque hominum, cum primum adoleſcentiæ limen attigerit, & in eum locum venerit, partes ubi ſe via findit in ambas; hæreat nutabundus, ac neſciat in quam ſe partem inclinet. Si ducem nactus fuerit, qui dirigat ad meliora nitubantem, &c. Inſt. l. vi. c. 3. p. 550, 551.

that

that were the firſt occaſion of it. But Lactantius deſpiſed them too much, to do them that honour. And, as before obſerved, he intended his work ſhould contain a general confutation of all objectors and adverſaries whatever.

8. We have alſo the Epitome of the Divine Inſtitutions, inſcribed by Lactantius to his brother Pentadius; which was imperfect at the beginning in St. Jerom's copy, and was ſo likewiſe in ours, until it was found in the library of the king of Sardinia at Turin, by Dr. Chriſtopher Matthew Pfaff, and publiſhed by him intire, or nearly ſo, at Paris in 1712, to the great joy of the learned world. A curious account of the manuſcript, and the fortunate diſcovery of it, may be read in Dr. Pfaff's Preliminary Diſſertation, and in Mr. La Roche's [q] Memoirs of Literature. This abridgment is an uſeful book, containing in it ſome things not to be found in the Inſtitutions themſelves.

9. The book of the Wrath or Anger of God, is likewiſe ſtill extant. It is particularly commended by [r] Jerom, as a learned and elegant piece, and a complete treatiſe upon the ſubject.

10. Beſide theſe there is a well-known book of the Deaths of Perſecutors, which was firſt publiſhed by Stephen Baluze in the ſecond volume of his Miſcellanea, in the year 1679. But this has not been ſo univerſally reckoned genuine, as the beginning of the Epitome, publiſhed by Dr. Pfaff.

It is however a very valuable work, containing a ſhort account of the ſufferings of Chriſtians under ſeveral of the Roman emperors, from the death and reſurrection of Chriſt to Diocleſian: and then a particular hiſtory of the perſecution raiſed by that emperor, and the cauſes and ſprings of it; as likewiſe the miſerable deaths of the chief inſtruments therein. Here we learn divers remarkable facts, recorded no where elſe.

It would be tedious to obſerve particularly all that might be ſaid, relating to the diſpute concerning the author of this work. I therefore refer to [s] Baluze, [t] Fabricius, [u] Heumann, and [x] ſome others, for the arguments, that it is a work of Lactantius, and to [y] Nourry on the other ſide.

[q] Vol. v. p. 184. and 395. &c. in the ſecond edition. [r] Firmianus noſter librum de Ira Dei docto pariter & eloquenti ſermone conſcripſit, quem qui legerit, puto ei ad iræ intellectum ſatis abundeque poſſe ſufficere. Hieron Comm. in Epheſ. cap. iv. ver. 26. p. 373.

[s] Baluz. Miſcell. l. ii. p. 351, 352. & in not. ad libr. de M. P. p. 7, 8. &c. edit. Ultraj. 1693. [t] Fabric. not. (b) & (z) ad Hieron. de V. I. cap. 80. in Biblioth. Ecc. p. 165, 166. Vid. & ejuſd. Bibl. Lat. Vol. iii. p. 403, 404. [u] Vid. Heumann. App. i. ad ſymp. Lact. & ejuſ. Præf. ad Lactant. Opp. [x] Dan Maichelli Introduct. ad Hiſt. Lit. p. 187, &c. Cantabr. 1721. & Journal. Literaire. Tom. 7. P. i. p. 1—29. à la Haye, 1715.

[y] Diſs. in L. Cecil. de M. P. Pariſ. 1710. & in App. ad Bib. P. P. p. 1642, &c.

Fabricius, in particular, thinks Nourry's reasons for robbing Lactantius of this piece to be of little weight; far from being sufficient ground for introducing a new author, named Lucius Cecilius, unknown to all antiquity. However, as I am obliged to deliver my opinion, I shall support it with a few observations, referring to Nourry for the rest.

The book, published by Baluze, is ascribed [z] in the Colbertine manuscript, the only one of it in being, to Lucius Cecilius. It is not easy to conceive, why the transcriber of this book should not have added Firmianus Lactantius, if it is his. And the forenames, Lucius Cœlius, or Cæcilius, are very rarely given to Lactantius. Fabricius [a] mentions only one author, Bernardinus de Bustis, of the fifteenth century, and two manuscripts; one of the books commonly ascribed to Lactantius, the other of his book, Of the Workmanship of God; in which Lactantius is called at length Lucius Cœlius, or Cæcilius Firmianus Lactantius. Methinks, this [b] is not sufficient ground for giving those two names to this learned ancient; when he is called only Firmianus Lactantius, or Firmianus, or Lactantius singly, by Jerom, Eucherius, [c] Augustine, [d] Apollinaris Sidonius, Honorius of Autun, Trithemius. Not to say any thing of Freculph's and Ado's Chronicles, though they also use the same way of writing. And moreover, in almost all the manuscript copies of his works, or of some part of them, (as is owned) he is called only Firmianus Lactantius.

Then the title of the book, published by Baluze, is different from that of Lactantius in Jerom. It is intitled, Of the Deaths of Persecutors: but that mentioned by Jerom is, Of the Persecution: so likewise in Honorius and Trithemius, without any variation. This appears to me considerable. If Lactantius's book had been intitled, Of the Deaths of Persecutors, it would have been so described by Jerom. If it had obtained that title, and had been ever so called in a few ages after, either in ma-

[z] Lucii Cecilii. Incipit liber ad Donatum Confessorem de Mortibus Persecutorum. [a] —— licet in Sermonibus Bernardini de Bustis nominatus Lucius Cæcilius Firmianus, teste Bernardo Montfaucon. T. 4. Menagianam p. 85. Fabr. ubi supr. in Bib. Ecc. p. 165. Cum denique Lactantium & in Sermonibus Bernardini de Bustis, quos paulo ante memorabam, & in Codice Colbertino 507. & Codice Taurinensi libri de Opificio Dei, quem inspexit Pfaffius, Lucium Cœlium Lactantium appellari, non possit negari. Id. ib. p. 166. Conf. Baluz. Miscel. T. ii. p. 473.

[b] Ausim & hæc dicere, Firmianum Lactantium Lucii Cæcilii nomine nunquam appellatum fuisse, quod nulla quidem probatione iudicare videtur, utpote nulla antiquioris MS Codicis auctoritate nixum. Pfaff. Diss. Fund. § 12. p. 16. Quod si dixerim, nec Lucium Cæcilium nomen esse ad L. Lactantium pertinens: sed a recentioribus solum librariis, aliasque sæpius, ut per se, sapientibus additum? Id. ib. § 15. p. 17. [c] De Civ. Dei, l. xviii. c. 23.

[d] —— it erunt ut Hieronymus, destruit ut Lactantius. Sidon. Lib. iv. Ep. 3. p. 97

nuscripts;

nuſcripts, or in learned writers who quoted it; it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that ſo late writers as Honorius and Trithemius, one of the twelfth, the other of the fifteenth century, would have mentioned it by that title alone; or elſe would have mentioned the two titles together.

This book, Of the Deaths of Perſecutors, is inſcribed to [e] Donatus, a confeſſor, who had ſuffered ſix years impriſonment, and other hardſhips for the ſake of Chriſtianity, in Dioclefian's perſecution. And the book of Lactantius concerning the Wrath of God, is dedicated to one Donatus, a friend of his. This therefore has been reckoned an argument, that Lactantius muſt be the author of the book, of which we are ſpeaking. But I ſhould rather think it an argument on the other ſide: for as [f] Tillemont obſerves, (though he makes no doubt of its being a genuine work of Lactantius,) the book, Of the Wrath of God, was written after the Inſtitutions, and conſequently after the perſecution. But yet Lactantius does not there call Donatus an illuſtrious confeſſor. He [g] even ſpeaks to him, as to a novice, 'who needed to be inſtructed and fortified, leſt he ſhould be miſled by the authority of the wiſe men of the world.'

Finally, not to mention other things, the ſtyle of this book appears to me far from equalling that of Lactantius. Nevertheleſs [h] Baluze, and others are of a different opinon. Every one muſt judge for himſelf: but for my own part, I cannot here diſcern the ſtyle of Lactantius; nor does [i] Pfaff, nor [k] yet Dr. Heumann, though he maintains the genuineneſs of the book.

As for the words and phraſes found both in this book, and in the undiſputed writings of Lactantius, which have been obſerved by Columbus in his notes upon this book, and have been ſince put together, and inſiſted on by La Croze, the au-

[e] Novies enim tormentis cruciatibuſque variis ſubjectus, novies adverſarium gloriosa confeſſione vicisti, &c. de M. P. c. 16. Nunc apertis carceribus, Donate cariſſime, cum cæteris confeſſoribus e cuſtodia liberatus es, cum tibi carcer ſex annis pro ſæculo fuerit, ib. c. 35. Vid. & cap. i.

[f] Mem. Ec. T. 6. P. i. p. 352.

[g] Quorum error, quia maximus eſt, & ad exercendum vitæ humanæ ſtatum ſpectat; cavendos eſt a nobis, ne ipſe fallaris, impulſus auctoritate hominum, qui ſe putant eſſe ſapientes. Lact. De Ira Dei. Cap. i. p. 764.

[h] Nam & ſtylus omnino Lactantianus eſt, ut facile periti illarum rerum agnoscent. Baluz. Miſc. ib. p. 315.

[i] Non hic eam eloquentiæ dicendique vim, non eam orationis florem, verborumque copiam inveneris, quæ paſſim in Epitome apparet: cum e contrario Lucii Cæcilii ſtylus ſit inæqualis, lentus & mediocris. Pfaff. ib. § xi. p. 15.

[k] Illud ad ultimum celare meos lectores nolo, nondum videri mihi librum hunc ſatis emendatum eſſe & exaſciatum Lactantium——Ac hanc ipſam eſſe cauſam exiſtimo, cur hujus libri ſtylus non ubique æquet elegantiam cæterorum Lactantii librorum.——Nec ex oratione ſolum negligentiore apparet, primam quaſi delineationem libri, non librum ſatis perpolitum, nos habere; ſed ex ipſa quoque tractatione, quæ paſſim multum obſcuritatis habet, &c. Heuman. in Præf. ad Lact.

thor of a Dissertation, or Letter, printed in the [l] Literary Journal at the Hague, to prove the genuineness of this piece; I think that argument more specious than solid. For it is not at all strange, that the same words and phrases should occur in two different authors of the same age, and even contemporaries: especially when one of them was a celebrated master of rhetoric, and the politest writer, and the most learned man of his time among the Latins. Many might imitate, though they did not equal him. Add to all this, that the subjects of Lactantius and of this author often coincide: they are both zealous Christians, and engaged in the defence of their religion; they have both occasion to speak of the death, and resurrection and ascension of Jesus, and of the affairs of Christians from their first original in the world, and particularly of the persecution that happened in their own time, and the chief agents in it. But though both use some of the same words and phrases, the style of the author of the Deaths of Persecutors is not the style of Lactantius, but much inferior to it, so far as I am able to judge.

Nourry is not the only person, who has denied, or doubted of the genuineness of this book. The famous Christopher Cellarius [m] speaks doubtfully of the matter, in his Brief Account of the Life of Lactantius, prefixed to the edition of his works, published in 1698, and therefore long before Nourry wrote his Dissertation, which was first printed at Paris in the year 1710, and since in his Apparatus in 1715. I learn also from Dr. Heumann, that [n] Mr. Walch, another learned German editor of Lactantius, does not without hesitation ascribe this work to his author. The editors of cardinal Noris's works think, the [o] author of this book a different writer from Lactantius, though certainly contemporary with him. And they have proposed some very good observations in favour of their opinion. Dr. Pfaff, in his Preliminary Dissertation to the Epitome of Lac-

[l] Journal Literaire, T. 7. P. i. p. 25, &c. à la Haye. 1715.

[m] De Mortibus Persecutorum liber, nuper repertus, si Lactantii est, ut fere viri doctissimi consentiunt. Cellar. Exc. de Vita Lact.

[n] Adjungo, —— Cl. Walchium, qui & ipse in suis ad novissimam Lactantii operum editionem Prolegomenis cap. v. p. 38. dubitavit, an liber ille sit genuinus Lactantii fœtus. Heuman. in App. i. ad Lact. Symp. c. 1 p. 215.

[o] Libri autem inscriptio, de mortibus persecutorum, diversum opus indicat ab illo, quod ab Hieronymo Lactantio tribuitur cum titulo de persecutione. Etenim Lactantius historiam suppliciorum, quæ Christiani a persecutoribus passi sunt, concinnasse videtur: Lucius autem Cæcilius contexuit historiam supplicium, quibus ipsi Christianorum persecutores mulctati sunt. —— Hæ conjecturationes, tametsi non omnino demonstrent, convincunt tamen probabilius alium a Lactantio esse L. Cæcilium hujus libelli auctorem —— Sed quicumque sit hujus libri scriptor, dum constet eum fuisse Lactantio supparem, parum interest. Ap. Noris. Opp. T. iv. p. 36, 37.

tantius,

tantius [p], expreſſes his approbation of Nourry's arguments. Le Clerc too, was fully ſatisfied with [q] Nourry's reaſons. The writer of Miſcellaneous Obſervations upon Authors ancient and modern, publiſhed at London in 1732, ſays, that [r] 'he is 'inclined to agree with thoſe who think, that the author of 'this book is not Lactantius.' Signor Maffei, referring to this book, does not quote it as [s] certainly written by Lactantius. The late learned John Davis, who publiſhed an edition of our author's Epitome, does [t] not poſitively aſſert him to be the writer of the book Of the Deaths of Perſecutors. The ſame may be obſerved of [u] Mr. Turretin. However, ſuch a thing as this is not to be decided by authorities; nor do I think the reaſons that have been alleged by me to be concluſive and demonſtrative: but they appear to be of ſome weight; and therefore I chooſe not to quote this, as a work of Lactantius, until I am better ſatisfied about it.

11. I need not ſay any thing particularly of the poems de Phœnice, de Paſcha, de Paſſione Domini, which have been thought by ſome to belong to our author, and are joined with his works in moſt editions. They are not mentioned by Jerom, and are now generally ſuppoſed to have been without good reaſon aſcribed to Lactantius.

12. The editions of Lactantius are very numerous. Du Pin has referred to a good many of them: but a more full and copious catalogue may be ſeen in [x] Fabricius: Nourry likewiſe has an article [y] of the editions of Lactantius. And Dr. Heumann has inſerted an account of them in the preface to his own edition, formerly mentioned: which appears to me very valuable for the correctneſs of it, as well as on other accounts. But I wiſh that learned man had put out our author in a quarto volume: he might then have made uſe of a larger letter, and might have added ſome things, which are omitted for want of room.

13. I ſomewhat wonder, that no learned editor of Lactantius has publiſhed his works according to the order of time, the preſent order being manifeſtly prepoſterous. The Sympo-

[p] Vid. Pfaff. Diſs. n. xii. p. 16.

[q] —— marques certaines, comme il me ſemble, auſſi bien qu' au P. Le Nourry, que cet ouvrage n'eſt point de Lactance. Bib. Anc. & M. T. iii. p. 256.

[r] See thoſe Obſervations, Vol. ii. p. 230.

[s] —— e dell' altre bisogna ragione ſi può dubitare di Lattanzio, ſe di lui è il libro intitolato de' Perſecutori. Maff. Veron. Illuſtrat. P. i. p. 149.

[t] Hanc rem fuſe monſtravit aut noſter, aut quiſquis eſt auctor libri de mortibus Perſecutorum, &c. Daviſ. Annot. in Epit. cap. 53. p. 150.

[u] Lactantius vel quiſquis alius eſt auctor libri non pridem emiſſi, de M. Perſecutorum, Turret. Comp. Hiſt. Ec. p. 97.

[x] Bib. Lat. V. i. i. p. 204, &c. Hamb. 1708.

[y] Vid. Ap. T. ii. p. 651, &c.

ſium

ſium ſhould come firſt, if its genuineneſs can be admitted; otherwiſe it muſt be placed at the end: then the book, Of the Workmanſhip of God; next the Inſtitutions, and their Epitome; after that the book, Of the Wrath, or Anger of God. The book, Of the Deaths of Perſecutors, ſhould by all means ſtand laſt, becauſe its genuineneſs is not univerſally acknowledged, and becauſe it is a thing of quite a different nature from all the other remaining works of Lactantius. They (excepting the Banquet or Sympoſium,) are all argumentative, this hiſtorical.

Nor do I well know, why in all late editions there are no ſummaries, or brief contents of the ſeveral chapters. There are ſuch things in the edition of Sebaſtian Gryphius at Lyons, in 1541. and in an edition [z] at Geneva, above a hundred years ſince. When they began to be omitted, or for what reaſons, I cannot tell.

I have mentioned theſe things, leaving it to the learned to judge of them, as they think fit. But though there have been ſo many editions of Lactantius, Le Clerc ſaid in 1719. that [a] he did not know of one good edition of this writer, the moſt elegant of all the Latin fathers.

III. Before I proceed to his teſtimony to the Scriptures, I ſhall ſet before my readers ſome remarkable things, which I have obſerved in the writings of this author.

1. Lactantius often ſpeaks of the nature and deſign of the Chriſtian revelation, as [b] ſuited to promote the general good of all, of every age, ſex, and condition: ſo that all may attain to juſt ſentiments of God, and be directed and aſſiſted in the way of holineſs, and obtain everlaſting happineſs. And he aſſerts it to be in the power of the [c] meaneſt and pooreſt of men to attain to righteouſneſs.

2. He ſometimes glories [d] in the great and happy effects of the Chriſtian doctrine upon the minds and lives of men: ren-

z Genevæ ap. Joann. De Fournes, 1630.

a —— de ſorte qu'on peut dire, que juſqu' à preſent nous n'avons point de bonne edition de plus elegant de tous le Peres Latins. Bib. A. & M. T. xi. p. 201.

b Nobis autem, qui ſacramentum veræ religionis accepimus, cum ſit veritas revelata divinitus: cum doctorem ſapientiæ ducemque veritatis Deum ſequamur; univerſos ſine ullo diſcrimine vel ſexus, vel ætatis, ad cœleſte pabulum convocamus. Inſt. l. i. c. 1. p. 8 & 9. Nos autem omnis ſexus & generis & ætatis in hoc cœleſte ætu inducimus, quia Deus, qui ejus viæ dux eſt, immortalitatem nulli homini nato negat, l. vi. c. 3. p. 552.

c Quaſi vero in judicibus ſolis atque in poteſtate aliqua conſtitutis juſtitia eſſe debeat, & non in omnibus. Atqui nullus eſt hominum, ne infimorum quidem ac mendicorum, in quem juſtitia cadere non poſſit. Epit. cap. 55.

d Dei autem præcepta, quia & ſimplicia & vera ſunt, quantum valeant in animis hominum, quotidiana experimenta demonſtrant. Da mihi virum, qui ſit iracundus, maledicus, effrænatus: paucissimis Dei verbis tam placidum quam ovem reddam. Da cupidum, avarum, tenacem: jam tibi eum

dering the proud humble, the hafty and paſſionate meek and mild, the lewd chaſte, the covetous liberal, and converting the unrighteous and cruel to juſtice and mercy. For which reaſon he recommends this divine religion, as [c] the medicine of the ſoul, effectual for healing all its diſeaſes.

3. Lactantius underſtood the words in Gen. vi. 3. *Yet his days ſhall be an hundred and twenty years*, of the [f] appointed term of human life after the flood.

4. This Latin Chriſtian [g] aſſerts the freedom of man's will, or his power to do good or evil.

5. Lactantius has not quoted many Chriſtian authors. He has however mentioned [h] Minucius Felix, Tertullian, and Cyprian, and [i] Theophilus, biſhop of Antioch in the ſecond century.

6. Lactantius has made very particular mention of [k] two perſons, who in his own time wrote againſt the Chriſtian religion. And he ſuppoſeth, there might be others who [l] did the like about the ſame time, as well as [m] in former times.

liberalem dabo, & pecuniam ſuam plenis manibus largientem. —— Da libidinoſum, adulteram, ganeonem: jam ſobrium, caſtum, continentem videbis. Da crudelem, & ſanguinis appetentem: jam in veram clementiam furor ille mutabitur. Da injuſtum, inſipientem, peccatorem: continuo æquus, & prudens, & innocens erit. — Grata illa fiunt, facile, cito. — Nemo venditur. Nos æquum non vendimus, nec ſi in mercede præſtamus, l. iii c. 26. p. 328, 329. [c] — quibus [vulneribus] nemo deus mederi poteſt, niſi ſolus ille, qui geſſum claudis, viſum cæcis reddidit, —— mortuos excitavit. Ille ardorem cupiditatis exſtinguet, exſtirpabit libidines, invidiam diſtrahet, iram mitigabit. Ille reddet veram & perpetuam tantorem. Apparata eſt hæc omnibus medicina, quorum nunc periculo vexatur anima, quam corpus. & l. vi. c. 24. p. 636.

[f] —— paulatim per ſingulas progenies decurrit hominis ætatem, uſque in centum annos metam collocavit, quam tranſire non licuit. Inſt. l. ii. c. 13 in. Vid. & cap. 12. ad fin. Nata poſt diluvium prudentium vita hominum breviata & ad annos centum vel circi redacta eſt. Epit. cap. 27.

[g] —— ſed ſola eſt virtus, ſola juſtitia, quæ poſſit verum bonum —— publicari; quæ nec datur cuiquam, nec aufertur. Inſt. l. iv. c. 16. p. 401.

Duæ viæ homini attributæ ſunt, una ad ſalutem, —— altera contraria. —— Illam ingredientes accepimus, hanc ſecundam ſcientes. Virtuti enim, non naturæ datur. —— Iccirco hanc præſentem dedit, ut illam veram & perpetuam aut vitiis amittamus, aut virtute mereamur. —— In illa vero ſpiritali, quam per nos ipſi acquirimus, ſummum bonum continetur.—Nam nihil intereſſet inter juſtum & injuſtum, ſiquidem omnis homo natus, immortalis fieret. Ergo immortalitas non ſequela naturæ, ſed merces præmiumque virtutis eſt. Inſt. l. vii. c. 5. p. 663, 664.

Iccirco nobis Deus virtutem juſtitiamque proponit, ut æternum illud præmium noſtris laboribus adæquamur. Epit. cap. 35.

[h] Vid. Inſt. l. v. c. 1. & 4.

[i] Theophilus in libro de temporibus ad Autolycum ſcripto ait, l. i. c. 23. ſub in.

[k] Ego cum in Bithynia oratorias literas acciti docerem, & eodem tempore Dei templum everteretur; duo exſtiterunt ibidem, —— Quorum alter antiſtitem ſe philoſophiæ profitebatur —— Alius eamdem materiam mordacius ſcripſit, qui erat tum e numero judicum, l. v. c. 2. vid. & cap. 3. & cap. 4. init. [l] —— non ut contra hos ſcriberem, qui paucis verbis obteri poterant; ſed ut omnes, qui ubique idem operis effecerunt aut effecerunt, uno ſemel impetu profligarem. Non dubito enim, quin & alii plurimi, & multis in locis, & non modo Græcis, ſed etiam Latinis literis, monimentum injuſtitiæ ſuæ ſtruxerint, l. v. c. 4. in. [m] Omitto eos, qui prioribus cum temporibus nequicquam laceſſiérunt, l. v. c. 2. ſub in.

7. He

7. He also mentions one [p] Domitius, supposed [o] to be the famous Lawyer Domitianus Ulpianus, who made a collection of Imperial Edicts that had been published against the Christians.

8. He intimates, that [p] there were in his time many Christians, especially such as had a smattering of learning, who wavered in the profession of Christianity.

9. We do not observe in Lactantius any notice taken of those scandalous reflections upon the Christians, which we can find by our writers were common in the second century. By the continued purity of their lives, and the force of their Apologies, it is likely they had confuted and obliterated those calumnies.

But they were still reckoned a silly [q] and contemptible people, partly for [r] following a crucified master and leader, partly [s] for suffering so many evils which they might have avoided. Moreover, they were still called [t] impious and profane for deriding the common deities, and not complying with the established superstition: and desperadoes [u] on account of their uncommon resolution and steadiness in the profession of their own peculiar principles, which they believed to be true.

10. Lactantius openly asserts the innocence of Christian [v] people, all whose religion, he says, consists in good works, or

[n] Domitius de Officio Proconsulis libro septimo rescripta Principum nefaria collegit, ut doceret, quibus poenis affici oporteret eos, qui se cultores Dei confiterentur, l. v. c. 11. fin. [o] Vid. Heumn. Annot. in loc. [p] Nam si lucrari hos a morte, ad quam concitatissime tendunt, non potuerimus;——nostros tamen confirmabimus, quorum non est flabilis ac foliis radicibus fundata & fixa sententia. Nutant enim plurimi, ac maxime, qui literarum aliquid attigerunt, l. v. c. 1. p. 457.

[q] Si vobis sapientes videmur, imitamini; si stulti, contemnite, aut etiam ridete, si libet: nobis enim stultitia nostra prodest, l. v. c. 12. p. 492. Suam — sibi habeant sapientiam prudentes. Relinquant nobis stultitiam nostram, ib. p. 493. [r] Venio nunc ad ipsam passionem, quæ velut opprobrium nobis objectari solet, quod & hominem, & ab hominibus infigni supplicio affectum & excruciatum colamus, l. iv. c. 16. in. [s] Deum, ut opinor, cur populus noster apud stultos stultus habeatur. Nam quisquis, [illegible] male, quam bona [illegible] comprehendi in locum pœnæ, tam reprehensibilem videri, qui in periculo vitæ alienæ aut suam negligat, quam [illegible], l. v. c. 16. p. 513. [t] [illegible] enim vocant, ipsi scilicet pii, & ab humano sanguine abhorrentes.—l. v. c. 9. p. 482. ——nec maledictis abstinent, sed quam potest verborum contumeliis infectantur. Epit. c. 52. Sed soli ex omnibus impii judicantur, qui Deum, qui veritatem sequuntur. Quæ cum sit eadem justitia, eadem sapientia, hanc illi vel impietatis vel stultitiæ crimine infamant, &c. ib. c. 55.

[u] Qui autem magni æstimaverint fidem, cultoresque Dei se non abnegaverint, in eos vero totis carnificinæ suæ viribus veluti sanguinem sitiant, incumbunt, & desperatos vocant, quia corpori suo minime parcunt, l. v. c. 9. p. 483.——& hoc adversus innocentes carnificinam exercentes, pios utique se & justos & religiosos putant.—— illos vero impios & desperatos nuncupant. Epit. c. 54. [v] Nostro autem populo quid horum potest objici? cujus omnis religio est, sine scelere ac sine macula vivere, l. v. c. 9. p. 485.

Dicet hic aliquis: Quæ ergo, aut ubi, aut quales est pietas? Nimirum apud eos, qui Deum noverunt, qui cognoscunt eum [illegible] sunt, qui [illegible] pro fratribus [illegible]. ——l. v. c. 12. p. 487.

[illegible] deorum

a care

a care to live unblameably and inoffensively. And [y] the criminals, who fell under the sentence of the magistrate for robbery and other offences, he observes, were not Christians, but of the same religion with their enemies.

11. Lactantius expresseth himself, as if in his time Christians [z] performed miracles in dispossessing dæmons. The author, Of the Deaths of Persecutors, has somewhat [a] to the like purpose.

12. Our author was of opinion, that another life, or a future state of happiness for good men, may be proved by reason.

1.) Entering upon this subject at the beginning of the seventh and last book of the Institutions, he says, he [b] intends to prove a future state by testimonies of Scripture, and by arguments from reason.

2.) The [c] expectation of a better, and a more durable life, he says, is agreeable to philosophy, or natural reason, as well as revelation.

3.) Since [d] man is capable of virtue, there must be another and endless life. For [e] in this world virtue often proves to the prejudice and detriment of men. But forasmuch as virtue is excellent, and it is allowed that they act wisely, who now deny themselves sensual gratifications, and endure pain, and even death itself, rather than not perform their duty; there must be a future recompence for such persons, consisting of better

[y] ...ribus loquimur, liceat per vos, bene... ...obilcum. *Hæc est enim lex nostra, ...gus, hæc religio*, l. v. c. 12. sub in.

[z] *Non enim de nostro, sed ex illorum ... semper existunt, qui vias obsideant ... prædentur, &c.* l. v. c. 9. p. 483, 484.

[a] *Justos autem, id est, ... Deus D i, metuunt: cujus nomine ad... de corporibus excedunt: quorum ver... tamquam flagris verberati non modo ... se esse continentur, sed etiam no... ... edunt, illa quæ in templis adoran... —— Itaque maximis sæpe ululatibus ... verberari se, & ardere, & jam jam... clamare, proclamant.* Inst. l. ii. c. 15. ... Vid. & l. iv. c. 27. p. 429. 440, ... & l. v. c. 21. in. & c. 22. sub fin. & ... c. 11.

[b] *Tum quidam mihi... ...tes Dominum, cum obsisterent ... inposuerant frontibus suis im... ...ale signum. Quo facto, fugatis de... ...ius, sacra turbata sunt. Trepidabant ... ...os, nec solutas in cutis notas videbant, ... si non sustulissent, sæpius immolabant,* ... D. M. P. c. 10. in.

[c] *Satis & ... ...ta sumus tum testimoniis divina... ...literarum, tum etiam probabilibus ar... ...entis,* l. vii. c. 1.

[d] *Virtus quoque soli homini data magno argumento est, immortales esse animas: quæ non erit secundum naturam, si anima ... fingitur. Hunc enim præsens vita non ...,* &c. l. vii. c. 9. p. 637.

[e] *Si enim virtus malum non est, facitque homines, quo voluptates vitiosas turpesque contemnat, & fortiter, quod nec dolorem, nec mortem timet, ut officium servet, ergo majus aliquod bonum assequatur necesse est, quam sunt illa, quæ spernit. At vero morte suscepta, quod ulterius bonum sperari potest, nisi æternitas?* l. vii. c. 9. in fin.

Virtus autem nunquam, nisi morte, finitur: quoniam & in morte servanda summum ejus officium est. Ergo præmium virtutis post mortem est, l. vii. c. 10. p. 639.

Quod si virtus, quæ bona omnia terrena contemnit, mala universa suprema pertert, ipsamque mortem pro officio suscipit, sine præmio esse non potest; quid superest, nisi ut merces ejus immortalitas sola sit? l. vii. c. 35. in.

things than thoſe they have reſigned. But what recompence, excepting immortality, can be given to thoſe, one great part of whoſe virtue conſiſts in dying well?

4.) In this manner Lactantius frequently argues. If [f] there is no future ſtate, he acts moſt diſcreetly who conſults his preſent intereſt. But if there is another life after this, he who ſuffers greatly here may act wiſely, becauſe immortality will be a full recompence.

5.) He obſerves, that [g] in fact it is ſeen, that good men are here deſpiſed and ill treated for virtue itſelf, or for righteouſneſs ſake; therefore they muſt be happy in another ſtate.

6.) There [h] is not any thing, he ſays, ſo reaſonable, fit, and excellent in itſelf as virtue: but yet, if there is no other life, there is nothing more fooliſh and inſignificant. God therefore, for certain, has appointed for it a great reward in another ſtate.

7.) He argues likewiſe, and, as ſeems to me, excellently, that † virtue is in its own nature perpetual, and always progreſſive. It is not reaſonable therefore to ſuppoſe, that this principle, once begun and formed in the mind of man, ſhould be cut off, and be for ever deſtroyed by providence.

8.) He argues ſtrongly, that [i] there can be no religion, if God does not reward and puniſh men according to their actions.

9.) Truly, he [k] ſays, an excellent being ought to be honoured: but to what purpoſe, if he takes no notice of it?

10.) He more than once argues to this purpoſe. Take [l] away the hope of eternal happineſs, and the purſuit of truth;

[f] Si enim poſt mortem nihil ſumus, profecto ſtultiſſimi eſt hominis, non huic vitæ conſulere, ut ſit quam diutina & omnibus bonis plena. Quod qui faciet, a juſtitiæ regula diſcedat neceſſe eſt. —— Si autem ſupereſt homini vita melior & longior, — hanc præſentem cum ſuis bonis contemnere ſapientis eſt, cujus omnis jactura immortalitate penſatur, l. v. c. 18. ſub in.

[g] Deinde qui juſtitiam ſequentes, in hac vita miſeri fuerint & contemti & inopes, & ob ipſam juſtitiam contumeliis & injuriis ſæpe vexati, (quia nec aliter virtus teneri poteſt,) ſemper beati ſunt futuri, l. vii. c. 11. p. 680. [h] Perdetne ſuum præmium virtus? aut potius peribit ipſa? Minime. Sed & mercedem Deo judice accipiet, & vivet, & ſemper vigebit. Quæ ſi tollas, nihil poteſt in vita hominum tam inutile, tam ſtultum videri eſſe, quam virtus: cujus naturalis bonitas & honeſtas decere nos poteſt, animam non eſſe mortalem, divinumque illi a Deo præmium conſtitutum, l. v. c. 18. p. 515. † Virtus autem ſine ulla intermiſſione perpetua eſt, nec diſcedere ab ea poteſt, qui eam ſemel cepit.—Ipſa ergo virtutis perpetuitas indicat, humanum animum, ſi virtutem ceperit, permanere. — Ergo præmium virtuti poſt mortem, l. vii. c. 10. Juſtitia vero & beneficentia tam immortales, quam mens & anima, quæ bonis operibus ſimilitudinem Dei aſſequitur, &c. De Ira Dei. cap. ult. ſub fin.

[i] In eo enim ſumma omnis & cardo religionis pietatiſque verſatur. Neque honor ullus deberi poteſt Deo, ſi nihil præſtat colenti: nec ullus metus, ſi non inſcitur non colenti. De Ira Dei, c. 6. Sive igitur gratia Deo, ſive iram, ſive utrumque detraxeris, religionem tolli neceſſe eſt, &c. ib. c 8. p. 780. [k] Si enim Deus nihil cuiquam boni tribuit: ſi colentis obſequio nullam gratiam refert: quid tam vanum, tam ſtultum, quam templa ædificare? —— At enim naturam excellentem honorari oportet. Quis honos deberi poteſt nihil emanti & ingrato? De Ir. Dei. c. 8. Vid & cap. 5. & not. 1. [l] Nam quid

and

and zeal for religion and virtue, are without ſupport and encouragement.

11.) It is, he thinks, agreeable [m] to the divine beneficence, and other perfections, to reward virtue.

12.) Again: The [n] ſum, ſays he, of all we have ſaid, is this: the world was therefore made, that we might be born. We therefore are born, that we might ſerve God our creator, and the creator of the whole world. We therefore know him, that we might worſhip him. We therefore worſhip him, that we may obtain immortality, as a recompence for all the labours and fatigues of religion and virtue in this world. And we therefore obtain the reward of immortality, that being made like unto the angels, we may for ever ſerve the God and Father of all. And if there are no rewards and puniſhments hereafter, man and the whole world would have been made in vain.

13.) Finally, 'Immortality,' he [o] ſays, 'is the chief good. 'For obtaining this we were originally made. This human 'nature deſires, and reaches after. And virtue advanceth us 'to it.'

13. Lactantius [p] did not deny the eternity of hell-torments.

14. He often aſſerts the great value of repentance.

1.) He maintains, that [q] whenever ſinners repent, they are pardoned.

prod ſt, aut falſis religionibus liberari, aut rectigere veram? quid, aut vanitatem falſæ ſapientiæ pervidere, aut quæ ſit vera cognoſcere? quid, inquam, prodeſt cœleſtem illam juſtitiam defendere? quid, cum magnis difficultatibus cultum Dei tenere, quæ eſt ſumma virtus, niſi eum divinum præmium beatitudinis perpetuæ ſubſequatur? l. vii. c. 1. in. [m] Item plurimi quibus perſuaſum eſt Deo placere juſtitiam, ——eum venerantur——Ergo eſt, propter quæ Deus & debeat gratificari. Nam ſi non eſt, tam conveniens Deo, quam benefacere: nihil autem tam alienum, quam ut ingratus, neceſſe eſt, ut officiis optimorum ſit inque viventium præſtet aliquid, & vicem reddat, ne ſubeat ingrati culpam, quæ non etiam homini crimioſa. De Ira Dei, c. 10. p. 805. [n] Nunc totam orationem brevi circumſcriptione ſignemus. Ideo mundus factus eſt, ut naſcamur. Ideo naſcimur, ut agnoſcamus factorem mundi ac noſtri. Ideo agnoſcimus, ut colamus. Ideo colimus, ut immortalitatem pro laborum mercede capiamus, quoniam omnis labor cultus Dei conſtat. Ideo præmio immortalitatis afficimur, ut ſimiles angelis effecti ſummo patri ac domino in perpetuum ſerviamus, & ſimus æternum Dei regnum. —— Si nihil poſt mortem ſumus, quid poteſt eſſe tam ſupervacuum, tam inane, tam vanum, quam humana res eſt, quam mundus ipſe? l. vii. c. 6. in.

[o] Unum eſt igitur ſummum bonum immortalitas: ad quam capiendam & formati a principio & nati ſumus. Et hanc ad tendimus: hanc ſpectat humana natura: ad hanc nos provehit virtus, l. vii. c. 8. in.

[p] —— Si autem corpus vicerit animam, —— ſit in tenebris ſempiternis & in morte. Cujus non ea vis eſt, ut injuſtas animas extinguat omnino, ſed ut puniat in æternum. Eam pœnam ſecundam mortem nominamus, quæ eſt & ipſa perpetua, ſicut & immortalitas. Primam ſic definimus: —— Mors eſt corporis animæque ſeductio. Secunda vero ſic: Mors eſt æterni doloris perpeſſio. Vel ita: Mors eſt animarum pro meritis ad æterna ſupplicia damnatio, l. ii. c. 12. p. 206, 207. Vid. & l. vii. c. 10. p. 670.

[q] —— Nec patitur conditio fragilitatis, eſſe quemquam ſine macula. Ultimum ergo remedium illud eſt, ut confugiamus ad pœnitentiam: quæ non minimum locum inter virtutes habet, quia ſui correctio eſt: ut cum re aut verbo lapſi fuerimus, ſtatim re-

2.) Sincere

2.) Sincere [r] piety, repentance, humility, and confeſſion of ſins, he ſays, are propitiatory ſacrifices, with which God is well pleaſed. Such worſhippers God receives as his children, and will beſtow upon them eternal life.

3.) He thinks it altogether ſtrange, that [s] God ſhould be diſpoſed to puniſh, and not to pardon and reward.

4.) Inferior judges, he [t] ſays, may not be always able to pardon, when they are inclined to it. But it is the prerogative of the ſupreme Judge, to pardon, whenever he ſees cauſe.

5.) If we, as he farther argues, are [u] reconciled to our rebellious children, with whom we had been greatly offended, upon their amendment; why ſhould we make any doubt, whether God our Father may be appeaſed by repentance?

6.) The [x] divine diſpleaſure againſt men, he thinks, ceaſes immediately upon their repentance and amendment.

7.) This [y] doctrine, he ſays, is taught by the holy and inſpired prophets of God, though he forbears to allege them particularly. However, in another place, arguing upon this ſubject, he manifeſtly refers to Ezek. xxxiii. 12—16, and ſays, that [z] repentance intirely obliterates the iniquity, or guilt, of him who had ſinned.

3.) All which arguments and reaſonings of Lactantius ſeem to be founded upon the ſuppoſition, that, as he ſays, true [a]

ſipiſcamus, ac nos deliquiſſe fateamur, oremuſque a Deo veniam, quam pro ſua miſericordia non negabit niſi permanentibus in errore, &c. Epit. cap. 67. in.

[r] Humilitas enim cara & amabilis Deo eſt, qui cum magis ſuſcipiat peccatorem confitentem, quam juſtum ſuperbum, quanto magis juſtum ſuſcipiet confitentem, eumque in regnis cœleſtibus faciet pro humilitate ſublimem. Hæc ſunt, quæ debet cultor Dei exhibere: hæ ſunt victimæ, hoc ſacrificium placabile, hic verus eſt cultus ——Summa illa majeſtas hoc cultore lætatur: hunc ut filium ſuſcipit, eique donum immortalitatis impertit. Ibid.

[s] Primum illud nemo de Deo dixit unquam, iraſci eum tantummodo, et gratia non moveri. De Ira Dei, c. 3. Vid. & c. 2. ſub. fin. & Inſt. l. 2. c. 17.

[t] Judex peccati veniam dare non poteſt, quia voluntati ſervit alienæ: Deus autem poteſt, quia eſt legis ſuæ ipſe dilceptator & judex: quam cum poneret, non utique ademit ſibi omnem poteſtatem, ſed habet ignoſcendi licentiam. De Ira Dei, c. 19. ad fin. [u] Licet plane. Nam ſi liberos noſtros, cum delictorum ſuorum cernimus pœnitere, correctos eſſe arbitramur, & abdicatos rejectoſque rurſus tamen ſuſcipimus, fovemus, amplectimur; cur deſperem, clementiam Dei patris pœnitendo poſſe placari? Inſt. l. vi. cap. 24. ſub in.

[x] —— Nam ſi prorſus immortalis fuiſſet ira ejus, non eſſet ſatisfactionis aut gratiæ poſt delictum locus ——Deus itaque non thure, non hoſtia, non pretioſis muneribus, ——ſed morum emendatione placatur: &, qui peccare deſinit, iram Dei mortalem facit. De Ira Dei, c. 21. in fin.

[y] Prophetæ univerſi, divino ſpiritu pleni, nihil aliud, quam de gratia Dei erga juſtos, & de ira ejus adverſus impios loquuntur. Ib. c. 22. [z] Sicut enim nihil prodeſt male viventi ante actæ vitæ probitas,—— ita nihil officiunt peccata vetera correcto, quia ſuperveniens juſtitia labem vitæ priori abolevit. l. vi. c. 24. p. 631. [a] Nihil enim ſancta & ſingularis illa majeſtas aliud ab homine deſiderat, quam ſolam innocentiam: quam ſi quis obtulerit Deo, ſatis religioſe litavit. l. vi. c. 1. p. 539.

Sit humilis, miſericors, beneficus, mitis, humanus——Ille homo ſanus, ille juſtus, ille perfectus eſt.——Hic cultor eſt veri Dei. Ib. c. 24. p. 636.

Nulla igitur alia religio eſt vera, niſi

virtue

virtue alone recommends men to the divine acceptance: and that God desires nothing of men, but sincere virtue, or true holiness. Indeed, our author was [b] a great admirer of virtue, and has [c] most earnestly recommended the practice of it to Christians.

15. I think, we should not omit to take some notice of what Lactantius says of the ends and views of Christ's coming, and particularly of his death.

1.) God sent his Son, he says, to [d] call the Gentiles: however, without excluding the Jews. For he was first sent to them; and they rejecting him, he brought in the Gentiles to the privileges of the church of God. Again, Christ [e] was sent to teach all nations under heaven the knowledge and worship of the one only true God: to [f] convert men from vain and impious superstitions, to the knowledge and worship of the true God, and also from folly to wisdom, from sin to holiness.

2.) Righteousness [g] being in a manner lost in the earth, God sent this great messenger to instruct mortal men in the rules of righteousness: that he might be as a living law, to raise up a new name and temple, and spread true religion all over the world by his doctrine and example.

3.) Christ [h] came to be a teacher and a pattern of virtue; to teach righteousness and patience, not only by words, but also by deeds.

quæ virtute ac justitia constat. Ib. c. 25. p. 630.

Quod si Deo patri ac domino hac assiduitate, hoc obsequio, hac devotione servierit, consummata & perfecta justitia est: quam qui tenuerit, hic, ut ante testati sumus, Deo paruit, hic religioni atque suo officio satisfecit. Ib. c. 25. in fin. [b] Nec enim potest aliquid in rebus terrenis esse venerabile, cœloque dignum: sed sola est virtus, sola justitia, quæ potest verum bonum, & cœleste, & perpetuum judicari, quia nec datur cuiquam, nec aufertur. l. iv. c. 16. p. 401.

Ut appareat, solam esse justitiam, quæ vitam homini pariat æternam; & solum Deum, qui æternæ vitæ præmium largiatur. l. vii. c. 14. p. 692. [c] Nos tantummodo laboremus, ut ab hominibus nihil in nobis, nisi sola justitia puniatur. Demus operam totis viribus, ut mereamur a Deo [illegible] & ultionem passionis & præmium. l. [illegible] c. 23. fin. Vid. & de Ira Dei, cap. ult. prop. fin. [d] Nec adjecit ulterius prophetas mittere ad populum contumacem, sed filium suum misit, ut gentes universas ad gratiam Dei convocaret. Nec illos tamen ab spe salutis exclusit. Epit. c. 43. Sed illum filium suum primogenitum delabi jussit e cœlis, ut religionem sanctam Dei transferret ad gentes, doceretque justitiam. Inst. l. iv. c. 11. p. 380. [e] Idcirco enim missus est a Deo patre, ut universis gentibus, quæ sub cœlo sunt, singularis & veri Dei sanctum mysterium revelaret. l. iv. c. 12. p. 385. [f] Filium suum legavit ad homines, ut eos converteret ab impiis & vanis cultibus ad cognoscendum & colendum verum Deum: item, ut eorum mentes a stultitia ad sapientiam, ab iniquitate ad justitiæ jura traduceret. l. iv. c. 14. p. 395. [g] Nam cum justitia nulla esset in terra, doctorem misit, quasi vivam legem, ut nomen ac templum novum conderet, ut verum ac pium cultum per omnem terram verbis & exemplo seminaret. l. iv. c. 25. sub in. [h] Summus igitur Deus, ac parens omnium, cum religionem transferre voluisset, doctorem justitiæ misit e cœlo, ut novis cultoribus novam legem in eo, vel per eum daret. Inst. l. iv. c. 12. in.

Jussit igitur eum summus pater descendere in terram, & humanum corpus induere; ut subjectus passionibus carnis, virtu-

4.) Chriſt died and roſe again, to [i] aſſiſt men in overcoming death, and give them alſo hopes of riſing again, and obtaining the reward of immortality.

5.) When [k] God determined to ſave man, he ſent his Son, as a maſter of virtue, to teach the doctrine of righteouſneſs, and to be an example of it, that men following him might obtain eternal life. He was alſo to deliver men from an exceſſive fear of death, and enable them to endure it with courage and patience. Chriſt lived in a mean condition, and underwent the ignominious death of the croſs, that he might be a complete example of virtue, and of patience under ſufferings: and that he might more eſpecially lead and encourage ſuch as are poor and mean in this [l] world.

6.) In a word, Chriſt came, and was made like unto man, lived, and died, and roſe again, that he might clearly teach the precepts of virtue, and afford [m] the beſt motives to the practice of it, and effectually help frail man [n] to conquer the

tem ac patientiam non ſolum verbis, ſed etiam factis doceret. Epit. c. 43.

Exemplis igitur opus eſt, ut ea, quæ præcipiuntur habeant firmitatem —— Chriſtus itaque, cum doctor virtutis ad homines mitteretur, utique ut doctrina ejus perfecta eſſet, & docere & facere debuerat, ib. c. 50.

Ergo, (ut cœperam dicere,) cum ſtatuiſſet Deus doctorem virtutis mittere ad homines, renaſci eum denuo in carne præcepit, & ipſi homini ſimilem fieri, cui dux, & comes, & magiſter eſſet futurus. Inſt. l. iv. c. 11. p. 382. Vid. ib. cap. 24.

[i] —— ut eſſet neceſſe, approprinquante ſæculi termino, Dei filium deſcendere in terram: —— veruntamen non in virtute angeli, —— ſed in figura hominis, & conditione mortali, ut cum magiſterio functus fuiſſet, traderetur in manus impiorum, mortemque ſuſciperet, ut ea quoque per virtutem domita reſurgeret, & homini, quem induerat, —— & ſpem vincendæ mortis afferret, & ad præmia immortalitatis admitteret, l. iv. c. 10. ſub in. [k] Deus namque, ſicut ſuperius expoſui, cum ſtatuiſſet hominem liberare, magiſtrum virtutis legavit in terram: qui & præceptis ſalutaribus formaret homines ad innocentiam, & operibus factiſque præſentibus juſtitiæ viam [f. viam] panderet, qua gradiens homo & doctorem ſuum ſequens ad vitam æternam perveniret. Is igitur corporatus eſt, & veſte carnis indutus, ut homini, ad quem docendum venerat, virtutis & exempla & incitamenta præberet. Sed cum in omnibus vitæ officiis juſtitiæ ſpecimen præbuiſſet, ut doloris quoque patientiam, mortiſque contemtum, quibus perfecta & conſummata ſit virtus, traderet homini, venit in manus impiæ nationis——ſuſtinuit ergo cruciatus, & verbera; & ſpinas. Poſtremo etiam mortem ſuſcipere non recuſavit, ut homo illo duce catenatam mortem cum ſuis terroribus triumpharet——cur potiſſimum cruce? cur infami genere ſupplicii, quod etiam homine libero, quamvis nocente, videatur idignun? Primum, quod is, qui humilis advenerat, ut humilibus & infimis opem ferret, & omnibus ſpem ſalutis oſtenderet, eo genere afficiendus fuit, quo humiles & infimi ſolent: ne quis eſſet omnino, qui eum non poſſet imitari. l. iv. c. 26. p. 435, 436.

[l] Nam cum ad hoc miſſus eſſet, ut humillimis quibuſque viam panderet ad ſalutem, ſe ipſe humilem fecit, ut eos liberaret. Suſcepit ergo id genus mortis, quod ſolet humilibus irrogari, ut omnibus facultas daretur imitandi. Epit. cap. 51.

[m] Ut homini virtutis & exempla & incitamenta præberet. Vid. not. [k].

[n] Ideo carne ſe induit, ut deſideriis carnis edomitis doceret, non neceſſitatis eſſe peccare, ſed propoſiti ac voluntatis. Una enim nobis & magna & præcipua cum carne luctatio eſt, cujus infinitæ cupiditates premunt animam——quibus [illecebris] ut repugnare poſſemus, Deus nobis viam ſuperandæ carnis & aperuit & oſtendit. Quæ virtus perfecta & omnibus numeris abſoluta coronam vincentibus, & mercedem nobis immortalitatis impertit. l. iv. cap. 25. in fin.

deſires

deſires of the fleſh, and the fears of preſent evil, and to overcome all the temptations of this life, and thus obtain a happy immortality.

So Lactantius.

16. As Chriſt came to ſpread true religion all over the world, ſo Lactantius does [o] often bear teſtimony to the great progreſs which the Chriſtian doctrine had then made.

And he particularly ſays, that [p] there had been, and then were many Jews, who believed in Jeſus.

17. He has very agreeably repreſented [q] the fortitude and conſtancy of Chriſtian people, not only of men, but of women and children likewiſe, under the greateſt ſufferings for their religion.

18. Lactantius has ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the right of [r] private judgment for every man in things of religion. And he openly calls upon all men to exert their intellectual powers in the ſearch of truth, and to uſe their own reaſon about a matter of ſo great importance as religion, without relying upon the wiſdom and underſtanding of other men, as if they had no reaſon of their own.

Mr. Moſheim [s] has quoted that paſſage of our author with approbation, and thereby, as well as on many other accounts,

[o] Denique nulla gens tam inhumana eſt, nulla regio tam remota, cui aut paſſio ejus [illegible] ſublimitas majeſtatis ignota ſit, l. iv. c. [illegible] p. 437.

——cum omnes gentes & omnes linguæ [illegible]men ejus venerantur, majeſtatem confi[illegible]ur, doctrinam ſequuntur, virtutem imi[illegible]ur, l. iv. c. 19. ſub fin.

Cum vero ab ortu ſolis uſque ad occaſum [illegible] divina ſuſcepta ſit, & omnis ſexus, om[illegible]tas, & gens, & regio unis ac paribus animis Deo ſerviant, l. v. c. 13. p. 494.

Decet eos ſuſcipere defenſionem deorum ſuorum, ne, ſi noſtra invaluerint, (ut quotidie invaleſcunt) cum delubris ac ludibriis ſuis deſerantur, l. v. c. 19. p. 518. Et paſſim.

[p] Sed tamen——ad eos ipſos cum miſit, —ut—& daret illis liberam facultatem ſequendi Deum,—quod plurimi eorum faciunt atque fecerunt, l. iv. c. 11. ſub fin.

[q] Latrones & robuſti corporis viri ejuſmodi tormenta perferre nequeunt: exclamant, & gemitus edunt. Vincuntur enim dolore, quia deeſt illis inſpirata patientia. Nobis autem, ut de viris taceam, pueri & [illegible] teneræ tormenta ſuos tacitu vincunt, & [illegible]rmore illis gemitum nec ignis poteſt. [illegible] Romam, & Mutio gloriantur aut Re[illegible]:—Ecce ſexus infirmus, & fragilis ætas, dilacerari ſe toto corpore, utique perpetitur, non neceſſitate, quia licet vitare, ſi vellent: ſed voluntate, quia confidunt Deo. Hæc eſt vera virtus. l. v. c. 13. p. 495, 496.

[r] Quare oportet in ea re maxime, in qua vitæ ratio verſatur, ſibi quemque confidere, ſuoque judicio, ac propriis ſenſibus niti ad inveſtigandam, & perpendendam veritatem, quam credentem alienis erroribus, decipi, tanquam ipſum rationis expertem. Dedit omnibus Deus pro virili portione ſapientiam, ut & inaudita inveſtigare poſſent, & audita perpendere. Nec quia nos illi tempore anteceſſerunt, ſapientia quoque anteceſſerunt: quæ ſi omnibus æqualiter datur, occupari ab antecedentibus non poteſt. Illibabilis eſt, tanquam lux & claritas ſolis: quia, ut ſol oculorum, ſic ſapientia lumen eſt cordis humani. Quare cum ſapere, id eſt, veritatem quærere, omnibus ſit innatum, ſapientium ſibi adimunt, qui ſine uſſo judicio inventa majorum probant, & ab aliis pecudum more ducuntur. Sed hoc eos fallit, quod majorum nomine poſito, non putant fieri poſſe, aut ut ipſi plus ſapiant, quia minores vocantur: aut illi deſipuerint, quia majores nominantur. Inſt. l. iii. c. 7. init. [s] Abjiciendæ igitur triplex hæc ſervitus, menſque prodeat in libertatem vin-

entitled himſelf to the reſpect and eſteem of all lovers of liberty and good ſenſe. This is very different from the ſentiment of another celebrated modern, who [t] forbids men the uſe of their reaſon in things of religion, and requires them to acquieſce in the church, and take her interpretations of ſcripture as divine: and cenſures Euſebius of Cæſarea in particular, for explaining ſcripture according to the beſt of his own judgment. Such is the precious liberty of a certain church! ſuch her goodneſs, to rob us of our underſtandings, or at leaſt to deny us the uſe of them! For if Euſebius, a biſhop within three hundred years after our Lord's aſcenſion, may not judge for himſelf, how vain muſt be all our pretenſions to ſuch a privilege! But why cannot we underſtand the ſcriptures as readily as the deciſions of the church? And how came ſhe to engroſs reaſon to herſelf, which, as Lactantius ſays, is given to every man for his direction and aſſiſtance, and is no more to be monopolized than the light of the ſun? However, for certain, we have ſeen, that this doctrine of the church was unknown to Euſebius and Lactantius, the moſt learned men of their times, one among the Greeks, the other among the Latins.

19. Lactantius argues excellently againſt perſecution.

1.) He eſteems it the greateſt abſurdity that can be conceived, for [u] any to impoſe on others a worſhip contrary to their conſcience, or to deny men the liberty to chooſe their own religion.

2.) It is not, he ſays, zeal [x] for religion, but a love of power, that makes men perſecutors. For religion is the freeſt thing in the world; nor can it be promoted by force and vio-

dicandia. Ceſſet (1.) Hominum Studium, quos, licet ſanctos, eximioſque, homines tamen fuiſſe recordemur erroribus obnoxios. Pulchre & prorſus ad hanc rem accommodate Lactantius Divinarum Inſtitutionum, l. iv. c. 7. Dedit omnibus Deus. &c. Jo. Laurent. Moſh. Inſtitut. Hiſt. Chriſt. Majores in Præpar. v. 20. p. 23. Helmſtad. 1739. [t] Cum quis eo devenit, ut fidei dogmata ex ſui judicii arbitrio definiat, —nihil mirum, ſi frequenter aberret: omnia quippe ſunt incerta, cum ſemel ab eccleſiæ ſtatutis diſceſſum eſt. Nam cum arcana deitatis & religionis, ab humano ſenſu remotiſſima, numen ipſum tradiderit, nonniſi ejuſdem numinis ope & afflatu ea poſſint explicari ac recte percipi. Ac cum uni eccleſiæ earundem rerum arbitrium Deus permiſerit, ipſi ſoli eadem explananti ſe ad futurum pollicitus eſſet. Nihil itaque inſolens eſt, ſi Euſebius, qui plerumque ſcripturam & eccleſiæ dogmata ex ſenſu & opinione ſua æſtimare auſus eſt, in multis lapſus ſit. Montfauc. Prælim. in Euſeb. Comm. in Pſalm. cap. 7. p. 29. [u] Quis enim tam inſolens, tam elatus eſt, qui me vetet oculos in cœlum tollere? Quis imponat mihi neceſſitatem vel colendi quod nolim, vel quod velim non colendi? Quid jam nobis ulterius relinquetur, ſi etiam hoc, quod voluntate fieri oportet, libido extorquet aliena? Inſt. l. v. c. 13. p. 496. f.

[x] Sed quis audiet? cum homines furioſi & impotentes minui dominationem ſuam putent, ſi ſit aliquid in rebus humanis liberum. Atqui religio ſola eſt, in qua libertas domicilium collocavit. Res eſt enim præter cæteras voluntaria. Nec imponi cuiquam neceſſitas poteſt, ut colat quod non vult. Poteſt aliquis forſan ſimulare, non poteſt velle. Epit. cap. 54. Vid. ib. c. 55.

lence.

lence. Compulsion may make men hypocrites, but it cannot make them religious.

Tertullian had before spoken in the like [y] manner.

3.) Such is the nature of religion, that [z] it can be upheld by reason and persuasion only, not by power and authority. If you introduce force and violence, religion is destroyed; for without the free consent of the mind there can be no religion. By [a] attempting to secure religion by force, you make what should be a school of virtue, a butchery, or place of execution. Truth and compulsion, religion and cruelty, are incompatible, and can have no fellowship with each other. The [b] heathens therefore, he argues, as they were mistaken in religion itself, so likewise in the manner of defending it.

4.) It is, he says, a [c] sign of a bad cause, to defend it by violence. If it were good in itself, reason and mildness would be the best means to secure it.

5.) If the [d] gods are able, let them defend themselves. Methods of cruelty are unreasonable in all respects: they [e] cannot be acceptable to the Deity, if he has any excellence. If [f] such methods are approved by the gods, that alone is a sufficient reason, why they should not be worshipped. And [g] they must

[y] Nemo se ab invito coli volet, ne homo quidem. Apol. c. 24. Sed nec religionis est cogere religionem, quæ sponte suscipi debeat, non vi. Ad Scap. cap. 2.

[z] Non est opus vi & [illegible], quia religio cogi non potest. Verbis potius, quam verberibus, res agenda est, ut sit voluntas. Inst. l. v. c. 19. p. 518. &c.

[a] Longe diversa sunt carnificina & pietas. Nec potest aut veritas cum vi, aut justitia cum crudelitate conjungi. l. v. c. 18. p. 5[illegible]

[b] Sed ut in ipsa religione, sic in defensionis genere fallantur. Defendenda enim religio est, non occidendo, sed moriendo, non sævitia, sed patientia: non scelere, sed fide: Nam si sanguine, si tormento, [illegible] religionem defendere velis, [illegible] defenderetur illa, sed polluetur, [illegible] violabitur. Nihil est enim tam voluntarium, quam religio: in qua si animus [illegible] aversus est, jam sublata, jam [illegible] est. l. v. cap. 20. p. 520.

[c] Defendenda enim religio est, non occidendo, sed moriendo——non sævitia sed patientia. Illa enim malorum sunt, hæc bonorum. Et necesse est bonum in religione versari, non malum. Inst. l. v. c. 19. p. [illegible]. Ex quo intelligi datur, quam non [illegible] deos colere: quoniam bono potius adducendi homines ad bonum fuerant, non malo: sed quia illud malum est, etiam officium ejus bono caret. Ib. cap. 20. p. 525. Vid. & Epit. cap. 53.

[d] Sed hæc se facere dicunt, ut deos suos defendant. Primum, si dii sunt, & habent aliquid potestatis, & numinis, defensione hominis patrocinioque non indigent, sed seipsos utique defendunt. Epit. c. 53. in.

[e] Vellem scire, cum invitos adigunt ad sacrificium, quid secum habeant rationis, aut cui præstent, quod faciunt. Si diis: non est ille cultus, nec acceptabile sacrificium, quod sit ingratis. Ep. c. 53.

[f] Libet igitur, ex his quærere, cui potissimum præstare se putent, cogendo invitos ad sacrificium, Ipsisne quos cogunt? ——Cur ergo tam crudeliter vexant, cruciant, debilitant, si salvos volunt.——An vero diis præstant? At non est sacrificium quod exprimitur invito.——Si dii sunt isti, qui sic coluntur, vel propter hoc solum colendi non sunt, quod sic coli volunt: digni scilicet detestatione hominum, quibus lachrymis, cum gemitu, cum sanguine de membris omnibus fluente libatur. Inst. l. v. cap. 20. p. 524.

[g] Si autem ipsi, quos cogunt: cur malo invitas? —— Quæ stultitia est consulere velle nolenti? Cur pro beneficio imputes, quod mihi maleficium est.——Non est, [bonum,]

be diſagreeable and offenſive to thoſe, on whom they are practiſed with pretence of good-will. For how can I eſteem it a kindneſs, to be forced out of an opinion, which I took upon reaſon and choice?

6.) Lactantius likewiſe maintains, that [h] it is no juſt reaſon, why men ſhould be perſecuted, becauſe they deſert or oppoſe ancient and eſtabliſhed religions. For there can be no preſcription againſt truth; and every man has an unalienable right to ſearch after truth, and to profeſs it, when he has acquired the knowledge of it.

7.) He vindicates Chriſtians againſt the charge of obſtinacy, as by other conſiderations, ſo [i] likewiſe by retorting upon their heathen adverſaries and perſecutors a charge of credulity and ignorance, cruelty and inhumanity.

8.) Though I have already tranſcribed from this author ſo much relating to this point, I know not how to forbear referring in the margin to a fine paſſage of his, concerning the univerſal equality of [k] mankind.

9.) He imputes the heathen perſecutions not only to a love of power, as before ſeen, but likewiſe to the [l] apprehenſions for the downfal of their own religion, occaſioned by the vaſt and continual increaſe and progreſs of Chriſtianity.

10.) But whatever they deſigned, Lactantius affirms, that [m] the Chriſtians never were diminiſhed by perſecution; and that [n] the perſecutions they endured, did many ways contribute

quod velis errori meo ſuccurrere, quem judicio ac voluntate ſuſcepi. Epit. cap. 53. ſub fin. Et vid. ſu 1. not. f, init.

h Sed, recte ac merito puniri eos, aiunt, qui publicas religiones a majoribus traditas execrantur. Quid ſi majores illi ſtulti fuerunt in ſuſcipiendis religionibus vanis,—— Præſcribetur nobis, quo minus vera & meliora ſectemur? Cur nobis auferimus libertatem, & quaſi addicti alienis ſervimus erroribus? Liceat ſapere, liceat inquirere veritatem. Epit cap. 55. init. At enim puniendi ſunt, qui deſirnunt religiones, &c. Inſt. l. v. c. 20 p. 525. i Sed inhærentes perſuaſioni vulgari, libenter errant, & ſtultitiæ ſuæ favent. A quibus ſi perſuaſionis ejus rationem requiras, nullam poſſunt reddere, ſed ad majorum judicia confugiant, quod illi ſapientes fuerint, illi probaverint, illi ſcierint, quid eſſet optimum.——O mira & cæca dementia! In iis putatur mala mens eſſe, qui fidem ſervare conantur, in carnificibus autem bona. In iiſne mala mens eſt, qui contra fas omne laceranter? an potius in iis, qui ea faciunt in corporibus innocentum, quæ nec ſæviſſimi latrones, nec inaniſſimi hoſtes, nec immaniſſimi barbari aliquando fecerunt. Inſt. l. v. c. 19. p. 517. k Æquitatem dico,——ſe cum cæteris coæquandi, quam Cicero æquabilitatem vocat. Deus enim, qui homines generat & inſpirat, omnes æquos, id eſt, pares, eſſe voluit: eandem conditionem vivendi omnibus poſuit: omnes ad ſapientiam genuit: omnibus immortalitatem ſpopondit. —— Nemo apud Deum ſervus eſt, nemo dominus, l. v. c. 14. p. 501. l Cur enim tam crudeliter ſæviant, niſi quia metuunt, ne in dies invaleſcente juſtitia, cum diis ſuis araneoſis [al. carioſis. Vid. Heum. in loc.] relinquantur? Inſt. l. v. c. 12. ſub fin.

m Cum autem noſter numerus ſemper deorum cultoribus augeatur, nunquam vero ne in ipſa quidem perſecutione minuatur. —ib. c. 13. init. Et quoniam vi nihil poſſunt, (augetur enim religio Dei, quanto magis premitur:) ratione potius & hortamentis agant, l. v. c. 19. p. 518.

n Nec cum videat vulgus, dilacerari ho-

to their increaſe. Many there were, who could not but diſlike that religion, which inſpired cruelty: ſome began to ſuſpect, that there muſt be ſomewhat wrong in thoſe ſacrifices, to which men could not be compelled. And they were induced to inquire into thoſe principles, for which great numbers of perſons of all nations, of each ſex, of every age and condition, chearfully underwent ſuch grievous ſufferings.

11.) Thus has Lactantius ſhewn, that compulſion is not acceptable, nor honourable to the Deity: that it is not a real kindneſs to thoſe on whom it is exerciſed: that it is a ſign of a bad cauſe, and contrary to the nature of religion, which is above all things free, and muſt be a man's own choice: and that it is impoſſible, that true religion ſhould be ſerved and advanced by force and violence. He likewiſe maintains, that antiquity and human authority can never amount to preſcription againſt truth and freedom of inquiry.

12.) Indeed Lactantius has in his remaining works, particularly his Inſtitutions and their Epitome, fully confuted every pretence for perſecution. And if his book Of Perſecution, mentioned by Jerom, were ſtill in being, I perſuade myſelf, we ſhould have had ſome more fine thoughts upon this ſubject, which we now want.

20. Our author does likewiſe diſclaim all perſecution in the name of all Chriſtians in general, as unworthy of the goodneſs of their cauſe.

1.) We [o] do not deſire, that men ſhould worſhip our God, unleſs they are willing, though he be the Creator of the whole world. We teach, ſays [p] he, we argue, we demonſtrate; but we do not allure by worldly conſiderations: yet none leave us, being retained by the bands of truth and love. It [q] is not by

ratos variis tormentorum generibus, & inter fatigatos carnifices invictam tenere patientiam, exiſtimant, id quod res eſt, nec ullis finibus tam multorum, nec perſeverantiæ tam innocentium vanum eſſe. — l. v. c. 13. p. 470. Et alia cauſa eſt, cur adverſum nos perſecutiones fieri ſinat: ut populus Dei exploretur. Nec eſt difficile monſtrare, cur, & quomodo id fiat. Primum, fugantur deorum cultibus plurimi, odio crudelitatis. Qui enim talia ſacrificia non horrent? Deinde placet quibuſdam virtus ac fides ipſa. Nonnulli ſuſpicantur, deorum [illegible] non ſine cauſa malum putari a tam [illegible] hominibus, ut omori malint, quam [illegible], quod alii fugiunt, ut vivant. Alii [illegible] ſciunt fore, quidnam ſit illud bonum, quod ad mortem uſque defenditur; quod omnibus, quæ in hac vita jucunda ſunt, & cara, præfertur.—Hæ tot cauſæ in unum collatæ magnam Deo multitudinem acquirunt. l. v. c. 22. ad fin.

[o] At nos contra, non experimur, ut Deum noſtrum, qui eſt omnium creator, velit, nolit, colat aliquis invitus: nec ſi non coluerit, iraſcimur. l. v. c. 20. p. 523.

[p] Imitentur nos, ut rationem rei totius exponant. Non enim allicimus, ut ipſi objectant, ſed docemus, probamus, oſtendimus. Itaque nemo a nobis retinetur invitus. Inutilis eſt enim Deo, qui devotione ac fide caret. Et tamen nemo diſcedit, ipſa veritate retinente. l. v. cap. 19. p. 519.

[q] Quæ omnia aſſeverationibus propriis, (nec

human authority, that things are decided among us, but by the word of God alone.

2.) This is glorious, when it can be truly said of the professors of any religion: and it ought by all means to be truly said of the professors of the true religion. It is likely, it may be said of those, who hold religion in its perfection and purity: for it may be argued, that wherever there is persecution, there some things are maintained, which are contrary to reason, and are no parts of true religion. Where therefore persecution is at a great height, there, very probably, religion is in a low estate.

IV. I must take some particular notice of errors ascribed to Lactantius. They are very [r] numerous. Gallæus has placed a large catalogue of them at the end of his edition.

1. Some have charged Lactantius with Manichæism. Several passages in his works are suspected of this error: some learned men are of opinion, that those passages are not genuine. For which reason, in late editions, they are generally placed at the bottom of the pages among the notes. In the edition of Gryphius, before-mentioned, those passages stand in the text; but they are marked with a small star before and after them. The learned Dr. Heumann in his notes upon one of those passages, declares himself in favour of their [s] genuineness. And I readily acquiesce in his judgment upon them: but I do not discern Manichæism in those passages, nor in any other part of Lactantius

Dr. Heumann, the last editor of Lactantius, has renewed the charge of Manichæism against our author, which I wonder at. But the authority of so learned a writer will oblige me to speak to a point, which I once hoped to pass over with little or no notice.

Dr. Heumann says, that [t] Manichæism spread in Africa, the native country of Lactantius, and Augustine was once in that sentiment.

enim valet quicquam mortalis hominis auctoritas;) sed divinis aliquibus testimoniis confirment, sicuti nos facimus. Ib. p. 518.

[r] Tantus vero est eorum numerus, ut vix unquam alius scriptor tam sæpe in paucis libris errasse videatur. Aliqui enim centum & septuaginta illius errata olim numerabant, alii ea postmodum ad quatuor supra nonaginta, alii vero ad minorem numerum redegerunt. Nourr. App. T. 2. p. 623. A.

[s] Additamentum a Cellario hic subjectum in nullo bonorum codicum reperiri scribit Thomasius. Nec in ullis veterum mearum editionum id offendi. Tamen credo, Lactantium ejus esse auctorem. Nec assentior Thomasio, qui profectum esse id putat a Manichæo quopiam. Nam primo nihil in hoc additamento docetur, quod non idem in superioribus docuerit Lactantius. ——Apparet hinc, castrationem, quam vocant, scriptorum ecclesiasticorum non esse rem novam; sed jam olim fuisse, qui quæ deteriora tenebrisque digna ipsis videbantur, inde rescindisse. Heuman. not. ad Inst. l. vii. c. 5. p. 627. Vid. ejusdem not. ad cap. 19. De Opif. Dei, p. 828.

[t] Quo minus jam abhorreo a credendo, militasse Lactantium aliquando in castris

But

But Lactantius is almoſt a hundred years older than Auguſtine. It is likely, that Lactantius left Africa, before Manichæiſm had got any footing there. It cannot be ſhewn, that Manichæiſm was at all known in the Roman empire, till near the end of the third century: and then, it is probable, for ſome good while, had few followers. Lactantius, I apprehend, muſt have formed his ſentiments, both in philoſophy and divinity, before he could poſſibly be acquainted with that doctrine from Perſia, if ever he was at all acquainted with it: which I very much queſtion, for I cannot perceive in all his works any traces of ſuch knowledge.

Moreover Lactantius expreſſeth himſelf differently upon all the peculiarities of that ſect. He aſſerts [u] creation out of [z] nothing, and [y] that God made matter itſelf: which every one knows to be different from the Manichees, who held the eternity of matter. And he ſays, that [z] it is God alone, who is not made, or is eternal. His account likewiſe of [a] the formation of man, particularly, [b] the ſexes, is intirely different from that of the Manichees. He ſcruples not to affirm, that [c] their ſtrong propenſities, and ardent affection for each other, are the conſtitution of divine providence. And he ſays, that [d] God

Manetis ſive Manichæi, fruſtraque conſumſiſſe omnem operam Thomaſium illum Hiſpanum in abſtergenda ei hac labe. Vigebat ſcilicet eo tempore hæc hæreſis in Africa, Lactantii patria, & Auguſtinus quoque ibi aliquid hauſerat ex hac diſciplina. Heum. in Præf. ad Lactant. [u] At ſi concipiat animo, quanta ſit divini hujus operis immenſitas, cum antea nihil eſſet, tamen virtute & conſilio Dei ex nihilo eſſe conſtatam. Inſt. l. i. c. 3. p. 14. Nemo quærat, ex quibus iſta materiis tam magna, tam mirifica opera Deus fecerit. Omnia enim fecit ex nihilo. Nec audiendi ſunt poetæ, qui aiunt chaos in principio fuiſſe. ——Quibus facile eſt reſpondere, poteſtatem Dei non intelligentibus: quem credunt nihil efficere poſſe, niſi ex materia ſubjecente ac parata, in quo errore etiam philoſophi fuerunt.——l. ii. c. 8. p. 179, 180. [z] Lactantius is reckoned by Beauſobre among thoſe early Chriſtian writers, who taught creation out of nothing. See Hist. de Manich. T. 2. p. 165. and 234.

[y] Deus vero facit ſibi ipſe materiam, quia poteſt.——Quid vero mirum, ſi facturus mundum Deus, prius materiam, de qua faceret, præparavit, & præparavit ex eo, quod non erat? l. ii. c. 8. p. 182. Materia vero ſemper fuiſſe non poteſt, quia mutationem caperet, ſi fuiſſet, &c. Ib. p. 184. in. [z] Solus igitur Deus eſt, qui factus non eſt. l. ii. c. 8. p. 184.

[a] Hominem finxit ex ipſa terra, quam illi a principio in habitaculum præparavit, id eſt, ſpiritum ſuum terreno corpore induit & involvit. l. vii. c. 5. p. 663.

[b] Cum ergo matrem ad ſimilitudinem ſuam primum finxiſſet, tum etiam feminam configuravit ad ipſius hominis effigiem: ut duo inter ſe permiſti ſexus propagare ſobolem poſſent, & omnem terram multitudine opplere. l. ii. c. 12. in. Vid. & cap. 10. ib. & de Opif. Dei, cap. 10. [c] Cum excogitaſſet Deus duorum ſexuum rationem, attribuit iis, ut ſe invicem appeterent, & conjunctione gauderent.— Quæ cupiditas & appetentia in homine vehementior & acrior invenitur. l. vi. c. 23. p. 625. Sed divina lex ita duos in matrimonium—— pari jure conjungit.———Nec aliam ob cauſam Deus, cum cæteras animantes ſuſcepto fœtu maribus repugnare voluiſſet, ſolam omnium mulierem patientem viri fecit: ſcilicet, ne feminis repugnantibus, libido cogeret viros aliud appetere.—Ib. p. 628. Ut libidinem producendæ ſobolis gratia dedit.—De Ira Dei, cap. 18. p. 813.

[d] Deus ergo veri patris officio functus eſt. Ipſe corpus effinxit, ipſe animam, qua ſpiramus, infudit. Illius eſt totum, quicquid ſumus. Inſt. l. ii. cap. 11. ſub fin.

made

made soul and body, and that all we have is from him. Lactantius also says, that [e] God made the devil: who was at first good, but fell from perfection. The Manichees always and intirely rejected the Jewish scriptures of the Old Testament. But Lactantius heartily received them, and quotes them frequently, as will be seen hereafter. He calls them [f] sacred and divine: he considers their [g] prophets as men inspired by the one true God. He speaks of idolatry prevailing every where, except [h] with the Hebrews; among whom alone, he says, true religion was upheld for a long time. He calls the Jewish religion [i] divine. The Jews [k] he considers, as the ancestors of the Christians: and he believes, that [l] the Jewish prophets spake of Christ, and foretold many things concerning him. He [m] lays a vast stress upon the predictions of the prophets relating to Jesus. He also believes, that [n] Jesus Christ was clothed in flesh, and that [o] he was born, and [p] died: of Christ's humanity, and his [q] having all the sinless infirmities of the human nature, Lactantius speaks in the most expressive terms that can be used. All which things are contrary to the Mani-

[e] Deinde fecit alterum, in quo indoles divinæ stirpis permansit——suoque arbitrio, quod a Deo illi liberum datum fuerat, contrarium sibi nomen adscivit.——Hunc ergo ex bono per se malum effectum Græci διάβολον appellant. Inst. l. ii. c. 8. p. 178.

[f] Salomonem, patremque ejus David, potentissimos reges fuisse. — etiam iis fortasse sit notum, qui divinas literas non attigerunt. l. iv. c. 8. p. 372. [g] Prophetæ — unum Deum prædicant: quippe qui unius Dei spiritu pleni. Inst. l. i. c. 4. p. 17. Vid. & l. iv. c. 5. & c. 11. in. & passim. [h] Nam cum primum scelerati atque impii Deorum cultus — irrepserunt, tum penes solos Hebræos religio Dei mansit. Epit. c. 43. p. 111. edit. Davis.

[i] Ipsius autem — posteri Hebræi dicti, penes quos religio Dei resedit, l. ii. c. 13. p. 214. Cum sæpe Judæi — a divina lege defecissent. l. iv. c. 11. in.

[k] Majores nostri, qui erant principes Hebræorum, &c. l. iv. c. 10. p. 374. Nam cum posset populo suo & opes & regna largiri, sicut dederat ante Judæis, quorum nos successores ac posteri sumus;—iccirco cum voluit sub aliena ditione atque imperio degere, ne — in luxuriam laberetur,——sicut illi majores nostri.—l. v. c. 22. p. 522.

[l] Hanc ergo dispensationem ne quis ignoret, docebimus, prædicta esse omnia, quæ in Christo videmus completa.—Quæ omnia cum probavero eorum ipsorum literis, qui Deum [illegible] laverunt.—l. iv. c. 10. p. 374.

[m] Fecit miracula. Magum putassemus, ut & vos nuncupatis, & Judæi tunc putaverunt, si non illa ipsa facturum Christum prophetæ omnes uno spiritu prædicassent. l. v. c. 3. p. 469. Vid. & Epit. c. 45.

[n] Is igitur coropratus est, & veste carnis indutus. l. iv. c. 26. p. 435. f.

[o] ——renasci eum in carne præcepit, & ipsi homini similem fieri, l. iv. c. 11. p. 382. In primis enim testificamur, illum bis esse natum, primum in spiritu, postea in carne, l. iv. c. 8. in. Descendens itaque de cœlo sanctus ille spiritus Dei sanctam virginem, cujus utero se insinuaret, elegit. At illa divino spiritu hausto repleta, concepit, & sine ullo attactu viri repente virginalis uterus intumuit. l. iv. c. 12. p. 383. Vid. Epit. c. 43. in. & f. & c. 44.

[p] Verumtamen non in virtute angeli,——sed in figura hominis & conditione mortali: ut, cum magisterio functus fuisset, traderetur in manus impiorum, mortemque susciperet. l. iv. c. 10. in. Discant igitur homines & intelligant, quare Deus summus, cum legatum suum mitteret,——mortali voluerit cum carne indui, & cruciatu affici, & morte mulctari. l. iv. c. 25. Vid. & Epit. cap. 50. & passim. [q] —— Sed si corpus hominis non induisset, non potuisset facere quæ docebat, id est, non irasci, non cupere divitias, non libidine inflammari, dolorem non timere, mortem contemnere. Epit. cap. 50.

chæan

chæan doctrine; as is well known to the learned, and may be perceived from the accounts formerly given of it.

Indeed, one can ſcarce forbear to ſuſpect, that ſome learned men, who charge Lactantius with Manichæiſm, have not thoroughly informed themſelves about the principles of that ſect. For inſtance, ſome have ſaid in their remarks upon one of the fore-mentioned ſuſpected paſſages in Lactantius, that [r] the writer teaches Manichæiſm, becauſe he makes God to be the author both of good and evil. But allowing the writer not to have expreſſed himſelf exactly and properly upon that head, I preſume, here is no Manichæiſm: for they held two eternal principles, one good, the other evil. And Lactantius always maintains, that [s] there is one cauſe and origin of all things, even God: and oppoſes [t] the doctrine of two eternal principles. I think, that [u] Dr. Pfaff has well anſwered that objection.

Gallæus acquits Lactantius of this [x] error; partly, becauſe Jerom, and other ancient writers, never ſay any thing of it; which appears to me a good reaſon: partly, becauſe he thinks the paſſages before taken notice of to be ſpurious.

2. It is well known, that [y] Lactantius did not believe, that there are antipodes. We of this time cannot but wonder, he ſhould be ſo poſitive upon that head, and ridicule an opinion, which is now univerſally received, and was then known, and

[r] Neque etiam ullo modo admittenda, quippe quæ multos errores continet. Primo docet Manichæorum errorem, nempe Deum creaſſe duo principia, unum boni, alterum mali. Vid. Gallæi not. in Lact. Inſt. l. ii. c. 8. p. 170. Eadem fuit opinio Iſæi, qui in notis ſuis obſervat impium illud dogma nequam alibi clarius adſtrui. —— In eo autem mortiferum aliquod Manichæorum virus verſute & ſubtiliter inſinuari, inde colligi poteſt, quod illius auctor aperte pronuntiat Deum feciſſe bonum & malum. Nourr. App. T. ii. p. 638. E.

[s] Unus igitur eſt princeps & origo rerum Deus. D. Ira Dei, c. xi. p. 794.

[t] Duæ igitur conſtituuntur æternæ, & quidem inter ſe contrariæ: quod fieri ſine diſcordia & pernicie non poteſt. — Ergo fieri non poteſt, quin æterni natura ſit ſimplex: ut inde omnia, velut ex fonte deſcenderint. Inſt. l. ii. c. 8. p. 182, 183.

Quæ cum ita ſint, non tamen vetuſtiſſimus hæreticus Manichæis, qui paulo ante tempora Lactantii nati ſunt, annumerandus eſt Lactantius. Hi enim duo principia coæterna ſtatuere, bonum & malum. Lactantius vero malum ab æterno non fuiſſe aſſerit, ſed originem ſumſiſſe in tempore confirmat. Pfaff. Diſſ. Præl. n. 21. p. 27.

[x] Fuere, qui Manichæiſmi quoque Lactantium accuſare non dubitarunt. Sed quia nec Hieronymus, nec quiſquam alius veterum hunc in Lactantium errorem animadvertit: quia item vetuſti codices non habent ea, &c. Gall. ap. Lact. p. 901. m.

[y] Quid illi, qui eſſe contrarios veſtigiis noſtris Antipodas putant? Num aliquid loquuntur? Aut eſt quiſquam tam ineptus, qui credat, eſſe homines, quorum veſtigia ſint ſuperiora, quam capita? aut ibi, quæ apud nos jacent, inverſa pendere? fruges & arbores deorſum verſus creſcere? pluvias & nives & grandines ſurſum verſus cadere in terram. Inſt. l. iii. c. 24. in. De Antipodis quoque ſine riſu nec audiri, nec dici poteſt. Aſſeritur tamen, quaſi aliquid ſerium, ut credamus eſſe homines, qui veſtigiis noſtris habent adverſa veſtigia. Epit. cap. 39.

propoſed

propoſed by ſome. Otherwiſe there had been no occaſion to argue againſt it.

3. He went into the common notion of that time, concerning the fall of many of the [z] angels.

4. It is alſo well known, that [a] Lactantius expected a terreſtrial reign of Chriſt for a thouſand years before the general judgment. Jerom has ridiculed [b] his Millenarian notions, which are chiefly inlarged upon in the ſeventh and laſt book of the Divine Inſtitutions. Jerom took the ſame freedom with Irenæus, Tertullian, Victorinus, and other Chriſtian writers, who had the like ſentiment.

This happy period our author thought to be very near, and that it could not be deferred [c] more than two hundred years.

5. Jerom has more than once remarked upon Lactantius, that [d] in his epiſtles, eſpecially thoſe to Demetrian, he denies the perſonality of the Holy Ghoſt: referring him, as the Jews erroneouſly do, to the Father or the Son. Jerom ſays, that [e] in his time this was a common opinion with many, who did not underſtand the ſcriptures.

6. In other places Jerom vindicates Lactantius from [f] an opinion concerning the origin of the ſoul, imputed to him by ſome.

7. Gallæus obſerves, that [g] Lactantius ſays little or nothing

[z] Vid. Inſt. l. ii. c. 14. Epit. c. 27.

[a] Non quod ille regnum hoc terrenum fuerit adeptus, cujus capiendi nondum tempus advenit, ſed quod cœleſte & ſempiternum. Inſt. l. iv. c. 7. ſub fin.

Nam cum ita ſit a Deo conſtitutum, ut idem Chriſtus bis adveniat in terram: ſemel, ut unum Deum gentibus nuntiet, deinde, rurſus, ut regnet. l. iv. c. 12. p. 385.

Neceſſe eſt, ut in fine ſexti milleſimi anni malitia omnis aboleatur e terra, & regnet per annos mille juſtitia, ſitque tranquillitas, & requies a laboribus. —— l. vii. c. 14. p. 695. Vid. quæ ibidem ſequuntur, & c. 15, 16, &c.

[b] Neque enim juxta judaicas fabulas—gemmatam & auream de cœlo expectamus Jeruſalem —— Quod & multi noſtrorum, & præcipue Tertulliani liber——de ſpe fidelium, —— & Lactantii inſtitutionum volumen ſeptimum pollicetur, & Victorini Pitabionenſis epiſcopi crebræ expoſitiones. Hieron. in Ezek. cap. 36. T. iii. p. 952.

[c] Jam ſuperius oſtendi, completis annorum ſex millibus mutationem iſtam fieri oportere, & jam propinquare ſummum illum concluſionis diem.—— Quando tamen compleatur hæc ſumma, docent ii, qui de temporibus ſcripſerunt.—— Qui licet variant, & aliquantum numeri eorum ſumma diffentiat, omnis tamen exſpectatio non amplius quam ducentorum videtur annorum. l. vii. c. 25. p. 726.

[d] Lactantius in epiſtolis ſuis, & maxime in epiſtolis ad Demetrianum, Spiritus Sancti negat ſubſtantiam: & errore Judaico dicit eum vel ad Patrem referri, vel ad Filium, & ſanctificationem utriuſque perſonæ ſub ejus nomine demonſtrari. Hieron. ad Pamm. & Oc. ep. 41. al. 65. T. iv. p. 345.

[e] Hoc ideo, quia multi per imperitiam ſcripturarum (quod & Firmianus in octavo ad Demetrianum epiſtolarum libro facit;) aſſerunt, Spiritum Sanctum ſæpe Patrem, ſæpe Filium nominari. Et cum perſpicue in Trinitate credamus, tertiam perſonam afferentes, non ſubſtantiam ejus volunt eſſe, ſed nomen. In Galat. c. iv. v. 6. p. 268.

[f] Quantum memoria ſuggerit, niſi tamen fallor, nec hic me legiſſe Lactantium ἐκτεταρτικὸν animam dicere, &c. Adv. Ruf. l. iii. T. 4. p. 399. Conf. l. ii. p. 395. & l. iii. p. 465.

[g] Quod de præcipuo Chriſto incarnati officio, ſacerdotali mini-

of

of Chriſt's prieſtly office. I do not remember, that Jerom has any where taken notice of this: but it is likely enough to be true; and that Lactantius did not conſider Chriſt's death, in the modern way, as a propitiatory ſacrifice for ſin, or a ſatisfaction made to divine juſtice for the ſins of the human race. This may be argued from his paſſages before tranſcribed, concerning the value of repentance, and the ends of Chriſt's death.

But then many other ancient Chriſtians will come in for their ſhare in this charge. For according to Matthias Flacius Illyricus, in the preface to his Clavis Scripturæ, or Key to the Scriptures, 'The [h] Chriſtian writers, who lived ſoon after 'Chriſt and his apoſtles, diſcourſed like philoſophers, of the 'law and its moral precepts, and of the nature of virtue and 'vice: but they were totally ignorant of man's natural cor-'ruption, and the myſteries of the goſpel and Chriſt's benefits.' 'His countryman St. Jerom,' he ſays, 'was well [i] ſkilled in 'the languages, and endeavoured to explain the ſcriptures by 'verſions and commentaries. But after all he was able to do 'very little, being ignorant of the human diſeaſe, and of 'Chriſt the phyſician: and wanting both the key of ſcripture, 'and the lamb of God to open to him.'

The ſame Flacius, or ſome other learned writer of his time, in the preface to the Centuriæ Magdeburgenſes, obſerves of Euſebius biſhop of Cæſarea: 'That [k] it is a very low and im-'perfect deſcription, which he gives of a Chriſtian; making 'him only a man, who by the knowledge of Chriſt and his

[h] ...m. tacent: & ideo tantum Chriſtum hu-...am naturam aſſumſiſſe contendit, —— ...verſis gentibus, quæ ſub cœlo ſunt, ...galem & veri Dei ſanctum myſterium re-...aret, & unum illis Deum nunciaret. —— Denique ut exempla virtutis homi-...bus poſſet. Quæ omnia quam ſint ...ſa, præter incarnationem Chriſti ſine ...ſo non videt. Gall. Syntag. ...I. p. 809. [i] Olim, inter ...abbas, plerique ſcriptores, ad philo-...ſa de vitæ præceptis moribus, & ...ſibus virtutisque diſputationes pronece-...ſunt, paſſim de corruptionis ...is, & evangelii myſteriorum, & be-...rum Chriſti. M. Fl. Ill. in Pr. ad ...Ver. S. p. *. f. [k] Unus po-...ſ Hieronymus, linguarum egre-...ſ fuit: conatuſque eſt ſacras lite-...as ſuis tum explicationibus il-...re. Sed revera & morbi humani, & ...Chriſti ignarus, deſtitutuſque tum ...ſ, qui verum aperiente, nempe de-...crimine legis & evangelii, tum etiam aperiente aut janitore ejus agno Dei, patere poſſet. Id. ib. p. 8. m.

[k] Ut enim de aliis nihil dicamus, Euſebius certe Chriſtianum hominem, l. i. c. 4. ita deſinit, ut ſi abſit cognitio Chriſti, quam ei tamen, ſed obſcure, tribuit, prorſus videatur Ethnico more virum honeſtum, ——deſcribere. Aut enim, Chriſtianum eſſe virum, qui per Chriſti cognitionem ac doctrinam, animi moderatione, & juſtitia, continentiaque vitæ, & virtutis fortitudine, ac pietatis confeſſione erga verum ac ſolum omnium Deum excellit. Illa primum nimis generaliter dicuntur. Deinde nihil de regeneratione, — Neque obſcure ſignificat, ad id tali hominis naturam Chriſti ejuſque doctrinam ſolum profeſſe, ut virtutibus poſſit excellere. Nihil de remiſſione peccatorum, atque imputata juſtitia per fidem in Chriſtum dicit, quæ eſt quaſi ipſiſſima Chriſtiani nominis forma. In Præf. ad Hiſt. Eccl. Magdeb. p. 1.

'doctrine,

'doctrine, is brought to the worship of the one true God, and 'the practice of sobriety, righteousness, patience, and other 'virtues. But he has not a word about regeneration, or im-'puted righteousness.'

Poor, ignorant primitive Christians! I wonder, how they could find the way to heaven! They lived near the times of Christ and his apostles. They highly valued, and diligently read the holy scriptures, and some wrote commentaries upon them; but yet, it seems, they knew little or nothing of their religion; though they embraced and professed it with the manifest hazard of all earthly good things, and many of them laid down their lives, rather than renounce it. Truly we of these times are very happy in our orthodoxy; but I wish, that we did more excel in those virtues, which they, and the scriptures likewise, I think, recommend, as the distinguishing properties of a Christian. And I am not a little apprehensive, that many things, which now make a fair shew among us, and in which we mightily pride ourselves, will in the end prove weeds only, on which the owner of the ground sets no value.

The early Christians, after the apostles, were not infallible. I do not represent them as such. They had their errors; but we should be sensible, that we also are liable to err. And possibly, they had in some respects a juster notion of true religion than we have. Grotius in his notes upon [l] Rom. vii. 19. expresseth himself very differently from Flacius concerning the Christians of the first three centuries.

V. We saw in the preceding chapter one of [m] St. Jerom's commendations of the works of Lactantius. And here, as we have gone along, we have observed his judgment upon several pieces in particular. In another place, that learned ancient speaks of our author in this manner: 'Lactantius [n] flows like 'a river of Tullian eloquence. I wish he had been as able to 'defend our religion, as to confute others.' Apollinaris Sidonius likewise allows, Lactantius [o] to have had an excellent talent at confuting error. For certain, the former is the more difficult of the two: and it is agreeable to a well known saying of Cicero himself, who had so great strength and capacity of

[l] Deo laus sit, quod optimi, id est, trium primorum saeculorum Christiani, hunc locum sic ut oportet intellexerint: dictante illo spiritu, per quem vita ipsorum dirigebatur. Grot. ad Rom. vii. 19.

[m] See p. 1.

[n] Lactantius quasi quidam fluvius eloquentiae Tullianae, utinam tam nostra affirmare potuisset quam facile aliena destruxit. Ad Paulin. Ep. 49. al. 13.

[o] Instruit ut Hieronymus, destruit ut Lactantius, adstruit ut Augustinus. Sidon. Ep. l. iv. ep. 3. p. 9.

mind;

miad; 'I [p] wiſh,' ſays he, 'I could as eaſily find out truth, as 'confute error.'

Trithemius ſays, that * Lactantius was well ſkilled in ſecular learning, and not a little converſant in the divine ſcriptures, and next to Cicero the moſt eloquent of all men.

It may not be amiſs, to take ſome notice likewiſe of the judgments of moderns upon this writer.

Dr. Heumann, in his preface to his edition of the works of Lactantius, gives his character at large. He [q] was pious, learned, and eloquent. But there are obſervable in him ſeveral faults and defects. He was no critic, nor philoſopher, and but a poor divine.

His want of critical ſkill is ſuppoſed to be [r] apparent from his quoting the Sibylline oracles, and works of Hydaſpes, and Hermes Triſmegiſtus, as genuine and authentic.

That he was a poor reaſoner, and but an indifferent philoſopher, is [s] inferred from his arguments againſt antipodes, and from his reaſonings upon ſome other occaſions.

Laſtly, he [t] was a miſerable divine. For he ſpeaks differently from the ſound doctrine of the church concerning the Trinity, and ſeveral other points.

Bull ſays, that [u] ſometimes Lactantius ſpeaks orthodoxly of the Son. This matter has been carefully examined by [x] Petavius, and [y] Nourry, to whom I refer.

However, Bull ſays, that [z] Lactantius had very little knowledge of the Chriſtan doctrine. And it is very common for learned moderns to ſpeak [a] in that manner of this writer, and

[p] Nota Ciceronis vox eſt: Utinam tam facile vera invenire poſſem, quam falſa convincere. l. ii. c. 3. ſub fin.

* ——Vir in ſecularibus literis abundè doctus, & in divinis ſcripturis notabiliter inſtitutus, ita ut in arte dicendi poſt Ciceronem facile obtinuerit principatum. De Scr. Ec. cap. 56. [q] Virtutes ipſas tres cognovi, pietatem, variam doctrinam, eloquentiam: quarum prima vel ſola commendare valet horum librorum bonum. Apparebit certe cuivis lectori pius, vere pium. Chriſtianaque virtute non ſolum, ſed imbutum fuiſſe Lactantium. Inſtit. Pr. ſub fin. [r] Tria item animadverti ejus vitia. Primum [illegible] critica, ſecundum ob id notatus a [illegible] Rauchio in libro de Sibyllinis Oraculis. Ibid. [s] Deinde permiſcet ſe ſæpe [illegible] Lactantius philoſophus. [illegible] non rideat ejus de Antipodibus diſputationem ——? ibid.

[t] Poſtremo fatendum ingenue, fuiſſe Lactantium permediocrem theologum. —— Ne ſatis quidem perceperat eccleſiæ doctrinas: rectèque ſibi de Chriſto, de Trinitate, deque aliis rebus docere videbatur, cum multa traderet a ſenſu veræ eccleſiæ alieniſſima. Ibid. [u] Nam Filium Dei unius eſſe cum Patre ſubſtantiæ, unumque Deum totum Patris continere & capere, clare affirmat. En loca diſerta. Def. Fid. Nic. Sect. ii. c. 14. n. 4. p. 152. al. 170. [x] Vid. Petav. Dogm. l. i. c. v. n. 6, 7.

[y] App. T. ii. p. 770, &c. [z] Erat ſcriptor ille pene rudis diſciplinæ Chriſtianæ, & in rhetorica melius, quam in theologia verſatus. Ib. p. 152. al. 170. Rhetor ille erat, non theologus, nec inter eccleſiæ doctores locum unquam obtinuit. ib. p. 218. al. 247. [a] See Dr. Warburton's Divine Legation, Vol. i. p. 3.

Arnobius.

Arnobius. Mr. Warburton ſays, 'that [b] though Lactantius 'knew but little of Chriſtiainity, yet he was exquiſitely well 'ſkilled in the ſtrong and weak ſide of philoſophy.'

Lactantius had very different thoughts of himſelf; and reckoned, that he was able to defend truth, and particularly the true Chriſtian religion, in ſuch a manner, as to recommend it to learned and unlearned, and remove the difficulties and objections of both: as he intimates at the beginning of his Divine Inſtitutions. And he intended that work, as [d] a full and general anſwer to all, who already had, or ever ſhould oppoſe the Chriſtian doctrine.

Nor does it appear, that he was conceited of himſelf: but [e] his confidence was founded in the goodneſs of his cauſe, which he thought to have ſuch evidence of truth, that he could not but ſucceed in the defence of it. And when he wrote his book Of the Workmanſhip of God, one of his firſt performances in the ſervice of religion, he ſuppoſed himſelf capable [f] to inſtruct other Chriſtians.

Mr. Warburton thinks, that [g] Lactantius, when he confutes the eſtabliſhed heathen religion, ſpares the prieſts; but in expoſing their philoſophy, he is not ſo tender of the ſophiſts. Nevertheleſs, I do not perceive, that Lactantius had any regard for heathen prieſts. And I apprehend, he ſo concludes his ſecond book, as to ſhew, that [h] the philoſophers of his time were reputed by him the moſt formidable adverſaries, ſo far as they were reſpected, and were in the wrong. This ſeems to be the reaſon, why he argued ſo much againſt them.

[b] As before, p. 394. Again: 'Lactantius having ſet up for a defender of 'Chriſtianity.' p. 393. [c] —— eaque [veritas] vel contemtui doctis eſt, quia idoneis aſſertoribus eget: vel odio indoctis, ob inſitam ſibi auſteritatem —— ſuccurrendum eſſe his erroribus credidi: ut & docti ad veram ſapientiam dirigantur, & indocti ad veram religionem, l. i. c. 1. p. 4.

[d] Suſcepi hoc opus, —— non ut contra hos ſcriberem, qui paucis verbis obteri poterant: —— ſed ut omnes qui ubique idem operis efficiunt, aut effecerunt, uno ſemel impetu proſligarem. l. v. c. 4. p. 470. Vid. & l. vi. c. 1. & l. vii. c. 1. [e] Verum ego non eloquentia, ſed veritatis fiducia ſuſcepi hoc opus, fortaſſe majus quam ut poſſit meis viribus ſuſtineri: quod tamen, etiamſi ego defecerim, Deo, cujus eſt hoc munus, adjuvante, veritas ipſa complebit. &c. l. iii. c. 1. p. 234. Quod erat officium ſuſcepti muneris, divino ſpiritu inſtruente, ac ſuffragante ipſa veritate complevimus. l. vi. c. 1. in. [f] —— apud quem [Demetrianum] nunc profiteor, nulla me neceſſitate, vel rei vel temporis, impediri, quo minus aliquid excudam, quo philoſophi noſtræ ſectæ, quam tuemur, inſtructiores, doctioreſque in poſterum ſiant. De Op. Dei, c. 1. ſub in. [g] 'The elo-'quent Apologiſt —— giving, in his Di-'vine Inſtitutions, the laſt ſtroke to expir-'ing Paganiſm, where he confutes the ra-'tional religion, ſpares, as much as poſſi-'ble, the prieſts: but in expoſing their 'philoſophy, is not ſo tender of their ſo-'phiſts. For theſe laſt having no public 'character, the ſtate was not concerned to 'have them managed.' Dedication of Div. Leg. V. i. p. 30. [h] Peracta eſt igitur, ni fallor, magna eſt difficilis ſuſcepti operis portio.——Nunc vero major nobis ac difficilior cum philoſophis propoſita luctatio eſt, l. ii. c. 19.

For

For a like reaſon Auguſtine, as he himſelf aſſures us, chiefly argued againſt the † Platoniſts.

Du Pin ſays, ‘ That [i] Lactantius is juſtly eſteemed the Chriſ-
‘ tian Cicero for his ſtyle, and greatly ſurpaſſeth him in his
‘ thoughts.’ For certain, ſo it ought to be: this is honourable to the Chriſtian religion. And I preſume, that thoſe learned moderns, who are pleaſed to depreciate Lactantius, as if he had little knowledge of the Chriſtian religion, will allow as much. I ſhall here refer to a paſſage of our author, correcting a moral ſentiment of Cicero; where that great heathen moraliſt and philoſopher ſeems to ſay, ‘ We [k] ſhould relieve
‘ deſerving perſons. And, ſays Lactantius, undeſerving like-
‘ wiſe.’

Some have ſaid, that Lactantius took delight in oppoſing Cicero. However, it was not becauſe he had not a high eſteem for Cicero, as is manifeſt; but rather, it is likely, becauſe there was no other perſon ſo conſiderable: and [l] if he was miſtaken, it was not to be expected, that any other heathen ſhould have better notions.

Certainly Lactantius is to be reſpected upon many accounts. The time in which he lived ſecures him a kind of veneration. He ſaw the quiet and peaceful ſtate of the church, before Dioclefian's perſecution; he was alſo witneſs of that dreadful ſcene, and afterwards ſaw the flouriſhing condition of Chriſtians under Conſtantine. His eminent abilities recommended him to the eſteem of two great emperors, of different religions. His uncommon honeſty and ſimplicity, and earneſt zeal for the Chriſtian religion, and all truth in general, appear in his works: where alſo his learning is very conſpicuous. But we had ſeen more proofs of this, if his Epiſtles, and other works now loſt, had come down to us. He had, as it ſeems, a certain vehemence and impetuoſity of natural temper, not uncommon in Africans, which upon ſome occaſions hindered his conſidering and weighing what might be ſaid on both ſides of a queſtion. At the ſame time, poſſibly, we are indebted to

† Ideo quippe hos potiſſimum elegi, quorum de uno Deo qui fecit cœlum & terram, quanto melius ſenſerunt, tanto eorum glorioſiores & illuſtriores habentur. De Civ. Dei, l. viii. c. 12. Elegimus enim Platonicos, omnium philoſophorum longe nobiliſſimos. Ib. l. x. c. 1. n. 1.

[i] Il merite à bon droit le nom de Ciceron Chrétien —— Quoiqu' il ſoit, il eſt certain, que Lactance ſurpaſſe de beaucoup Ciceron pour les penſées, parceque les matieres de la religion dont il traite ſont infiniment au deſſus des maximes de la doctrine des philoſophes. Bib. T. i. p. 208.

[k] Et ſæpe idoneis hominibus egentibus de re familiari impertiendum. Quid eſt idoneis? —— Non enim idoneis hominibus largiendum eſt, ſed, quantum poteſt, non idoneis, &c. l. vi. c. 11. p. 582.

[l] Eodem ductus errore Seneca. Quis enim veram viam teneret, errante Cicerone? l. iii. c. 15.

that fire, which ſupported him in the fatigues of acquiring knowledge, and then communicating it to others.

I have allowed myſelf to enlarge in the article of Lactantius, who, I think, muſt have been an honour and ornament to the Chriſtian profeſſion in his day; who employed his fine parts and extenſive learning in the ſervice of religion, without worldly views of any kind; whoſe works have had ſo many readers, and of which there have been ſo many editions, ſince the firſt diſcovery of the art of printing. It may be ſuppoſed, that a part of this writer's reputation is owing to the charms and beauties of his ſtyle: but the matter of his works is alſo a juſt recommendation. And indeed, if authors deſire to be read, they ſhould aim at perſpicuity at leaſt, if not alſo at ſome neatneſs and elegance of expreſſion; and not rely altogether on the importance of their argument. Cicero himſelf, with all his fine ſentiments, upon things of great conſequence, and notwithſtanding his high ſtation in the Roman commonwealth, would ſcarce have been univerſally read and admired, if his ſtyle had been rough, obſcure and perplexed.

VI. Lactantius, as formerly [m] ſeen, blamed Cyprian for citing ſcripture in a work addreſſed to a heathen. But the fault which he imputes to Cyprian, I think, muſt be ſuppoſed to have conſiſted chiefly in quoting not only the Old, but likewiſe the New Teſtament, and that [n] expreſsly. For Lactantius himſelf in his Inſtitutions, and elſewhere, openly appeals ſometimes to the writings of the ancient prophets; and quotes the books of the Old Teſtament almoſt as freely, as he does Cicero, or Plato, or Hydaſpes, or any other heathen author whatever.

1. We ſaw before, in part, this writer's regard for the Jewiſh ſcriptures, when we vindicated him from the charge of Manichæiſm. It is fit, that we ſhould now ſhew it more diſtinctly, and likewiſe obſerve what notice he has taken of the ſcriptures of the New Teſtament.

1.) Lactantius ſays: 'All [o] ſcripture is divided into two 'Teſtaments; that which preceded the coming and paſſion of 'the Lord, called the Old Teſtament, conſiſting of the law 'and the prophets; and that which has been written ſince the

m See p. 18. n ——loquenti Domino & docente: Ne dederitis ſanctum canibus. ——Cypr. ad Demetr. p. 185. Ipſum denique audi loquentem, ipſum voce divina inſtruentem nos pariter & monentem: Dominum Deum tuum adorabis. Id. p. 187. o Verum ſcriptura omnis in duo teſtamenta diviſa eſt. Illud, quod adventum Domini paſſionemque antereſſit, id eſt, Lex & Prophetæ, vetus dicitur. Ea vero, quæ poſt reſurrectionem ejus ſcripta ſunt, novum teſtamentum nominatur. Judæi veteri utuntur, nos novo. Sed tamen diverſa non ſunt, quia nova veteris adimpletio eſt, & in utroque idem teſtator eſt Chriſtus. Inſt. l. iv. c. 20. p. 420.

'reſurrection

'resurrection of Christ, and is called the New Testament. 'The Jews use the Old, we the New: but they are not different; for the New is the accomplishment of the Old, and 'in both is the same testator, Christ.'

2.) Lactantius has expressly quoted many books of the Old Testament, and the Psalms and some others very often.

3.) He relates from the books of Moses [p] the history of the creation, the fall of man, the flood, and likewise the history of the Jews, their going down into Egypt, and their return thence: and afterwards from the other books of the Old Testament, their government by judges, and then by kings, till the Babylonish captivity, as also their deliverance thence, and their return to their own land.

4.) Several books of Moses are [q] expressly quoted by him, and [r] the book of Joshua, and [s] the books of the Kings. He quotes the book of Nehemiah by [t] the title of Esdras: probably, because it was reckoned the second book of Esdras; or because what he quotes was supposed to be spoken by Esdras. See Nehem. ch. ix. particularly ver. 26.

5.) He often quotes the Psalms of David, and sometimes the Proverbs of Solomon. He likewise considers the book of Wisdom, as a writing of Solomon. I put in the margin [u] passages, which shew these several particulars.

6.) Lactantius has quoted several of the prophets by name; as [x] Isaiah, who was sawn asunder by the Jews, and [y] Jeremiah, and [z] Daniel.

[p] Vid. Inst. l. ii. c. 9. 10—13. l. iv. c. 10. [q] Sed & ipse Moses—in Deuteronomio sic scriptum reliquit. Inst. l. iv. c. 17. p. 404. De qua tamen apertius ipse Moses in Deuteronomio ita prædicavit.—Idem rursus in Numeris. l. iv. c. 18 p. 413, 414. Item Moses in Numeris: Orietur stella ex Jacob. Epit. c. 44. fin. [r] Item Jesus Nave successor ejus. l. iv. c. 17. p. 405.

[s] Item Helias in libro βασιλικῶν tertio. l. iv. c. 11. p. 380. Item in βασιλικῶν libro secundo. Propheta Nathan missus est ad David. ib. c. 13. p. 390.

[t] Helias etiam propheta, qui fuit ejusdem Cyri temporibus, a quo Judæi sunt restituti, sic loquitur. l. iv. c. 11. p. 380.

[u] Hunc prophetæ divino spiritu pleni prædicaverunt, quorum præcipue Salomon in libro Sapientiæ, item pater ejus cœlestium scriptor hymnorum, ambo clarissimi reges, qui Trojani belli tempora clxxx. annis antecesserunt. Epit. c. 42.

Nam & David in principio Psalmorum suorum—beatum esse ait.——Et Salomon in libro Sapientiæ,——Inst. l. iv. c. 16. p. 401, 402.

Videlicet ipse est Dei filius, qui per Salomonem sapientissimum regem, divino spiritu plenum, locutus est ea quæ subjeci: Deus condidit me in initio viarum suarum. l. iv. c. 6. p. 365.

Salomonem, patremque ejus David, potentissimos reges fuisse, & eosdem prophetas, etiam iis fortasse sit notum, qui divinas literas non attigerunt, quorum alter.—Hujus pater divinorum scriptor hymnorum in Psalmo xxxii. sic ait. l. iv. c. 8. p. 372.

[x] Esaias enim, quem ipsi Judæi serra confectum crudelissime necaverunt, ita dicit. l. iv. c. 11. p. 381. [y] Dicit enim pheta Hieremias. ib. p. 370. & passim.

[z] Daniel quoque similia prælocutus est. l. iv. c. 12. p. 385. Vid. ib. c. 21. sub in. & alibi.

7.) Citing Hosea, he calls him [a] the first of the twelve prophets; which shews, they were all received by him: And indeed divers others of them are quoted by him, as [b] Amos, [c] Micah, [d] Zechariah, whom he calls the last of the prophets, and [e] Malachi.

8.) What Lactantius says of Zechariah's being the last of the prophets, is an argument, that he did not receive any Jewish books, as canonical, which were written, or allowed to be written, after those of the twelve prophets.

9.) He often speaks very honourably of the Jewish prophets: the fourth chapter of the first book of the Institutions is all in their favour. He argues after this manner: 'That [f] they were 'not enthusiasts, nor yet impostors or deceivers, but sincere 'men, and real prophets, is manifest from the consistence of 'their discourses, from the actual accomplishment of their 'predictions, from the excellence of their doctrine, and their 'self-denying course of life. And some of them were kings 'and princes, who are not apt to be swayed by mean ends and 'views.'

10.) He says, the [g] prophets were inspired, and they taught the worship of one God only. Again, They were sent, that [h] they might teach men just sentiments concerning the divine glory and majesty. They [i] were also sent to reprove and reform mankind, and to [k] foretel things to come, particularly concerning the Christ: that when he appeared, men might believe in him.

[a] Oseas quoque primus xii. prophetarum. l. iv. c. 19. p. 419. [b] Qua de re Amos propheta testatur, l. iv. c. 19. p. 416.

[c] Micheas enim novam legem daturum, denuntiat. l. iv. c. 17. sub in.

[d] Quare——etiam singulorum prophetarum tempora colligi possunt: quorum sane ultimus Zacharias fuit, quem constat, sub Dario rege secundo anno ejus, octavo mense, cecinisse. l. iv. c. 5. p. 361, 362.

[e] Sicut Malachias propheta indicat dicens. l. iv. c. 11. p. 381. [f] Atqui impleta esse, implerique quotidie illorum vaticinia videmus. Et in unam sententiam congruens divinatio docet, non fuisse furiosos. Quis enim mentis emotæ, non modo futura præcinere, sed etiam cohærentia loqui possit? Quid ab his tam longe alienum, quam ratio fallendi, cum cæteros ab omni fraude cohiberent? —— Præterea voluntas fingendi ac mentiendi eorum est, qui opes appetunt, qui lucra desiderant: quæ res procul ab illis sanctis viris abfuit.——Et hi non modo quæstum nullum habuerunt, sed etiam cruciatus, atque mortem.—— Quid? quod aliqui eorum principes, aut etiam reges, fuerunt, in quos cadere suspicio cupiditatis ac fraudis non potest. l. i. c. 4.

[g] Prophetæ, qui fuerunt admodum multi, unum Deum prædicant, unum loquuntur: quippe qui unius Dei spiritu pleni.—l. i. c. 4. in. [h] Iccirco enim a Deo mittebantur, ut præcones essent majestatis ejus, & correctores pravitatis humanæ. l. i. c. 4. in. [i] Propterea Deus prophetas ad eos misit, divino spiritu adimpletos, qui illis peccata exprobrarent, & pœnitentiam indicerent. Epit. c. 43. Vid. & Inst. l. iv. c. 11. in. [k] Ideo prophetas ante præmisit, qui de adventu ejus prædicarent, ut, cum facta essent in eo quæcunque prædicata sunt, tunc ab hominibus & Dei Filius & Deus crederetur. Epit. cap. 49.

11.) He

11.) He frequently aſſerts [l] the antiquity of the Jewiſh prophets.

12.) He obſerves, that [m] the prophets often declare, in what kings reigns they lived and propheſied.

13.) He calls their ſcriptures [n] ſacred and divine.

2. We are not, for the reaſon before hinted, to expect the like plain citations of the New Teſtament. Nevertheleſs, it may be diſcerned, that he received moſt of the books in that collection, as ſcripture, or writings of authority. But his reſerved manner will oblige to a greater prolixity in making this out, than otherwiſe would have been neceſſary.

1.) In the paſſage produced not long [o] ago, we ſaw diſtinct mention made by him of the New, as well as the Old Teſtament.

2.) I would likewiſe here refer to, and tranſcribe in the margin, as a general paſſage concerning the New Teſtament, what Lactantius ſays of one of thoſe perſons, who at the beginning of Diocleſian's perſecution wrote againſt the Chriſtians. Lactantius informs us, 'that [p] this writer endeavoured to ſhew 'the falſhood of the ſacred ſcriptures, collecting out of them 'paſſages, which ſeemed to contradict each other; and that, 'ſuch a number of them, that it might be ſuſpected he had 'himſelf ſome time been a Chriſtian.—But he eſpecially abuſes 'Peter and Paul, and the other diſciples, as propagators of 'falſhood: though as that writer ſays, they were ignorant and 'unlearned, and ſome of them earned their livelihood by 'fiſhing.'

It is plain, that Lactantius here ſpeaks of Chriſtian ſcriptures, or the books of the New Teſtament. But I ſay no more of this paſſage at preſent, becauſe another opportunity may offer to take more particular notice of it.

[l] —— quorum ſane ultimus Zacharias fuit.—Quæ omnia eo profero, ut errorem ſuum ſentiant, qui ſcripturam ſanctam coarguere nituntur, tanquam novam & recens fictam.——l. iv. c. 5. ſub in. Salomonem, patremque ejus David, potentiſſimos reges fuiſſe, & eoſdem prophetas——quorum alter, qui poſterius regnavit, Trojanæ urbis excidium centum & quadraginta annis anteceſſit. l. iv. c. 8. p. 372. Vid. Epit. c. 42.—initium facientes a propheta Moyſe, qui Trojanum bellum nongentis fere annis anteceſſit. l. iv. c. 5. p. 359.

[m] Teſtati ſunt enim, ſub quo quiſque rege divini ſpiritus fuerit paſſus inſtinctum. l. iv. c. 5. p. 359.

[n] Sicut ſacræ literæ docent. l. ii. c. 12. p. 210. quod divinis literis proditum. ib. ut ſanctæ literæ docent. ib. p. 212. Vid. l. iv. c. 8. p. 372.

[o] See p. 67.

[p] Compoſuit enim libellos duos, non contra Chriſtianos,—— ſed ad Chriſtianos——in quibus ita falſitatem ſcripturæ ſacræ arguere conatus eſt, tanquam ſibi eſſet tota contraria. Nam quædam capita, quæ repugnare ſibi videbantur, expoſuit, adeo multa, adeo intima enumerans, ut aliquando ex eadem diſciplina fuiſſe videatur.——Præcipue tamen Paulum, Petrumque laceravit, cæteroſque diſcipulos, tanquam fallaciæ ſeminatores, quos eoſdem tamen rudes & indoctos fuiſſe, teſtatus eſt. Nam quoſdam eorum piſcatorio artificio feciſſe quæſtum. l. v. c. 2.

3.) Lactantius relates our Saviour's conception [q] in the womb of a virgin by the power of the Holy Ghoſt. And he applies to that event the words of Iſa. vii. 14. both in his Inſtitutions, and in his Epitome, as St. Matthew does, ch. i. 23.

4.) He ſeems alſo to refer to Matt. i. 21. in the Epitome, when he ſays, 'That' our Lord has among men two names, 'Jeſus, which ſignifies Saviour, and Chriſt, which is the ſame 'as King, or anointed. He is called Saviour, becauſe he is 'health and ſalvation to all that through him believe in God.' He ſpeaks to the like purpoſe in the [s] Inſtitutions.

5.) He relates our Lord's baptiſm by John in the river Jordan. Then, ſays [t] he, was heard a voice from heaven, 'Thou

q Deſcendens itaque de cœlo ſanctus ille ſpiritus Dei ſanctam virginem, cujus utero ſe inſinuaret, eligit. At illa divino ſpiritu hausto repleta concepit. & ſine ullo attactu viri repente virginalis uterus intumuit.——Item propheta Eſaias cujus verba ſunt hæc: Propter hoc dabit Dominus ipſe vobis ſignum, & vocabitis nomen ejus Emmanuel. l. iv. c. 12. p. 388.

Apud Eſaiam ſic: Ecce virgo accipiet in uterum, & pariet filium, & vocabitis nomen ejus Emmanuel, quod ſignificat robiſcum Deus. Epit. c. 44. p. 115. Ed. Daviſ. r Ab hominibus tamen duobus vocabulis nuncupatur, Jeſus, quod eſt Salvator, & Chriſtus, quod eſt Rex. Salvator ideo, quia eſt ſanatio & ſalus omnium, qui per eum credunt in Deum: Chriſtus vero, &c. Epit. c. 42. in fin. p. 108. Vid Daviſ. Not. s Jeſus quippe inter homines nominatur. Nam Chriſtus non proprium nomen eſt.—— Erat Judæis ante præceptum, ut ſacrum conficerent unguentum, quo perungi poſſent ii, qui vocabantur ad ſacerdotium, vel ad regnum, —— &c. l. iv. c. 7. p. 367. t Cum primum cœpit adoleſcere, tinctus eſt a Joanne propheta in Jordane flumine.—Tunc vox audita de cœlo eſt: Filius meus es tu, Ego hodie genui te.——Et deſcendit ſuper eum Spiritus Dei, formatus in ſpeciem columbæ candidæ. Exinde maximas virtutes cœpit operari.——Quæ opera tam multa ſunt, ut unus liber ad complectenda omnia ſatis non ſit. Enumerabo igitur illa breviter, & generatim, ſine ulla perſonarum ac locorum deſignatione.——Quod quacunque iter faceret, ægros, ac debiles, & omni morborum genere laborantes, uno verbo, unoque momento reddebat incolumes, adeo ut membris omnibus capti, receptis repente viribus roborati, ipſi lectulos ſuos portabant, in quibus fuerant paulo ante delati: Claudis vero, ac pedum vitio afflictis, rectos modo gradiendi, ſed etiam currendi dabat facultatem. Tunc quorum cæca lumina in altiſſimis tenebris erant, eorum oculos in priſtinum reſtituebat aſpectum. Mutorum quoque linguas in eloquium, ſermonemque ſolvebat. Item ſurdorum patefactis cavernis inſinuabat auditum. Pollutos, ac ſpurſos maculis, repurgabat. Et hæc omnia non manibus aut aliqua medela, ſed verbo, ac juſſione faciebat.——Nec ſatis fuit, quæ vires imbecillis redderet, quod debilibus integritatem, quod ægris & languentibus ſanitatem, niſi etiam mortuos ſuſcitaret, velut e ſomno ſolutos, ad vitamque revocaret. Quæ videntes tunc Judæi dæmoniaca fieri potentia arguebant: cum omnia ſic futura, ut facta ſunt, arcana illorum litteræ continerent.—— Ob has ejus virtutes, & opera divina, cum magnæ illum multitudines ſequerentur vel debilium, vel ægrorum, vel eorum qui curandos ſuos offerre cupiebant, aſcendit in montem quendam deſertum, ut ibi adoraret, ubi cum triduo moraretur, ac famæ populus laboraret, vocavit diſcipulos, quærens, quantos ſecum cibos geſtarent. At illi, quinque panes & duos piſces ſe in pera habere, dixerunt. Afferri ea juſſit, ac multitudinem per quinquagenos diſtributam diſcumbere. Quod cum diſcipuli facerent, frangebat ipſe panem minutatim, carnemque piſcium comminuebat: & utraque in manibus augebantur. Et cum, apponi illa populo, diſcipulis imperaſſet, ſaturata ſunt quinque hominum millia, & inſuper duodecim cophini de reſiduis fragminibus impleti. Idem ſeceſſurus orandi gratia, ſicut ſolebat, in montem, præcepit diſcipulis, ut naviculam ſumerent, ſeque præcederent. At illi urgente jam veſpera profecti contrario vento laborare cœperunt. Cumque jam medium fretum tenerent, tum pedibus mare ingreſſus

'art

'*art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.* And the Spirit of 'God deſcended upon him in the ſhape of a white dove. From 'that time he began to work great miracles; which are ſo 'many, that one book is not ſufficient to contain them. I 'ſhall rehearſe them,' ſays he, 'briefly, and in general, with-'out names of perſons, or places. In this enumeration of our 'Lord's miracles he mentions his healing all ſorts of diſeaſes 'by his word only, and immediately; that they carried their 'beds, who before were carried by others: that the blind 'were enabled by him to ſee, the deaf to hear, the dumb to 'ſpeak, the lame to walk: that he healed thoſe who were all 'over leprous, and alſo raiſed the dead, as out of a ſleep: 'that the Jews, who ſaw theſe things, maliciouſly aſcribed 'them to dæmons. [See Matt. xii. 24.] He particularly re-'lates our Lord's feeding five thouſand in a deſert place with 'five loaves and two fiſhes; and that when all had been re-'freſhed and ſatisfied, there were twelve baſkets filled with 'the fragments that remained. He then relates our Lord's 'going up to a mountain, and ordering the diſciples to take 'ſhipping, and go over to the other ſide of the ſea before him. 'And ſays, that when they were in the midſt of the ſea, toſſed 'with a tempeſt, Chriſt came to them, walking upon the ſea, 'as upon dry land. And at another time, when he was aſleep 'in the ſhip, and the wind was extremely boiſterous, being 'awakened out of ſleep, he quieted the winds and the waves, 'and there was a great calm.'

6.) Here he ſtarts an objection. 'Perhaps [u] our ſacred 'ſcriptures do not ſpeak truth, when they aſcribe to Jeſus ſuch 'power and command over the wind, the ſeas, and all kinds 'of diſeaſes.'

This ſhews, that the goſpels, from whence he takes the hiſtory of theſe facts, were eſteemed ſacred by him, and all Chriſtians in general.

7.) Afterwards [x] he relates largely the hiſtory of our Lord's laſt ſufferings: 'how he was betrayed by Judas, proſecuted

ceſſerunt eos, tanquam in ſolido gradientes. —— Et rurſus, cum obdormiſſet in navi, & ventus uſque ad extremum periculum furere cœpiſſet, excitatus e ſomno, increpito vento protinus juſſit, & flatus, qui maxime ferebantur, conquieſcere: ſtatimque verbo ejus tranquillitas inſecuta eſt. L. 4. c. iv. c. 13. p. 395, 396, 397, 398, 399. [u] Mentiuntur fortaſſe literæ noſtræ, docentes, tantam fuiſſe in eo poteſtatem, ut imperio ſuo cogeret ventos obſequi, maria ſervire, morbos cedere, inferos obedire. ib. p. 399. [x] Quod cum ſciret futurum, & ſubinde diceret, oportere ſe pati ac interfici pro ſalute multorum, receſſit tamen cum diſcipulis ſuis,——Itaque Judas præmio illectus tradidit eum Judæis. At illi comprehenſum, ac Pontio Pilato —— oblatum, cruci affigi poſtulaverunt.——Duxerunt ergo eum flagellis verberatum, &, priuſquam cruci affigerent, illuſerunt. Indutum enim coloris puniceæ

'before Pilate, and condemned: how he was mocked and de-
'rided, being ſtruck with the palm of the hands, ſpit on,
'arrayed with a ſcarlet robe, and a crown of thorns, and then
'crucified between two robbers. And that [y] as he hung on
'the croſs, he cried with a loud voice, and reſigned his ſpirit.
'And likewiſe, that at the ſame time there was an earthquake,
'and the vail of the temple was rent: the ſun alſo was eclipſed,
'and there was darkneſs from the ſixth to the ninth hour.
'Finally [z] he proceeds to relate our Lord's burial, and the
'military guard at the ſepulchre, and his reſurrection on the
'third day, as he had foretold.'

8.) Of all theſe things he ſpeaks again ſummarily in the 'Epitome. And in another chapter of the [b] Inſtitutions he mentions many of our Lord's miracles.

9.) That whole hiſtory juſt tranſcribed, is plainly taken from our goſpels. And though, perhaps, it is not ſo eaſy to diſtinguiſh references to St. Mark's goſpel, as to the other three, yet I ſuppoſe moſt will allow, that here is good proof of his receiving our four goſpels, as authentic hiſtories of Jeſus Chriſt.

10.) In the Epitome he ſeems to allude to the parable of the phariſee and the publican, which we have in Luke xviii. 9—14. 'For humility,' ſays he, 'is dear and acceptable to 'God. And if he rather accepts a confeſſing ſinner, than a 'proud righteous man; how much more will he approve a 'righteous man, who confeſſeth his failings, and exalt him in 'his heavenly kingdom for his humility!'

veſte, ac ſpinis coronatum, quaſi regem ſalutaverunt, & dederunt ei cibum fellis, & miſcuerunt ei aceti potionem. Poſt hæc conſpuerunt in faciem ejus, & palmis cecciderunt. Cumque ipſi carnifices de veſtimentis ejus contenderent, ſortiti ſunt inter ſe de tunica & pallio.——Tum ſuſpenderunt eum inter duos noxios medium, qui ob latrocinia damnati erant, crucique affixerunt. ib. c. 18. p. 407, 408, 409, 410.

[y] Suſpenſus igitur atque affixus exclamavit ad Dominum voce magna, & ultro ſpiritum poſuit. Et eadem hora terræ motus factus eſt, & velum templi, quod ſeparabat duo tabernacula, ſciſſum eſt in duas partes, & ſol repente ſubductus eſt, & ab hora ſexta uſque in nonam tenebræ fuerunt. c. 19. p. 415. [z] Sed quoniam prædixerat, ſe tertio die ab inferis reſurrecturum, metuentes, ne a diſcipulis ſurrepto & amoto corpore, univerſi reſurrexiſſe eum crederent, & fieret multo major in plebe confuſio; detraxerunt eum cruci, & concluſum in monumento firmiter militari cuſtodia circumdederunt. Verum tertio die ante lucem terræ motu facto, repente patefactum eſt ſepulchrum, & cuſtodibus, quos attonitos obſtupefecerat pavor, nihil videntibus, integer, ſepulchro ac vivus egreſſus,——in ſepulchro vero nihil repertum eſt, niſi exuviæ, quibus involutum corpus incluſerant. ib. c. 19. p. 417. [a] Epit. c. 45, 46, 47. [b] l. iv. c. 26. [c] Humilitas enim cara & amabilis Deo eſt, qui cum magis ſuſcipiat peccatorem confitentem, quam juſtum ſuperbum; quanto magis juſtum ſuſcipiet confitentem, eumque in regnis cœleſtibus faciet pro humilitate ſublimem. Epit. c. 17.

11.) He

11.) He likewiſe ſays, 'that [d] God has commanded us, 'when we make a feaſt, to invite ſuch as cannot invite us 'again, and make us a recompenſe:' referring, I think, to Luke xiv. 12.

12.) He muſt be allowed now and then to uſe expreſſions alluſive to the goſpels. He ſpeaks of [e] having the mind, or heart in heaven. Compare Matt. vi. 21. Again: 'That [f] we 'may be able to do all theſe things, we muſt deſpiſe riches, 'and lay up to ourſelves heavenly treaſures, where no thief 'may break through, nor ruſt corrupt, nor tyrant plunder.' See Matt. vi. 19, 20.

13.) He may be reckoned likewiſe to refer to [g] what is in Matt. v. 27—32.

14.) I believe, few can make any doubt, but he has an eye to what is in [h] Luke vi. 35. and [i] Luke xvi. 25. and [k] Matt. vi. 1—4. and ‡ Matt. xix 10, 11, 12.

15.) St. John's goſpel is expreſsly quoted by him in this manner: 'So alſo [l] John declares, *In the beginning was the 'Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. 'All things were made by him, and without him was not any 'thing made.*' John i. 1, 2, 3. which [m] laſt words are alſo in the Epitome.

16.) He refers to John ii. 20. where [n] the Jews ſpeak of their temple having been forty and ſix years in building. Compare Mark xiv. 58.

[d] Nam Deus præcepit, ut ſi quando epulum paravermus, eos in convictum adhibeamus, qui revocare non poſſunt, & vicem reddere, &c. l. vi. c. 12. p. 585.

[e] Quiſquis enim aut Deum colendum ese intelligit, aut immortalitatis ſpem ſibi propoſitam habet, mens ejus in cœlo eſt. l. iii. c. 27. p. 353. [f] Ergo, ut hæc omnia, quæ Deo placent facere poſſimus, contemnenda eſt pecunia, & ad cœleſtes transferenda theſauros, ubi nec fur effodiat, nec rubigo conſumat, nec tyrannus eripiat. Epit. cap. 65. [g] —— addantur & illa, —— adulterum eſſe, qui a marito dimiſſam duxerit, & eum, qui præter crimen adulterii uxorem dimiſerit, ut alteram ducat.——Præterea non tantum adulterium cavendum, ſed etiam cogitationem: ne quis aſpiciat alienam & animo concupiſcat. Adulteram enim fieri mentem, ſi——l. vi. c. 23. p. 630. Vid. & Epit. c. 66.

[h] Id enim juſte, id pie, id humane fit, quod ſpe recipiendi feceris. l. vi. c. 11. p. 582. [i] Quia jam bonis, quæ maluerunt, potiti ſunt. l. vii. c. 11. in.

[k] Nec tamen, ſi quid boni fecerimus, gloriam captemus ex eo. Monet enim Deus operatorem juſtitiæ non oportere eſſe jactantem, ne non —— habeatque jam pretium gloriæ, quod captavit, nec præmium cœleſtis illius ac divinæ mercedis accipiat. l. vi. c. 18. ſub fin. ‡ Quod quidem Deus non ita fieri præcepit, tanquam adſtringat.——Si quis hoc, inquit, facere potuerit, habebit eximiam, incomparabilemque mercedem. l. vi. c. 23. p. 630.

[l] Joannes quoque ita tradidit: In principio erat Verbum, & Verbum erat apud Deum, & Deus erat Verbum. Omnia per ipſum facta ſunt, & ſine ipſo factum eſt nihil. l. iv. c. 8. f. [m] —— ſolus Deus nuncupatus. Omnia enim per ipſum, & ſine ipſo nihil. Epit. c. 42.

[n] Item, quod dixerat. Si ſolveritis hoc templum, quod ædificatum eſt annis 46. ego illud in triduo ſine manibus ſuſcitabo. l. iv. c. 18. p. 408.

17.) He

17.) He obſerves, that [o] the *Father loveth the Son, and giveth him all things:* referring, it is likely, to John iii. 35. and ch. v. 20. And that the Father and the Son are one, referring, probably, to John x. 30. I have tranſcribed the paſſage at the bottom of the page.

18.) He plainly has an eye to thoſe places in St. John's goſpel, where [p] Chriſt ſpeaks of his having power to lay down his life, and to take it up again. See particularly John x. 18.

19.) It is not unlikely, that he refers to the hiſtory of our Lord's raiſing Lazarus in John xi. when he ſays, that [q] Chriſt raiſed ſome from death, calling them by name. See ver. 43.

3. I apprehend, there is good reaſon to think, that Lactantius received and made uſe of the book of the Acts. But ſince he has not expreſsly quoted it, I am obliged to tranſcribe ſeveral paſſages, that my readers may judge for themſelves.

1.) He ſays, 'that [r] after his reſurrection, Chriſt having 'given commandment to his diſciples, concerning preaching 'the goſpel, on a ſudden a cloud ſurrounded him, and carried 'him up to heaven on the fortieth day of his paſſion.' See Acts i. 3—9.

2.) The like to which comes over again in the abridgment of the Inſtitutions, and is there expreſſed in this manner: 'Going [s] therefore into Galilee, after his reſurrection, he again 'gathered together his diſciples, whom fear had ſeparated, 'and having given commandment concerning the things to be 'obſerved by them, and appointed, that the goſpel ſhould be 'preached all over the world, he breathed into them the Holy 'Ghoſt, [ſee John xx. 22.] and gave them power to work 'miracles, that they might promote the ſalvation of men by 'their works, as well as by their words. And at length on 'the fiftieth day he returned to the Father, being taken up in 'a cloud.'

[o] Qui Filium non agnovit, nec Patrem potuit agnoſcere.——Nec tamen ſic habendum eſt, tanquam duo ſint Dii.——Pater enim ac Filius unum ſunt. Cum enim Pater Filium diligat, omniaque ei tribuat, & Filius fideliter obſequatur, nec velit quidquam, niſi quod Pater, & quæ ſequuntur. Epit. c. 49. [p] Nec hoc cuiquam ignorandum eſt, quod ipſe ante de ſua paſſione prædicans, etiam id notum fecerit, habere ſe poteſtatem, cum vellet, deponendi ſpiritum, & reſumendi. l. iv. c. 26. p. 437. [q] Jacentia mortuorum corpora erexit, coſque nominibus ſuis inclamatos a morte revocavit. l. iv. c. 26. p. 434. [r] Ordinato vero diſcipulis ſuis evangelio, ac nominis ſui prædicatione, circumfudit ſe repente nubes, eumque in cœlum ſuſtulit, quadrageſimo poſt paſſionem die. l. iv. c. 21. in. [s] Profectus igitur in Galilæam poſt reſurrectionem, diſcipulos ſuos rurſus, quos metus in fugam verterat, congregavit, datiſque mandatis, quæ obſervari vellet, & ordinata evangelii prædicatione per totum orbem inſpiravit in eos ſpiritum ſanctum, ac dedit eis poteſtatem miracula faciendi, ut in ſalutem hominum tam factis, quam verbis operarentur. Ac tum demum quinquageſimo die remeavit ad Patrem, ſublatus in nubem. Epit. c. 47.

Here

Here Lactantius ſays the fiftieth day. Dr. Davies in his notes upon the place ſays, it ſhould be the fortieth day, and that the number fifty is owing to the fault of the tranſcriber. There is the more reaſon, he ſays, to think ſo, becauſe in the parallel place in the Inſtitutions, before cited, is forty days, agreeably to Acts i. 3.

3.) In Acts ii. 27. St. Peter, ſpeaking of our Lord's reſurrection, quotes words out of the xvith Pſalm, which he applies to that event, as does Lactantius likewiſe in his [t] Inſtitutions, and [u] Epitome.

4.) St. Paul ſays, Acts xiii. 27. *For they that dwell at Jeruſalem, and their rulers, becauſe they knew him not, nor yet the voices of the prophets, which are read every ſabbath-day, they have fulfilled them in condemning him.* Lactantius ſeveral times [x] expreſſeth himſelf, as if had an eye to this text.

5.) He may be ſuppoſed to refer to [y] St. Paul's argument at Athens, which is in Acts xvii.

6.) In Acts xiv. 22. Paul and Barnabas teach the diſciples, that *we muſt through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God.* To this text it may be thought, that [z] Lactantius refers, unleſs he has an eye to 2 Tim. iii. 12. *Yea, and all that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus ſhall ſuffer perſecution.*

4. There are not in Lactantius many clear alluſions, or particular references to epiſtles of apoſtles.

1.) It may be argued however, that he was acquainted with the Acts, and the epiſtles of the apoſtles, from [a] the clear

[t] Illum autem apud inferos non remanſurum, ſed die tertio reſurrecturum, prophetæ cecinerant. David in Pſalmo xvi. Non derelinques animam meam apud inferos, nec dabis ſanctum tuum videre interitum. l. iv. c. 19. p. 418.

[u] Ipſum vero reſurrecturum die tertio jam olim prophetæ fuerant prolocuti. David in Pſalmo xvi. Non derelinques animam meam ad inferos, nec dabis ſanctum tuum videre corruptionem. Epit. c. 47.

[x] Sicut etiam voces prophetarum, quæ cum —— lectæ fuiſſent a populo Judæorum, nec tamen intellectæ ſunt,——l. iv. c. 15. fin

Cum igitur ea, quæ Deus fieri voluit, quæ per prophetas ſuos multis ſæculis ante prædixit, Chriſtus impleret, ob ea incitati, & divinas literas neſcientes, coiverunt, ut Deum ſuum condemnarent. ib c. 18. in.

Quid amplius jam de facinoribus Judæorum dici poteſt, quam, excæcatos tum fuiſſe, atque inſanabili furore correptos, qui hæc quotidie legentes neque intellexerunt, neque quin facerent, cavere potuerunt. ib. c. 19. in.

Harum literarum igitur immemores, quas legebant, &c. Epit. c. 45.

[y] Non ergo utitur his omnibus, quæ templis, diiſque fictilibus inferuntur. —— Illis autem, quæ in uſum tribuit homini Deus, ipſe non indiget, —— non indiget templo, non indiget ſimulachro. Epit. c. 58. —— per illum vivimus, per illum in hoſpitium hujus mundi intravimus —— in hujus domo habitamus, hujus familia ſumus. ——De Ira Dei, c. 23. p. 824, 825.

[z] —— & poſtea univerſos, qui eorum diſciplinam ſecuti eſſent, acerba & nefanda paſſuros. l. v. c. 3. p. 464. Quæ omnia tolerare ac perpeti neceſſe eſt eos, qui veritatem ſequuntur. l. iv. c. 26. p. 435.

[a] Exhæredatos autem eſſe Judæos, quia Chriſtum reprobaverunt, & nos, qui ſumus ex gentibus, in eorum locum adoptatos, ſcripturis adprobatur. Jeremias ita dicit.

manner

manner in which he ſpeaks of the rejection of the Jews, and the call of the Gentiles under the goſpel. But he quotes only the prophets of the Old Teſtament, when he ſpeaks of this matter.

2.) Lactantius often ſpeaks of [b] Chriſt's coming again to judge the quick and the dead. But that being mentioned in ſeveral books of the New Teſtament, we cannot ſay, to which book, or what text, he particularly refers.

3.) Speaking of good actions, he ſays: 'Theſe [d] are works, 'theſe are offices of compaſſion, which if a man performs, he 'offers a true and acceptable ſacrifice to God.' Perhaps he refers to Rom. xii. 1, 2.

4.) In another place he may be ſuppoſed to have an eye to [e] the prudent and generous conduct, recommended in Rom. xii. 14. and 18—21.

5.) He ſays, 'The divine ſcriptures [f] aſſure us, that the 'thoughts of philoſophers are fooliſh:' and [g] 'that philoſophy 'is fooliſhneſs with God.' St. Paul ſays, 1 Cor. i. 20. *Has not God made fooliſh the wiſdom of this world?* and ch. iii. 19, 20. *For the wiſdom of this world is fooliſhneſs with God.*—— And again, *the Lord knoweth the thoughts of the wiſe, that they are vain.* Which laſt words are a quotation from Pſal. xciv. 11. And compare Col. ii. 8.

6.) It is likely, that he refers to 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10. in words which I put in the [h] margin.

7.) He ſays, 'that [i] Chriſt ſits at the right-hand of God, 'and will ſubdue his enemies under his feet.' A like expreſſion is in 1 Cor. xv. 24, 25. and alſo in Heb. x. 12, 13. *But this man——ſat down on the right-hand of God: from thenceforth expecting, till his enemies be made his footſtool.*

——Malachias,——Eſaias quoque. Epit. c. 48. Si ergo Judæi a Deo rejecti ſunt, ſicut ſacrarum ſcripturarum fides indicat; gentes autem, ſicut videmus, adſcitæ, ac de tenebris hujus vitæ ſeculariis, deque vinculis dæmonum liberatæ.——ib. c. 49. in. Conf. Inſtit. l. iv. c. 20. [b] Ultimis enim temporibus ſtatuit de vivis ac mortuis judicare. l. ii. c. 17. ſub in. Veniet ergo ſummi ac maximi Dei filius, ut vivos ac mortuos judicet. l. vii. c. 24. in.

[c] Acts x. 42. 2 Tim. iv. 1. 1 Pet. iv. 5.

[d] Hæc ſunt opera, hæc officia miſericordiæ, quæ ſi quis obierit, verum & acceptum ſacrificium Deo immolabit. Hæc litabilior victima eſt apud Deum, qui non pecudis ſanguine, ſed hominis pietate placatur. Epit. c. 65. [e] —— Male dicenti bene dicto reſpondeat.——Quin etiam caveat diligenter, ne quando inimicum ſua culpa faciat. Et ſi quis exſtiterit tam protervus, qui bono & juſto faciat injuriam; clementer & moderate ferat, & ultionem ſuam non ſibi aſſumat, ſed judicio Dei reſervet. l. vi. c. 18. p. 609. [f] Cum enim ſit notum divinis literis traditum, cogitationes philoſophorum ſtultas eſſe. l. iii. c. 1. p. 235.

[g] —— terrena, & de terra ficta contemnant. Philoſophiam, quæ apud Deum ſtultitia eſt, pro nihilo computent. Epit. c. 5.

[h] Hujus præmii cœleſtis ac ſempiterni participes eſſe non poſſunt, qui fraudibus, rapinis, circumſcriptionibus conſcientiam ſuam pollaerunt, &c. De Ira Dei, c. 23. ſub fin. [i] Cum igitur ad dexteram Dei ſedeat, calcaturus inimicos, qui eum cruciaverunt.——Epit. c. 48. in.

8.) He

8.) He seems to refer to [k] the exhortation in Gal. vi. 2. *Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ.*

9.) I suppose, no one will hesitate to allow, that he refers to Eph. iv. 26. when he says: 'God [l] has enjoined us, not to 'let the sun go down upon our wrath.'

10.) He says, 'that [m] a good man, following the instruc-'tions of the gospel, will not be bitter toward his child, or 'his servant; knowing, that he also has a father and a master.' It is likely, that here is a reference to the admonitions in Eph. vi. 4—9. and Col. iii. 21, 22, 24. and iv. 1.

11. Perhaps he refers to Philip. ii. 6—9. when he says, 'that [n] Christ being sent to open the way of salvation to the 'meanest, he humbled himself, that he might help them. He 'therefore underwent that kind of death, which is wont to be 'inflicted on mean people, that all might be able to imitate 'him. Hence also he was highly exalted.'

12.) Perhaps, among other plain references to several things in the Revelation, he may refer to [o] 2 Thess. ii. 4. 9.

13. Lactantius has some observations and arguments, which are also in the epistle to the Hebrews. Whether he borrowed them thence, is not easy to say.

14.) In one place he argues after this manner: 'From [p] 'which reasons it appears, that all the prophets declared con-'cerning Christ, that the time would come, when being 'as to the body born of the seed of David, he should erect 'an eternal temple to God, which is called his church, and

[k] Nos ergo,——quibus solis a Deo veritas revelata, & cœlitus missa sapientia est, [illegible], quæ jubet illuminator noster Deus: [illegible] invicem. l. vi. c. 18. prop. in.

[l] Præcepit Deus, non occidere solum [illegible] nostram. l. vi. c. 18. sub fin. [illegible] in totum prohibet irasci:—— [illegible] prohibet in ira permanere.——Deinde [illegible] cum irasci quidem, sed tamen non [illegible], præcepit, non utique evellit iram [illegible] temperavit. Cum ille homi-[illegible] solis occasum reconciliari jubeat. [illegible] c. 21. p. 810.

[m] Non [illegible] filium, neque in servum. Me-[illegible], quod & ipse patrem habeat & do-[illegible]. Epit. c. 64.

[n] Nam cum [illegible] esse, ut humillimis quibusque [illegible] panderet ad salutem, se ipse humilem [illegible] eos liberaret. Suscepit ergo id [illegible] mortis, quod solet humilibus irroga-[illegible] omnibus facultas daretur imitandi.—[illegible] illud accidit, quod passione ac [illegible] suscepta sublimum fieri oportebat. Adeo illum crux & re & significatione exaltavit, ut omnibus majestas ejus ac virtus cum ipsa passione notuerit. Epit. c. 51.

[o] Rex vero ille teterrimus erit quidem, & ipse, sed mendaciorum, propheta. Et seipsum constituet ac vocabit Deum, & se coli jubebit ut Dei filium. l. vii. c. 17. p. 708.

[p] Quibus ex rebus aparet, prophetas omnes denuntiasse de Christo, fore aliquando, ut ex genere David corporaliter natus, constitueret æternum templum Deo, quod appellatur ecclesia, & universas gentes ad religionem Dei veram convocaret. Hæc est domus fidelis, hoc immortale templum,——cujus templi & magni & æterni quoniam Christus fabricator fuit, necesse est, habeat in eo sacerdotium sempiternum. Nec potest, nisi per eum, qui constituit templum, ad adytum templi, & ad conspectum Dei perveniri. David in Psalmo cx. id ipsum docet, dicens: Ante luciferum genui te. Juravit Dominus, & non pœnitebit eum. Tu es sacerdos, &c. l. iv. c. 14. in.

'that

'that he should gather all nations to the worship of God. This 'is the faithful house, the immortal temple. Of which great 'and eternal temple, because Christ is the builder, it is of 'necessity, that he have it in everlasting priesthood. Nor is 'it possible to enter the temple, and obtain the sight of God, 'but by him, who erected the temple. David teacheth the 'same thing in the cxth Psalm, saying, *Before the morning star 'I begot thee. The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou 'art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek.*'

These thoughts of Lactantius may be compared with some texts in the Epistle to the Hebrews, as ch. iii. 3—6. and ch. v. 5, 6. and vii. 21. And besides, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews speaks likewise of Christ having an *unchange-'able*, or eternal priesthood, ch. vii. 24. and often of our *coming to God through him*. See ch. iv. 16. vii. 25.

15.) Lactantius has an argument [q] extremely resembling that in Heb. viii. 7—13. and quotes the same text of Jeremiah, which is there quoted, as well as some others.

16.) He says of Christ, in the words of Heb. vii. 3. that [r] he was *without father, and without mother*.

17.) He says, 'that [s] till a testator is dead, a testament can 'be of no force:' which is also in Heb. ix. 16, 17. but that is an obvious thought.

18.) He has an argument [t] to patience under afflictions, much resembling that in Heb. xii. 5—10.

19.) Frederic Spanheim, in his Dissertation concerning the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, alleges not any passages from Lactantius, not [u] expecting in him testimonies to particular books of scripture. Nevertheless he argues it to be probable, that [x] Lactantius received this Epistle, because it was,

[q] Sicut Hieremias propheta testatur: Ecce dies veniunt, dicit Dominus, & consummabo domui Israel & domui Juda testamentum novum.——Nam quod superius ait, consummaturum se domui Juda testamentum novum; ostendit, vetus illud testamentum, quod per Mosen est datum, non fuisse perfectum: id autem, quod per Christum dari haberet, consummatum fore. l. iv. c. 20. p. 421.

[r] Iccirco etiam Filium nasci oportuit, ut ipse fieret ἀπάτωρ, atque ἀμήτωρ, &c. l. iv. c. 13. p. 387.

[s] —— quia nisi testator mortuus fuerit, nec confirmari testamentum potest, nec sciri, quid in eo scriptum sit; quia clausum, & obsignatum est. l. iv. c. 20. p. 420.

[t] Quare nemini mirum debet videri, si pro nostris sæpe delictis castigamur a Deo. Imo vero cum vexamur ac premimur, tum maxime gratias agimus indulgentissimo patri, quod corruptelam nostram non patitur longius procedere, sed plagis ac verberibus emendat. Ex quo intelligimus, esse nos Deo curæ: quoniam cum peccamus, irascitur. l. v. c. 22. p. 532.

[u] Paulum epistolæ auctorem nec affirmat, nec negat, totus in gentibus confutandis. Spanh. Opp. T. ii. p. 201. n. vi.

[x] Interim epistolam ad Hebræos adscripsisse Paulo, vel ex omnium fere Latinorum, quotquot etiam ex Afris, post Lactantium, scripsere, consensu colligimus. ibid.

he says, generally received as Paul's by the Latin Christians after his time.

5. Doubtless Lactantius admitted the authority of all those catholic Epistles, which were universally received by Christians all along. But it is not easy to perceive in his works references to any of them. However I shall observe a few particulars.

1.) 'If [y] any one lack food, let us give it him: if we see 'any one naked, let us clothe him: if any one is oppressed by 'the powerful, let us rescue him. Let our dwelling be open 'to strangers, and such as have no home: let us not fail to 'defend and relieve the widow and the fatherless. It is a 'noble act of compassion, to redeem such as have been car-'ried into captivity by enemies, as also to visit and comfort 'the sick and the poor.' See James i. 27. and ch. ii. 13, 14, 15. But it must be owned, that there are also like expressions in other books of the New Testament: as Matt. xxv. 42—44. 1 Tim. v. 10. Heb. xiii. 2.

2.) St. James says, ch. ii. 19. *The dæmons also believe, and tremble.* Lactantius has a like [z] observation.

3.) St. James, ch. v. 20. speaks of *converting a sinner from the error of his way, and saving a soul from death.* Lactantius has like [a] expressions.

4.) He says, 'that [b] Jesus is health and salvation to all those, 'who by him do believe in God:' which resembles 1 Pet. i. 21.

5.) St. Peter says, 1 ep. v. 8. *Be sober, be vigilant, because your adversary, the devil, as a roaring lion, seeketh whom he may devour.* Lactantius in an argument to sobriety, calls [c] Satan 'our adversary,' and insists upon his dangerous temptations to intemperance. There are some other places, where [d] he seems to have eye to that text of St. Peter.

6.) St. Peter, 2 ep. i. 14. has these words: *Knowing, that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus*

[illegible] victu indiget, impertiamus: si [illegible] occurrerit, vestiamus: si quis [illegible] sustinet, eruamus. [illegible] domicilium nostrum peregrinis, vel [illegible] tecto. Pupillis defensio, viduis [illegible] non desit. Redimere ab hoste [illegible] magnum misericordiæ opus est. [illegible] pauperes visitare atque fovere. [illegible] c. 15. [z] Nam & angeli Deum [illegible] & dæmones reformidant Deum, [illegible] ab eo & puniuntur. l. vii. c. 21. prop. in. [a] Quid igitur? Occiamne perdemus? Minime. Nam si [illegible] a morte, ad quam concitassime [illegible] potuerimus: si ab illo itinere devio ad vitam lucemque revocare, —— nostros tamen confirmabimus. l. v. c. 1. p. 457. [b] Salvator ideo, quia est sanatio & salus omnium, qui per eum credunt in Deum. Epit. c. 42. sub fin.

[c] Scit ergo adversarius ille noster, quanta sit vis hujus cupiditatis.——Objicit quippe oculis imitabiles formas, suggerit somnia, & vitiis pabulum subministrat. l. vi. c. 22. p. 625. [d] —— ne quando in laqueos adversarii nostri, — incidamus. l. iv. c. 30. p. 448. Nam & ille colluctator & adversarius noster, scis, quam sit astutus, & idem ipse violentus, sicuti nunc videmus. De Opif. c. 1. p. 830.

Christ

Christ has showed me: which thing is also spoken of John xxi. 18. Lactantius observes, 'that [e] the apostles of Christ did not only 'suffer death for the gospel, but they likewise knew it before-'hand, and foretold it.' Whether he refers to that text of St. Peter, or to some text of St. Paul, where he speaks of expecting death, or to both, we cannot certainly say. See 2 Tim. iv. 6.

7.) Lactantius says, 'He [f] that does not acknowledge the 'Son, neither can he acknowledge the Father.' Which is very agreeable to 1 John ii. 23. But there is somewhat resembling that observation in words of our Lord, John viii. 19. and in xiv. 1—7.

8.) Speaking of Christians, he says, 'No [g] evil can so af-'fright us, as to hinder us from keeping the faith that has 'been delivered to us.' But we cannot be sure that he refers to Jude, ver. 3.

6. That Lactantius received and respected the book of the Revelation, is evident from what he writes about Christ's coming to reign a thousand years upon this earth. I refer in the margin to some places in [h] the Institutions, and [i] the Epitome, where he plainly borrows from the Revelation.

1.) Moreover he expressly cites it. 'The [k] Son of God,' says he, 'has a name known to none but himself, and the Fa-'ther, as John teacheth in the Revelation:' undoubtedly intending Rev. xix. 12. *And he had a name, which no man knew, but himself.*

2.) He quotes the book very respectfully, saying, 'The 'divine scriptures call the future everlasting punishment of 'bad men the second death.' See Rev. ii. 11.

7. We saw before what Lactantius says of all Scripture consisting of the Old and the New Testament. This collection he calls [m] divine scripture, [n] sacred books, [o] scriptures of truth,

[e] Et qui non tantum pro fide mortem subierint, sed etiam, morituros esse se, & scierint & prædixerint. l. v. c. 3. p. 464.

[f] Nec sibi de summo Deo vel Judæi vel Philosophi blandiantur. Qui Filium non agnovit, nec Patrem potuit agnoscere. Epit. c. 49. prop. in. [g] Nullus nos metus, nullus terror inflectat, quo minus traditam nobis fidem custodiamus. Epit. c. 66. [h] Vid. Inst. l. vii. c. 17.

[i] Epit. c. 73, 74. [k] Hujus nomen nulli est notum, nisi ipsi & Patri, sicut docet Johannes in Revelatione. Epit. c. 42. sub fin. [l] Is vero damnatus æternam luit pœnam, quam divinæ literæ secundam mortem nominant. l. vii. c. 10. p. 679. Eam pœnam secundam mortem nominamus. l. ii. c. 12. p. 206.

[m] Docent autem divinæ literæ non extingui animas, sed aut pro justitia præmio affici, aut pœna pro sceleribus sempiterna. l. iii. c. 19. p. 302. [n] Sed tamen sanctæ literæ docent: in quibus cautum est, inesse Dei filium, Dei esse sermonem. l. iv. c. 6. p. 370. Mentiuntur fortasse literæ sanctæ, docentes tantam fuisse in eo potestatem, ut imperio suo cogeret ventos, &c. ib. c. 15. p. 399. [o] Nullas enim literas veritatis attigerant. l. ii. c. 10. p. 195. Sed videlicet Græci, qui sacras veritatis literas non attigerant. l. iii. c. 16. p. 288.

archives

archives [p] of ſacred ſcripture, word of God, and the like: ſometimes by ſuch expreſſions particularly intending the Old, at other times the New Teſtament. 'Bring me a man,' ſays [q] he, 'who is paſſionate, abuſive, ungovernable; with a few 'words of God I will make him as meek as a lamb.' He alſo frequently calls them [r] heavenly ſcriptures.

1.) And though Lactantius, for a reaſon formerly aſſigned, ſcrupled to quote the New Teſtament, as deciſive; he doubtleſs ſo eſteemed it, in like manner as he did the Old, which he frequently quotes, as of authority. 'But [s] why do I ſtrive to 'prove the immortality of the ſoul by arguments, when we 'have divine teſtimonies?' 'For the ſacred ſcriptures and the 'words of the prophets teach it.' And in another place, to the like purpoſe, he ſays, 'he [t] will prove the future rewards 'of virtue by probable arguments of reaſon, and by teſtimo-'nies of the divine ſcriptures.' And in many of the paſſages juſt cited, and tranſcribed by me in the margin, the epithets, ſacred and divine, are given by him to the ſcriptures of the New Teſtament. And referring to the ſublime moral directions of the Chriſtian revelation, which are either in the goſpels, or the epiſtles, he not ſeldom introduces them in this reſpectful manner: God [u] commands us not to boaſt of good works done by us, and the like.

2.) Lactantius more than once intimates, that [x] the celeſtial ſcriptures were deſpiſed and derided by many heathens, for want of elegance and politeneſs of ſtyle. As for himſelf, he approves of the ſtyle of Scripture, as it is: ſaying, that [y] it is

[p] —— ante diem ſeptimam Calendarum Aprilium Judæi Chriſtum cruci affixerunt. Hic rerum textus, hic ordo in arcanis ſanctarum literarum continetur. l. iv. c. 10. p. 379. [q] See before, p. 42. note [d].

[r] —— quos vera cœleſtium literarum doctrina non imbuit. l. iv. c. 22. in. Quidam vero non ſatis cœleſtibus literis eruditi. l. iv. c. 30. p. [s] Sed quid argumentis colligimus æternas eſſe animas, quum habeamus teſtimonia divina? Id enim ſacræ literæ & voces prophetarum docent. Epit. c. 71. [t] Satis & huic parti faciamus, tum teſtimoniis divinarum literarum, tum etiam probabilibus argumentis. —— l. vii. c. 1. p. 646. [u] Idem Deus præcepit, ut ſi quando cœnam paraverimus. —— l. vi. c. 12. ſub in. Monet enim Deus operatorem juſtitiæ, non oportere eſſe jactantem.—— l. vi. c. 18. prop. in. Quod quidem ita Deus præcepit.—— l. vi. c. 23. p. 630.——faciamus quæ jubet illuminator, noſter Deus. l. v. c. 18. prop. in. Præcepit Deus, non occidere ſolem ſuper iram noſtram. ib. ſub fin.

[x] Inde eſt, quod ſcriptis cœleſtibus, quia videntur incompta, non facile credunt, qui aut ipſi ſunt diſerti, aut diſerta legere malunt, nec quærunt vera, ſed dulcia.—— Ita reſpuunt veritatem, dum ſermonis ſuavitate capiuntur. Epit. c. 62. Nam hæc in primis cauſa eſt, cur apud ſapientes & doctos & principes hujus ſæculi, ſcriptura ſancta fide careat, quod prophetæ communi ac ſimplici ſermone, ut ad populum, ſunt locuti. Contemnuntur itaque ab iis, qui nihil audire vel legere, niſi expolitum ac diſertum, volunt.——Non credunt ergo divinis, quia fuco carent: ſed ne illis quidem, qui ea interpretantur, quia ſunt & ipſi aut omnino rudes, aut certe parum docti. l. v. c. 1. p. 458. [y] Adſueti enim dulcibus & politis ſive orationibus ſive carminibus divinarum literarum ſimpli-

the effect of wiſe deſign. Divine things are delivered to us without artificial ornaments, in the language of the people, that all might underſtand what God ſpake to all.

3.) By which it may be perceived, that Lactantius was not for concealing the ſcriptures from men of any condition. And indeed he ſays in another place, 'If [z] any one deſires farther 'information upon the point, or does not intirely credit me, 'let him go to the ſacred treaſury of the celeſtial ſcriptures.'

4.) He has another juſt obſervation concerning the conciſe authority, with which things are uſually delivered in ſcripture. 'It [a] is ſuch as became God, when ſpeaking to men. Many 'reaſons and arguments are needleſs, and would have been 'improper, and unbecoming the divine majeſty.' Seneca has a like [b] obſervation.

5.) He has an argument in behalf of the credibility of the evangelical hiſtory, in anſwer to one of the heathen authors, who in his time wrote againſt the Chriſtians: 'This [c] hiſtory, 'ſays he, is true. For it is intirely uniform, and conſiſtent 'throughout, though written by illiterate and ignorant men. 'Nor did they invent, for the ſake of gain, or any other 'worldly advantage; for they taught and practiſed the ſtricteſt 'rules of ſelf-denial. They not only died in teſtimony to the 'doctrine they preached, but they knew before-hand, that 'they muſt die for it, and foretold their death. And they de-'clared likewiſe, that all others who received their doctrine 'muſt ſuffer perſecution.'

cem communemque ſermonem pro ſordido aſpernantur. Num igitur Deus, & mentis & vocis & linguæ artifex, diſerte loqui non poteſt? Immo vero ſumma providentia cavere fuco voluit ea, quæ divina ſunt, ut omnes intelligerent ea, quæ ipſe omnibus loquebatur. l. vi. c. 21. [z] —— ut teſtimoniis utamur, immenſum eſt. Si quis illa deſiderat, aut nobis minus credit, adeat ad ipſum ſacrarium cœleſtium literarum. Epit. c. 70. al 72. p. 837. ed Daviſ.

[a] Quæ quidem tradita ſunt breviter ac nude. Nec enim decebat aliter: ut, cum Deus ad hominem loqueretur, argumentis aſſereret ſuas voces, tanquam fides ei non haberetur: ſed, ut oportuit, eſt locutus, quaſi rerum omnium maximus judex, cujus non eſt argumentari, ſed pronuntiare. Verum ipſe ut Deus. l. iii. c. 1. p. 235. [b] In hac re diſſentio a Poſſidonio. Non probo, quod Platonis legibus adjecta principia ſunt. Legem enim brevem eſſe oportet, quo facilius ab imperitis teneatur, velut emiſſa divinitus vox ſit. Jubeat, non diſputet. Nihil videtur mihi frigidius, nihil inepti[us], quam lex cum prologo. Senec. Ep. 95. T. ii. p. 436, 447. Amſt. 1672.

[c] Abfuit ergo ab his fingendi voluntas & aſſentia, quoniam rudes fuerunt. Aut quo poſſit indoctus apta inter ſe & cohærentia fingere, cum philoſophorum doctiſſimi, Plato & Ariſtoteles, & Epicurus & Zeno, ipſi ſibi repugnantia & contraria dixerint? Hæc eſt enim mendaciorum natura, ut cohærere non poſſint. Illorum autem traditio, quia vera eſt, quadrat undique, ac ſibi tota conſentit, & ideo perſuadet.——Non igitur quæſtus & commodi gratia religionem iſtam commenti ſunt, quippe & præcepta & re ipſa vitam ſecuti ſunt, quæ & voluptatibus caret, & omnia, quæ habentur in bonis, ſpernit: & qui non tantum pro fide mortem ſubierint, ſed etiam morituros eſſe ſe, & ſcierint & prædixerint, & poſtea univerſos, qui eorum diſciplinam ſecuti eſſent, acerba & nefanda paſſuros. l. v. c. 3. in.

VII. It

VII. It will be ſome addition to our trouble, to conſider, whether Lactantius quotes any books, which are not a part of the preſent received canon of Chriſtians, with the like regard to what he has ſhewn to thoſe already mentioned.

1. And it muſt be owned, that he has frequently quoted in his Divine Inſtitutions the Sibylline Verſes, or the Poems of the Sibyls, and ſome writings of Hydaſpes, and Hermes Triſmegiſtus; or however, writings aſcribed to them: and once a book, intitled the Preaching of Peter.

2. The Sibylline verſes more eſpecially are quoted by him. He conſiders them, as containing predictions concerning Chriſt, and ſome of them very plain. He makes uſe of them, as arguments for the truth of the hiſtory of things recorded in the ſacred Scripture, and believed and taught by Chriſtians. Nevertheleſs he did not reckon them a part of thoſe books, which were of authority with Chriſtians. A few quotations from him may render this evident.

3. 'The Sibyl[d] teſtifies, that man is the work of God. The 'ſame is contained in the ſacred ſcriptures.' And ſoon after: 'As[e] the ſacred ſcriptures teach, and likewiſe the Erythræan 'Sibyl.' Therefore the Sibylline poems were not a part of ſcripture.

4. Though the Sibyls, according to him, foretold many future thing, he does not allow them the title and character of prophets, in the moſt honourable ſenſe of the word. 'That '[f] theſe things,' ſays he, 'were to come to paſs, is declared 'in the words of the prophets, and in the Sibylline poems.' And exactly to the ſame purpoſe in the [g] Epitome. Again: 'Epicurus, who [h] denied a future ſtate, is confuted not only 'by the reſt of the philoſophers, and the common opinion, 'but likewiſe by the anſwers of oracles, the poems of the Si-'byls, and the divine words of the prophets.' I put in the margin [i] another like place.

5. Moreover, though Lactantius thought fit to fetch arguments from theſe writings, in ſupport of the Chriſtian religion againſt heathens, it can never be ſuſpected, that he allowed

d Sibylla hominem Dei opus eſſe teſtatur. —— Eadem ſanctæ literæ continent. l. ii. c. 11. p. 202, 203. e —— ſicut ſacræ literæ docent, & Sibylla Erythræa. —— ib. c. 15. p. 210. f Hæc autem ſic futura teſtatus, & prophetarum vocibus, & Sibyllinis carminibus denuntiatum eſt. l. iv. c. 18. p. 410. g Quæ omnia & in Prophetarum libris, & in carminibus Sibyllinis prædicta invenimus. Ep. c. 45.

h Quid quod idem animas extinguibiles facit: quem refellunt non modo philoſophi, & publica perſuaſio: verum etiam reſponſa vatum, carmina Sibyllarum, ipſæ denique divinæ voces prophetarum. Epit. c. 36. i Id enim ſacræ literæ ac voces Prophetarum docent. Quod ſi cui parum id videtur, legat carmina Sibyllarum. Apollinis quoque Milefii reſponſa conſideret. Epit. c. 70. al. 71. p. 835. Dav.

them canonical authority, because he ascribed their predictions to the instinct of dæmons. 'The [k] prophets,' says he, 'foretold these things by the Spirit of God: the diviners, as Hydaspes, Hermes, the Sibyl, by the impulse of dæmons:' that is, evil spirits. For, as Origen assures us, with [l] Christians, all dæmons were so reputed: they did not call any good beings dæmons.

6. That Lactantius calls all those writers vates, or diviners, we have just seen. In the like manner he speaks of them in other [m] places. That under that title and character the Sibyls are included, is most manifest from a [n] passage, which I place at the bottom of the page.

7. His reasons for frequently quoting these writings, and his views therein, appear, I think, in this passage of the seventh book of the Institutions: 'I [o] have proved the immortality of the soul by reason. It remains, that I produce testimonies to the same doctrine: nevertheless, I shall not now cite the prophets,——but such witnesses rather, as they cannot refuse, who as yet know not the truth.' After which he proceeds to allege Hermes Trismegistus, an oracle of Apollo, and the Sibylline poems. He speaks to the like purpose in the first book of the [p] Institutions.

8. I have already several times [q] had occasion to take notice of these Sibylline books, and of the use which Lactantius, in particular, has made of them. I would add here, that Lactantius having shewn what was the number of Sibyls, according [r] to accounts given by Varro, and several other learned

[k] Hæc ita futura esse, cum prophetæ omnes ex Dei spiritu, tum etiam vates ex extinctu dæmonum cecinerunt ——Sed & illud non sine dæmonum fraude subtractum est, missum iri a Patre tunc filium Dei.—quod Hermes tamen non dissimulavit.——Sibyllæ quoque non aliter fore ostendunt. l. vii. c. 18. [l] Κατα μεν ουν ημας, τους λεγοντας, παντας δαιμονας ειναι φαυλους. Or. contr. Cels. l. viii. T. 1. p. 770. E. F. Benedict. [m] Denique ut taceam de prophetis unius Dei prædicatoribus, poetæque, & philosophi, & vates testimonium singulari Deo perhibent. Epit. c. 3. prop. in. [n] Superest de vatibus dicere. Varro decem Sibyllas fuisse tradit. Epit. c. 5. in. [o] Declaravi, ut opinor, animam non esse solubilem. Superest, citare testes, quorum auctoritate argumenta firmentur. Neque nunc prophetas in testimonium vocabo,——sed eos potius, quibus istos, qui respuunt veritatem, credere sit necesse. Hermes naturam hominis describens.——Polites quidam consuluit Apollinem Milesium, utrum maneat anima post mortem, an resolvatur: & respondit hoc versibus.——Quid Carmina Sibyllina?—l. vii. c. 13. in. &c. [p] Sed [illegible] defendamus causam veritatis apud eos, [illegible] oberrantes a veritate falsis religionibus [illegible] viunt: quod genus probationis adversus eos magis adhibere debemus, quam ut [illegible] deorum suorum testimoniis revincam. l. 1. c. 6 fin. [q] See Sibylline Books in the Index. [r] M. Varro, [illegible] nemo unquam doctior, ne apud Græcos, nedum apud Latinos, in libris rerum divinarum.——Cum de Quindecim Viris [illegible] queretur, Sibyllinos libros ait, non [illegible] unius Sibyllæ, sed appellari uno nomine Sibyllinos, quod omnes fœminæ vates Sibyllæ sunt a veteribus appellatæ.—Cæterum Sibyllas decem numero fuisse, easque omnes enumeravit. l. i. c. 6. p. 31. Superest [illegible]

heathen

heathen authors, informs us, what Sibylline books he made uſe of and quoted, or ſuppoſed he quoted. He ſays, that the volumes of the Cumæan Sibyl, containing the fates of the Roman empire, are kept ſecret; but the books of the reſt are open to every body. He ſpeaks to this purpoſe in the [s] Inſtitutions, the [t] Epitome, and [u] the treatiſe Of the Wrath of God. He ſays, in [x] the Epitome, that all the Sibylline books, except thoſe of the Cumæan Sibyl, teach one God, Creator and Governor of the world. In [y] the Inſtitutions he ſeems to ſay the ſame thing of all in general, without exception, particularly the Erythræan Sibyl, in verſes brought to Rome from Erythræ, by order of the ſenate.

9. The Preaching of Peter is but once quoted by Lactantius; it is in this manner: 'After [z] his reſurrection, Chriſt 'opened to his diſciples all things which ſhould come to paſs, 'which things Peter and Paul preached at Rome. And for 'the better remembrance, that preaching has been written, 'and remains to this time. In which, beſide many other 'wonderful things, they ſay it would come to paſs, that in a 'ſhort time God would ſend a king, who would conquer the 'Jews, overthrow their cities, and bring upon them many 'dreadful afflictions and calamities.'

Upon this book I have already had occaſion to make divers remarks, in [a] the chapter of Clement of Alexandria, and in the article of [b] the Anonymous Author of the treatiſe Of Rebap-

veribus dicere. Varro decem Sibyllas fuiſſe, t. ait, primam de Perſis,——quartam Cumanam, quintam Erythræam.—Epit. c. .

[s] Harum omnium Sibyllarum carmina & feruntur & habentur, præterquam Cumanæ: cujus libri a Romanis occuluntur. Nec eos ab ullo, niſi a Quindecim Viris, inſpici nos habent. l. i. c. 6. p. 35, 36.

[t] Ex his omnibus Cumanæ ſolius tres eſſe libros, qui Romanorum fata contineant, & habeantur arcani; cæterarum autem fere carmina ſingulos extare haberique vulgo, Judæos Sibyllinos velut uno nomine inſcribi, nihil quod Erythræa, —— nomen ſuum vates poſuit in libro, aliarum confuſi ſunt. Hæ omnes, de quibus dixi, Sibyllæ, præter Cumanam, quam legi niſi a Quindecim viris non licet, unum Deum eſſe teſtantur principem, conditorem,—Epit. c. 5.

[u] Veram quia plures, ut offendi, Sibyllæ a doctiſſimis auctoribus fuiſſe traduntur, —— Cumanæ quidem volumina, quibus Romana fata conſcripta ſunt, in arcanis habentur; cæterarum tamen fere omnium libelli, quo minus in uſu ſint omnibus, non vetantur. De Ira Dei, cap. 23. in.

[x] See before note [t]. [y] Omnes igitur hæ Sibyllæ unum Deum prædicant, maxime tamen Erythræa, quæ celebrior, inter cæteras ac nobilior habetur. Siquidem Fenestella, diligentiſſimus ſcriptor, de quindecemviris dicens, ait: Reſtituto Capitolio, retuliſſe ad ſenatum C. Curionem Coſ. ut legati Erythas mitterentur, qui carmina Sibyllæ conquiſita Romam deportarent.——In iis ergo verſibus, quos legati Romam attulerunt, de uno Deo hæc ſunt teſtimonia. l. i. c. 6. p. 37. [z] Sed & futura aperuit illis omnia, quæ Petrus & Paulus Romæ prædicaverunt, Et ea prædicatio in memoriam ſcripta permanſit: in qua cum multa alia mira, tum etiam hoc futurum eſſe dixerunt, ut poſt breve tempus immitteret Deus regem, qui expugnaret Judæos, & civitates eorum ſolo adæquaret, ipſos autem fame ſitique obſideret.—l. iv. c. 21. p. 422, 423. [a] Vol. ii. p. 236—239. [b] Vol. iii. p. 197.

tizing, joined with St. Cyprian's works: to which the reader is referred.

Upon this paſſage of Lactantius we may now make the following remarks.

1.) It is probable, that this book contained ſome account of the preaching both of St. Peter and St. Paul.

2.) It is likely, that Lactantius did not know who was the author of it.

3.) There is no reaſon to conclude from this paſſage, that the preaching here ſpoken of, was eſteemed by Lactantius, or other Chriſtians at that time, a book of authority, or a part of ſacred ſcripture.

VIII. Nothing remains, but that we briefly ſum up this writer's teſtimony to the ſcriptures.

We have ſeen in Lactantius references to the goſpels, the Acts of the apoſtles, and ſome of the epiſtles, and to the book of the Revelation, which he expreſsly quotes as ſacred ſcripture, and written by John. We have likewiſe obſerved plain proof of his having a collection of ſcriptures, conſiſting of the Old and New Teſtament; which he eſteemed ſacred and divine, and of the higheſt authority. If Lactantius had not purpoſely reſtrained himſelf from quoting Chriſtian ſcriptures in his arguments with heathens, his teſtimony would have been much more full and particular. For, notwithſtanding the reſervedneſs, which he impoſed on himſelf in that reſpect, there are in him many alluſions and references to them: which ſeems to ſhew, that the Chriſtians of that time were ſo habituated to the language of ſcripture, that it was not eaſy for them to avoid the uſe of it, whenever they diſcourſed upon things of a religious nature.

His quotations of Sibylline books, and other writings, aſcribed to heathen vates or diviners, ſuch as Hydaſpes and Hermes Triſmegiſtus, have been juſt now accounted for. And it has been ſhewn, that he was far from eſteeming them of canonical authority. Nor does it appear, that he placed the Preaching of Peter and Paul in the rank of ſacred ſcripture, though he has once quoted it.

IX. We come now to the author of the book Of the Deaths of Perſecutors: in whom there are no quotations of ſcripture, and but few references or alluſions to it. I ſhall therefore tranſcribe but little from him at preſent.

1. It is manifeſt, that he refers to the Acts of the apoſtles, and perhaps to the goſpels likewiſe, in the ſecond chapter of his

his work: 'Near[c] the end of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, as 'we find it written, our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified by 'the Jews. When he had risen again on the third day, he 'assembled his disciples, whom the fright of his apprehension 'had dispersed. And continuing with them forty days, he 'opened their hearts, and explained to them the scriptures, 'which to that time were obscure and difficult to them. He 'also gave them instructions concerning the preaching his 'doctrine.—When he had so done, he was surrounded by a 'cloud, which withdrawing him from human sight carried 'him up to heaven. Whereupon his disciples, who were then 'eleven, taking into the room of Judas the traitor Matthias 'and Paul, went abroad throughout the world, and preached 'the gospel, as the Lord had commanded them.'

2. This writer speaks of the early success of the apostles in preaching the gospel, and the swift progress of the Christian religion in the[d] time of Nero, and afterwards, particularly[e] in the times following the reign of Domitian.

3. He speaks[f] of the coming of Antichrist: perhaps he has therein an eye to the book of the Revelation.

4. Finally, he takes notice of the burning[g] of the Christian scriptures in Dioclesian's persecution.

[c] Extremis temporibus Tiberii Cæsaris, ut scriptum legimus, Dominus noster Jesus Christus a Judæis cruciatus est post diem [illegible] calendarum Aprilis, duobus Ge[illegible] Consulibus. Cum resurrexisset die tertio, congregavit discipulos, quos metus comprehensionis ejus in fugam verterat, [illegible] quadraginta cum his commoratus, [illegible] cordi eorum, & scripturas interpre[illegible] est, quæ usque ad id tempus obscuræ [illegible] involutæ fuerant. Ordinavitque eos, [illegible] instruxit ad prædicationem dogmatis ac [illegible] suæ.——Quo officio repleto, cir[illegible] cum procella nubis, & subtractum [illegible] hominum rapuit in cœlum. Et inde discipuli, qui tunc erant undecim, assumtis in locum Judæi proditoris Matthia & Paulo, dispersi sunt per omnem terram ad evangelium prædicandum, sicut illis magister Dominus imperaverat.——De M. P. c. 2. [illegible]

[d] —— & per annos 25. usque [illegible] principium Neroniani imperii per om[illegible] provincias & civitates ecclesiæ fundamenta miserunt. —— Qua re ad Neronem [illegible], cum animadverteret, non modo Romæ, sed ubique quotidie magnam multitudinem deficere a cultu idolorum, & ad religionem novam, damnata vetustate, transire.——ib. c. 2.

[e] Rescissis igitur actis Tyranni, non modo in statum pristinum ecclesia restituta est, sed etiam multo clarius ac floridius enituit: secutisque temporibus, quibus multi ac boni principes Romani imperii clavum regimenque tenuerunt, nullos inimicorum impetus passa, manus suas in orientem occidentemque porrexit: ut jam nullus esset terrarum angulus tam remotus, quo non religio Dei penetrasset, nulla denique natio tam feris moribus vivens, ut non suscepto Dei cultu ad justitiæ opera mitesceret. cap. 3. fin.

[f] —— ut quia primus persecutus est, idem etiam novissimus persequatur, & Antichristi præcedat adventum,——cap. 2.

[g] Qui dies cum illuxisset, —— repente adhuc dubia luce ad ecclesiam profectus cum ducibus ac tribunis & rationalibus venit: & revulsis foribus simulachrum Dei quæritur, scripturæ repertæ incenduntur. cap. 12.

CHAP. LXVI.

Of burning the Scriptures, and of Traitors, in the time of Dioclesian's Persecution.

1. Eusebius assures us, that in the imperial edict for Dioclesian's persecution in 303. it was expressly ordered, not only that the Christian churches should be demolished, but also that [a] their scriptures should be burned. And this was one of the affecting scenes of that persecution, that [b] he had seen the sacred and divine scriptures burned in market-places.

2. This order shews, that the heathen people were now sensible of the importance of the scriptures, which the Christians made use of as the grounds of their religion, the rule of their conduct, and the support of their steadiness and zeal.

3. The burning [c] of the scriptures is also mentioned by the author Of the Deaths of Persecutors, in his account of this persecution; but he does not speak of it so particularly, and so much at large, as might have been expected.

4. Arnobius likewise refers to it, and insists, that [d] there was nothing dishonourable to the Deity in the scriptures of the Christians, that should expose them to such usage from the heathen people: though many writings of their own well deserved to perish in the flames.

5. The first council of Arles, which met in 314. soon after the persecution was over, made a canon, that [e] whoever of the clergy should be convicted by the public acts of betraying to the persecutors the scriptures, or any of the holy vessels, or the names of any of their brethren, should be deposed.

6. This was peculiar to Dioclesian's persecution: at least we do not know of any such order before.

7. The persecution was for a while exceeding hot in Africa, both in Numidia, and in the proconsular province: the two governors of which, Anulinus and Florus, acted with great severity toward the Christians, as Optatus [f] relates. The in-

[a] —— τας δε γραφας αφανεις πυρι γενεσθαι προστατιοιτα. H. E. l. viii. c. 2. p. 291. [b] —— τας δε ενθεως και ιερας γραφας κατα μεσας αγορας πυρι παραδιδομενας αυτοις επειδομεν οφθαλμοις. ib. p. 293. C. [c] Scripturæ repertæ incenduntur. De M. P. c. 12.

[d] Quod si haberet vos aliqua pro religionibus indignatio, has potius literas, hos exurere debuistis libros. Nam nostra quidem scripta cur ignibus meruerunt dari? — Arnob. l. iv. sub fin. [e] De his qui scripturas sanctas tradidisse dicuntur, vel vasa dominica, vel nomina fratrum suorum, placuit nobis, ut quicumque eorum ex actis publicis fuerit detectus, non verbis nudis, ab ordine cleri amoveatur. Concil. Arl. i. c. 13. [f] Alia persecutio, quæ fuit

quest

queſt after the ſcriptures, and other ſacred things, was very ſtrict in that country: the magiſtrates in the ſeveral cities were very active and diligent in their ſearches: they ſeized what they could by any means diſcover, and gave informations, as they ſaw fit, to the ſuperior officers of their diſtrict. And here ſeems to have been the greateſt number of traitors: ſome biſhops, as well as others, were guilty of that crime, which Optatus [g] laments.

8. How the imperial orders were publiſhed and executed, may be ſeen in the [h] Acts of Felix, an African biſhop, who ſuffered martyrdom at the beginning of the perſecution, for refuſing to deliver up the ſcriptures. I tranſcribe thoſe Acts in the margin ſomewhat largely. They ſhew the great regard which the Chriſtians of that time had for the ſacred ſcriptures. And the reader may there obſerve, that the book of the Acts of the apoſtles was well known, and received in Africa.

9. There are extant 'Acts [i] of the martyrs Saturninus preſ-'byter, Felix, Dativus, Ampelius, and others, who on ac-'count of the aſſemblies, and the ſacred ſcriptures, having 'been examined and made confeſſion before Anulinus the pro-'conſul of Africa at Carthage, at divers times, and in divers 'places, ſhed their precious blood.' Theſe Acts [k] are the work of a Donatiſt writer; nevertheleſs they are very curious.

ſub Diocletiano & Maximiano. Quo tempore fuerunt & impii judices, bellum Chriſtiano nomini inferentes. Ex quibus in Provincia Proconſulari fuerat Anulinus, in Numidia Florus. Omnibus notum eſt, quid eorum operata ſit artificioſa crudelitas: —— Alii cogebantur templa Dei vivi ſubvertere: alii Chriſtum negare: alii leges divinas incendere: alii thura ponere. Optat. l. iii. c. 8. [g] In Africa duo mala & peſſima admiſſa eſſe conſtat, unum in traditione, alterum in ſchiſmate. — Nam ferme ante annos ſexaginta, & quod excurrit, per totam Africam perſecutionis eſt divagata tempeſtas. —— Ipſi apices & principes omnium, aliqui epiſcopi, illis temporibus, ut domo æternæ vitæ, illius incertæ lucis motus breviſſimas compararent, inſtrumenta divinæ legis tradiderunt. Optat. l. i. c. 13. [h] Diocletiano octies & Maximiano ſepties Coſ. —— exivit edictum Imperatorum & Cæſarum ſuper omnem faciem terræ. Et propoſitum eſt per colonias & civitates principibus & magiſtratibus, ſuo cuique loco, ut libros deificos peterent de manu epiſcoporum & preſbyterorum. Tunc programma poſitum eſt in civitate Tibiurenſi. — Tunc Magnilianus Curator juſſit ad ſe perduci per officialem. Cui Magnilianus Curator dixit: Da libros, vel membranas quaſcumque habes. Felix epiſcopus dixit: Habeo, ſed non do. Magnilianus curator dixit. Da libros, ut poſſint aduri. Felix epiſcopus dixit: Melius eſt me igne aduri, quam ſcripturas deificas: quia bonum eſt obedire Deo magis quam hominibus. [Act. v. 29.] —— Præfectus dixit: Felicem gladio interficite. Et ductus eſt ad paſſionis locum.— Felix epiſcopus, elevans oculos in cœlum, clara voce dixit: Deus, gratias tibi. Quinquaginta & ſex annos habeo in hoc ſeculo. Virginitatem cuſtodivi: Evangelia ſervavi: fidem & veritatem prædicavi. Ap. Ruinart. p. 355——357. [i] Ap. Baluz. Miſcell. T. ii. p. 56. &c. & Optat. ex edit. Du Pin. p. 150. &c [k] Scripta ſane ſunt iſta, quod negari non poteſt, ab aliquo Donatiſta, ſed docto & erudito. Dignaque mihi viſa ſunt quæ cum Lactantio [De M. P.] conjungerentur, cum ob ſimilitudinem argumenti, tum ob elegantiam ſermonis. —— Opus tamen eſt antiqui ſcriptoris, & qui non admodum remotus fuit ab ævo Diocletiani. Baluz. Monit. apud Du Pin, ut ſupra, p. 150.

10. Theſe

10. These persons were apprehended at their worship, and carried to Carthage in the year 304; where they made a glorious confession, and surmounted all the temptations they met with.

11. The author relates * the edict of the emperors Diocletian and Maximian, for burning the scriptures, for demolishing churches, and forbidding the assemblies of divine worship; and bears an honourable testimony to the fidelity and fortitude of the Christians at that time. And he particularly relates the [l] examinations of the persons above-mentioned, and the resolute answers made by them. It will appear likewise, from what I shall transcribe in the margin from this piece, that the Christians of Africa were very assiduous in the assemblies of public worship, and constantly had there readings of scripture.

12. If that writer may be credited, there [m] had been a miraculous appearance in that place, when the bishop Fundanus had delivered up some scriptures, a short time before.

13. The inquiries of the heathen persecutors at that time, were not confined to the scriptures, but they searched likewise for sacred vessels, and seized gold and silver cups, and lamps, and suits of apparel ready made for the use of poor people, as occasions might require. This may be collected from the canon of the council of Arles before quoted, and more particularly from an [n] enumeration of such things, taken from the

* Temporibus namque Diocletiani & Maximiani bellum diabolus Christianis indixit isto modo, ut sacrosancta Domini testamenta scripturasque divinas ad exurendum peterent, basilicas dominicas subverterent, & ritus coetusque sanctissimos celebrari Domino prohiberet. Sed non tulit exercitus Dei immane praeceptum. —— Et quamvis tradendo gentilibus scripturas dominicas atque testamenta divina profanis ignibus comburenda, a fidei cardine ceciderе nonnulli, conservando tamen eas, & pro ipsis libenter suum sanguinem effundendo fortiter fecere quamplurimi. Act. Saturnin. &c. n. ii.

[l] —— Contra quae confessores Domini, invicti martyres Christi, tamquam ex uno ore dixerunt: Christiani sumus. Non possumus nisi Domini legem sanctam usque ad effusionem sanguinis custodire. Qua voce percussus inimicus Felici dicebat: Non quaero, utrum Christianus sis: sed an collectam feceris, vel scripturas aliquas habeas. —— Respondit: Quasi Christianus sine Dominico possit, aut Dominicus sine Christiano celebrari. —— Collectam, inquit, gloriosissime celebravimus, ad scripturas dominicas legendas in dominicum convenimus semper. ibid. n. x.

[m] In isto namque foro jam pro scripturis dominicis dimicaverat coelum, cum Fundanus civitatis quondam episcopus scripturas dominicas traderet exurendas: quas cum magistratus sacrilegus igni apponeret, subito imber sereno coelo diffunditur, ignis scripturis sanctis admotus exstinguitur, grandines adhibentur, omnisque ipsa regio pro scripturis dominicis, elementis furentibus, devastabatur. ib. n. iii.

[n] —— Ex actis Munatii Felicis flaminis perpetui, perpetui curatoris coloniae Cirtensium. Cum ventum esset ad domum in qua Christiani conveniebant, Felix flamen perpetuus curator Paulo episcopo dixit. Proferte scripturas, & si quid aliud hic habetis. Paulus episcopus dixit: Scripturas lectores habent. Sed nos quod hic habemus damus. In breri sic. —— Calices duo aurei, item calices sex argentei, urceola sex argentea, —— lucernae argentae vii. candelae breves aeneae cum lucernis suis vii. item lucernae aeneae xi. cum catenis suis, tunicae muliebres lxxii. tunicae viriles xvi. caligae viriles paria xiii.

public

public Acts or Regiſter of the city of Cirtha, where is an account of things taken with the conſent, or by the diſcovery of Paul, the biſhop, and one of the deacons, Silvanus, who therefore are reckoned traitors. Which is alſo taken notice of by Auguſtine, in an epiſtle of his, a part of which I ſhall tranſcribe in the [o] margin, for the ſake of curious readers.

CHAP. LXVII.

THE DONATISTS.

I. *Donatus, biſhop of Carthage.* II. *A brief hiſtory of the Donatiſts:* 1. *The ground of the controverſy between them and the catholics.* 2. *The riſe and occaſion of the controverſy.* 3. *Their numbers.* 4. *Their perſecutions.* III. *Donatiſt writers:* 1. *Anonymous author of the Acts of Saturninus and others.* 2. *Creſconius.* 3. *Gaudentius.* 4. *Macrobius.* 5. *Parmenian.* 6. *Petilian.* 7. *Tichonius.* 8. *Vitellius.* IV. *Their teſtimony to the ſcriptures.*

I. SAYS Jerom, 'Donatus, [a] from whom ſprang the Donatiſts in Africa, in the times of the (A) emperors Conſtantius and Conſtantine, aſſerting, that the ſcriptures had been betrayed to the heathen by our people in the time of the perſecution, by his plauſible ſpeeches deceived almoſt all Africa, eſpecially Numidia. There are extant many ſmall works of his in ſupport of his own hereſy, and a book Of the Holy Spirit, agreeable to the Arian doctrine.

caligæ muliebres paria xlvii. &c. Acta Purgationis Cæcil. ap. Optat. Du Pin, p. 168.

[o] —— recita illi geſta apud Munatium Felicem Flaminem perpetuum curatorem tunc civitatis veſtræ, Diocletiano octavum, & Maximiano ſeptimum conſulibus——quibus liquido conſtitit Paulum epiſcopum tradidiſſe, ut Silvanus tunc ejus ſubdiaconus fuerit, & cum illo tradiderit proferens inſtrumenta Dominica, etiam quæ diligentiſſime fuerant occultata, capitulatam argenteam, & lucernam argenteam. — Ep. 53. n. 4.

[a] Donatus, a quo Donatiani, per Africam ſub Conſtantio Conſtantinoque principibus aſſerens a noſtris ſcripturas in perſecutione Ethnicis traditas, totam pene Africam, & maxime Numidiam ſua perſuaſione decepit. Exſtant ejus multa ad ſuam hæreſim pertinentia opuſcula, & de Spiritu Sancto liber Ariano dogmati congruens. De V. I. cap. 93.

(A) 'In the times of the emperors Conſtantius and Conſtantine.'] Here are various readings. Sophronius the Greek interpreter has only Conſtantius. In Martianay's edition is 'ſub Conſtante Conſtantinoque.' But I imagine the right reading to be as above: and that by Conſtantius Jerom intends Conſtantine's father; the Donatian controverſy having had its foundation in what happened near the beginning of Dioclefian's perſecution, during the reign of Conſtantius.

I ſhall

I shall now transcribe likewise a part of Augustine's article in his book of Heresies concerning the Donatists, with whom certainly he was well acquainted. I put it down here, as it has some account of this Donatus, the second bishop of the party at Carthage, and as a foundation of farther remarks hereafter.

'The [b] Donatians, or Donatists, who at first made a schism, 'because Cæcilian had been ordained bishop of Carthage 'against their mind, accused him of crimes they could never 'prove, and objected likewise, that he had been ordained by 'the betrayers of the divine scriptures. And by their conti-'nued obstinacy turned their schism into heresy. Their notion 'is, that by means of Cæcilian's crimes, whether true, or ra-'ther false, as appeared to those who were chosen judges of 'the cause, the church of Christ has perished throughout the 'world, and subsists only in Africa among themselves. Every 'where else, according to them, the church is lost by com-'municating with unworthy persons. They take upon them 'to re-baptize catholics.——We have understood, that the 'first author of this heresy was Donatus of Numidia, who 'came to Carthage, and divided the Christian people under 'Cæcilian, and getting other bishops of a like disposition to 'join them, ordained Majorinus bishop of that city. Which 'Majorinus was succeeded by another Donatus, who by his 'eloquence greatly strengthened this heresy; and many think 'they are called Donatists from him. There are writings of 'his still extant, by which it appears, that he did not hold the 'catholic doctrine of the Trinity. For though he allowed 'the Son to be of the same substance, he thought him inferior

[b] Donatiani, vel Donatistæ, sunt, qui primum propter ordinatum contra suam voluntatem Cæcilianum ecclesiæ Carthaginensis episcopum schisma fecerunt: objicientes ei crimina non probata, & maxime quod a traditoribus divinarum scripturarum fuerit ordinatus. Sed post causam cum eo dictam atque finitam falsitatis rei deprehensi, pertinaci dissensione firmata, in hæresim schisma verterunt: tanquam ecclesia Christi propter crimina Cæciliani, seu vera, seu, quod magis judicibus apparuit, falsa, de toto terrarum orbe perierit, ubi futura promissa est, atque in Africana Donati parte remanserit, in aliis terrarum partibus quasi contagione communionis extincta. Audent etiam rebaptizare Catholicos. —— Hujus hæresis principem accepimus fuisse Donatum, qui de Numidia veniens, & contra Cæcilianum Christianam dividens plebem, adjunctis sibi ejusdem factionis episcopis, Majorinum apud Carthaginem ordinavit episcopum. Cui Majorino Donatus alius in eadem divisione successit, qui eloquentia sua sic confirmavit hanc hæresim, ut multi existiment, propter ipsum potius eos Donatistas vocari. Exstant scripta ejus, ubi apparet eum etiam non Catholicam de Trinitate habuisse sententiam: sed quamvis ejusdem substantiæ, minorem tamen Patre Filium, & minorem Filio putasse Spiritum Sanctum. Verum in hunc, quem de Trinitate habuit, ejus errorem, Donatistarum multitudo intenta non fuit. Nec facile in eis quisquam, qui hoc illum sensisse noverit, inventur. Isti hæretici in urbe Roma Montenses vocantur, quibus hinc ex Africa solent episcopum mittere: aut hinc illuc Afri episcopi eorum pergere, si forte illi eum ordinare placuisset.—Aug. Hær. 69.

'to the Father, and the Holy Spirit inferior to the Son. But 'in this he is not generally followed by the Donatiſts: nor are 'there many, who are aware, that this was his ſentiment. 'Theſe heretics are called Mountaineers at Rome, to whom 'they are wont to ſend a biſhop from Africa, or elſe ſome 'African biſhops go thither, if they have a mind he ſhould be 'ordained there.'

Auguſtine has in another place [c] taken notice of Donatus's opinion concerning the doctrine of the Trinity.

II. I do by no means intend to write at large the hiſtory of the Donatiſts; I omit intirely their practice of re-baptizing. I ſhall only take ſome notice of the ſubject matter, or ground and reaſon of the difference between the catholics and them: and then obſerve the riſe and occaſion of this controverſy. For other particulars I refer to divers writers, [d] ancient, and [e] modern.

1. At the beginning of his article juſt tranſcribed, Auguſtine mentions two objections of the Donatiſts againſt Cæcilian; one taken from crimes which he himſelf was ſaid to be guilty of, the other is, that he was ordained by traitors. What the crimes were, which they accuſed Cæcilian himſelf of, may be ſeen in a paſſage of an anonymous Donatiſt writer, which [f] I put at the bottom of the page. Whence it appears, that they alſo charged Menſurius, Cæcilian's predeceſſor, with betraying the ſcriptures. The whole ſtory is indeed very unlikely: nevertheleſs it was not forgot [g] by the Donatiſts in the conference at Carthage in 411.

[c] Ariani Patris & Filii & Spiritus Sancti diverſas ſubſtantias eſſe dicunt. Donatiſtæ autem non hoc dicunt, ſed unam Trinitatis ſubſtantiam confitentur. Et ſi aliqui ipſorum minorem Filium eſſe dixerunt quam Pater eſt, ejuſdem tamen ſubſtantiæ non negarunt.—— Nec ipſa cum illis vertitur quæſtio, ſed de ſola communione infeliciter litigant. Ep. 85. al. 50. cap. 1.

[d] Vid. Euſeb. H. E. l. x. c. vi. p. 391, 392. De Vit. Conſt. l. ii. c. 66. Optat. de Schiſm. Donatiſt. Aug. Opp. T. ix. Ed. Bened. & paſſim. Philaſt. H. 83. Theodoret. H. F. l. iv. c. 6.

[e] Vid. H. Valeſ. de Sch. Donatiſt. ad calc. Annot. ad Euſeb. H. E. Ittig. ad calc. Append. De Hærſiarchis. Leydeck. Hiſt. Ec. African. Witſii Diſſ. de Sch. Donat. ap. Miſc. Sacr. T. i. p. 742. &c. Vitringa de Commun. Chriſtian. Obſerv. Sacr. T. i. p. 742. &c. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. vi. H. Noriſii Hiſt. Donatiſt. ap. Opp. T. iv.

[f] —— Maxime cum etiam Menſurius Carthaginenſis quondam epiſcopus recenti ſcripturarum proditione pollutus, ſceleris ſui amentiam pejore cœpiſſet ferocia publicare. Quippe qui combuſtorum veniam librorum a martyribus poſcere atque implorare debuerat, ut delicta ſua majoribus flagitiis cumularet, eo animo ſæviebat in martyres, quo divinas tradiderat leges. Etenim hic, tyranno ſævior, carnifice crudelior, idoneum ſceleris ſui miniſtrum diaconum ſuum elegit Cæcilianum. Idemque lora & flagra cum armatis ante fores carceris ponit, ut ab ingreſſu atque aditu cunctos, qui victum potumque in carcerem martyribus afferebant, gravi affectos injuria propulſaret. Et Cædebantur a Cæciliano paſſim qui ad alendos martyres veniebant.——&c. Acta Martyr. Saturnin. & alior. cap. xvii. ap. Du Pin Optat. p. 156.

[g] Tunc Donatiſtæ aliquantum prælocuti ſunt, quod Menſurius, qui fuerat

Cæcilian's faulty ordination was always one [h] pretence. And, if Optatus may be relied upon, the only complaint, which the Donatiſts at firſt made againſt Cæcilian, was, that [i] he had been ordained by Felix of Apthonga, who, they ſaid, delivered up the ſcriptures to perſecutors: whilſt the catholics [k] always denied the charge, as groundleſs.

Auguſtine, as we have ſeen, farther aſſures us, their opinion was, that the church of Chriſt ſubſiſted in Africa only among themſelves; and that every where elſe the church of Chriſt was loſt and ruined, by communicating with unworthy perſons, particularly, with ſuch as adhered to Cæcilian, who had been ordained by traitors.

With what warmth and bitterneſs they expreſſed themſelves upon this head, appears from [l] a paſſage of an author of theirs, whom I have quoted more than once: as alſo from a place of [m] Petilian, in Auguſtine.

Auguſtine himſelf has mentioned a remarkable inſtance of their diſdain of [n] other men, which I ſuppoſe may be relied upon.

But though the Donatiſts ſcrupled to communicate with the catholics, becauſe they were traitors of the divine ſcriptures, the catholics [o] retorted the charge, and called the Donatiſts the

ante Cæcilianum eccleſiæ Carthaginis epiſcopus, tempore perſecutionis tradiderit perſecutoribus ſanctas ſcripturas, &c. Auguſt. Brev. Collat. D. iii. cap. xiii. n. 25.

h Dicunt ordinatorem ejus ſanctos libros tradidiſſe. Aug. Pſalm. Contr. Donat. D.

i Illo tempore a tot inimicis nihil in eum potuit confingi: ſed de ordinatore ſuo, quod ab iis falſo traditor diceretur, meruit infamari. Optat. l. i. c. 19.

k Deinde Geſta Proconſularia, ubi Felix diligentiſſimo examine probatus eſt innocens. Aug. Ep. 43. al. 162. c. 2. n. 5. Vid. Geſta Purgationis Felicis Aptungitani.

l Igitur cum hæc ita ſint, quiſnam eſt divini juris peritia pollens, — qui judicii Dei memor——ſeparat a ſtante lapſum, ab integro vulneratum, a juſto reum, ab innocente damnatum, a cuſtode legis proditorem, a confeſſore Chriſti nominis ejus negatorem——& unum atque idem exiſtimet & eccleſiam martyrum & conventicula traditorum.——Quamobrem fugienda bonis, & vitanda eſt ſemper religioſis conſpiratio traditorum, hypocritarum domus.——Denique iſti falſi ſacrorum ritus fictaque myſteria non tam in ſalutem quam in perniciem miſerorum celebrantur, cum erigit altare ſacrilegus, celebrat ſacramenta profanus, baptizat reus, curat vulneratus, —— legit evangelia traditor, hæreditatem cœli promittit divinorum teſtamentorum exuſtor. Acta Saturnini, &c. cap. 19. ap. Du Pin Optat. p. 150.

m Qui utique ſpiritu — ſanctus in vos venire non potuit, quem non vel pœnitentiæ baptiſmus ablui: ſed pœnitenda, quod verum eſt, aqua poſſit traditoris. Aug. Contr. Lit. Petil. l. ii. c. 36. n. 83.

n Uſque adeo ex ipſo numero ſunt, ut nuper in Collatione noſtra, quod etiam in geſtis ipſis legere poteſtis, cum eis a cognitore eſſet confeſſus oblatus, ut ſederent nobiſcum, reſpondendum putarunt: Scriptum eſt nobis, cum talibus non ſedere, ſcilicet ne per contactum ſublimiorum ad eos velut noſtra contagio perveniret. Aug. Serm. 99. cap. 8. Tom. v. p. 524. E.

o Ipſi tradiderunt libros, & nos audent accuſare.

Aug. Pſalm. contr. Donat. B.

Dixerunt majores noſtri, & libros fecerunt inde,

Qui tunc cauſam cognoverunt, quod reddere poſſent probare.

Erant quidam traditores librorum de facta lege, &c. D.

Sed hoc libenter finxerunt, quod ſe non fecerunt feciſſe. Ib. E.

Quicquid invicem objicimus de traditione codicum divinorum, de thurificatione. Ib. De Unit. Ec. cap. ii.

Deinde non poſt longum tempus idem

children

children of traitors, and averred, that they who were the firſt authors of the ſeparation, were themſelves traitors.

2. This ſhall ſuffice for a brief account of the ground of this difference, which had its riſe after this manner:

Menſurius biſhop of Carthage being dead, and Maxentius giving liberty to the Chriſtians in Africa in 311. Cæcilian was choſen in his room, and ordained by Felix of Apthonga, and others. But ſome being diſſatisfied, Majorinus [p] was choſen and ordained by another party, afterwards called Donatiſts, from Donatus, biſhop of Caſæ Nigræ in Numidia, who was exceeding active in the ſupport of that intereſt. About this time, therefore, we may date the beginning of this difference.

Soon after that Conſtantine became maſter of Africa, upon the defeat of Maxentius, the Donatiſts ſent a requeſt to the emperor, by Anulinus proconſul of Africa, deſiring that their cauſe might be [q] heard and examined by ſome biſhops of Gaul, who had lived under his father Conſtantius: and not having been perſecuted, as other Chriſtians had been in other parts of the world, were free from the charge of betraying the ſcriptures, and like faults, which many others had been guilty of.

The emperor received this petition in Gaul, and [r] ſoon ſent back orders to Anulinus. He likewiſe wrote a letter to Miltiades biſhop of Rome. The emperor's appointment was, that [s] Majorinus with ten of his friends, and Cæcilian with ten

ipſi, tot & tales, ad Carthaginem profecti traditores, thurati,——Majorinum——poſt ordinationem Cæciliani ordinaverunt, ſchiſma facientes. Et quoniam traditionis reos principes veſtros fuiſſe, monſtratum eſt. Optat. l. i. c. 15.

Si traditoribus non licet, vobis licere non debuit, quorum principes probamus fuiſſe traditores. Id. ib. cap. 5.

Paulo ante docuimus veſtros parentes fuiſſe traditores & ſchiſmaticos: & tu ipſorum hæres.——Omnia igitur, quæ a te in traditores & ſchiſmaticos dici potuerunt, veſtra ſunt. Id. l. i. c. 28.

Nec dicatur ad excuſationem, quia traditoribus communicare noluerunt: cum manifeſtiſſime probatum ſit, eoſdem ipſos filios fuiſſe traditorum. Id. l. iii. c. 8. p. 65. Vid. & l. ii. c. 1. in. & l. v. c. 1. in.

[p] Hoc apud Carthaginem poſt ordinationem Cæciliani factum eſſe, nemo eſt qui neſciat. Optat. l. i. c. 17. Tempeſtas perſecutionis peracta & definita eſt. Jubente Deo, indulgentiam mittente Maxentio Chriſtianis libertas eſt reſtituta. cap. 18. Et Majorinus, qui lector in diaconio Cæciliani fuerat, domeſticus Lucillæ, ipſa ſuffragante, epiſcopus ordinatus eſt a traditoribus. Ib. cap. 19. [q] Nam majores veſtri——imperatorem Conſtantium, harum rerum adhuc ignarum, his precibus rogarunt.——Conſtantine, optime imperator, quoniam de genere juſto es, cujus pater inter cæteros imperatores perſecutionem non exercuit, & ab hoc facinore immunis eſt Gallia. Nam in Africa inter nos & cæteros epiſcopos contentiones ſunt. Petimus, ut de Gallia nobis judices dari præcipiat pietas tua. Optat. l. i. c. 22. Vid. & Auguſt. Ep. 88. al. 65. [r] Vid. Euſeb. H. E. l. x. c. 6. & Collat. Carth. D. 3. c. 116. & Auguſt. Brev. Col. D. 3. cap. vii. & xii. [s] Et tamen dati ſunt judices, Maternus ex Agrippina civitate, Reticius ab Auguſtoduno civitate, Marinus Arelatenſis. Ad urbem Romam ventum eſt ab his tribus Gallis, & ab aliis quindecim Italis. Optat. l. i. c. 23. His decem & novem confidentibus epiſcopis, cauſa Donati & Cæciliani in medium miſſa eſt. c. 24.

others,

others, favourers of him, should appear at Rome before Miltiades, and three bishops of Gaul. These were Maternus bishop of Cologne, Reticius of Autun, and Marinus of Arles. There were besides in this council fifteen Italian bishops, whose names may be seen in Optatus, making in all nineteen. This hearing was in the year 313. and Cæcilian [t] was acquited by the unanimous vote of the council.

The Donatists not being yet satisfied, intreated the emperor, that their cause might be taken into farther consideration. In compliance with their request, was appointed the council of Arles, which sat in 314. when a like judgment was again passed.

Still the Donatists were uneasy, and made [u] fresh applications to Constantine, to examine the affair himself. Which he consented to, and after all decided, as the ecclesiastical judges had done already. This hearing before the emperor was at [x] Milain in 316. But [y] the Donatists did not acquiesce any more in the judgment now passed than in the former.

Thus the difference was fixed: there was no reconciling the two parties. There was however a famous conference held at Carthage in 411. between the catholics and Donatists: by which, and by the writings of Augustine about that time, the Donatists seem to have been much weakened. Nevertheless, they subsisted in Africa till the end of the sixth century, or [z] later.

3. The Donatists were very numerous; there must have been many of them in Numidia, and the proconsular province of Africa. Augustine intimates, that [a] though there were Do-

[t] Cæcilianus omnium supra memoratorum sententiis innocens est pronunciatus. Optat. l. i. c. 25. [u] Deinde diximus, aliquanto post Majorini ordinationem, quem contra Cæcilianum nefario scelere levaverunt——eos petiisse a Constantino tunc imperatore judices episcopos, qui de suis quæstionibus, quæ in Africa exortæ—— arbitrio medio judicarent. Quod postea quam factum est, præsente Cæciliano & illis qui adversus eum navigaverant, judicante Melchiade tunc Romanæ urbis episcopo cum collegis suis, quos ad preces Donatistarum miserat imperator, in Cæcilianum nihil potuisse, ac per hoc illo in episcopatu confirmato.——Quibus peractis rebus cum illi omnes in pertinacia——permanerent, post apud Arelatum memoratum Imperatorem eandem causam diligentius examinandam ——curasse. Illos vero ab ecclesiastico judicio provocasse, ut causam Constantinus audiret. Quo postea quam ventum est, utraque parte assistente, innocentem Cæcilianum fuisse judicatum, atque illos recessisse superatos, & in eadem perversitate mansisse. Aug. Ep. 43. al. 162. c. 2. n. 4. Conf. libr. post Collat. cap. 33. Vid. Aug. Ep. 105. al. 166. n. 8. Ep. 129. n. 4. & 185. al. 50. c. 2. n. 6. Ep. 89. n. 3. Et recitatum est judicium Constantini.——Aug. Brev. Coll. D. 3. c. 19. in. Vid. & Monumenta Vetera ap. Du Pin Optat. p. 182.

[x] Vid. Pagi Crit. in Baron. A. 316. n. xiv. xv. [y] Responderunt, etiam imperatorias aures pravis suggestionibus instos. Aug. Brev. Coll. D. 3. cap. 19.

[z] Vid. Vales. de Schism. Donat. cap. ult. fin. [a] Quod enim propterea se universos adesse dixerunt, & eorum numerus appareat, quoniam eos paucos esse adversarii sui sæpe mentiti sunt. Hoc si aliquando a nostris dictum est, de his locis dici verissime potuit, ubi nostrorum coepiscoporum & clericorum & laicorum longe major est

natists

natiſts in many places, yet in moſt cities, except thoſe of Numidia, the catholics were much more numerous than they.

At the fore-mentioned conference at Carthage, were preſent 286 catholic biſhops: the Donatiſts counted [b] but 279, and ſome of them abſent. Tychonius [c] ſpeaks of a council of Donatiſts at Carthage, conſiſting of 270 biſhops, but the time of it is uncertain. Auguſtine often ſpeaks of a council of theirs, about the year 394, conſiſting [d] of 310 biſhops; and all theſe 310 were friends of Primianus: if the Maximianiſts, who were abſent, were 100, their number in the whole were 410.

For certain, this unhappy difference among the Chriſtians of Africa affords an admonition to all men, to reſpect and hearken to Solomon's obſervation, and the council founded upon it; Prov. xvii. 14. *The beginning of ſtrife is, as when one lets out water. Therefore leave off contention, before it be meddled with.*

4. I forbear to enter into an account of the perſecutions ſuffered by the Donatiſts. They were reſtrained by the imperial laws, which ſometimes were very ſevere; but they [e] were rarely executed in their utmoſt rigour. And the Donatiſts, who were not free from differences among themſelves, often [f] ſhewed great bitterneſs toward each other: and in places where they were ſuperior in number, they [g] bore hard upon the catholics.

III. I add a brief account of ſome Donatiſt writers.

It ought to be obſerved, that I have already tranſcribed Jerom's article of Donatus, biſhop of Carthage next after Majo-

numerus, & maxime in Proconſulari Provincia. Quamquam excepta Numidia Conſulari etiam in cæteris provinciis Africanis, noſtrorum numero facillime ſuperantur. Aug. Ep. 129. n. E. [b] Reſpondit Olficium, nomina Donatiſtarum epiſcoporum eſſe ducenta ſeptuaginta novem, annumeratis etiam illis, pro quibus abſentibus alii ſubſcripſerant. Catholicorum autem omnium præſentium nomina eſſe conſtitit ducenta octoginta ſex. Aug. Brev. D. 1. cap. 14. [c] Dicit enim Tychonius, homo, ut dixi, veſtræ communionis, a ducentis & ſeptuaginta veſtris epiſcopis concilium Carthagini celebratum. Aug. Ep. 93. al. 48. cap. x. n. 43. [d] Sed ecce damnaverunt in concilio ſuo Maximianiſtas trecenti decem epiſcopi Donatiſtæ. Contr. Ep. Petil. l. i. c. 11. n. 18. Sic enim eos deſcribunt trecenti decem plenarii concilii. Contr. Ep. Parmen. l. ii. c. 3. n. 7. Vid. & contr. Creſcon. l. iii. c. 52. n. 58. & c. 53, 54, 56. & paſſim. [e] Quæ res coegit tunc primum adverſus vos allegari apud Vicarium Serranum legem illam de decem libris auri, quas nullus veſtrum adhuc pendit, & nos crudelitatis arguitis. Contr. Lit. Petil. l. ii. c. 83. n. 184. [f] Ita cæci & inſani, ut cum ſchiſmaticos ſuos Maximianiſtas per poteſtates a Catholicis Imperatoribus miſſas de baſilicis excluſerint, & vi magna juſſionum & auxiliorum cedere ſibi compulerint, arguant Catholicam, ſi pro ea Catholici principes tale aliquid fieri præceperit. Contr. Parm. l. i. c. 10. n. 16. [g] Nonne apud Hipponem, ubi ego ſum, non deſunt, qui meminerint, Fauſtinum veſtrum regni ſui tempore præcipiſſe, quoniam Catholicorum ibi paucitas erat, ut nullus eis panem coqueret? &c. Contr. Petil. l. ii. c. 83. n. 184.

rinus: from whom, as ſome ſuppoſed, the party had its denomination.

1. Anonymous [h] author of the Acts of Saturninus, Felix, Dativus, Ampelius, and others; which appear to have been written not long after [i] the beginning of the fourth century.

2. Creſconius, a learned [k] grammarian among the Donatiſts, wrote a book againſt the firſt part of Auguſtine's confutation of Petilian: which Auguſtine anſwered in four books, ſtill extant, written in 406.

3. Gaudentius, [l] biſhop of Tamugada in Numidia. He was one of the ſeven Donatiſt biſhops, choſen to defend their cauſe at the conference at Carthage in 411. Some time after that conference, the tribune Dulcitius, who was the emperor's commiſſary for executing the imperial laws againſt the Donatiſts, ſent an admonition to him, to return to the unity of the catholic church. Which Gaudentius anſwered, firſt by a ſhort, then by a long letter. Dulcitius having ſent thoſe letters to Auguſtine, he anſwered them in one book. Gaudentius publiſhed a defence of his letters; and Auguſtine replied in another, or ſecond book.

That is the ſubſtance of what Auguſtine himſelf writes. By which it appears, that Cave's account of this matter is not quite right: who [m] ſuppoſeth, Auguſtine to have written three books againſt Gaudentius.

Gaudentius ſeems to have been a man of a violent temper: for [n] he had formed a deſign to ſet fire to his church, and therein to burn himſelf and ſome others. The only apology that can be made is, that the hard uſage the Donatiſts met

[h] Extant ap. Baluz.. Miſc. T. ii. p. 56. &c. & Optat. Milev. ex Edit. Du Pin. p. 150. &c. [i] Vid. Baluz. Monitum.

[k] Grammaticus etiam quidam Donatiſta Creſconius, cum inveniſſet epiſtolam meam, quâ primas partes, quæ in manus noſtras tunc venerant epiſtolæ Petiliani, redargui, putavit mihi eſſe reſpondendum, & hoc ipſum ſcripſit ad me. Cui operi ejus libris quatuor reſpondi. Retract. l. ii. c. 26.

[l] Per idem tempus Dulcitius tribunus & notarius: hic erat exſecutor imperialium juſſionum contra Donatiſtas datarum. Qui cum dediſſet literas ad Gaudentium Thamugadenſem Donatiſtam epiſcopum, unum illorum ſeptem, quos in noſtra collatione auctores ſuæ defenſionis elegerant, exhortans eum ad unitatem catholicam, & diſſuadens incendium, quo ſe ac ſuos cum ipſa in qua erat eccleſia conſumere minabatur. —— Ille reſcripſit epiſtolas duas, unam brevem——aliam prolixam. —— Has mihi ſupra memoratus tribunus exiſtimavit eſſe mittendas, ut eas potius ipſe refellerem: quas ambas uno libro redargui. Qui cum in ejuſdem Gaudentii perveniſſet manus, reſcripſit quod ei viſum eſt, ad meipſum.—Hinc factum eſt, ut hi noſtri ad illum duo libri eſſent. Aug. Retr. l. ii. c. 59. Conf. Opp. T. ix. ſub fin. [m] Gaudentium epiſcopum Tamugadenſem ſectæ Donatiſtæ, qui Dulcitio tribuno Imperatoris apud Africam legato duas epiſtolas apologeticas obtulit, ab Auguſtino totidem libris refutatas: quibus reſponſionem oppoſuit Gaudentius, ab Auguſtino itidem libro tertio everſam. Cav. H. L. De Gaudentio Brixienſi.

[n] Gaudentius,——cum ſeipſum in eccleſia quibuſdam ſibi adjunctis perditis incendere minabatur. Aug. Contr. Gaud. l. i. c. i. Vid. ejuſd. Retract. ſupr. not. l.

with

with made them desperate, and filled them with a rage, which they were not able to govern.

I have placed Gaudentius as flourishing about the year 411, the time of the fore-mentioned conference; but his letters to Dulcitius, and his answer to Augustine's first book, were not written until some good while after: for Augustine's writings in this controversy are supposed to have been published about the year 420.

4. Says Gennadius, in the chapter next following in his Catalogue that of Vitellius, to be hereafter transcribed: 'Macrobius[o] also, a presbyter among the Donatists; and afterwards their secret bishop at Rome, whilst he was yet a presbyter of the church of God, wrote one book addressed to confessors and virgins; a work of the moral kind, but very useful, especially for preserving chastity. He first flourished among us in Africa, and afterwards among the Donatists, or Mountaineers, at Rome.'

Macrobius was the fourth [p] Donatist bishop, who sat at Rome, and was living when Optatus of Milevi wrote, about 370. Optatus may be relied upon for that. But whether Gennadius be in the right in saying, that Macrobius was first a presbyter among the catholics, may be questioned. Nor is it easy to form a clear conception concerning the occasion, which a catholic presbyter should have about that time to write an exhortation to confessors. Insomuch, that it may be doubted, whether Gennadius did not confound two persons of this name. Tillemont[q] has good remarks upon this account of Gennadius.

There is still extant a piece, intitled [r] The Passion of Maximian and Isaac, Donatists: which is generally supposed to [s] have been written by the above-named Donatist bishop Macrobius, in the year 348, or 349.

5. Parmenian succeeded [t] Donatus in the see of Carthage

[o] Macrobius, presbyter & ipse, ut ex scriptis Optati cognovimus, Donatista, & suorum postea in urbe Roma occultus episcopus fuit. Scripsit, cum adhuc in ecclesia Dei presbyter fuisset, ad confessores & ad virgines librum unum, moralis quidem, sed valde necessariæ doctrinæ, & præcipue ad custodiendam castitatem aptissimis valde sententiis communitum. Claruit inter nostros primum Africæ, & inter suos, id est Donatianos, sive Montenses, postea Romæ. Gennad. De V. I. cap. v. [p] Ergo restat, ut fateatur socius vester Macrobius se ibi sedere, ubi aliquando sedit Encolpius.——Optat. l. ii. c. 4. [q] Les Donatistes. Note 21. [r] Apud Du Pin Optat. p. 199. &c. [s] See Tillem. Donatistes Art. 48. [t] Non enim Cæcilianus exivit a Majorino avo tuo. Optat. l. i. c 10.

In tribus libris contra epistolam Parmeniani Donatistarum Carthaginensis episcopi, successoremque Donati. Aug. Retr. l. ii. c. 17.

Dicant, unde natus est Majorinus, aut Donatus, ut per eos nasceretur Parmenianus atque Primianus. Aug. Cont. Parm. l. iii. c. 2. n. 11. Vid. & c. 3. n. 18.

about the [u] year 350. Not long before the year 370. he wrote a book or epistle against the catholics, which was soon after answered by Optatus of Milevi, in a work still extant.

Parmenian afterwards wrote another letter against [x] Tichonius a Donatist, who differed in some things from the rest of his party. This letter was answered by Augustine in three books.

It does not appear with certainty, when [y] this letter of Parmenian was published: but Augustine's answer was written about the year 400, and Parmenian was then dead. He seems however to have lived to the year [z] 390, and the Donatist interest flourished greatly under him.

6. Petilian, bishop of Cirtha, called also Constantina, in Numidia: who [a] formerly pleaded at the bar as an advocate, wrote a letter to the Donatist clergy, which Augustine soon after answered [b] in three books. He was one of the seven Donatist bishops, appointed to defend their cause at the famous conference at Carthage.

7. Says Gennadius, who wrote near the end of the fifth century, 'Tichonius [c] of Africa, well acquainted with the literal 'sense of scripture, and not ignorant in secular learning, and 'well versed in ecclesiastical affairs, wrote three books con-'cerning intestine divisions, an Exposition of several matters '[or a Miscellany], in which works he mentions some ancient 'synods in defence of his own cause. By all which it appears, 'he was of the Donatist party. He wrote also a book of 'Seven Rules, for attaining the true Meaning of Scripture. 'He likewise wrote a Commentary upon the Revelation of 'John, from the beginning to the end.

That is a part of Gennadius's article: for the rest I refer to himself.

Augustine in his answer to Parmenian gives Tichonius [d] the character of a man of good sense, and a great deal of eloquence.

[u] Vid. Du Pin Præf. ad Optat. & Tillem. Les Donatistes Art. L. fin. [x] Nunc autem quoniam incidit in manus nostras Parmeniani quondam episcopi eorum quædam epistola, quæ scribitur ad Tichonium. Aug. contr. Parmen. l. i. c. 1. Conf. Aug. Ep. 93. n. 44. [y] Se Tillem. Donatistes. Art. 50. [z] Id. ib. Art. 63.

[a] Vid. Aug. contr. Petil. l. iii. c. 16.

[b] Opp. T. IX. [c] Tichonius, natione Afer, in divinis literis eruditus, juxta historiam sufficienter, & in secularibus non ignarus fuit, in ecclesiasticis quoque negotiis exercitus. Scripsit ac bello intestino libros tres, & expositiones diversarum causarum, in quibus ob suorum defensionem antiquarum meminit synodorum. E quibus omnibus agnoscitur Donatianæ partis fuisse. Composuit & Regulas ad investigandam & inveniendam intelligentiam scripturarum septem, quas in uno volumine concludit. Exposuit & Apocalypsin Johannis ex integro, nihil in eo carnale, sed totum intelligens spirituale. Gennad. De V. I. c. 18. [d] —incidit in manus nostras Parmeniani —— epistola, quæ scribitur ad Tichonium, hominem quidem & acri ingenio præditum, & uberi eloquio, sed Donatistam. Aug. Contr. Parm. l. i. c. 1.

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He was a moderate Donatiſt. But then he[e] is reckoned inconſiſtent: and he fell under the diſpleaſure of his own party. Parmenian, biſhop of Carthage, as we have ſeen, wrote againſt him. Du Pin ſays, he[f] flouriſhed about the year 380. Tillemont's[g] computation is not very different. The book of the Civil War, or Inteſtine Diviſions, may be the book referred to by Auguſtine, and againſt which Parmenian wrote. The Seven Rules for finding the true Meaning of Scripture are[h] ſtill extant.

8. 'Vitellius, of Africa,' ſays[i] Gennadius, 'defending the 'ſchiſm of the Donatiſts, wrote a book, ſhewing, that the 'ſervants of God are hated by the world. In which, if he had 'not treated us as perſecutors, he delivered an excellent doc-'trine. He alſo wrote againſt the Gentiles, and againſt us, 'as traitors of the divine ſcriptures in the perſecution. He 'likewiſe wrote ſeveral other books, relating to eccleſiaſtical 'diſcipline. He flouriſhed under Conſtans, ſon of the em-'peror Conſtantine:' that is, as Cave computes, about the year 344.

As Gennadius's is the only account we have of this author, and none of his writings remain, nothing farther can be added. We may however conclude from hence, that the Donatiſts were not concerned for the intereſts of their own party only: but employed themſelves likewiſe in the defence of the common cauſe of Chriſtianity againſt its enemies.

IV. The Donatiſts uſed the ſame ſcriptures that other Chriſtians did: as is often owned by their catholic adverſaries, [k] Optatus and [l] Auguſtine.

1. That they received all the ſeveral parts of the Old and

[e] Tichonius——vidit eccleſiam Dei toto orbe diffuſam.——Aug. ibid. Conf. ejuſd. Ep. 93. c. x. n. 43. [f] Hiſt. Donat. p. 19. [g] Les Donatiſtes Art. 59. & note 31, 32. [h] App. Bibb. PP. Mex. T. vi. [i] Vitellius Afer, Donatiſtarum ſchiſma defendens, ſcripſit de eo quod odio ſint mundo ſervi Dei. In quo ſi nos aſſet de noſtro velut perſecutorum nomine, egregiam doctrinam ediderat. Scripſit & adverſum Gentes, & adverſum nos velut traditores, in perſecutione, divinarum ſcripturarum. Et ad regulam eccleſiaſticam pertinentia multa diſſerit. Claruit ſub Conſtante filio Conſtantini principis. Gennad. cap. iv. [k] Cum quæritur merito, quia nobis & vobis eccleſiaſtica una eſt converſatio. — Denique poſſumus & nos dicere: Pares credimus, & uno ſigillo ſignati ſumus, nec aliter baptizati quam vos. Teſtamentum divinum legimus pariter. Optat. l. iii. c. 9.

Denique & apud vos & apud nos una eſt eccleſiaſtica converſatio, communes lectiones, eadem fides.——Id. l. v. c. 1. fin.

[l] Proferte certe aliquem de ſcripturis canonicis, quarum nobis eſt communis auctoritas, ab hæreticis venientem denuo baptizatum. Aug. contr. Creſcon. l. i. c. 31. n. 37.

In ſcripturis diſcimus Chriſtum: in ſcripturis diſcimus eccleſiam. Has ſcripturas communiter habemus. Ep. 105. al. 166. c. 4. n. 14.

Illi autem fratres utriuſque teſtamenti auctoritate devincti ſunt. Ep. 129. n. 3.

New Testament, appears from St.[m] Augustine's enumeration of them in his arguments with these people.

2. There can be no question therefore, but they received all those books in particular, which were generally received.

3. The book of the Acts is largely quoted by[n] Petilian, and [o] Tichonius.

4. I cannot say, whether they received the Epistle to the Hebrews. Tichonius has the words[p] of Heb. x. 38. *The just shall live by faith*; but he seems to consider them as the prophet Habakkuk's.

5. They plainly received the Revelation of St. John. Augustine frequently[q] quotes it in his arguments with them. It is also cited by the[r] Anonymous Author of the Acts of Saturninus and others. Tichonius[s] the Donatist wrote a Commentary upon the whole book, as we before saw in his article from Gennadius.

6. Augustine bears witness to them, that[t] they had the like respect for the scriptures that the catholics had, and were not unwilling to be determined by them.

Moreover, their respect for the divine scriptures was manifest, in their aversion for all those who had betrayed them, or were supposed to have done so.

[m] Non invidemus alicui. Legite nobis hoc de Lege, de Prophetis, de Psalmis, de ipso Evangelio, de Apostolicis literis. Legimus, & credimus. Aug. de Unit. Ecc. cap. 6. n. 11.

Ut ergo non commemorem gentes, quæ post apostolorum tempora crediderunt, & accesserunt ecclesiæ. Illæ ipsæ solæ, quas in sanctis literis, in Actibus, & Epistolis Apostolorum, & Apocalypsi Johannis invenimus: quas utrique amplectimur, & quibus utrique subdimur, &c. Ib. c. 12. n. 51.

Sed in præscripto Legis, in Prophetarum prædictis, in Psalmorum cantibus, in ipsius Pastoris vocibus, in Evangelistarum prædicationibus & laboribus, hoc est in omnibus sanctorum librorum auctoritatibus. Ib. c. 18. n. 47.

Quas utique scripturas, nisi canonicas Legis & Prophetarum? Huc accesserunt Evangelia, Apostolicæ Epistolæ, Actus Apostolorum, Apocalypsis Joannis. Ib. c. 19. n. 51.

Quod non de Lege, non de Propheta, non de Psalmo, non de Apostolo, non de Evangelio,——recitatis. Ep. 105. al. 166. c. 1. n. 2.

[n] Sed ut hæc ab apostolis præduceant, eorum Actibus edocemur. Petilian. ap. Aug. contr. Lit. Pet. l. ii. c. 37. n. [illegible] Vid. ib. c. 20. n. 44. & c. 21. n. 47.

[o] Tichon. Reg. iii. p. 52. Bib. PP. T. [illegible]

[p] Quomodo autem ex lege nemo [illegible] apud Deum: justus autem ex [illegible] vit. [Conf. Gal. iii. 1[illegible]] Ostendit [illegible] terea, dictum esse per Prophetam, [illegible] vivit. Tich. Reg. iii. ap. Bib. PP. T. [illegible] p. [illegible] F. [illegible] Nam populos [illegible] aliquando vocabulo [illegible] [illegible] Sic enim dicitur Joann[illegible] Aug. contr. Ep. Parm. [illegible] Vid. ib. n. [illegible] Et con. Aug. [illegible] Crescon. l. iii. c. 66. n. 75. & c. [illegible]

[r] Et hanc sententiam suam Sancti Spiritus auctoritate conscriptam tabi compa[illegible] firmabant. Scriptum est, inquiunt, in Apocalypsi.——Acta Saturnin. &c. cap. 18.

[s] Exposuit & Apocalypsin ex integro. Gennad. De V. I. cap. 18.

[t] Sed dicere [illegible], non audiamus: Hæc dicit, hæc dico. Sed audiamus: Hæc dicit Dominus. Sunt certe libri dominici, quorum auctoritatibus utrique consentimus, utrique cedimus, utrique servimus. De Unit. Ec. c. 3. n. 5.

Sileant humanarum contentionum animosa & perniciosa certamina. Inclinemus autem verbo Dei. ib. c. 7. n. 15.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXVIII.

ALEXANDER, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA.

I. *His history and works.* II. *His testimony to the scriptures.*

I. ALEXANDER, bishop of Alexandria, succeeded [a] Achillas in the year 312, or 313. In his time arose the Arian controversy, which made so much noise in the world. He was present at the council of Nice in 325, and died at Alexandria, before the end of that year, or some time in 326, within five months [b] after the breaking up of the council, or [c] after his return home from it.

By Theodoret he is called [d] the great Alexander, and [e] an excellent defender of the evangelical doctrine.

It is not known, that Alexander wrote any thing beside epistles, sent to bishops in several parts of the world: which, as [f] Epiphanius says, were in number almost seventy, and were extant in his time in the hands of the curious. Socrates says, that [g] great numbers of epistles having been written by many, sent chiefly to the bishop of Alexandria, collections were made of them; one by Arius, of those favouring him, another by Alexander, on the contrary side. It is probable, that [h] each collection contained the letters written by themselves, as well as by others in their favour. But, as may be argued from the words of Socrates, and is farther evident from [i] Sozomen, each collection consisted of letters written on one side only.

Of all those epistles of Alexander there now remain two only, one in Socrates, to [k] the bishops of the catholic church

[a] Vid. Cav. Hist. Lit. & Pagi Crit. in Bar. Ann. 311. n. 23. [b] Alexander [illegible] nedam habitam mense obiit, [illegible] ann. 325. vel mense primo insequenti. Cav. ib. in Alexandro.

[c] Quo primo Alexander in suam ecclesiam [illegible] pervenit, & die 16 Aprilis [illegible] Quæ Athanasii laudata sententia [illegible] videtur. Hæc enim ejus verba [illegible] μετὰ μῆνας πεντεκαίδεκα, καὶ ὁ [illegible] Ἀλέξανδρος τετελεύτηκεν· id est, Etiam quinque mensis (scilicet ab adventu Alexandri in ecclesiam suam,) præterlapsis, cum Alexander mortem obiit. Pagi ib. An. 326. n. 3. Conf. Ap. d. Athan. Arian. n. 50. p. 178. & Theodoret. l. i. c. 14. [d] Hær. Fab. l. iv. n. 1. p. 268. [e] Vol. ii. n. 7. p. 239. [f] —— ὡς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἑβδομηκοντα. Epiph. H. 69. n. 4.

[g] Οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ γράμματα πολλὰ πρὸς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Ἀλεξάνδρειας περιτυχόντες, ἐποιήσαντο τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τούτων συναγωγάς, ὁ μὲν Ἄρειος μετὰ τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων. Socr. l. i. c. 6. f. [h] Non omittendum, quod Socrates narrat, Arium collectionem fecisse epistolarum causæ suæ faventium, in quibus non dubium est etiam Arii ipsius epistolas insertas fuisse. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. 8. p. 309. Vid. & p. 310.

[i] —— συναγαγὼν ἑκατέρωθεν τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκείας αἱρέσεως φερομένας ἐπιστολὰς, καὶ τὰς ἐναντίας παρελάβομεν. Sozom. l. i. c. 1. p. 402. A. [k] Τοῖς ἁγιωτάτοις —— συλ-

throughout the world: the other in [l] Theodoret, to Alexander bishop of Byzantium, with [m] fragments of some others. The time of writing those two letters will be shewn more particularly at the beginning of the next chapter.

It must be owned, that Alexander expresseth himself with much warmth, if not with bitterness of spirit.

He calls Arius and his followers [n] apostates, and [e] enemies of Christ, and [f] impious. He says, they [g] had done their utmost to exceed all past heresies, and approach nearer to Antichrist.

II. All the farther account, which I shall give of those two letters will relate to the holy scriptures.

1. It is observable, that several books of the New Testament, particularly St. Paul's epistles, are here frequently quoted.

2. St. John's gospel is largely and expressly quoted. 'John '[h] the evangelist: John [i] in his gospel: the [k] most excellent 'John.'

3. Alexander received the epistle to the Hebrews, as Paul's. 'As [l] the apostle says, Jesus Christ, the [m] same yesterday, to-'day, and for ever: and what reason have they to say, that 'he was made for us, when Paul writes, *for* [n] *whom are all* '*things, and by whom are all things.*' Again, having cited divers texts, he adds, 'Agreeably [o] to these speaks the most 'eloquent Paul, saying, *Whom* [p] *he has appointed heir of all* '*things, by whom also he made the worlds.*' In another place [q] he has words of Heb. i. 3.

4. He quotes the second Epistle of St. John, ver. 10. 'For '[r] it becometh us as Christians,——*not to say to such: God*

λειτουργοις τοις απανταχου της καθολικης εκκλησιας. Socr. l. i. c. 6. p. 10. A.

[l] Ap. Thdrt. l. i. c. 4. [m] Vid. Const. Ap. l. viii. c. 28. in notis: & Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 341. & S. Maxim. Confess. T. ii. p. 152, 155. Conf. Car. H. L. in Alexandro. [n] Εξηλθον νυν ανδρες παρανομοι και χριστομαχοι, διδασκοντες αποστασιαν. Ap. Socr. l. i. c. 6. p. 10. A. B.

—— ευσεβιος —— προισταται και τουτων του αποστατων. ib. B. [e] Απαξ γαρ προθεμενοι χριστομαχειν. p. 112. B.

[f] —— φασιν οι αλαστορες. ap. Th. p. 10. D.

[g] —— εδικαιωσαν εξ εαυτων εκεινας, ως εγγυτεροι του αντιχριστου γενομενοι. p. 12. D.

[h] —— Ιωαννης ευαγγελιστης· κ. λ. Ap. Thdret. l. i. c. 4. p. 11. [i] Τις ακουων Ιωαννου λεγοντος ——; η τις ακουων εν τω ευαγγελιω ——; Ap. Socr. l. i. c. 6. p. 11. C. D. [k] Ο ευλαβεστατος Ιωαννης. Ap. Theod. p. 12. A.

[l] Αλλ' ως αποστολος· Ιησους Χριστος χθες και σημερον αυτος, και εις τους αιωνας· τι δε αρα ειπειν αυτους επεισεν, οτι δι' ημας γεγονε, καιτοι του Παυλου γραφοντος, δι' ον τα παντα και δι' ου τα παντα; ap. Socr. p. 12. B.

[m] Heb. xiii. 8. [n] Heb. ii. 10.

[o] Συμφωνα γουν τουτοις βοα και ο μεγαλοφωνοτατος Παυλος, φασκων περι αυτου· ον εθηκε κληρονομον παντων. κ. λ. ap. Theod. p. 13. B. [p] Hebr. i. 2.

[q] —— απαυγασμα γαρ εστι της δοξης και χαρακτηρ της πατρικης υποστασεως. ap. Th. p. 17. D. Vid. & Socr. p. 12. D.

[r] —— και μη δε καν χαιρειν τοις τοιουτοις λεγειν, ινα μη ποτε και ταις αμαρτιαις αυτων κοινωνοι γενωμεθα, ως παρηγγειλεν ο μακαριος Ιωαννης. ap. Socr. p. 13. C.

'*speed,*

'ſpeed, leſt we be partakers of their ſins, as the bleſſed John 'directs.'

5. I ſhall add ſome things, ſhewing his reſpect for the ſcriptures, and the general diviſions then in uſe.

1.) He calls them [s] divine ſcriptures. He ever aſſerts his own opinion upon the [t] ground of their authority, and [u] chargeth his adverſaries with oppoſing and contradicting the ſame divine ſcriptures. The doctrines which he maintains to be true, he ſays, are apoſtolical, which [x] we teach and preach, and for which we are ready to die.

2.) Other paſſages to the like purpoſe are ſuch as theſe: 'We [y] believe in one only unbegotten Father, giver of the 'law, and the prophets, and the goſpels, Lord of the patri'archs, and apoſtles, and all holy men.' Afterwards, 'We [z] 'alſo confeſs, as the divine ſcriptures teach, one Holy Spirit, 'who renewed both the holy men of the Old Teſtament, and 'the divine teachers of that which is called the New.' He thinks, that [a] the hypoſtaſis of the Son may be above the comprehenſion of evangeliſts, and even of angels. Having cited ſome texts of the Old Teſtament, and St. Paul's epiſtles, he proceeds, 'And [b] in the goſpel it is written.'

3.) I have not obſerved in Alexander quotations of any books, beſide thoſe of the Old and the New Teſtament. But repreſenting in ſtrong terms the perverſeneſs of his adverſaries, Arius and his adherents, he ſays: 'They [c] have no regard 'to the wiſdom and piety of ancient writings, nor to the 'unanimous conſent of our colleagues in the doctrine con'cerning Chriſt.' By ancient writings, I ſuppoſe he means thoſe of early Chriſtians, near the days of the apoſtles: for which he ſeems to have had, and juſtly, a high reſpect. Nevertheleſs they were not eſteemed deciſive, and of authority in matters of religion. If they had been ſo, they would have been frequently quoted by him.

[s] ... τοις εκ των θειων γραφων. ... p. 10. A. & paſſim. [t] Και ... και διατιθεσθαι τας θειας ... ap. ... C. [u] Πια δε παρα τας ... ταυτα. Ap. ... p. 10. D. ... θειας ——συναιρει- ... ap. Th. p. 10. D. και ταις ... ib. p. 11. B. ... ταυτα κηρυσσομεν, ... ιας τα αποστολικα δε μα- ... απιθησομεν. Ap. Th. ... A. B. [x] Νομω και προφηλων και ευαγγελιων βιβλια, πατριαρχων και αποστολων και απαντων αγιων ανδρων. Ap. Th. p. 17. A. B. [y] Καθως ημας αι θειαι γραφαι διδασκουσι, ενα πνευμα αγιον ομολογουμεν, τον νομισαντα τους τε της παλαιας διαθηκης αγιους ανδρας, και τους της γραμματικης καινης παιδευσαντα θεους. Ib. p. 18. C. D. [z] Ib. p. 19. B. Conf. p. 17. C. [a] Ει δε τω ευαγγελιω. ib. p. 14. B. [b] Ου καλησουσιν αγιους η των αιχμαλωτων φιλοθεις συγγραμματα· ουδε η των συλλειβεντων συμφωνος περι Χριστου ευλαβεια. ib. p. 16. C. Vid. ib. B.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXIX.

Arius, and his Followers.

I. *His history.* II. *His works.* III. *His character.* IV. *The rise and occasion of the Arian controversy.* V. *The opinions of Arius and his followers.* VI. *Divisions among them, and their numerous councils and creeds.* VII. *Their want of moderation.* VIII. *Their testimony to the scriptures.* IX. *Arian writers:* 1. *Acacius.* 2. *Aëtius.* 3. *Anonymous author of a Commentary upon the Book of Job.* 4. *Another, author of a Discourse in Augustine.* 5. *Asterius.* 6. *Basil of Ancyra.* 7. *Eunomius.* 8. *Eusebius of Emesa.* 9. *Eusebius of Nicomedia.* 10. *Euzoius.* 11. *George of Laodicea.* 12. *Lucius.* 13. *Maximin.* 14. *Philostorgius.* 15. *Sabinus.* 16. *Theodore, bishop of Heraclea.* 17. *Ulphilas.*

I. The history of the Arian controversy may be learned not only from Eusebius, Socrates, and Sozomen, and other ecclesiastical historians, but likewise from Arius himself, Alexander and Athanasius, principals in the debate.

It began, as some think, in the year [a] 316, others about [b] 319: whereas [c] Baronius placed it as early as 315, agreeably to [d] Orosius, as he thought. But [e] Basnage and others say, that the beginning of Arianism is put by that author in 317. Cave likewise thinks, that Arius was not known [f] as an heresiarch, until after 315, though he speaks of him as flourishing about that year. Bernard de Varenne says, that [g] Arius did not open himself fully, till the year 319, when he knew that he had several bishops and presbyters on his side.

Epiphanius informs us, it was said, that [h] Arius was a native of Libya: he does not speak positively. Constantine seems to mean Alexandria, when he speaks of [i] sending back Arius to his own country. It is now commonly said, that his father's name was Ammonius: and indeed, Arius sent his letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia by one [k] Ammonius, whom he calls father. But in what sense he useth the word, may be questioned, as has been already observed by [l] Basnage.

a Fabr. Bib Gr. T. viii. p. 308.

b Tillem. T. vi. Les Ariens. Art. 2. & Note i.

c A. 315. n. 20.

d l. vii. c. 28.

e A. 317. n. v. Conf. eund. A. 321. n. ix. & Pagi Ann. 315. n. vi. vii.

f Cœpitque, ut volunt, ab anno 315. tanquam hæresiarcha innotescere: quod tamen paulo serius mihi contigisse videtur, paucis ante synodum Nicænam annis. Cav. H. L. in Ario.

g Histoire de Constantin. l. v. p. 207. a Paris. 1728.

h —— φασιν δε αὐτὸν λιβὸν τὸ γενος. Epiph. H. 6. 9. n. 69.

i —— ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἀφικέσθαι δεινήθης. ap. Socr. l. i. c. 25. p. 61. B.

k Ap. Epiph. H. 69. n. 6.

l Sed ambiguum patris nomen, quod episcopis etiam frequentissime dabatur, in incerto ponit, naturane an dignitate pater Arii vocetur Ammonius. Basn. A. 317. n. v.

Sozomen

Sozomen ſays, that [m] Arius was made deacon by Peter, but was afterwards excommunicated by the ſame biſhop, for not approving of his treatment of Meletius and his adherents. When Peter had ſuffered martyrdom, Achillas not only forgave Arius, and admitted him deacon again, but ordained him preſbyter. After whoſe death [n], he was alſo for a time much eſteemed by Alexander.

It is univerſally agreed, that Arius was preſbyter of Alexandria, and [o] officiated in a church of that city. Theodoret ſays, he [p] was intruſted with the interpretation of the ſacred ſcriptures: whether Theodoret thereby means, as catechiſt, or only as preacher in the church allotted to him, is not [q] certain. For it ſeems to me, that there is no good reaſon to conclude from theſe expreſſions of Theodoret, that Arius had the office of catechiſt at Alexandria.

Arius's particular opinions being known, and ſpreading conſiderably, Alexander convened a council at Alexandria: in which Arius and divers others were [r] excommunicated, as Socrates ſays. To the like purpoſe Alexander himſelf [s], in his epiſtle to Alexander biſhop of Byzantium, afterwards called Conſtantinople. Sozomen ſays, that [t] Alexander excommunicated Arius and the clergy that followed him.

This ſentence was paſſed upon Arius, as [u] Tillemont thinks, in 319 or 320, or as other learned [x] men, in 320 or 321. It appears to me very difficult to determine the year with certainty.

It ought to be obſerved, that about the year 319, or in ſome ſhort time after, two ſynods were held at Alexandria. After the former of which Alexander wrote his letter to his name-ſake at Conſtantinople; after the latter, at which were preſent almoſt [y] a hundred biſhops of Egypt and Libya, he wrote the letter to the biſhops of the catholic church in all places. There ſeems not to have been any long ſpace of time between thoſe two ſynods: and both theſe letters of Alexander were written a good while before Conſtantine's letter to the ſame

[m] Soz. l. i. c. 15. p. 426. A. B.
—— μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν ... Soz. ib. B.
[n] Vid. Epiph. H. 69. n. i.
[o] ... τὴν μὲν καθέδραν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ..., τὴν δὲ τῶν θείων γραφῶν πιστευθεὶς ἐξήγησιν. Thdrt. l. i. c. 2. p. 7.
[p] Vid. Tillem. Les Ariens Art. 2. ſub in.
[q] Καὶ συνέδρους πολλῶν ἐπισκόπων καθιστᾷ ... τοὺς μὲν ἀποδεχόμενος ... τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος καθαίρει. Socr. l. i. c. 6. p. 9. D.
[r] —— παραδίδωσι τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν θεοῦσαν ἐκκλησίαν ἐξελάσαντες. Ap. Thdrt. l. i. c. 4. p. 10. A. Vid. & p. 19. B.
[s] —— ἀπεκήρυξε τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς συμφρονοῦντας αὐτῷ περὶ δόγμα κλήρικους. Soz. l. i. c. 15. p. 427. A.
[t] Les Ariens. Art. 3. & note i.
[u] Vid. Pagi Ann. 315. n. vi. vii. viii. Baſnage. 321. n. ix.
[x] Ap. Socr. l. i. c. 6. p. 11. C.

Alexander

Alexander and Arius, which was not written before the year 324. So[z] Pagi, and others.

Whenever these things were done, Arius, in his letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia, complains heavily of the hard treatment given him by his bishop. He says, he[a] was unjustly persecuted by Alexander for the truth's sake: and that he[b] and his brethren were expelled the city, as impious, for not assenting to the doctrine taught by him. Epiphanius too, expressly says, that[c] Arius and they who adhered to him, were expelled both the church and the city.

Arius being expelled from Alexandria, went[d] into Palestine, to strengthen his interest. Indeed, there were many who favoured him and his cause. Epiphanius says, it was reported, that[e] he drew over to his party seven hundred virgins consecrated to God, seven presbyters, twelve deacons, and some bishops. This great increase, or a large part of it, Epiphanius plainly supposes to have been made before Arius was excommunicated. For he says, that Alexander having summoned his presbyters, and some bishops, and strictly examining the matter, when Arius refused to own the truth, he was expelled the church and city: and[f] with him were excommunicated the virgins and the clergy above-mentioned, and a great number of people. Alexander, in his letter to his namesake of Byzantium, which we have in Theodoret, speaks, as if there[g] were many women at Alexandria who sided with Arius: and their zeal is represented by him as very great; though afterwards, to diminish their credit, as it seems, he speaks of the women that had been deceived, as[h] few, or inconsiderable. He owns likewise, that Arius and his friends boasted of having[i] bishops on their side. Alexander complains also of[k] three bishops of Syria, who countenanced them: meaning Eusebius of Cæsarea, Theodotus of Laodicea, and Paulinus of Tyre. And at the end of that letter, he mentions by name[l] ten presbyters and deacons at Alexandria, who had been anathematized by him as heretics.

[z] A. 315. n. viii. Conf. Vales. Annot. ad Thdrt. l. i. c. 4. & Basnag. Ann. 324. n. xx. [a] ο διωκομενος υπο Αλεξανδρου παπα αδικως δια —— αληθειαν. ap. Epiph. H. 69. n. 6. in. [b] —— και παν κακον κινει καθ' ημων —— ωστε εκδιωξαι ημας εκ της πολεως ως ανθρωπους αθεους. ib. p. 731. B. [c] —— εξεοι αυτον της εκκλησιας, και εκκηρυκτον ποιει εν τη πολει. H. 69. n. iii. p. 729. D. [d] Epiph. ib. n. iv. in. [e] H. 69. n. iii. in. [f] —— συν αυτῳ δε απεσπασθησαν αι προειρημεναι παρθενευουσαι, και κληρικοι οι προειρημενοι, και οκλος αλλος πολυς. ib. ad fin. [g] —— δι' εντυχιας γυναικαριων ατακτων α ηπατησαν. —— εκ του περι τροχαζειν πασαν αγυιαν ασεμνως τας παρ' αυτοις νεωτερας. ap. Thdrt. p. 9. D. [h] —— ηπατημενα ολιγα γυναικαρια. ib. p. 19. C. [i] —— ως αν συμψηφους αυτοις και ομοφρονας εχοντες επισκοπους. ib. p. 10. B. [k] ib. p. 15. C. [l] ib. p. 20.

In

In the letter to the biſhops of the catholic church, preſerved in [n] Socrates, Alexander complains of Euſebius of Nicomedia, for patronizing Arius. And moreover mentions twelve preſbyters and deacons at Alexandria, and two biſhops of that country, who were of that party. Their names are Arius, Achillas, Aithales, Carponas, another Arius, Sarmates, Euzoius, Lucius, Julian, Menas, Helladius, Gaius: the biſhops are Secundus and Theonas.

Arius, in his letter to [n] Euſebius of Nicomedia, mentions Euſebius of Cæſarea, Theodotus, Paulinus, Athanaſius, Gregory and Aëtius by name: and refers in general to other biſhops of the eaſt, who had been anathematized by Alexander, for teaching the ſame doctrine that he did. And intimates, that none of the biſhops of the eaſt had eſcaped that cenſure, except Philogonius, Hellanicus and Macarius. The places where all theſe were biſhops, are afterwards particularly ſhewn by Theodoret.

Socrates obſerves, that [o] the evil, which began at Alexandria, ſoon ſpread itſelf all over Egypt and Libya, and the upper Thebais, and at length into other cities and countries.

Arius was at Nice when the council met there: his opinions having been condemned, he [p] was baniſhed by Conſtantine. By an edict of the ſame emperor he and his adherents were ſtigmatized with the opprobious name of Porphyrians, his books were ordered to be burned, and whoever concealed any of them were to be put to death.

Arius was afterwards recalled; and, as [q] Sozomen ſays, in a ſhort time: but was not allowed to go to Alexandria; where indeed he never ſettled after the council of Nice, though [r] he attempted it. Tillemont ſays, that [s] Arius was not recalled before the year 330. Other learned men think, he [t] returned from his baniſhment in 327. It is certain, that Arius and Euzoius did [u] ſome time preſent a confeſſion of faith to Conſtantine, with which the emperor was ſatisfied. He was received to the communion of the church [x] by the council of Jeruſalem in [y] 335. A like attempt was [z] afterwards made at Conſtantino-

[n] Vid. Socr. l. i. c. 6. p. 10.
[o] Sozom. l. i. c. 15. p. 32. Theodoret. l. i. c. v. p. 21 A.
[p] Socr. l. i. c. 6. in. Vid. Socr. l. i. c. 9. p. 32. Sozom. l. i. c. 21. p. 435, 436.
[q] Soz. l. ii. c. 16 Conf. Socr. l. i. c. 14. [r] Ath. C. [s] Vid. Socr. l. i. c. 27.
[t] Soz. l. ii. c. 29. [u] Les Ariens. Art. xiii. & Note iv. [v] Vid. Pagi An. 327. n. iii. iv. Baſnag. 327. iii. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 308.
[x] Socr. l. i. p. 25, 26. Soz. l. ii. c. 27.
[y] Ath. Contr. Arian. p. 199, 200. De Synod. p. 734. Soz. l. ii. c. 27. p. 486.
[z] Tillem. Les Ariens. Art. xxi. Pagi A. 330. n. xiii. xvi. [a] Pagi 340. n. xv. Baſnag. Ann. 336. n. iv. Tillem. Les Ariens. Art. xxiv. xxv.

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ple, but in vain. It is generally ſaid, that [a] he died in a ſudden and remarkable manner at Conſtantinople in the year 336.

II. It does not appear, that Arius's works were voluminous; though it is probable, that he wrote a good number of letters. We ſtill have an epiſtle written by him [b] to Euſebius of Nicomedia, and another to [c] Alexander, biſhop of Alexandria; and the [d] Confeſſion of Faith, preſented by him and Euzoius to Conſtantine. He alſo wrote [e] divers little poems, fitted for the uſe of common people, for promoting his peculiar opinions. A book called Thalia, whether in verſe or proſe is not abſolutely [f] certain; for there are ſome fragments of it in Athanaſius, which do not appear to be in verſe. This book is mentioned by ſeveral authors, particularly [g] Socrates and [h] Sozomen; who cenſure the ſtyle of it, as ſoft and effeminate. But Sozomen honeſtly owns, that he ſpeaks upon hear-ſay only, and that he had not ſeen the book. However, they both ſay, it was condemned by the council of Nice. As Athanaſius quotes it ſeveral times, he muſt be ſuppoſed to have read it. He ſpeaks of [i] the ſoftneſs and pleaſantry, or buffoonry, with which it was written: and perhaps both the fore-mentioned writers, and others likewiſe, took this character of the book from him. And, poſſibly, ſome ſaid as much of Auguſtine's Pſalm or Song upon the Donatiſts. Beſide all theſe, Tillemont imagines, that [k] Arius alſo publiſhed ſome work againſt the heathens in defence of the Chriſtian religion.

III. Arius was [l] very tall, grave and ſerious, yet affable and courteous. With good natural parts, and no inconſiderable ſhare of ſecular learning of all ſorts, he was [m] particularly diſtinguiſhed by his ſkill in logic, or the art of diſputing. He [n] had at leaſt the outward appearance of piety. In ſhort, he is repreſented as a man exceedingly well qualified to form a party, and carry on any enterprize he ſhould engage in. So far as I recollect, his conduct was unblameable; excepting

[a] Vid. Athanaſ. Ep. ad Serap. de Mort. Arii. p. 340, 341. Socr. l. ii. c. 38. Soz. l. iii. c. 20. Theodrt. H. E. l. i. c. 14. H. F. l. iv. cap. 1. p. 231. Epiph. H. 69. n. v. Ruf. H. E. l. i. c. 13. [b] Ap. Epiph. H. 69. n. vi. Theodrt. l. i. c. v. [c] ap. eund. ib. c. vii. viii. [d] ap. Socr. l. i. c. 26. Soz. l. iii. c. 27. p. 485.

[e] Philoſt. H. E. l. ii. c. 2. [f] Vid. Cav. H. L. in Ario. ſub fin. [g] Socr. l. i. c. ix. p. 30. A [h] Soz. l. i. c. xxi. p. 435. C. D. [i] Ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐν τῇ Θαλείᾳ, παιζούσης καὶ γελοίους ἔχουσης τοὺς τρόπους. De Sent. Dionyſ. n. 6. p. 247. [k] Outre ſa Thalie & ſes autres écrits contre l'egliſe, il ſemble, qu'il ait fait quelque ouvrage contre les payens. —— Tillem. les Ariens. Art. xxv. m. [l] Ἦν δὲ τὴν πλάσιν ὑπερμήκης, καθηδὺς τὸ σῶμα —— τὴν τε ὄψιν καὶ τὴν προσήκουσαν. Epiph. H. 69. n. iii. m.

[m] Διαλεκτικώτατος δὲ γενόμενος, κ. τ. λ. Soz. l. i. c. 15. p. 426. B. Conf. Socr. l. i. c. v. [n] Vir ſpecie & forma magis quam virtute religioſus. Ruſin. H. E. l. i. c. 1.

what

what relates to his zeal for maintaining his ſuppoſed errors; and that he is charged [o] with diſſembling his real ſentiments, upon ſome occaſions, in thoſe difficult circumſtances, to which he was reduced by the prevailing power of his adverſaries.

I may add here, that he writes with much ſpirit, and a full aſſurance of the truth of his opinions; particularly in his letter to Euſebius of Nicomedia, whom he ſtyles [p] ORTHODOX: and he tells that biſhop, that [q] he and his friends were unjuſtly perſecuted by Alexander for the truth's ſake, which conquers all things: that all the biſhops of the eaſt in general had been anathematized by Alexander, except Philogonius, Hellanicus, and Macarius, whom he calls [r] ignorant heretics. As for himſelf, he was not able to endure their impious [s] doctrine; nor would he ever receive it, though he were to ſuffer a thouſand deaths from thoſe heretics.

IV. Socrates gives this account of the riſe and occaſion of the Arian controverſy. 'Alexander,' he [t] ſays, 'diſcourſing 'one day too curiouſly concerning the doctrine of the Trinity 'in Unity, in the preſence of his preſbyters and the reſt of 'his clergy; Arius, one of the preſbyters, ſuppoſed his biſhop 'to advance the doctrine of Sabellius, and diſliking that, he 'went into an opinion diametrically oppoſite.' Theodoret too ſays, that [u] Arius took occaſion from things ſaid by Alexander to raiſe a diſturbance. And Conſtantine likewiſe, in his letter to Alexander and Arius, firſt blames the former [x] for putting queſtions to his preſbyters, which he ought not; and then the latter, for inconſiderately uttering notions, that ought to have been buried in ſilence.

Sozomen gives this account: that [y] Arius had for ſome time publiſhed the doctrines aſcribed to him, Alexander taking little notice of the matter: but ſome blaming him for tolerating ſuch novelties, moved by thoſe complaints, and deſiring to act equitably, he appointed a time for hearing the point fairly debated by Arius, and thoſe who oppoſed him. At which time Arius ſtood to the things he had advanced: and they who oppoſed him, aſſerted the Son to be conſubſtantial and coeternal to the Father. And though another aſſembly was appointed for debating the point, they could by no means come to an

[o] [illegible] c. 35. n. [illegible] [p] Ὀρθοδόξῳ. [illegible] 60. n. vi. p. 731. B. [q] ib. [illegible] ib. D. [illegible] ib. D. [t] —— [illegible] Socr. l. i. c. v. [u] Theod. H. E. l. iv. c. i. iii. [x] Ap. Euſeb. De V. C. l. ii. c. 69. & Socr. l. i. c. 7. p. 15. C. D. [y] Soz. l. i. c. xv.

agreement.

agreement. The point still remained doubtful and undecided, and [z] Alexander himself was at first in some suspense; but at length he declared himself in favour of those who asserted the Son to be consubstantial and coeternal to the Father.

If we could rely upon this account, it might afford a great deal of reason to think, that the doctrine of the Trinity, and of the Son's Deity, was not fully defined and determined among Christians before the council of Nice; and that there were no small numbers of persons, who held much the same doctrine with Arius. Moreover Arius, in his letter to Alexander, tells him, that [a] his faith was the same he had received from himself, and had often heard him preach. And though there is some difference between them, it seems to me, that the first three accounts, above represented, do confirm this supposition, as well as Sozomen's.

V. In the next place I would observe the opinions of Arius and his followers.

Alexander, in his letter to the bishops of the catholic church, represents their opinion in this manner: 'That [b] they said, 'God was not always Father. But there was a time when 'God was not Father: that the word of God was not always, 'and was made out of nothing: God who was, made him 'who was not, out of nothing. Therefore there was a time, 'when he was not. For the Son is a creature and made; nor 'is he like the Father in essence.'

But we may take Arius's opinion from himself. And I think it will appear, that in what is above transcribed from Alexander he is not misrepresented. For in his letter to Eusebius of Nocomedia he says: 'We [c] cannot assent to those expres-'sions, always Father, always Son, at the same time Father 'and Son: that the Son always co-exists with the Father; 'that the Father has no pre-existence before the Son, not so 'much as in thought, or a moment. But this we think, and 'teach, that the Son is not unbegotten, nor a part of the un-'begotten by any means. Nor is he made out of any pre-

[z] Αμφηριςȣ δε της ζητησεως ετι δοκȣσης ειναι, πεπονθε τι και Αλεξανδρος τα πρωτα, πη μεν τȣτȣς, πη μεν εκεινȣς επαινων· τελευτων δε τοις ομοȣσιον και συναιδιον ειναι τον υιον αποφαινομενοις εθετο. ib. p. 427. A.

[a] —— ην και απο σȣ μεμαθηκαμεν. ap. Epiph. p. 732. C.——ως και συ αυτος—— εν μεση τε εκκλησια και συνεδριω——πλειςακις τȣς ταυτα εισηγησαμενȣς απηγορευσας. ib. p. 733. A.——ως παρα σȣ μεμαθηκαμεν· μεση τη εκκλησια κηρυξαντος. ib. C.

[b] Ουκ αει ο Θεος Πατηρ ην.——ȣκ αει ην ο τȣ Θεȣ Λογος, αλλ' εξ ȣκ οντων γεγονεν· ο γαρ ων Θεος τον μη οντα εκ τȣ μη οντος ποιηκε. κ. λ. ap. Socr. p. 10. D.

[c] —— επειδη ȣ συμφωνȣμεν αυτω δημοσια λεγοντι, αει Θεος, αει Υιος, αμα Πατηρ, αμα Υιος——ȣτ' επινοια, ȣτ' ατομω τινι προαγει ο Θεος τȣ Υιȣ——διωκομεθα ον, οτι ειπομεν, αρχην εχει ο Υιος, ο δε Θεος αναρχος εςιν——και οτι ειπομεν, εξ ȣκ οντων εςιν· κ. λ. ap. Epiph. H. 69. n. vi.

'existent

'existent thing: but by the will and pleasure of the Father he 'existed before time and ages, the only begotten God, un- 'changeable: and that before he was begotten, or made, or 'designed, or founded, he was not.——But we are persecuted, 'because we say, that the Son has a beginning, and that God 'has no beginning. For this we are persecuted, and because 'we say, the Son is out of nothing. Which we therefore say, 'because he is not a part of God, nor made out of any pre- 'existent thing.'

In his letter to Alexander himself, beside many other things, he says, 'We [d] believe, that there are three persons, the Fa- 'ther, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. God, the cause of all 'things, is alone without beginning. The [e] Son, begotten of 'the Father before time, made before the ages, and founded, 'was not before he was begotten. Nor is he eternal, or co- 'eternal, or begotten at the same time with the Father.'

So far from Alexander, and Arius himself. It may be proper to take somewhat also out of other authors.

Epiphanius's Synopsis is to this purpose: 'The [f] Arians say, 'that the Son is a creature of God, and the Holy Ghost the 'creature of a creature: and that our Saviour took flesh of 'Mary, but not a soul.'

In his large work he says, they [g] argued, that the Spirit was made by the Son, because the scripture says, *All things were made by him, and without him nothing was made.* See John i. 3.

Of their denying our Saviour to have a soul, that is, an human soul, he speaks [h] several times, and argues against it [i] largely. Athanasius too, expressly says, that [k] the Arians maintained, that Christ had flesh only, as a covering for his Deity: and that the Word in him was the same as the soul in us. He supposeth them likewise to allow, that the Word, or Deity in Christ, was liable to suffering in the body. Theodoret [l] ascribes to them the same opinion. He again ascribes it to [m] Arius and Eunomius. Augustine too, takes notice of

[d] Ap. Epiph. ib. n. viii. in.
[e] Ibid. ἀρχὴν ἐχοντα γεννηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ——— ὑπὸ τοῦ γεννήσαντος. ibid.
[f] T. i. p. 606. [g] H. 69. n. 18. p. 741. D. Vid. & n. 56. [h] Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἔφασαν αὐτὸν ἀνθρωπίνη εἰληφέναι ψυχήν. H. 69. n. 10. p. 743. A. Conf. n. 11. [i] Vid. ib. n. 16. & 17. [k] Ἄρειος δὲ σαρκα μόνην φησὶν ἀπηρτίσθαι τὸν Θεὸν λόγον ἐνδύσασθαι· αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, τελεῖν τῆς ψυχῆς, τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ λέγει γεγονέναι· τὴν τοῦ πάθους νοσοῦσαν, καὶ τὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀναστασιν τῇ θεότητι προσάπτει τολμῶν. Contr. Apollin. l. ii. n. 3. p. 942. C. [l] Καὶ μετὰ καὶ τοῦτης ἐν αἱρέσεως παρήκμασε λόγος· σῶμα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἄψυχον εἶναι φασὶν ἐνηνθρωπηκέναι, ἐμπεπτωκέναι δὲ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς τῷ Θεότητι. H. F. l. iv. c. 1. p. 232. D. [m] Ἄρειος δὲ καὶ Εὐνομίος σῶμα μὲν αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἐνηνθρωπηκέναι, τὴν Θεότητα δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν περιστῆναι τὴν χρείαν. Ib. l. v. c. 11. p. 278. D.

this opinion in his account [n] of this sect, and in other arguments [o] against them.

An anonymous Arian in Augustine says: The [p] Father is greater than the Son, the Son incomparably greater and better than the Spirit. And [q] the Father begot the Son by his will: the Son by his own power alone made the Spirit.

Maximin, in Augustine, says, the [r] Son is not only God, but a great God: which he argues from Tit. ii. 13. Again, We [s] worship the Father and the Son: but shew a text, where we are commanded to worship the Spirit.

VI. There were in the fourth century several divisions in this sect. Epiphanius [t], and Augustine [u] after him, have four distinct articles in speaking of them: Arians or Ariomanites, Semiarians, Macedonians or Pneumatomachi, Aëtians, called also Eunomians and Anomeans.

They were very remarkable for the numerous councils held by them, and for their numerous creeds, especially in the time of Constantius. Socrates computes their creeds [x] or confessions to have been nine in number; and calls them a labyrinth. Some moderns, not attending to the design of Socrates, have multiplied them greatly. He speaks of public creeds, agreed in councils of bishops: they add to them several confessions made by particular persons upon divers occasions. Insomuch, that Fluery [y] makes out a catalogue of sixteen; and Tillemont, not content to stop there, computes [z] eighteen. Athanasius using a round number, says they had had at [a] least ten synods. Learned moderns do sometimes reckon eleven [b] public creeds, the last of which was drawn up in the year * 361.

[n] In eo autem quod Christum sine anima solam carnem suscepisse arbitrantur, minus noti sunt: nec adversus eos ab aliquo inveni de hac re aliquando fuisse certatum. Sed hoc verum esse, & Epiphanius non tacuit, & ego ex eorum quibusdam scriptis & collocutionibus certissime inveni. De Hær. c. 49.

[o] Ecce in quibus verbis suis omnino manifestant negare se, quod ad unitatem personæ Christi etiam humana anima pertineat: sed in Christo carnem & divinitatem tantummodo confiteri. Contr. Serm. Arian. n. 7. T. 8.

[p] Pater major est Filio: Filius incomparabiliter major & melior est Spiritu. Serm. Arian. n. 24. ap. Aug. T. 8.

[q] Pater immobiliter & impassibiliter volens Filium genuit: Filius sine labore & fatigatione sola virtute sua Spiritum fecit. Ib. n. 26.

[r] Est autem Filius secundum apostolum non pusillus, sed magnus Deus. Sicut ait beatus apostolus: Exspectando beatam spem, & adventum gloriæ magni Dei & Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi. Collat. cum Maxim. n. 13. ap. Aug. T. 8.

[s] Ib. n. 14. Vid. n. xi.

[t] H. 69. 73. 74. 76.

[u] De Hær. c. 49. 51. 52. 54.

[x] Ημεις δε τον λαβυρινθον των εκθεσεων οψε ποτε διανυσαντες, την απαριθμησιν αυτων συναγαγωμεν. Socr. l. i. c. 41. p. 154. D.

[y] Fluery B. 14. ch. 33. Vol. 2. p. 294.

[z] Les Ariens Art. 102.

[a] Ηδη γαρ τοιουτοι δεκα και πλεον που συνοδους πεποιηκασι. Ad Afros. n. 2. p. 892. B.

[b] Vid. Petav. ad Epiph. H. 73. n. xxvii. p. 327.

* Vid. Benedictin. Mon. ad Athan. de Synod. p. 715.

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The Arians seem to have pleased themselves with [c] the great number of their synods. But others were of a different opinion: and the confessions of faith published by them were not unanimous. Athanasius [d] often banters them for their numerous creeds, and for making new creeds almost every year; thus shewing themselves dissatisfied with their own performances, and rescinding what had been before established by them. He says, it was matter of great grief to himself, and many others, that the whole world was disturbed by them. Nor could they without pain see those [e] who were called clergymen, continually running from one place to another, to learn how they ought to believe in Jesus Christ. It was, moreover, a cause of scandal to catechumens, and of much laughter to the heathen.

These numerous synods, this frequent creed-making, occasioned that remark of Ammianus Marcellinus, a heathen author; that [f] Constantius corrupted the simplicity of the Christian religion; and that the bishops of his reign, continually galloping to councils, jaded all the post-horses, and wore out all the public carriages of the empire. The same complaint is found in some [g] of the ecclesiastical writers.

VII. In their creeds they are generally very free in anathematizing such as differed from them. In their council at Antioch in 341, under the direction of Eusebius of Nicomedia, and his friends, they say: 'We [h] anathematize all heretical 'pravity. And if any one contrary to the sacred doctrine of 'the scriptures say, that the Son is a creature as one of the 'creatures——or if any one shall teach or preach any thing 'beside what we have received, let him be anathema.' And in a like manner, more at large in their long creed at Antioch,

[c] —— παρακαλουμεν μη αισχεσθαι, καθα φρονουμεν, τω προβαλλομενων οχλον συνοδων προφασει πιστεως —— κ. λ. Ad. Afros. n. 10. p. 899. C. [d] Παλα γαρ κινουσι και ταραττουσι, και ουδε εως τοις ιδιοις αρχουσι· καθ' εκαστον γαρ, ως οι των διαβολικας γραφοντες, συνερχομενοι και αυτοι πρεσβευονται περι πιστεως γραφειν· ως δε τουτο γελοιον μαλλον και αισχυνην εχον, δηλον· ουκ εστιν απλως παρ' αυτοις τα αυτα εκαλλειται. Ad. Ep. Æg. & Lib. n. 3. p. 275. [e] —— αγε την οικουμενην δια ταχυνειας, και τους λειτουργους εν τω καιρω τουτω κλησεως διαπρεχειν αιω και καλω, ταις ουν ως α, α υαισσι πιστευειν εις τον εφεξης χρον Ιησ. Χριστον —— τελος δε τοις μη κατηχουμενοις εκ εθους σκανδαλον τοις εθνεσιν, η το γελοιον, αλλα και πλειων ζημια παρεχει. De Synod. n. 2. p. 717.

[f] Christianam religionem absolutam & simplicem anili superstitione confundens: in qua scrutanda perplexius, quam componenda gravius excitavit discidia plurima, quæ progressa fusius aluit concertatione verborum: ut catervis antistitum jumentis publicis ultro citroque discurrentibus per synodos quas appellant, dum ritum omnem ad suum trahere conantur arbitrium, rei vehicularis succideret nervos. Ammian. l. xxi. c. ult. [g] Cursusque ipse publicus attritus ad nihilum deducitur. Hilar. p. 1320. C. [h] —— πασαν αιρεσιν αναθεματιζομεν κακοδοξιαν· και εαν τις —— διδασκει, λεγει, αναθεμα εστω· και ει τοις λεγει τον υιον κτισμα ως εν των κτισματων —— η ει τις αλλο διδασκει η ευαγγελιζεται παρ' ο παρελαβομεν, αναθεμα εστω. Ap. Socr. l. ii. c. x. p. 88. B.

in 345, which may be ſeen in [l] Athanaſius, and [k] Socrates. Their creed at Sirmium, againſt Photinus, in 351, concludes with [l] ſeven and twenty anathemas, three of which are theſe; 'If [m] any one ſay, that Abraham did not ſee the Son, but the 'unbegotten God, or a part of him, let him be anathema. 'If any one ſay, it was not the Son, who wreſtled with Jacob, 'but the unbegotten God, or a part of him, let him be ana-'thema. If any one underſtand thoſe words in Gen. xix. 24. 'the *Lord rained fire from the Lord*, not of the Father and Son, 'but that God rained from himſelf, let him be anathema. For 'the Lord the Son rained from the Lord the Father.'

Indeed I think, that this ſect ſhewed little moderation in the fourth century. Whenever [n] they had the emperor on their ſide, they failed not to make uſe of his authority. Between the emperors Valentinian and Valens, two brothers, the former the elder, emperor in the Weſt, and favourer of the Nicene doctrine, the latter emperor in the Eaſt, Socrates obſerves this difference; Valentinian [o] encouraged the men of his own principles, without being at all troubleſome to the Arians: but Valens, deſirous to promote Arianiſm, grievouſly intreated thoſe who were not of that opinion, as the ſequel of our hiſtory will ſhew.

So Socrates, who is the more to be regarded, becauſe he ſhews a great deal of impartiality, and cenſures the biſhops of his own principles, when they aſſumed a lordly power and authority: of which ſome inſtances were given [p] formerly. Another is this. 'Theodoſius, biſhop of Synada in Phrygia Pa-'catiana,' he ſays, 'cruelly [q] perſecuted the heretics in that 'city: of which there were many, of the Macedonian ſect. 'He not only expelled them the city, but the country: in 'which he did not act agreeably to the cuſtom of the orthodox 'church. Nor was he influenced by a zeal for the right faith, 'but by love of money, which he endeavoured to extort from 'the heretics.'

i De Synod. n. 26. p. 738. &c.

k L. ii. c. 19. l Ap. Athan. de Synod. n. 27. p. 742, 743. m Vid. ib. p. 743. Anathem. xv. xvi. xvii.

n —— ὑποσχέσει τε ἁμα καὶ φόβοισι μοις, ὃν τοις βασιλικοις προσαξμασι, καὶ τῳ βασιλεῖ, οἱ αἱρεσιῶται ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐκαίνισαν, τοις μὴ βουλομένοις κατὰ τὰ αὐτῶν φρονεῖν φέρεσθαι. Epiph. H. 69. n. 34. p. 737. B.

o Οὐαλεντινιανὸς μὲν γὰρ τοις ἰδίοις ἐπιτρέπει· τοις δὲ ἀρειανίζουσιν οὐδὲν ὀχληρὸς· οὐκοῦν δὲ ἀσεβαρὲς αὐξῆσαι τὸ αἱρεσιωτικὸν, δεινὰ κατὰ τῶν μὴ τοιαῦτα ἐνόντων ἐμηχανᾶτο.—Socr. l. iv. c. 1. p. 211. B.

p See Vol iii. p. 232.

q Οἱ τῆς ἐκεῖσε αἱρέσεως, πολλοὶ δὲ ὄντες, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῆς Μακεδονιανῶν ἐξ πόλεως, συνόλως ἐδίωκεν· ἐξελαύνων αὐτοὺς οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐπαρχίας. Καὶ τοῦτο ἐποίει, οὐκ εὐσεβῶς διάνοιαν τῇ ὀρθῇ δόξῃ ἐναλλάττων. L. vii. c. 3. in.

I know

I know not how to forbear obſerving Acacius's bitter manner of writing controverſy; who tells Marcellus, that [r] he deſerved to have his tongue cut out.

If any deſire to ſee ſome other inſtances of their partiality, and violent zeal, they may conſult the authors referred to at the bottom of the [s] page.

VIII. Arius and his followers received the ſame books of the ſacred ſcripture, that other Chriſtians did, and ſhewed the like reſpect for them.

1. It is needleſs to allege particular proofs of their receiving the ſeveral books of the New Teſtament. It is apparent from the remains of Arius himſelf, and from the Arian writers, and their councils, and the arguments of catholic writers againſt them, that they received the four goſpels, the Acts, and all other books generally received by other Chriſtians.

2. There is indeed one exception: for Theodoret, in his preface to his Commentary upon the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, ſays, that [t] they did not receive that epiſtle. And Epiphanius ſpeaks [u] to the like effect.

With regard to this, we may ſay, that if it be true, it needs not to be reckoned a very great fault: foraſmuch as there were about the ſame time ſome catholics, who either quite rejected this epiſtle, or doubted of its genuineneſs and authority. But ſecondly, I apprehend, it was generally received by them, and that it could not be rejected by many of them. What Epiphanius ſays is very pleaſant: 'Let [x] us now,' ſays he, 'obſerve ſome other texts, which they perverting allege in 'favour of their ſentiments. And here they in vain allege 'that text, *Conſider the Apoſtle and High-prieſt of your profeſ-'ſion, who was faithful to him that made him.* For firſt of all, 'they reject the epiſtle to the Hebrews, ſaying, that it is not 'the apoſtle's, though they allege that text, in order to pervert it.' Now, if they quoted that epiſtle, I think, they could not reject it. And in another place Epiphanius expreſſeth himſelf in this manner: 'And [z] beſide this, they allege

[r] —— ἐδικαίως τοι αἱ σιαὶ αὐτῶν ἐτμήθησαν γλῶτται. Ap. Epiph. H. 72. n. viii. in. Vid. Ath. Hiſt. Arian. n. 1, 2. p. 315. [illegible], &c. p. 631, &c. Tillem. Les [illegible]. 63.

[s] Φασὶ γάρτοι εἶναι [illegible] ἀπόστολον, καὶ ἀρχιερέα τῆς ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν, πιστὸν ὄντα τῷ ποιήσαντι αὐτόν. Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τὰς γραφὰς τὰς πρὸς ἐξαίρεσιν ἁρπάζουσι τῶν [illegible] ἐπιστολὴν ταύτην ἀπο[illegible]. Epiph. 69. p. T. iii. p. 393. A. Vid. H. 69. n. 3.

[t] Heb. iii. 1, 2.

[u] Ἄλλα λοιπὸν ὅσα ἐστὶ τοῖς οὗτοι, τὸ εἶναι τὸν ἀπόστολον ἀρχιερέα, τὸ πιστὸν, &c. H. 69. n. xiv.

[x] Καὶ γὰρ πάλιν χιδαίως φασὶ τεῖν τὸ ἔχειν παρεμπεσόντες τὸ ἐξάστιχον τοῦ ἀρχιερέα ἡμῶν πιστὸν ὄντα τῷ ποιήσαντι αὐτόν. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ταύτην, τὴν πρὸς ἑβραίους φησὶ, ἀπαθέλαι, φησὶ καὶ λίαν αἰσχυνθῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου, καὶ ἀθετῆσαι μᾶλλον τὰ τάλε. H. 69. n. 3. in.

'the saying of the apostle, *Consider the High-priest of your profession, who was faithful to him that made him:* and what is 'written in the Gospel of John, *He*[a] *that cometh after me was 'before me:* and that which is written in the Acts of the 'Apostles, *Therefore*[b] *let all the house of Israel know assuredly, 'that God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, 'both Lord and Christ.*' Since then they quoted the Epistle to the Hebrews together with other books of unquestioned authority, it could not be rejected by them[bb].

Maximin, the Arian bishop, quotes the epistle to the Hebrews, as[c] Paul's. Eunomius[d] likewise seems to refer to it.

3. Having said what is needful relating to this point, I shall allege some evidences of their respect for the sacred scriptures.

In his letter to Alexander, Arius professes to believe in one God, the[e] God of the law, and the prophets, and the New Testament.

A creed of theirs begins in this manner: 'We[f] believe 'agreeably to the evangelical and apostolical tradition, or 'doctrine.' Afterwards, in the same creed, 'We[g] sincerely 'believe and maintain all things taught in the divine scriptures, 'both by prophets and apostles.' Again, 'We[h] declare the 'ancient faith, which the prophets, and gospels, and apostles 'have preached by the authority of our Lord and Saviour Je- 'sus Christ.'

Moreover, the Arians all along argued against the use of the words consubstantial and essence, and like phrases, because they[i] were not in scripture. Athanasius often takes notice of this. But he says, that[k] though they blamed the council of Nice for using unscriptural words, they did the same themselves. So likewise[l] Epiphanius.

a John i. 30. b Acts ii. 36.

bb Comp. Leontius Byz. de Sectis. Act. 3. p. 505. Bibb. P. P. T. xi. Paris 1644. Where he supposes them to receive the Acts and the Ep. to the Hebrews, and to argue as they are represented by Epiphanius.

c Sic ad Hebræos ipse scribens ait: Purificatione peccatorum facta, consedit ad dexteram magnitudinis in excelsis. Vid. Collat. cum Maximin. n. 14. (3). Conf. Heb. i. 3. d Τον επι των προφητων ομιλησαντα τοις παλαιοις. Eunom. Exp. Fid. ap. Tabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 257.

e —— νομω και προφηταις, και καινης διαθηκης τοιον Θεον—κ. λ. Ap. Epiph. H. 69. n. vii. f Πιστευομεν ακολουθως τη ευαγγελικη και αποστολικη παραδοσει. Ap. Socr. l. ii. c. x. p. 87. B.

g Ημεις γαρ πασι τοις εκ των θειων γραφων παραδεδομενοις, υπο τε των προφητων και αποστολων, αληθως τε και εμφρονως, και πιστευομεν και ακολουθουμεν. ib. p. 88. C.

h —— και οι προφηται, και τα ευαγγελια, και οι αποστολοι δια του κυριου ημων Ιησου Χριστου εκηρυξαν. Ap. Ath. de Synod. p. 723. B. i Τελος χαριν, το μη ομοουσιον, και το ομοιουσιον εκβαλλομεν, ως αλλοτριον γραφων. Ap. Ath de Synod. n. 29. p. 746. B. Vid ib. n. 30. p. 747. C. D.

k Vid. Or. i. contr. Arian. n. 30. p. 434. D. De Decret. Nic. Synod. n. 18. p. 223. 224. De Synodis. n. 36. p. 751. A. Ad Afr. Ep. n. 6. p. 896. A.

l Vid. Epiph. H. 73. n. i. p. 845. C.

Maximin

Maximin opens the conference with Auguſtine in this manner. 'If [m] you ſay what is reaſonable, I muſt ſubmit. If 'you allege any thing from the divine ſcriptures, which are 'common to both, I muſt hear: but unſcriptural expreſſions 'deſerve no regard.' And as he profeſſeth to receive the creed drawn up at Ariminum, ſo he [n] affirms it to be agreeable to ſcripture. And he concludes with ſaying, that [o] it is his wiſh and aim, to think in all things as the divine ſcriptures teach.

IX. I ſhall now give a ſhort account of ſeveral Arian authors.

1. Says Jerom, 'Acacius [p], called Monopthalmus becauſe 'he was blind on one eye, biſhop of Cæſarea in Paleſtine, 'wrote ſeventeen volumes upon Eccleſiaſtes, and ſix volumes 'of Miſcellaneous Queſtions, and many other treatiſes. So 'great was his authority under Conſtantius, that he got Felix 'an Arian, to be made biſhop of Rome in the ſtead of Liberius.'

Acacius ſucceeded the famous Euſebius in 340, and died about the year 366. Socrates ſpeaking of Euſebius's death, and Acacius's ſucceeding him, ſays, that [q] he was Euſebius's ſcholar, and wrote many books, particularly the life of his maſter: which laſt, to our great grief, is loſt, as well as the reſt. And it is ſomewhat ſtrange, that Jerom ſhould omit Acacius's life of his predeceſſor.

In Epiphanius [r] is a long quotation from a book of Acacius againſt Marcellus. In one of his letters Jerom quotes [s] a long paſſage of the fourth book of this writer's Select Queſtions. It contains an explication of 1 Cor. xv. 21. Afterwards in the ſame letter, he mentions Acacius [t] with other commentators, whom he made uſe of, though for learning they fell much ſhort of Origen and Euſebius.

[m] Si aliquid rationale dixeris, neceſſe eſt, ut ſequar. Si quid enim de divinis ſcripturis proferis, quod commune eſt cum omnibus, neceſſe eſt, ut audiamus. Eæ vero voces, quæ extra ſcripturam ſunt, nullo modo a nobis ſuſcipiuntur, &c. Collat. cum Maximin. n. i. ap. Auguſt. T. viii.

[n] —— ſed ut oſtendam auctoritatem patrum, qui ſecundum divinas ſcripturas fidem nobis tradiderunt illam, quam a divinis ſcripturis didicerunt. Ib. n. 4.

[o] Oro & opto diſcipulus eſſe divinarum ſcripturarum.——Si affirmaveris de divinis ſcripturis: ſi alicubi ſcriptam lectionem protuleris, nos divinarum ſcripturarum optamus inveniri diſcipuli. Ib. ſub fin.

[p] Acacius, quem quia luſcus erat, μονόφθαλμον nuncupabant, Cæſarienſis eccleſiæ in Palæſtina epiſcopus elaboravit in Eccleſiaſtem decem & ſeptem volumina, & συμμικτων ζητημάτων ſex, & multos præterea diverſoſque tractatus. In tantum autem ſub Conſtantio Imperatore claruit, ut in Liberii locum Romæ Felicem Arianum epiſcopum conſtitueret. De V. I. c. 98.

[q] Socr. l. ii. c. 4. Conf. l. iii. c. 2. p. 499. C. [r] H. 72. n. vi—ix.

[s] Acacius Cæſareæ —— poſt Euſebium Pamphili epiſcopus, in quarto τυπικῶν ζητημάτων libro. —— Ep. 152. ad Minerv. & Alex. T. 4. P. i. p. 213. m.

[t] Ego & in adoleſcentia & in extrema ætate profiteor & Originem & Euſebium Cæſarienſem viros eſſe doctiſſimos, ſed erraſſe. Quod e contrario de Theodoro, Acacio, Apollinario poſſumus dicere. Et tamen omnes in explanationibus ſcripturarum ſudoris ſui memoriam reliquerunt. Ib. p. 220. m.

Tillemont ſuppoſes Acacius to be the author of [a] a book againſt Sabellius: one of the fourteen ſmall pieces publiſhed by Sirmond, as written by Euſebius.

Sozomen ſays of Acacius, that [x] he was a diligent imitator of his predeceſſor, by whom he had been inſtructed in ſacred learning [or in the knowledge of the ſacred ſcriptures]; that he was a man of good ſenſe, and able to expreſs himſelf agreeably, and that he left behind him many books worthy of notice. In another place he ſays, that [y] the dignity of his ſee, and the reputation of his maſter, together with his ſucceeding to the poſſeſſion of his library, gave Acacius a great deal of authority. He moreover ſays, that he was very dextrous in accompliſhing his deſigns.

Philoſtorgius ſays, that [z] Acacius was a bold diſputant, very ready at diſcerning the merits of a cauſe, and able to expreſs his thoughts to advantage. He likewiſe chargeth him [a] with diſſimulation upon ſome occaſions. And indeed Acacius is generally reckoned a man of unſteady principles.

I hope this may ſuffice for an account of Acacius, with regard to letters, and his general character. For his behaviour and management at ſynods, his various fortune, his differences with Cyril of Jeruſalem, and others, I beg leave to refer to other [b] writers.

2. Aëtius, according to [c] Cave, began to be famous about the year 359, and died in 366, or ſoon after, in the reign of Valens.

Socrates has a [d] chapter, intitled Of Aëtius the Syrian, Maſter of Eunomius. He ſays, that Aëtius was born at Antioch, and ſtudied ſome while at Alexandria; from whence he returned to Antioch, and was ordained deacon by Leontius, then biſhop of that city. Epiphanius ſays, he [e] was made deacon by George the Arian biſhop of Alexandria.

Aëtius's hiſtory is told at large by [f] Gregory Nyſſen, and [g] Philorſtorgius. Gregory ſeems to give wrong turns to ſeveral

[u] See Les Ariens art 28. & Euſebe de Ceſarée art 9.

[x] Ὁς πρὸς αἰῶνα εὐσεβῶν τὸν ζῆλον ἔσχεν, καὶ ὑπ' αἰῶνος τῆς ἱερᾶς παιδεύθεις λύσεως, ἱκανός τε ἦν καὶ φράζειν ἀρτίως εἰδείη, ὡς καὶ πολλὰ συγγράμματα λόγου ἄξια καταλιπεῖν. Soz. l. iii. c. 2. p. 499. C.

[y] Καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ τῇ ἔξω φιλοσοφίας, καὶ εὐσεβείᾳ τοῦ βαρύλογος —— διαπρέπει αἰρέσει, καὶ τῇ δόξῃ καὶ διὰ δόξαν τοῦ αἰῶνος βεβίωκε, πλεῖστα τὸν αὐτὸν ἀφελήσας τρόπον. Soz. l. iv. c. 23. p. 578. A. B.

[z] Ἦν δὲ ἀκακίος, ἐφοδιασθεὶς ἱκανῶς λόγου τε καὶ φρονήσεως, ἀνὴρ ἐπιχειρητικὸς λόγου, καὶ εὐστοχίᾳ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιτηδείως ἔχων, καὶ λόγῳ δηλῶσαι τὸ γνωσθὲν ἱκανός. Phil. l. iv. c. 12. p. 497. A.

[a] Ὁς ἕτερος μὲν ἦν τὴν δόξαν, ἕτερος δὲ τὴν γλῶτταν. ib. p. 498. A.

[b] Vid. Cav. Hiſt. Lit. Tillem. Hiſt. des Ariens. Toutée Diſſert. de Vit. S. Cyrill.

[c] H. L. T. i. p. 218.

[d] L. ii. c. 35.

[e] H. 76. n. i. contr. Eunom. l. i. p. 292, &c.

[f] Gr. N.

[g] Phil. l. iii. c. 15.

things.

things. The ſum however of both accounts is to this purpoſe: Aëtius's father, by ſome miſmanagement of his affairs, was reduced; and when [h] he died, Aëtius and his mother were left in great ſtraits. For ſome time Aëtius worked at the goldſmith's trade for a livelihood: after his mother's death, as Philoſtorgius ſays, Aëtius applied himſelf to learning, and with great ſucceſs, through the happineſs of his genius. He [i] afterwards learned the art of phyſic, from a ſkilful phyſician at Alexandria; which he practiſed in a very honourable manner, giving his advice free to ſuch as wanted it. And Cave [k] allows his happy diſpoſition for literature. Epiphanius obſerves, that [l] Aëtius was ignorant of ſecular learning, till he came to man's eſtate.

Socrates, in the chapter before referred to, ſays of Aëtius, that [m] his chief excellence was a contentious ſkill: that he had ſmall acquaintance with the ſcriptures, or the ancients who had written commentaries upon the Chriſtian oracles: and that he had but little eſteem for Clement, Africanus and Origen, though they were ſo diſtinguiſhed for knowledge and learning.

So Socrates: and what he ſays may be true for the moſt part. It is likely enough, that Aëtius had not fully acquainted himſelf with the more ancient Chriſtian writers: notwithſtanding which he might be a man of good ſenſe. And Philoſtorgius ſays, that [n] when one of his maſters gave a wrong interpretation of the divine oracles, Aëtius corrected him: and that he read and ſtudied the goſpels with great care under Athanaſius, a diſciple of Lucian, and biſhop of Anazarbus: and that he read the epiſtles of Paul with Antony, then preſbyter of Tarſus: and afterwards the prophets, particularly Ezekiel, with Leontius, at that time preſbyter of Antioch.

[h] Νεου δε τον αετιον οντα εις εσχατον συν τη μητρι πενιας ηλασαν, και διο τελος επι τω χρυσοχοειν εφυησαν—οικα μαλιστα φυσεως επι τας λογιους επιστρεφεται μαθησεις κ. τ. λ. ib. p. 488. B. [i] Αριστειων δε εν τη Αλεξανδρεων αρισθον συνεσχε τοις δεομενοις τας συμπασας. ib. p. 488. B.

[k] Aurifabrum vero fuiſſe Aëtium, certo conſtat: ſed mortua demum matre, homo præſtanti indole ad philoſophicas diſciplinas animum applicuit. Cav. in Aëtio.

[l] Ουδε ο Αετιος ο καλος των κοσμικων λογων ειδως ην, ουδε της τελειας αυτου ηλικιας, κ. τ. λ. II. 76. n. ii. in.

[m] Ουτω δε η ευτυχεια ο Λογος, και τον Αετιον χρησιμον ανεδειξε· το εριστικον δε καλλιστον μοροι, οπερ και αιρεσικος τις ποιησειεν· ως μηδε της αρχαιους τους τα Χριστιανικα λογια ερμηνευσαντας ασκεθηναι, πολλα χαιρειν φρασας τοις περι Κλημεντα, και Αφρικανον, και Ωριγενην, ανδρας πασης σοφιας επισημους. Socr. l. ii. c. 35. p. 150. B. Conf. Thdrt. l. ii. c. 24. & 27.

[n] Ο δε τον διδασκαλον δημοσια πολλακις ελεγχας εις ελεγχον, ει μη τοις Θειοις λογιοις ορθην εποιειτο την διηγησιν—εκεινον δε ελαθεις, αθικτοις συγγινεσθαι, πας' ω τους ευαγγελιστας αναγνους, και τοις καθ' ημας αυτον επιτρεψας, επι την ταρσεως παρα αυτου αφικεσθαι—εφ' ω τας του αποστολου αναλαμβανει επιστολας,—κ. τ. λ. ubi ſupr. p. 487. B. C.

And Theodoret observes, that [o] Eunomius greatly extolled Aëtius in his writings, and called him a man of God, and bestowed on him many commendations.

Theodoret in an account of Aëtius and Eunomius says, that [p] Aëtius improved upon the blasphemies of Arius: for which cause Constantius banished him into a remote part of Phrygia. For after his father's death, being influenced by some of his courtiers, he made a law, that no man should say, the Son of God was of the same substance with God, nor of a different substance: for he said, it was not lawful to talk of the nature of God. But he directed men to say, that he is in all things like to him that begat him. Aëtius therefore being the first who said, the Son was altogether unlike to the Father, was banished into the fore-mentioned place.

The emperor Julian not only restored Aëtius, as he did others, who were banished in the reign of Constantius; but likewise did him the honour to write him [q] a letter, and invite him to court. He also [r] gave him an estate near Melitene in Lesbos, where Aëtius resided sometimes. Nevertheless, it is generally concluded from [s] Philostorgius's account, that Aëtius died at Constantinople. He plainly says, that [t] Aëtius was buried by Eunomius and other friends, in a very handsome manner.

The displeasure of the catholics against Aëtius was so great, that, as [u] Socrates says, he had the surname of Atheist. Athanasius [x] mentions him with the same odious appellation. And Cave says, he [y] was justly so called.

Socrates says, that [z] Aëtius wrote letters to the emperor Constantius, and others, filled with a contentious sophistry.

Epiphanius has preserved [a] a small book of Aëtius, concerning the faith, consisting of seven and forty propositions, or short chapters, which he distinctly answers. And Epiphanius says, it was reported, that he [b] had drawn up three hundred such chapters.

[o] Theod. H. E. l. ii. c. 29. in.

[p] —— νομον τεθεικεν απαγορευοντα μητε ομοουσιον, μητε μην ετεροουσιον τολμαν τινα λεγειν τον Υιον του Θεου· ου γαρ οσιον ελεγε του Θεου την ουσιαν ερευναν· ομοιον δε κατα παντα τω γεγονοτι λεγειν εκελευσε· Δια τοι τουτο και τον Αετιον φαναι πρωτον τολμησαντα ανομοιον ειναι τον Υιον κατα παντα τω γεγενηκοτι Θ . . κ. λ. H. E. l. iv. c. 3. sub in. Conf. ejusd. H. E. l. ii. c. 27. p. 112. & Epiph. H. 76. n. iii.

[q] Julian. Ep. 31.

[r] Phil. l. ix. c. 4.

[s] Ib. cap. 6.

[t] Και την αλλην κηδειαν μετα των ομοφρονων τελεσαμενου προς το λαμπροτατον. Ib.

[u] Διο και επικαλεντο ο αθεος. Socr. l. ii. c. 35. p. 130. D. Vid. eund. l. iv. c. 7. p. 215. B.

[x] Ο βρυλουμενος Αητιος, ο επικληθεις αθεος. De Synod. n. 6. p. 720. A.

[y] Unde Athei cognomen ei merito adhæsit. Cav. ubi supr.

[z] Ubi. supr. p. 130. B.

[a] H. 76. p. 924. &c.

[b] Ib. p. 930. D.

3). Anonymous

3. Anonymous author of a Commentary [c] upon the book of Job, in three books, aſcribed to Origen, but plainly not his, and written after the riſe of the Arian controverſy. Some have thought it to be the work of a Latin author, particularly Maximin the Arian, to be mentioned by and by. But Huet, to whom [d] I refer, has well obſerved, that this work in Latin, as we now have it, is a tranſlation from the Greek. I know not the exact time of it; but, probably, it was written before the end of the fourth century. The three books of this work contain a comment only upon the firſt and ſecond, and part of the third chapter of the book of Job. It is, in my opinion, a dull and tedious performance.

I ſhall make no extracts out of it any farther than to obſerve, that many books of the Old and New Teſtament are here quoted, particularly [e] the Acts of the Apoſtles; and that the author appears to have received [f] the epiſtle to the Hebrews.

4. Anonymous author of a Diſcourſe [g] or Sermon, anſwered at length by Auguſtine: which confutation was written [h] about the year 418. That ſermon is a ſhort performance, in which many texts of the goſpels and epiſtles of the apoſtles are quoted.

5. 'Aſterius,' ſays [i] Jerom, 'a philoſopher of the Arian 'faction, in the reign of Conſtantius, wrote Commentaries 'upon the epiſtle to the Romans, and upon the goſpels, and 'the pſalms, and many other things, which are much read by 'the men of his party.'

In the chapter [k] of Marcellus, Jerom had before mentioned a book of Aſterius againſt that biſhop. And there muſt have been before that ſome work of Aſterius, which provoked Marcellus to write: as is evident from [l] Euſebius, and [m] Sozomen.

All his writings are loſt. Athanaſius however has quoted [n] ſome paſſages: and there are ſome other in Euſebius's books

[c] Ad calcem T. ii. Opp. Origen. ex edit. Bened. [d] Origeniana. l. iii. n. 2.

[e] Sicut dictum eſt ad Cornelium: Orationes tuæ & eleemoſynæ tuæ aſcenderunt factum in memoriam coram Deo. Act. x. 4. Aſcenderunt procul dubio ab angelis, atque ſpiritalibus miniſtris delatæ. De quibus dicitur: omnes ſunt miniſteriales ſpiritus pro his qui ſalutem in hæreditatem capiunt. Hebr. i. 14. Orig. Opp. T. ii. p. 530. B. C. [f] Vid. not. [e].

[g] Ap. Auguſt. T. 8, [h] Sub hæc ſcripſit in manus meas quidam ſermo Arianorum, ſine nomine auctoris ſui. Huic, perſequente qui eum mihi miſerat, ſolutis etiam brevitate ac celeritate reſpondi. Retr. l. ii. c. 32.

[i] Aſterius, Arianæ philoſophus factionis, ſcripſit in epiſtolam ad Romanos, & in Evangelia, & Pſalmos, Commentarios, & multa alia, quæ a ſuæ partis hominibus ſtudioſiſſime loquuntur. De V. I. c. 94.

[k] Cap. 86. [l] Vid. Euſeb. contr. Marcell. l. i. c. 4. & de Ecc. Theol. l. ii. c. 19. p. 132, 133. D. l. iii. c. 4. p. 868. A. B. [m] Προφασιν δε γεγοιτε μαρκελλω ταυτης της γραφης Αστερις τε ο Καππαδοκιας σοφιστης, ος και πρωτος τω θειω λογω συγγραφων της Αρειας δυσμαθους συμφορεως. κ. λ. Soz. l. ii. c. 33. p. 495.

[n] Vid. Orat. 2. contr. Arian. n. 37. p. 505. & Or. 3. n. 2. & de Synod. n. 18. & alibi.

against Marcellus [o]. And in Eusebius's Commentary upon the fourth Psalm, published by Montfauçon, there are inserted Asterius's observations upon the same Psalm: in which several texts of the New Testament are quoted, and divers of our Saviour's miracles rehearsed; where also there appears an air of piety, and zeal for the Christian religion.

Socrates says, that [p] Asterius was a sophist of Cappadocia, and that forsaking Gentilism he embraced Christianity. He afterwards published books in favour of Arianism, which were extant in the time of that ecclesiastical historian; who farther adds, that Asterius was very much with Arian bishops, and frequented synods, desiring to be himself also bishop of some city. But having sacrificed in the time of the persecution, he never obtained that honour. This chapter of Socrates may be compared with another of [q] Sozomen. That lapse of Asterius happened, it is likely, in the year 304, or thereabout. Epiphanius expressly says, it [r] was in Maximian's persecution. Asterius is often mentioned by Athanasius; he calls [s] him a cunning sophist, and patron of heresy: and speaks [t] of his having sacrificed in the time of the last heathen persecution. Nor does Philostorgius dissemble that [u] fault; but adds, that Asterius was recovered by his master Lucian.

According to Philostorgius, Asterius was a moderate Arian; for in one place he says, that [x] Asterius taught the Son to be in substance like the Father: in another, to [y] be a complete likeness of the Father.

It is needless to give any farther account of the remaining fragments or passages of this writer. Jerom's article alone is sufficient evidence of his respect for the scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

6. Says Jerom, 'Basil [z] of Ancyra, skilful in the art of physic, wrote against Marcellus, and a book concerning Vir-

o Vid. supr. not. l. p Αστεριος τις εν Καππαδοκια σοφιστικην μετιων, την μεν κατελειπε· Χριστιανιζειν δε επηγγελλετο. Επεχειρει δε και λογους συγγραφειν, οι μεχρι νυν φερονται, δι ων το Αρειου συνιστη δογμα. κ. λ. Socr. l. i. c. 36. in. Vid. & Soz. l. ii. c. 33. & supr. not. m. q L. ii. c. 33.

r H. 76. n. iii. p. 915. C. s Ο πανουρτος σοφιστης Αστεριος, ο και της αιρεσεως συνηγορος. Or. i. contr. Arian. n. 30. p. 435. B. Vid & Or. 2. n. 28.

t Αστεριος ο θυσας. De Decret. Nic. Synod. n. 8. in. Αστεριος δε τις απο Καππαδοκια, πολυκεφαλος σοφιστης —— επειδη θυσας εν τῳ προτερῳ διωγμω τω κατα τον παππον του Κωνσταντιου ουκ ηδυνατο παρ' αυτων εις κληρον προαχθηναι. De Synod. n. 18. p. 731. E. u Phil. l. ii. c. 14.

x Ο δε [ευδοξιος] της αρειανης μεν δοξης ην, πλην εκ του αστεριου γραμματων εις το κατ' ουσιαν ομοιον υπενηνεκτο. Phil. l. iv. c. 4. y —— απαραλλακτον εικονα της του πατρος ουσιας ειναι τον Υιον εν τοις αυτου λογοις και γραμμασι διαμαρτυρομενον. Id. l. ii. c. 15. z Basilius Ancyranus episcopus, artis Medicinæ, scripsit contra Marcellum, & de Virginitate librum, & nonnulla alia. Et sub rege Constantio Macedonianæ partis cum Eustathio Sebasteno princeps fuit. De V. I. c. 89.

'ginity,

'ginity, and ſome other things. In the time of Conſtantius 'he was together with Euſtathius, biſhop of Sebaſta, the chief 'of the Macedonian faction.'

Baſil, called alſo Baſilas, as [a] Socrates ſays, was placed in the ſee of Ancyra by the council of Conſtantinople in 336, which depoſed Marcellus.

In the year 351, he had a diſputation at Sirmium with Photinus, which, as [b] Socrates ſays, was taken down in writing.

Epiphanius [c] reckons him among the chief of the Semi-Arians, who held the Son to be of like ſubſtance to the Father.

Sozomen ſays, he [d] was in eſteem for eloquence and learning: or, as [e] Tillemont underſtands the laſt phraſe, for his capacity to teach. And Theodoret ſays, that [f] this Baſil and the abovementioned Euſtathius of Sebaſte, were in great favour with the emperor Conſtantius for the ſake of their piety.

For the reſt of this biſhop's hiſtory I would refer to [g] others.

7. Says Jerom, 'Eunomius [h] of the Arian faction, biſhop 'of Cyzicum, breaking out into the open blaſphemy of his 'herely, ſo as to profeſs publicly what they hide, is ſaid to 'live ſtill in Cappadocia, and to write many things againſt 'the church. He has been anſwered by Apollinarius, Didymus, Baſil of Cæſarea, Gregory Nazianzen, and Gregory 'Nyſſen.'

Eunomius was ordained biſhop of Cyzicum by [i] Eudoxius and Maris, in the year 360; ſoon after which he was baniſhed by Conſtantius. He ſuffered the like diſgrace in the reign of Valens, and once more under Theodoſius; who however at length ſuffered him to retire to ſome lands of his own at Dacora, [k] his native place in Cappadocia. The occaſion of this laſt baniſhment, as Philoſtorgius ſays, was, that [l] the emperor underſtood he had perverted ſome of his courtiers, whilſt he lived at Conſtantinople. Eunomius was alive in 392, when

[a] L. iii. c. 48. p. 155. C. [b] — εξετεθησαν τοις ξυγγραμμασι και ταυτα εγραφησαν. Socr. [c] Hær. 73. n. i. p. [d] Compare Tillem. Les Ariens. Art. 66. [d] Και βασιλειου ζηλω λεγειν τε και πειθειν επιδοθεις επιτηδευματι.—Soz. l. vi. c. 17. ſub in. [e] Qui avoit la reputation d' eſtre un homme eloquent, & capable d' inſtruire. Tillem. Les Ariens. Art. 22. near the end.

[f] Και τοις περι ευσεβειαν και τα βασιλεα, και τους ταυτα διδασκοντας βασιλη, απεφαινετο. Theod. l. ii. c. 25. f.

[g] Vid. Cav. Hiſt. Lit. Tillem. Hiſtoire des Ariens. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. 8. p. 347.

[h] Eunomius, Arianæ partis, Cyzicenus epiſcopus, in apertam hæreſeos ſuæ prorumpens blaſphemiam, ut quod illi tegunt, ille publice fateretur, uſque hodie vivere dicitur in Cappadocia, & multa contra eccleſiam ſcribere. Reſponderunt ei Apollinarius, Didymus, Bazilius Cæſarienſis, Gregorius Nazianzenus, & Gregorius Nyſſenus. De V. I. c. 102. [i] Thdrt. l. ii. c. 27. p. 113. D. Phil. l. v. c. 3.

[k] *Soz.* l. vii. c. 17. in. [l] Phil. l. x. c. 6.

Jerom

Jerom wrote his Catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical writers. But he died not long after, about the year 394.

Eunomius was not only a diſciple of Aëtius, but alſo his [m] ſecretary, or amanuenſis.

I ſhall tranſcribe here an article from Auguſtine's book of Hereſies. 'The * Aëtians were ſo called from Aëtius, and 'are alſo called Eunomians from Eunomius, the diſciple of 'Aëtius, by which name they are better known. For Euno-'mius being a better logician, was more ſucceſsful in ſpread-'ing that hereſy, which holds the Son to be in all things un-'like to the Father, and the Spirit to the Son. He is reported 'to have been ſo great an enemy to good manners, as to have 'aſſerted that no man need to fear any harm, whatever vices 'he indulged, if he embraced the doctrines taught by him.'

This laſt charge too is in [n] Epiphanius, from whom, I ſuppoſe, Auguſtine had it. And Theodoret ſays, he [o] had heard of ſuch things, but he does not know them to be true.

Theſe people were alſo called Anomeans from the principle juſt mentioned; that the Son is unlike the Father. Epiphanius calls the hereſy by that name, and ſays, that [p] Aëtius was the author of it. Which is evident from things taken notice of by us formerly.

Let us now obſerve Eunomius's writings.

1.) A Commentary upon the epiſtle of Paul to the Romans, not extant; of which Socrates ſpeaks in this manner: 'Eu-'nomius [q] had but little ſkill in the ſacred writings, and was 'not able to interpret them. With abundance of words, re-'peated and diverſified, he never attained his purpoſe: which 'fully appears from his ſeven tomes upon the epiſtle of the 'apoſtle to the Romans; where waſting a great many words, 'he ſhews himſelf not able to repreſent the ſcope of the epiſtle.

m Ταχιγραφος ων εκεινε, και υπ' αυτε παιδευθεις την αιρετικην λεξιν. Socrat. l. ii. c. 35. p. 130. C. Ευνομιος υπογραφευς γεγονεν Αετιε, τε επικληθεντος αθεε. Id. l. iv. c. 7. ſub in. * Aëtiani ab Aëtio ſunt vocati, iidemque Eunomiani ab Eunomio Aëtii diſcipulo, quo nomine magis innotuerunt. Eunomius quippe in dialectica prævalens acutius & crebius defendit hanc hæreſim, diſſimilem per omnia Patri aſſerens Filium, & Filio Spiritum Sanctum. Fertur etiam uſque adeo fuiſſe bonis moribus inimicum, ut aſſeveraret, quod nihil cuique obeſſet, quorumlibet perpetratio ac perſeverantia peccatorum, ſi hujus quæ ab illo docebatur fidei particeps eſſet. De Hær. c. 54.

n Το δε σφαλησεσθαι τινα πορνεια, η ετερα αμαρτια ουδεν φασιν. Ουδεν γαρ ζητει Θεος, αλλα το πιστευειν ταυτη μονη τη αυτε νομιζομενη πιστει. Epiph. Synopſ. p. 810. Vid. & H. 76. n. iv.

o H. Fab. l. iv. c. 3. p. 237. B. C.

p Ανομοιοι παλιν τινες εισιν καλεμενοι. Εσχον δε αρχηγον Αετιον τινα διακονον. H. 76. n. 1.

q Ολιγομαθως μεν ειχε προς τα ιερα γραμματα —— ως δηλονοτι αυτε οι επη τομοι, ες εμπαιπτουσι τοις προς Ρωμαιες τε αποστολε επιστολη· πολλες γαρ λογες εις αυτην αναλωσας της επιστολης τον σκοπον λαθειν ε δεδυνηται. l. ii. c. 7. p. 215. C.

2.) An

2.) An Apologetical Discourse, still [r] extant, answered by Basil in five books.

3.) An Exposition [s] or Confession of Faith, presented to the emperor Theodosius in 383, still [t] extant: upon which I would make the following remarks.

(1.) This Confession is in the common order of ancient creeds: first of God; then of Christ, his person, death, resurrection; then of the Holy Ghost, the resurrection of the body, the general judgment, eternal life: but nothing of Christ's descent into hell, nor of the catholic church, nor the communion of saints, nor the forgiveness of sins.

(2.) Here are references to many texts of scripture, particularly the first epistle [u] of Peter, and the [x] epistle to the Hebrews.

(3.) Here Eunomius says, that [y] Christ took man, consisting of soul and body. Nevertheless, Fabricius well observes, that [z] thereby is not to be understood a rational, but only a sensitive soul.

(4.) In this Confession Eunomius is truly an Arian. And yet he calls Christ our [a] God, the [b] only begotten God, and true God, but not unbegotten.

4.) Apology for an [c] Apology; a work in three parts, by way of answer to S. Basil. This [d] book was answered by Theodore, probably of Mopsuesta, Gregory Nyssen, and Sophronius, as we learn from Photius.

5.) Epistles. Photius assures us, that [e] Philostorgius, who extols all Eunomius's writings, still prefers the epistles to the rest. But Photius [f] himself, who had seen forty of them, says, they are written as if the author had not any knowledge of the rules of epistolary writings. A like censure he passeth upon the style of all Eunomius's works in general.

Philostorgius, who greatly admired both master and scholar, compared them together. He says, that [g] Aëtius excelled in

[r] Ap. Fab. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 262. &c. & Canis. Lection. A. T. i. & ap. Basilii opp. T. i. p. 618. ex edit. Bened.

[s] Vid. Socr. l. v. c. 10. p. 269. A. Sozom. l. vii. c. 12. p. 719. B.

[t] Ap. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 253. & alibi. [u] Ib. p. 253. & 257.

[x] p. 257. [y] —— αναλαβοντα τον εκ ψυχης και σωματος ανθρωπον. p. 257.

[z] —— ut per ψυχην non mentem, sed inferiorem modo animam sensibus constantem. Ib. p. 250. [a] Τȣ Θεȣ και σωτηρος ημων Ιησȣ Χριστȣ. n. i. p. 253.

[b] Πιστευομεν εις τον τȣ Θεȣ Υιον, τον μονογενη Θεον. —— Χριστον αληθινον Θεον, ȣκ αγεννητον. n. ii. p. 255. [c] Vid. Gr. Nys. contr. Eunom. l. i. p. 289, 298, 299.

[d] —— τȣ αυτȣ Ευνομιȣ βιβλιον, εν λογοις τρισιν —— ω περιτυχοντες Θεοδωρος, και Γρηγοριος Νυσσης, και Σωφρωνιος. Phot. Cod. 138. p. 113. Vid. & Cod. 4, 5, 6. Conf. Philost. l. viii. c. 12. [e] Τȣς δε λογȣς αυτȣ παντας αποθεαζων διαφερειν των αλλων επι μαλλον λεγει τας επιστολας. Philost. l. x. c. 6. fin. [f] —— παντιλως τȣ των επιστολων χαρακτηρος ȣδε τας νομȣς ακȣσας. Cod. 138. p. 314.

[g] Phil. l. viii. c. 18.

the

the force of reaſoning, and readineſs of anſwer: whilſt Eunomius was more remarkable for perſpicuity and method, whereby his inſtructions were more eaſily inſtilled into men.

I forbear to add any more, and for the reſt would refer to other [h] writers, in whom may be found divers things omitted by me.

8. Says Jerom, 'Euſebius [i] biſhop of Emeſa, a polite and 'agreeable writer, publiſhed innumerable pieces, ſuited to 'gain applauſe. And following the hiſtorical ſenſe, he is 'much read by thoſe who have occaſion to ſpeak in public. 'The chief of his works are theſe: Againſt the Jews, and 'and againſt the Gentiles, againſt the Novatians, ten books 'upon the Epiſtle to the Galatians, and many ſhort homilies 'upon the goſpels. He flouriſhed in the reign of the emperor 'Conſtantius, in whoſe time alſo he died. He was buried at 'Antioch.'

Euſebius flouriſhed about the year 340, and died about the year 360, as Cave thinks. Fabricius roundly placeth his death in 360, Tillemont [m] before 359.

Socrates [n] and Sozomen [o] had before them the Life of this biſhop, written by his friend George of Laodicea. From whom we learn, that [p] Euſebius was deſcended of a very honourable family, and born at Edeſſa in Meſopotamia. He was early inſtructed in the ſacred ſcriptures, and then in ſecular learning, by a maſter at Edeſſa. He afterwards came into Paleſtine, that he might farther perfect himſelf in ſacred learning: where he ſtudied under Patrophilus of Scythopolis, and Euſebius of Cæſarea. He likewiſe went to Antioch, and from thence to Alexandria, where he ſtudied philoſophy, and then returned to Antioch.

Some time after that, he was ordained biſhop of Emeſa in Phœnicia; but [q] the people could not endure him, having a

[h] Vid. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. Cav. H. L. in Eunomio. Caniſii Lect. Antiq. T. i. Tillemont Les Ariens, art. 98. — 100. [i] Euſebius Emiſenus Epiſcopus, elegantis & rhetorici ingenii, innumerabiles, & qui ad plauſum populi pertinent, confecit libros. Magiſque hiſtoriam ſecutus, ab his qui declamare volunt ſtudioſiſſime legitur. E quibus vel præcipue ſunt adverſum Judæos, & Gentes, & Novatianos, & ad Galatas libri decem, & in Evangelia homiliæ breves, ſed plurimæ. Floruit temporibus Conſtantii Imperatoris, ſub quo & mortuus. Antiochiæ ſepultus eſt. De V. I. cap. 91. [l] Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 160. T. viii. p. 366. [m] Les Ariens, art. 31. [n] Socr. l. ii. c. 9.

[o] Soz. l. iii. c. 6. [p] —— ως φησιν εκ των ευπαιδιων της εν Μεσοποταμια Εδεσσης —— εκ νεας τε ηλικιας τα ιερα μαθων γραμματα· ειτα τα ελληνων παιδευθεις σοφιστων τηνικαυτα την εδεσσ επιδημησαντα σοφιστην· τελος υπο Παλροφιλω και Ευσεβιω τα ιερα εμπνευσθη Βιβλια —— καλαλαβων την Αλεξανδρειαν, καλει μαθειν τα φιλοσοφα. Socr. l. ii. c. 9. Conſ. Soz. l. iii. c. 6.

[q] Διαφασιαζων δε των εμεσηνων επι τ χειροτονια ουδε· ελοιδ ρεπλο γαρ, ως μαλ μαλικνι ασνθειος, φυση χρηλαι. Socr. ubi ſup. p. 86. A.

notion,

notion, that he practiſed magical arts. Such is the reward which ſome men meet with for a diligent application to letters! And upon another occaſion, as Sozomen relates, good [r] and great as he was, he experienced the envy of thoſe, who are offended at other men's virtues. However, the emperor [s] Conſtantius was greatly pleaſed with him, and always carried him with him in his wars againſt the Perſians.

His [t] piety, as well as his learning and eloquence, appears to have been at that time very conſpicuous.

Theodoret ſays, that [u] his writings ſhewed him to be an Arian. And in Jerom's Chronicle he is called [x] a ſtandard-bearer of the Arians. Nevertheleſs Jerom has elſewhere owned, that [y] Diodorus of Tarſus, and [z] John Chryſoſtom imitated him, as a good model of writing.

Jerom in the article from his Catalogue mentions ſeveral of our Euſebius's works: and Sozomen ſays [a] in general, that he wrote many books, and ſpeaks of them with commendation: and reckons him among the moſt noted and eminent perſons that flouriſhed in the church at that time. Beſide the works mentioned by Jerom, we know from Epiphanius [b] and Theodoret, that [c] he wrote a piece againſt the Manichees.

Theodoret has tranſcribed a long [d] paſſage from ſome work of this writer; and fragments of him may be found in ſome other places: but in general his works are loſt.

His work againſt the Jews is ſaid to be ſtill in the library at Vienna. But as it has not been publiſhed, it is not eaſy to form a ſure judgment about it. The Homilies, which have been publiſhed under his name, are now allowed to belong to others.

Ebedjeſu in his Catalogue mentions [f] a book of Queſtions upon the Old Teſtament, not taken notice of by Greek or Latin authors.

[illegible] Soz. l. iii. c. 6. p. 504. c.

[illegible] ib. p. 504. B. [illegible] —Ib. p. 504. A.

[illegible] p. 171. D. [illegible] Euſebius [illegible] Emiſenus, Arianæ ſignifer factio[illegible] & varia deſcribit. Chr. p. 183.

[illegible] in Apoſtolum commentarii, & multa alia, ad Euſebii magis Emiſeni characterem pertinentia. De V. I. c. 119.

[z] Euſebii Emiſeni, Diodorique ſectator. Ib. c. 129. [a] Soz. l. iii. c. 14. p. 522. C. D. [b] H. 66. n. 21.

[c] H. Fab. l. i. c. ult. fin. [d] Dial. 3. p. 171—175. [e] Vid. Cav. Hiſt. Lit. & Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. 6. p. 107, 108.

[f] Euſebius Emeſſenus compoſuit librum adverſus Judæos, & Quæſtiones in Vetus Teſtamentum, & Homiliam de Stephano. Ebed. ap. Aſſem. B. O. T. iii. p. 4[illegible].

9. Eusebius [g] at first bishop of Berytus in Phœnicia, then of Nicomedia, the chief city of Bithynia, was advanced to the see of Constantinople in 338 or 339, and died about the year 341.

He was present at the council of Nice in 325, and after some hesitation signed the creed there composed. Nevertheless, having given some offence, he and Theognis were banished by Constantine, in [h] three months time after the breaking up of the council. Upon submission made by them, they were [i] both restored to their sees in the latter part of the year 328, or the beginning of 329. And Amphion, who had been put in Eusebius's room at Nicomedia, and Chrestus, who had been made bishop of Nice instead of Theognis, were removed.

Nothing remains of Eusebius, that is undoubtedly genuine, except a letter to Paulinus bishop of Tyre, preserved by [k] Theodoret.

Ammianus says, that [l] he was related at a distance to the emperor Julian; and possibly therefore to Constantine likewise. Unquestionably, Eusebius was a man of great abilities: the eminence of the sees of Nicomedia, and then of Constantinople, in which he presided, gave him an advantage, as he was always near the court. But his own address was what principally rendered him so capable to forward the Arian interests, as he did. Sozomen, not to mention the praises bestowed on him by Eusebius of Cæsarea, and others, his particular [m] friends, owns [n] he was a learned man.

10. 'Euzoius,' says [o] Jerom, 'when young, was educated 'at Cæsarea, together with Gregory Nazianzen, by Thespesius 'the rhetorician. And, when afterwards bishop of that city, 'he took a great deal of pains to repair the library of Origen 'and Pamphilus, which had suffered very much in the parch-'ments. At length in the reign of Theodosius he was expelled 'the church. Many treatises of his, upon various subjects, 'are in being, and may be easily had.'

[g] They who are desirous to make farther enquiries concerning this bishop, may consult Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. vi. p. 109, 110. Cav. Hist. Lit. Tillem. Les Ariens. T. vi. and elsewhere.

[h] Vid. Philost. l. i. c. 9.

[i] Vid. Socr. l. i. c. 23. Soz. l. i. c. 21.

[k] Theod. l. i. c. 6.

[l] —— ibidem ab Eusebio educatus episcopo, quem genere longius contingebat. Amm. l. xxii. c. 9.

[m] —— ὁ ἐξ ἐκείνου ἀποθέμενος μέσον. Philst. l. i. c. 8.

[n] —— ἀνὴρ ἐλλόγιμος, καὶ ἐν βασιλείοις ὀφθεὶς τὰ πρῶτα. Soz. l. i. c. 15. p. 427. D.

[o] Euzoius apud Thespesium Rhetorem cum Gregorio Nazianzeno episcopo adolescens Cæsareæ eruditus est: & ejusdem postea urbis episcopus plurimo labore corruptam bibliothecam Origenis & Pamphili membranis instaurare conatus est. Ad extremum sub Theodosio principe ecclesia pulsus est. Feruntur ejus varii multiplicesque tractatus, quos nosse perfacile est. De V. I. c. 13.

Euzoius succeeded [p] Acacius, in 366, or soon after, and was deposed in 379 or 380.

Jerom does in another place speak of these repairs of the library at Cæsarea. The passage seems to be curious; I therefore transcribe it largely at the bottom of the [q] page.

Cave [r] speaks honourably of Euzoius: but none of his works remain, no, not the titles of them; though Jerom says, they might be easily had in his time.

Euzoius is mentioned by Epiphanius [s] among those, whom he calls Semi-Arians.

11. George, bishop of Laodicea, flourished, as Cave says, about the year 340. He wrote the Life of Eusebius bishop of Emesa, which [t] Socrates and [u] Sozomen made use of. He likewise published a book against the Manichees, mentioned by [x] Theodoret and [y] Photius. And Sozomen [z] has a short, but warm letter of his against Aëtius.

He was a native of [a] Alexandria, and at first presbyter there, before he was bishop. George is often mentioned, and sometimes quoted by [b] Athanasius. Theodoret says, that [c] though he was an Arian, he was a great philosopher. Nor has Philostorgius failed to observe, that [d] before he was made bishop, he made good progress in philosophy.

One thing however, perhaps, is not to the honour of this Arian bishop and philosopher, that in his Life of his friend Eusebius, bishop of Emesa, he [e] relates many miracles to have been done by him. This, in all probability, ought to be ascribed to credulity or partiality.

Beausobre particularly laments the loss of two books, written against the Manichees, [f] which [f] probably were very excellent

p V. Cav. in Euzoio. q Beatus Pamphilus martyr —— quum Demetrium Phalereum & Pisistratum in sacræ bibliothecæ studio vellet æquare —— tunc vel maxime Origenis libros impensius prosecutus, Cæsariensi ecclesiæ dedicavit: quam ex parte corruptam Acacius, dehinc & Euzoius ejusdem ecclesiæ sacerdotes in membranis restaurare conati sunt. Hic cum multa repererit, & inventorum nobis indicem reliquerit, centesimi vigesimi sexti Psalmi commentarium, & Phe literæ tractatum, ex eo quod non inscripsit, confessus est non repertum. Non quod talis tantusque vir (Adamantium dicimus) aliquid præterierit: sed quod negligentia posterorum ad nostram usque memoriam non duravit. Ad Marcellum. Opp. T. ii. p. 171. al. Ep. 141.

r Vir plane doctus ac diligens. Ubi supr.

s H. 73. n. 37. p. 685. C. t L. ii. c. 9. u L. iii. c. 6.

x H. F. l. i. c. ult. fin. y Cod. 85.

z Vid. Sozom. l. iv. c. 13. a Vid. Philost. l. viii. c. 17. b Γεωργιος δε ο νυν εν Λαοδικειᾳ, πρεσβυτερος μεν ων τοτε της Αλεξανδρειας. De Synod. n. 17. p. 731. B. c —— ανηρ της μεν αρειου προςατευων αιρεσεως, τοις δε φιλοσοφοις ειτεθραμμενος μαθημασι. H. F. l. i. c. ult. f.

d Και Γεωργιος δε Αλεξανδρευς μεν το γενος, και των εκ φιλοσοφιας ορμωμενων. —— Phil. l. viii. c. 17. e Τελευταιον δε επαγει —— και οτι τεραςια εν τοις χερσιν αυτου εγενετο. Socr. l. ii. c. 9. p. 86. B. Λεγεται γαρ πολλα δι' αυτου θαυματουργησαι το Θειον, ως μαρτυρει Γεωργιος ο Λαοδικευς. —— Soz. l. iii. c. 6. p. 504. B.

f See Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 223, 224.

'and valuable, as may be concluded from the capacity of the 'authors. The firſt is that of George biſhop of Laodicea, 'whom Athanaſius decries as the worſt of all men, becauſe he 'was one of the principal ſupports of Arianiſm: to whom 'however Theodoret bears witneſs, as one of the greateſt phi- 'loſophers of his time. The ſecond book is that of Euſebius 'of Emeſa. This biſhop, being born at Edeſſa in Meſopo- 'tamia, underſtood Syriac, which was the vulgar tongue of 'the province, and was able to read the works of Mani in 'the original. Moreover he lived at a time, when the me- 'mory of his life and actions was freſh, and in places where 'he ſaw many of his followers. All this, joined with uncom- 'mon knowledge and eloquence, rendered Euſebius the moſt 'proper man in the world to teach us both the hiſtory and the 'opinions of that hereſiarch. But the envy of the Greeks, or 'their immoderate zeal againſt the Arians, has cauſed the 'loſs of all the works of this excellent perſonage, except a few 'remains preſerved by the Syrians.'

12. Lucius, the Arian biſhop at Alexandria after Athanaſius, as [g] Jerom ſays, publiſhed ſome ſmall pieces upon divers ſubjects: for which cauſe Jerom has given him a place in his Catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, and I have put his words at the bottom of the page, and refer to ſome others [h] for a fuller account.

13. Maximin, an Arian biſhop, with whom Auguſtine in the year 427 or 428, had a public diſputation or conference, ſtill [i] extant. And ſoon after that conference, Auguſtine wrote two books againſt Maximin, likewiſe in being. Having already [k] exhibited his teſtimony to the ſcriptures, I need not add any thing farther here.

14. Philoſtorgius was born about the year [l] 368, at a village in Cappadocia. His [m] father's name was Carterius, his mother's Eulampia, only daughter of a preſbyter named Anyſius, who however had four ſons beſides. His mother's anceſtors, both by the father's and mother's ſide, were Homouſians: but Carterius was a follower of Eunomius. He brought over his wife to his own opinion; ſhe perſuaded her brothers, and at length her father and other relations. Of this opinion Philoſtorgius makes open profeſſion; that is, he did not believe the Son of

g Lucius poſt Athanaſium Arianæ partis epiſcopus uſque ad Theodoſium principem, a quo eſt pulſus, Alexandrinam eccleſiam tenuit. Exſtant ejus ſolennes de Paſcha epiſtolæ, & pauci variarum hypotheſeon libelli. De V. I. c. 118.

h Vid. Cav. Hiſt. Lit. & Tillem. Les Ariens. Art. 123. &c.

i Vid. Auguſt. Opp. T. viii.

k See p. 118—119.

l Vid. Cav. Hiſt. L. T. i. p. 410.

m Vid. Philoſt. L. ix. c. 9.

God

God to be like the Father. When he was twenty [n] years of age, he went to Conſtantinople, to improve himſelf in learning.

His Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, in [o] two parts, making in all twelve books, was publiſhed about the year 425, in the time of the emperor Theodoſius the younger, in whoſe reign likewiſe wrote thoſe other hiſtorians, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret; containing the hiſtory of affairs from the beginning of the Arian controverſy, or about the year 300, to that time. The work itſelf is loſt, but we have large extracts made by Photius. Beſide that hiſtory, as he himſelf informs us, he wrote an [p] encomium of Eunomius, and [q] a book againſt Porphyry in defence of the Chriſtian religion. Philoſtorgius was undoubtedly a man of a great deal of knowledge and learning, and Photius commends his [r] ſtyle; nevertheleſs, he may be ſaid to be remarkably credulous. In his brief account of Philoſtorgius's hiſtory Photius obſerves, that [s] he extols Euſebius of Nicomedia, Theophilus the Indian, and many others, as eminent for miracles, as well as for piety of life and converſation.

I apprehend it may be worth the while to take notice of ſome other inſtances of credulity and ſuperſtition in this learned and zealous Arian.'

He highly commends, as Photius [t] ſays, Conſtantius, and ſays, that he built the church at Conſtantinople, which is called, and really is great: and that he brought from Achaia the apoſtle Andrew, and placed him in the church he had built, called alſo the church of the apoſtles; near to which he ſet his father's tomb. He alſo tranſlated from the ſame Achaia Luke the evangeliſt, and to the ſame temple. Finally, in like manner he cauſed to be brought the apoſtle Timothy from Epheſus in Ionia, to the ſame celebrated and venerable church.

So writes Philoſtorgius, with manifeſt ſigns of approbation. And I ſuppoſe, theſe to be ſome [u] of the very firſt tranſlations of reliques. But they are mentioned by ſome other writers in a different order. For the author of the Paſchal Chronicle firſt [x] mentions the tranſlation of the reliques of Timothy in 356, and then the reliques of Luke and Andrew in the next year. And he ſays of thoſe laſt, that [y] by order of the emperor Conſtantius, the reliques of thoſe holy apoſtles were brought to Conſtantinople, with much care and veneration, with ſing-

[n] Id. l. x. c. 6. [o] Vid. Phot. cod. 40. [p] l. iii. c. 21. [q] l. x. c. 10. [r] Cod. 40. [s] Εν τεραστιοις δε και βιω Ευσεβιου του Νικομηδειας —— και Θεοφιλου του Ινδου, και αλλους πλειονας. Cod. 40. p. 30. [t] Philoſt. l. iii. c. 2. [u] Vid. Baſnage Ann. 356. n. xi. &c. & Baſnage Hiſt. de l' Egliſe, liv. 19. ch. iv. n. vi. [x] Chr. Paſch. p. 293. B. [y] Ibid.

ing of pſalms and hymns, and were depoſited in the church of the holy Apoſtles. St. Jerom's manner of ſpeaking, leads us to conſider this as a very early inſtance [z] of this kind of tranſlations.

It is our author who ſays, that [a] Lucian after his martyrdom was brought by a dolphin to the bay of Nicomedia: near to which place was afterwards built the city of Helenopolis.

Beſide many wonderful appearances related by other hiſtorians, by which Julian's attempt to build the temple of Jeruſalem was fruſtrated, Philoſtorgius tells this ſtrange ſtory: 'At' 'clearing the foundation a ſtone was taken up that covered the 'mouth of a cave, cut out in the rock, into which one of the 'labourers being let down by a long rope, found it full of 'water to the middle of the leg. Having carefully viewed 'the cave on every ſide, he found it to be four-ſquare. This 'was the report he then made. Being let down again, he obſerved a pillar reaching a little above the water, whereon lay 'a book wrapped up in clean and fine linen. Being drawn 'up, the linen was ſeen to be freſh and fair. And at the front 'of the book was found written in capital letters, to the great 'ſurprize of all, but eſpecially of Jews and Gentiles, *In the 'beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and 'the Word was God.*' This is related by no other writer of that time. For which reaſon, as Cave [c] well obſerves, 'it 'ſtands upon the ſingle authority of Philoſtorgius:' though he is pleaſed to add: 'but he ancient enough, being born 'within five years after the thing was done.'

He ſays, the [d] empreſs, wife of Conſtantius, was miraculouſly cured of a certain diſtemper by Theophilus the Indian.

Photius ſays, that the ninth book of Philoſtorgius's hiſtory contains many [e] wonderful works of Aëtius, Eunomius and Leontius, forged by the author, as alſo of Euagrius, and Arrianus, and Florentius, eſpecially of Theophilus the Indian, and ſome others; which [f] nothing but a bigotted zeal could make him invent: yet he relates them without any reſtraint from a ſenſe of ſhame of their abſurdity and improbability.

He has many ſtories of judgments [g] befalling the apoſtates from Chriſtianity, in the time of Julian; and another judg-

z Sacrilegus fuit Conſtantius Imperator, qui [illegible] reliquias Andreæ, Lucæ Timotheri [illegible] Constantinopolim?——Adv. Vig. p. 289. in.

a L. ii. c. 12.

b L. vii. c. 14.

c Life of St. Cyril of Jeruſ. in Engliſh. cap. x. p. 353.

d L. iv. c. 7.

e —— αεθη χειρων υπερφυη εργα. —— διαπλαττει. l. iv. c. 1. in.

f Ους η αιδη της ασεβειας λεγειν διηγειται επεδειξατο' και ταυτα και τα απιθανολογιαν αιαπλαττοντι, εθελουσα παρ' αισθησεις της αδοξιας αιαυεφιζασα. ib.

g L. vii. c. 10, 11, & 13.

ment

ment [h] upon a wicked man, who endeavoured to ſhelter himſelf in communion with Athanaſius.

Speaking of things that happened in his own time, he ſays, that [i] in ſeveral places there fell hail as large as a man could graſp in his hand; and ſome pieces were found to weigh eight pounds.

I forbear to mention any more of theſe wonders; but I ſhall refer in the margin to a place or two [k] more.

I proceed to take ſome things in him relating to the Scriptures.

At the beginning of his large extracts Photius obſerves that Philoſtorgius ſays, he [l] does not know who is the author of the books of the Maccabees. He eſteems the firſt of thoſe books very valuable, as agreeable to the prophecies of Daniel.—— Moreover he ſays, that the ſecond book does not appear to be written by the ſame author.——The third book he much diſlikes. The fourth book, he ſays, was written by Joſephus.

He blames ſome people for ſitting when [m] the goſpels were read.

He ſpeaks of Aëtius [n] having firſt with care ſtudied the evangeliſts, then the epiſtles of Paul, after that the Prophets, particularly Ezekiel: which was mentioned formerly: as have been alſo divers other things, relating to the ſcriptures, in the hiſtory of ſeveral, taken from this writer.

15. Sabinus. Cave [o] ſuppoſeth him to have flouriſhed about the year 425. For what reaſon he placed him ſo late I cannot tell. Tillemont agrees, that [p] he wrote in the time of Valens: and Fabricius, under [q] Valens or Gratian.

By Socrates we are informed, that [r] Sabinus was biſhop of the Macedonians at Heraclea in Thrace. He ſometimes calls Sabinus a [s] leader of the Macedonian ſect, and a [t] Semi-arian. He wrote a Hiſtory of Councils, beginning with that at Nice. The title of his book ſeems [u] to have been a collection of Synods, or of the Acts of Synods. This author is often quoted

[h] L. iii. c. 12. [i] L. xi. cap. 7.

[k] Vid. l. iii. c. 26. l. ix. c. 2. l. x. c. 9. 11. [l] L. i. c. 1. [m] Και [illegible] ἀναγνωσμάτων [illegible] ἀκροασιν. L. iii. c. 5.

[n] —— [illegible] ἐυαγγελιστας ἀναγνους, [illegible] ἐπιστησας, —— εφ' ου [illegible] ἀπεσιδαχθεις ἐπιστολας. —— [illegible] l. iii. c. 15. p. 481. B. C.

[o] H. L. T. i. p. 41. [p] Je ne ſçay, ſi cette retenue de Sabin à leur égard ne marqueroit point, qu'il écrivoit ſous Valens, dans le temps que les purs Ariens eſtoient encore toutpuiſſans. Les Ariens. Art. 107. med. [q] —— cujus collectionem——a Concilio Nicæno uſque ad Valentis tempora, ſub quo, vel ſub Gratiano ſcripſiſſe videtur. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. 6. p. 119. not. [l]. [r] Σαβινος γαρ, ο των εν Ηρακλειᾳ της Θρακης Μακεδονιανων επισκοπος. κ. λ. l. i. c. 8. p. 20. A.

[s] Σαβινος ο της Μακεδονιου αιρεσεως προεστως. l. i. c. 9. p. 31. D. Vid. & l. ii. c. 15. [t] Αρειανιζων γαρ τι ημισυ. l. iv. c. 22. p. 231. B. [u] —— εν τη συναγωγη των συνοδων. l. ii. c. 17. p. 95. B. τη συναγωγη των συνοδικων Σαβινου. l. iii. c. 25. p. 204. D.

by Socrates, who took some materials from him for his own work. Socrates does likewise several times complain of his partiality [x], in suppressing and concealing divers things which did not make for the honour of his party. And the justness of those remarks must, I think, be allowed by every one who reads them in Socrates.

16. Says Jerome: 'Theodore [y] bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, 'in the time of the emperor Constantius, published Com-'mentaries upon Matthew and John, and upon the Apostle, 'and upon the Psalter, in a neat and elegant style, explaining 'chiefly the literal sense.'

Cave computes, that [z] he was made bishop of Heraclea about the year 334. Tillemont says, that [a] he was put in that see some time before the year 334, but in what year is uncertain. The time of his episcopate is collected from a passage of Theodoret. Athanasius expressly says, that he [c] was promoted by the Arians. He was deposed by the synod of Sardica in 347. He died, as some think, in [d] 355, others about the year 358. Theodoret reckons him with Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Theognis of Nice, one [f] of the prime adversaries of Athanasius. He nevertheless owns, that [g] he was a very learned man, and wrote a Commentary upon the divine gospels.

Jerom has elsewhere plainly mentioned this bishop's [h] Commentary upon the Psalms; and refers also, as it seems, to his [i] Commentary upon the epistle to the Galatians.

It is supposed by [k] Cave, and [l] Fabricius, that his Commentary upon the Psalms is still extant entire. Tillemont only says: It [m] is thought, that we still have his Commentary upon the Psalms, and some fragments of what he wrote on St. Matthew. I must own likewise, that it appears to me very doubtful, whether the Commentary upon the Psalms, published

x Vid. l. ii. c. 15. p. 92. & c. 17. p. 95. l. iv. c. 22. y Theodorus, Heracleæ Thraciarum episcopus, elegantis apertique sermonis, & magis historicæ intelligentiæ, edidit sub Constantio Principe commentarios in Matthæum & in Joannem, & in Apostolum, & in Psalterium. De V. I. cap. 90. z Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 203. a Les Ariens Art. 20.

b L. i. c. 28. & Lib. p. 277. A. c Ad Epist. Æg. Gr. T. viii. p. 412. d Fabr. Bib. e Cav. ubi supr.

f Vid. Theodr. H. E. l. i. c. 28. l. ii. c. 3. & 8. l. v. c. 7. g Ἐλλόγιμος ἀνὴρ διαφερόντως ὁ Θεοδώρος ἦν, καὶ ὑπομνήματα τῶν θείων εὐαγγελίων τοῖς ἑρμηνείαις συγγέγραφε. l. ii. c. 3. p. 71. B. h — maxime in explanatione Psalmorum, quos apud Græcos interpretati sunt multis voluminibus primus Origenes, secundus Eusebius Cæsariensis, tertius Theodorus Heracleotes. Hier. ad Aug. Ep. 73. al. 95. p. 627. in.

i *Prætermitto Didymum,*——Eusebium quoque Emisenum, & Theodorum Heracleotem: qui & ipsi nonnullos super hac re commentarios reliquerunt. Ib. p. 619. in.

k Ex his exstat nonnisi commentarius integer in Psalmos. Cav. ib. p. 223.

l Commentarium Theodori in Psalmos integrum cum Patrum in Psalmos Catena Corderius edidit. Fabr. ubi supr. p. 412.

m Les Ariens Art. 21. sub fin.

by

by Corderius, be justly ascribed to this Bishop of Heraclea in its present condition. It is however well written, and there are in it many good observations. The author (if the remarks of several are not there mixed together,) received [n] the epistle to the Hebrew's as St. Paul's.

17. I may not omit Ulphilas, but must aim at brevity, and refer to others, both [o] ancients and [p] moderns, for a more particular account.

Cave supposeth him to have flourished chiefly about the year 365.

Socrates says, that [h] Ulphilas subscribed the Arian Creed of the council held at Constantinople in 360, who before had followed the Nicene faith, which had been signed by Theophilus, bishop of the Goths, who was present at that council.

It seems, that [r] in the time of the emperor Valens, the Christians of that country were brought more generally into the Arian scheme than they had been before. Theodoret expressly says, that [s] the Goths had long before received the rays of divine light, and until that time had been nourished in the apostolical doctrine. He adds, that [t] even after that alteration they believed indeed the Father to be greater than the Son; but they did not call the Son a creature, though they communicated with those who did so.

Ulphilas was in great authority with that people, and very useful to them. He cultivated among them civility and learning, and made many converts to the Christian religion. He [u] invented for them an alphabet, and translated the scriptures of the Old and New Testament into their language: excepting only, as Philostorgius [x] says, the books of the kingdoms, [meaning, it is likely, the two book of Samuel, the two books of the Kings, and the books of the Chronicles,] containing the history of wars: for the Goths being a warlike people, he

[n] Vid. Corderii Caten. Patr. Gr. in Ps. [illegible] T. i. p. 27. In Ps. viii. ver. 6. p. [illegible]. In Ps. xxix. al. xl. ver. 7. p. 740. [illegible] l. ii. c. 41. f. l. iv. c. 33. Soz. l. [illegible] l. vi. c. 37. Theod. l. iv. c. 37. [illegible] l. ii. c. 5. [p] Cav. H. L. [illegible] Les Ariens art. 132, 133. [illegible] l. ii. c. 41. fin. [r] Vid. [illegible] l. iv. c. 33. Soz. l. vi. c. 37. [illegible] Ηλλων γαρ τας της θεοσεβειας ακτινας [illegible] τοις αποστολικοις ενετρεφοντο δοσ- [illegible] Theod. l. iv. c. 37. p. 195. D. [illegible] μεχρι και τημερον οι γοτ- [illegible] μεν τον Πατερα λεγουσι τω Υιω [illegible] τον Υιον ειπειν ουκ ανεχονται. κ. λ. ib. p. 196. B. [u] Τοτε δε και ουλφιλας, ο των γοτθων επισκοπος, γραμματα εφευρε γοτθικα, και τας θειας γραφας εις την γοτθων μεταβαλων, τους βαρβαρους μανθανειν τα θεια λογια παρεσκευασεν. Socr. l. iv. c. 33. p. 251.

Πρωτος δε γραμματων ευρετης αυτοις εγενετο, και εις την οικειαν φωνην μεταφρασε τας ιερας βιβλους. Soz. l. vi. c. 37. p. 698. A.

[x] Και γραμματων αυτοις οικειων ευρετης καταστας, μετεφρασεν εις την αυτων φωνην τας γραφας απασας, πλην γε δη των βασιλειων, ατε των πολεμων ιστοριαν εχουσων. κ. λ. Phil. l. ii. c. 5.

thought

thought they rather needed a check, than an incentive to fighting.

As these were great performances, I have placed at the bottom of the page, the accounts of several writers in the original words at length.

This may suffice for a brief history of Arian writers, in most of which articles somewhat has offered relating to the scriptures, so much respected by all Christians in general.

CHAP. LXX.

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, THE FIRST CHRISTIAN EMPEROR.

I. *The time and place of Constantine's birth, and the condition of his mother Helena.* II. *The state of the Roman empire in the latter part of the third, and the beginning by the fourth Century, with a view of Constantine's reign.* III. *His conversion to the Christian religion.* IV. *His acts, as a Christian, or favourer of Christians:* 1. *Edicts in favour of the Christians, soon after the defeat of Maxentius,* 2. *Particular privileges for catholic Christians, and their ministers.* 3. *Edicts in favour of the Christians, and restraining the heathens, after the final defeat of Licinius.* 4. *The council of Nice.* 5. *Churches built by Constantine and Helena in Palestine.* 6. *Of her finding the cross at Jerusalem.* 7. *Heathen people farther restrained, their temples shut up, and some of them demolished.* 8. *His treatment of heretics.* 9. *His religious exercises, and laws for observing the Lord's day, for abolishing the punishment of the cross, for prohibiting shews of Gladiators, and the like.* 10. *Other laws and edicts.* V. *His character.* VI. *The censures passed upon several of his actions examined.* VII. *Remarks upon the different treatment of catholics, heretics, and heathen people.* VIII. *His testimony to the sacred scriptures.*

I. CONSTANTINE, called the [a] great, son of Flavius Valerius Constantius, surnamed Chlorus, and Helena, was born on the 27th day of February, in the year of Christ [b] 272, or, as some think in [c] 273, or, as others, in [d] 274.

[a] His name at length, in Latin, is Caius Flavius Valerius Aurelius Claudius Constantinus Magnus. [b] Natus est tertio Calendas Martii A. 272. Anno 306. octavo Cal. Augusti, patre Eboraci mortuo, in Imperatorem levatus est. Cav. H. L. in Constant. M.

Natus est Constantinus anno Ch. 272. ex Helena priori Constantii Chlori conjuge. Pagi Ann. 337. n. iv.

Constantinus —— anno vel 272 vel 273 natus est. Basnag. 306. n. iii.

[c] Imprimis certum est Constantinum natum esse anno circiter 273, Aureliano imperante. Noris. Diss. de M. Constantini patria & parentibus. [d] Natus Naissi Daciæ oppido A. C. 274, die 27 Februarii. Fabric. B. Gr. l. v. c. 3. § 1.

Il naquit le 27 Février, vers l'an 274. Tillem. L'Emp. Constantin. Art. iv. in.

Baronius,

Baronius [e], and many others, have thought, that Constantine was born in Britain. Others [f] (which I suppose to be at present the more common opinion,) say, he [g] was born at Naissus, now called Nissa, a town of Dardania in Illyricum.

The opinion, that Constantine was born in Britain, is chiefly founded upon a passage in the panegyric of an anonymous author to Maximian and Constantine, spoken in the year 307; where it is said, that [h] Constantine had ennobled Britain by his birth. But that expression may be as well understood [i] of his royal, as of his natural birth. Eumenes likewise, in his panegyric to this prince, calls [k] Britain happy, which first saw Constantine Cæsar. But the meaning, I apprehend, is *not*, that Britain first saw Constantine, but first saw him Cæsar: he having been there proclaimed Cæsar by the soldiers, immediately after his father's death.

It is generally allowed, that Helena, the mother of Constantine, was a woman of a mean birth. And S. Ambrose [l] calls her stabulariam, perhaps, as being the daughter of an innkeeper.

Whether Helena was the lawful wife of Constantius Chlorus, or only his concubine, is a disputable point: for even some [m] Christian, as well as [n] heathen authors, call her a concubine, and her son spurious. It may seem strange, that Constantine should succeed his father in the empire without dispute, when there were several sons by a legal wife, if he was not legitimate. But the writer of the Paschal Chronicle (who calls Constantine

[e] Ann. 306. n. xvi. [f] Pagi Crit. Bar. ann. 306. n. ix. Basnag. 306. n. iii. [g] Hic igitur Constantius Helena matre vilissima in oppido vilissimo in oppido. Cuper.] Naissique eductus, quod oppidum postea Constantius ornavit. Excerpta auctoris incerti a Valesio edita, ap. Amm. Marcell. p. 712. Lugd. Bat. 1693. Vid. & Jul. Firmic. Mathes. l. i. c. ult. & Steph. de Urbib. V. Naissus. [h] —— Liberatus Constantius] Britannias servitute: te ... nobiles illic oriendo fecisti. Paneg. 1. p. 192. Paris. 1676. [i] Vid. Basnag. 306. n. iii. Pagi 306. [k] O fortunata, & nunc beatior terris Britannia, quæ Constantium Cæsarem prima vidisti. Paneg. vii. § ix. p. 207. [l] Stabulariam hanc primo fuisse asserunt, sic cognitam Constantio Seniori, qui postea regnum adeptus est. Amb. de Obit. Theod. § 42. p. 1209. T. ii. [m] Constantius sexto *decimo* imperii anno diem obiit Eboraci. Post quem filius ejus Constantinus, ex concubina Helena procreatus, regnum invadit. Hieron. Chron. p. 180.

Και εδεξατο αυτον ο παις αυτε Κωνσταντινος, ο υιος εξ Ελενης αυτω γενομενος· ον γας απο Θεοδωρας αυτω τεχθεισης μικρον υπηρχεν. Chr. Pasch. p. 278. A. B. Paris. 1688.

[n] Κωνσταντιος εξ ομιλιας γυναικος α σεμνης, ουδε καθα νομον συνελθουσης Κωνσταντιω τω βασιλει γεγαμημενης. Zos. l. ii. p. 672.

Verum Constantio mortuo, Constantinus, ex obscuriore matrimonio ejus filius, in Britannia creatus est imperator. Eutrop. l. x. cap. 2.

spurious)

ſpurious) aſſigns this reaſon for it, that [o] all the other children of Conſtantius were young at the time of his death.

However, beſide that undiſputed ſucceſſion, there are ſeveral reaſons to think, Helena was the lawful wife of Conſtantius Chlorus. If Conſtantine had been illegitimate, he would not have been treated, when young, with ſo much [p] reſpect by Diocleſian as he was. When it was propoſed to chooſe new Cæſars, it does not appear that [q] any exception was made to Conſtantine, on account of his birth. The author of a panegyric pronounced in 313, ſpeaks of Conſtantine, as the [r] genuine ſon of Conſtantius: which would ſcarce have been openly mentioned, if there had been any ground for ſuſpicion or contradiction. And the hiſtorians, who ſpeak of Conſtantius's marriage with the daughter of Maximian, ſay, he [s] was firſt divorced from his former wife. All which ſeem to be arguments of no ſmall force, for the lawful marriage of Helena: and will at leaſt render it probable, that if ſhe was originally a concubine only, ſhe was afterwards married to Conſtantius.

Cardinal Noris ingeniouſly accounts [t] for Conſtantius's marrying a woman of mean condition, from the low military office he was in, when young. And if there is any ground for the ſtory in [u] Nicephorus, one might be apt to think, that Conſtantius became firſt acquainted with Helena at Drepanum in Bithynia: which too might be the place of her birth, and, as is well known, was afterwards in honour of her called Helenopolis.

Conſtantine, as a dutiful ſon, took care, when emperor, that the higheſt honours ſhould be given her. By his appointment [x], ſhe had the titles of Auguſta and empreſs all over the empire, and medals were coined with her head upon them.

[o] Vid. not. m. [p] —— σὺν τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν βασιλέων· ὃ καὶ ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ παρεστῶσι κ. λ. Euſeb. V. C. l. i. c. 19.

[q] Vid. de M. P. cap. 18, 19.

[r] Quod erat ille Maximiani ſuppoſitus, tu Conſtantii Pii filius. Paneg. ix. c. 4.

[s] Relicta enim Helena priore uxore, filiam Maximiani Theodoram duxit uxorem. Valeſ. Anonym. in.

Prior Herculii privignam, alter Diocletiano editam ſortiuntur, diremptis prioribus conjugiis. Aurel. Vict. de Cæſar. c. 39.

—— Tradens Conſtantio Theodoram Herculii Maximiani privignam, abjecta uxore priori. Victor. Epit. c. 39.

Ambo uxores, quas habuerunt, repudiare compulſi. Eutrop. l. ix.

[t] Cæterum Helenam origine plebeiam fuiſſe, ſi antiquioribus ulla fides.—Hæc verisimiliora fient, ſi primam in caſtris Conſtantii dignitatem conſideremus. Fuit enim primum Protector.—Fieri ergo potuit, ut Conſtantius cum ex injuncto munere Protectoris itinerum cuſtodiis præeſſet, ac publicorum equorum ſtabula, quæ ampliſſima per Romanum imperium publicis impenſis ſervabantur, Helenæ ſtabularii filiæ pulchritudine captus, cum eadem nuptias inierit. Noriſ. ubi ſupr. p. 648.

[u] Vid. Niceph. T. i. p. 463, 464.

[x] Euſeb. de V. C. l. iii. c. 47. Vid. & c. 43.

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From Christian writers she [y] has the character of a discreet, pious, and devout woman.

It has been however insinuated by some to her disadvantage, that [z] she was the occasion of Constantine's neglecting for a long time his brothers, sons of his father Constantius by Theodora. And indeed soon after her death, they or their children had signal testimonies of regard from Constantine. Nevertheless, it has been thought, that it had been better for him to have followed the prudent directions of his mother: for their preferments in the issue proved fatal to them. Valesius [a] makes no scruple to commend that part of her conduct.

Helena lived to a great [b] age: she is supposed by some, to have died [c] in the year 326. Fabricius, in his Chronology of the Life of Constantine, placeth her death [d] in 327, as does Valesius [e]. Tillemont computes, that [f] she died in 327, or 328.

By Eusebius we are informed, that [g] she was buried at Rome; where she died too, as some think. Others say, she did not die there, because Eusebius's account is, that she was conveyed thither with great funeral pomp. It is however allowed, that her death happened at no great distance from [h] Rome.

II. It will be of use, before we proceed any farther in the History of Constantine, to take a general survey of the state of the Roman empire about this time.

Diocletian, a [i] man of a mean original, born at Dioclea, an obscure town in Dalmatia, having signalized himself by his valour and conduct, was proclaimed emperor, on the 17th day of September, in the year 284. On the first of April, in 286, Maximian, called Herculius, born near Sirmium in Pannonia, who had been Cæsar some time before, was [k] declared Augustus, and joint emperor with Diocletian. This [l] was done at a place near Nicomedia, the capital city of Bithynia.

On the first of March 292, Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximian [m] were created Cæsars, by the two fore-men-

[y] —— Ἡ μακαρίτης βασιλισσα θεοφιλὴς μητηρ —— τοιαυτὴ θεοσεβὴς ἀναφαίνεται. Euseb. de V. C. l. iii. c. 47. & passim. —— περιβαλλεσθαι —— c. 42. —— τὴν βασιλικὴν. —— [z] See Tillemont Saint Helene Art. i. & Constantin. Art. 85.

[a] Vales. ad Euseb. de V. C. l. iii. c. 42. [b] Euseb. c. 42. & 50. [c] Vid. Pagi in Baron. xxv. xv. Basnag. 326. n. xi. Le Clerc in Evangeli, p. 970. [d] Vid. Euseb. de V. C. l. iii. c. 47. [e] See Basnag. in Constantin. Art. 63. & Helene Art. 7. [f] Πλειστη γαρ σπουδη περι την βασιλισσαν ετιμα τον αγιωτατον, De V. C. c. 47. [g] See Tillemont in St. Helene Art. viii. & Basnag. An. 326. n. xi. [h] Vid. Pagi in Baron. 284. n. iv. Basnag. Ann. 284. n. ii.

[i] Pagi 286. n. ii. Basn. 286. n. i. [k] Erat locus altus extra civitatem ad millia fere tria, in cujus summo Maximianus ipse purpuram sumeret. De Mort. Pers. c. 19. [l] Pagi 292. n. ii. Basn. 292. n. i. ii.

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tioned emperors. And the better to ſecure the fidelity of the Cæſars, new marriages were concluded for [n] them. Conſtantius diſmiſſing Helena, mother of Conſtantine, married Theodora, daughter-in-law of Maximian Herculius. And Galerius Maximian married Valeria, daughter of Diocleſian.

Conſtantius, the firſt of the two Cæſars, was a man of a good family. His [o] father, Eutropius, was a nobleman of Dardania: His mother Claudia, was daughter of a brother of the emperor Claudius the ſecond.

Conſtantius is highly commended by [p] Euſebius, and has a good character likewiſe from [q] heathen authors. By Claudia Theodora, whom he now married, he had [r] ſix children, three ſons, and as many daughters. Their names are [s] generally reckoned to be theſe: Julius Conſtantius, Dalmatius, Anibalius, Conſtantia, Eutropia, Anaſtaſia.

Galerius Maximian, the other Cæſar, was ſurnamed [t] Armentarius, becauſe his father was a grazier, or he himſelf had been ſo. He [u] was born in Dacia near Sardica.

Now the empire was divided betwixt thoſe [x] four. Conſtantius, as Cæſar, had to his ſhare Britain and Gaul.

[n] Atque ut eos etiam affinitate conjungeret, Conſtantius privignam Herculii Theodoram accepit, ex qua poſtea ſex Liberos Conſtantini fratres habuit. Galerius filiam Diocletiani Valeriam. Ambo uxores, quas habuerunt, repudiare compulſi. Eutrop. l. ix. c. 22.

His de cauſis Julium Conſtantium, Galerium Maximianum, cui cognomen Armentario erat, creatos Cæſares, in affinitatem vocant. Prior Herculii privignam, alter Diocletiano editam ſortiuntur, diremtis prioribus conjugiis. S. Aur. Victor. de Cæſarib. c. 39.

Is Maximianum Auguſtum effecit. Conſtantium & Galerium Maximianum cognomento Armentarium, Cæſares creavit, tradens Conſtantio Theodoram Herculii Maximiani privignam, abjecta uxore priori. Victor. Epit. c. 39.

Iſte cum Galerio a Diocletiano Cæſar factus eſt. Relicta enim Helena priore uxore, filiam Maximiani Theodoram duxit uxorem. Anon. Valeſ. p. 710.

[o] Claudius, Quintilius, & Criſpus, fratres fuerunt. Criſpi filia, Claudia. Ex ea & Eutropio, nobiliſſimo gentis Dardanæ viro, Conſtantius Cæſar eſt genitus. Trebell. Poll. in Claudio n. 13.

Diocletianus Maximianum Herculium ex Cæſare fecit Auguſtum, Conſtantium & Maximianum Cæſares, quorum Conſtantius per filiam nepos Claudii tradit[ur], Eutrop. l. ix. c. 22.

Conſtantius Divi Claudii optimi principis nepos ex fratre. Anon. Valeſ. p. 710.

[p] H. E. l. viii. c. 13. p. 309. B. C. p. 317. C. D. De Vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 13, 14.

[q] Vir egregius, & præſtantiſſimæ civilitatis, &c. Eutrop. Brev. l. x. c. 1.

[r] Ex qua poſtea ſex liberos Conſtantini fratres habuit. Euſeb. Chron. p. 178. Vid. & Eutrop. l. ix. c. 22. & Anon. Valeſ. p. 710. [s] Vid. Baſnag. Ann. 306. n. 2. Tillem. Conſt. Art. iii. Hiſt. T. iv. p. 130. [t] Igitur Conſtantio, Armentarioque, his ſuccedentibus.—Aurel. Vict. c. 40. in Cæſ.

Galerius autem fuit (licet inculta agreſtique juſtitia,) ſatis laudabilis——ortus parentibus agrariis, paſtor armentorum: unde ei cognomen Armentarius fuit. Vict. Epit. cap. 40.

[u] Maximianus Galerius in Dacia haud longe a Sardica natus. Eutrop. l. ix. c. 22.

Ortus Dacia Ripenſi, ibique ſepultus eſt. Vict. Epit. c. 39.

[x] Quaſi partito imperio, cuncta quæ trans Alpes Galliæ ſunt, Conſtantio commiſit: Africa, Italiaque Herculio: Illyricique ora ad uſque Ponti fretum, Galerio: Cætera Valerius retentavit. Aurel. Vict. Cæſ. c. 39.

Under

Under these emperors, and their two Cæsars, began what is called Dioclesian's persecution; which lasted ten years, or more, in some parts of the empire, before it was universally extinguished.

There had been a persecution some time [y] before, in the [z] court and the army, but it became general in the year 303. For on [a] the 23d day of February in that year, the church of the Christians [b] at Nicomedia in Bithynia was demolished, Dioclesian and Galerius being then both in that city. On the next day, February 24th, the [c] edict against the Christians was published. According to the writer of [d] the book Of the Deaths of Persecutors, and [e] Eusebius, Galerius was the chief author of this persecution. When the edict had been published at Nicomedia, it [f] was sent to Herculius and Constantius, to be put in execution by them in those parts of the empire which were particularly under their care. Maximian Herculius, in Italy, readily [g] complied: but Constantius, though he did not dare openly to oppose his colleagues, moderated [h] the persecution within the extent of his government.

In the year 305, Dioclesian and Maximian resigned the empire, both on the same day, being [i] the first of May; the former at a place near Nicomedia, the latter at [k] Milan. At the same time Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximian were

[y] Vid. Pagi An. 298. n. 2. [z] Tunc ira furens sacrificare non eos tantum qui sacris ministrabant, sed universos qui erant in palatio jussit: & in eos, qui detraxissent, verberibus animadverti, datisque ad præpositos literis, etiam milites cogi ad nefanda sacrificia præcepit, ut qui non paruissent, militia solverentur. Hactenus furor ejus ira processit, nec amplius quicquam contra legem aut religionem Dei fecit. De M. P. c. 10. [a] Vid. Pagi. 302. n. iii. v. Basnag. 303. n. v. [b] Terminalia deliguntur, quæ sunt ad septimum kalendas Martias.—Qui dies cum illuxisset, —— ad ecclesiam profectus cum ducibus & tribunis & rationalibus venit. — Veniebant igitur prætoriani, acie structa, cum securibus. —— & immissi undique, tamen illud edictissimum paucis horis solo adæquatur. De M. P. c. 12. [c] Postridie propositum est edictum, quo cavebatur, ut religionis illius homines carerent omni honore [illegible] tormentis subjecti essent. —— [illegible] c. 13. in. [d] Cap. 10, 11, 12.

[e] H. E. l. viii. c. 16. p. 314. D.

[f] Et jam literæ ad Maximianum atque Constantium commeaverant, ut eadem facerent. Eorum sententia in tantis rebus exspectata non erat. D. M. P. c. 15.

[g] Et quidem senex Maximianus libens per Italiam paruit, homo non adeo clemens. Id. ib. [h] Nam Constantius, ne dissentire a majorum præceptis videretur, conventicula, id est, parietes, qui restitui poterant, dirui passus est: verum autem Dei templum, quod est in hominibus, incolume servavit. D. M. P. c. 15.

Vexabatur ergo universa terra, & præter Gallias, ab oriente usque ad occasum tres acerbissimæ bestiæ sæviebant. Id. c. 16. Vid. & Eus. H. E. l. viii. c. 13. p. 309. D. & p. 317. D. Vit. Const. l. i. c. 13. p. 413. D. & cap. 16. & 17.

[i] Cum hæc essent constituta, proceditur kalendis Maiis. De M. P. c. 19. in.

[k] Uterque una die privato habitu imperii insigne mutavit: Nicomediæ Diocletianus, Herculius Mediolani. — Concesserunt autem Salonas unus, alter in Lucaniam. Diocletianus privatus in villa, quæ haud procul a Salonis est, præclaro otio senuit. Eutrop. l. ix. c. 27, 28. Vid. & Victor. Epit. cap. 39.

declared

declared Auguſti and emperors, and [l] Maximin and Severus Cæſars. Diocleſian after this ſpent the remainder of his days near Salonæ in Dalmatia, and died in 313. Maximian Herculius retired for the preſent to that part of Italy which was called Lucania.

Maximin and Severus were both [m] of Illyricum. The former, whoſe [n] original name was Daia, or Daza, was [o] ſon of a ſiſter of Galerius, and [p] only a grazier, or feeder of cattle, as the reſt of the family were. The [q] family of Severus is unknown.

The empire [r] was then divided between Conſtantius and Galerius, and their Cæſars. Conſtantius had for his part Italy, Gaul, Britain, Africa, and the other provinces of the weſtern part of the empire; Galerius had Illyricum, Thrace, Aſia, the Eaſt, with Egypt. Conſtantius ſoon quitted Italy, and the other provinces belonging to him, and gave [s] them to Severus, contenting himſelf with Gaul and Britain. Galerius [t] too, kept only Illyricum, Thrace, and Aſia; yielding to Maximin the Eaſt, that is, Syria, and the provinces depending upon it, together with Egypt.

It was expected by many, that [u] at the reſignation of Diocleſian, Conſtantine ſhould have been declared Cæſar; but he was paſſed by for the ſake of thoſe juſt mentioned, and [x] was kept by Galerius, as an hoſtage for the fidelity of Conſtantius, as he had been before by Diocleſian. However, it was not

[l] Tunc repente pronuntiat Severum & Maximinum Cæſares. De M. P. c. 19.

[m] Igitur Conſtantio Armentarioque his ſuccedentibus, Severus Maximinuſque Illyricorum indigenæ Cæſares. Aur. Vict. c. 40. in Cæſ. [n] Hunc, inquit, oſtendens Daiam adoleſcentem quendam ſemibarbarum, quem recens juſſerat Maximinum vocari de ſuo nomine. De M. P. c. 18. [o] Galerius Maximinus ſorore Armentarii progenitus, veroque nomine ante imperium Daza dictus, Cæſar quadriennio, dehinc per Orientem Auguſtus triennio fuit: ortu quidem atque inſtituto paſtorali, &c. Vict. Epit. c. 40.

[p] Daia vero ſublatus nuper a pecoribus & ſilvis, ſtatim ſcutarius, continuo protector, mox tribunus, poſtridie Cæſar, accepit Orientem calcandum & conterendum. &c. De M. P. c. 10. [q] Severus filium habuit Severianum, ubi conſtat ex cap. 50. Nomen uxoris & parentum incognitum. Cuperus in not. ad libr. de M. P. c. 39. p. 219. Ultraj. 1693. [r] His igitur abeuntibus, ad adminiſtrationem reipublicæ, Conſtantius & Galerius Auguſti creati ſunt, diviſuſque inter eos Romanus orbis, ut Galliam, Italiam, Africam Conſtantius: Illyricum, Aſiam, Orientem Galerius obtineret, ſumtis duobus Cæſaribus. Eutrop. l. x. init. Vid. & Euſ. H. E. l. viii. c. 13. p. 309. B. [s] Conſtantius tamen, contentus dignitate Auguſti Italiæ atque Africæ adminiſtrandæ ſollicitudinem recuſavit. Eutrop. l. x. c. 1. [t] Interea Cæſares duo facti, Severus & Maximinus. Maximino datum eſt Orientis imperium. Galerius ſibi Illyricum, Thraciam & Bithyniam tenuit. Severus ſuſcepit Italiam, & quicquid Herculius obtinebat. Anon. Valeſ. p. 711.

His diebus Conſtantius Conſtantini pater, atque Armentarius, Cæſares, Auguſti appellantur; creatis Cæſaribus Severo per Italiam, Maximino Galerii ſororis filio per Orientem. Vict. Epit. c. 40. Vid. & Zoſ. l. ii. p. 672. [u] Vid. de M. P. c. 19.

[x] Hic igitur Conſtantinus, — obſes apud

very

very long after this, before Conſtantine obtained leave of Galerius to depart: which he did immediately, and though not without difficulty, yet by [y] great diligence and prudent circumſpection, he got ſafe to his father Conſtantius: with whom he was, when he died at York in (A) Britain, July 25, 306.

Conſtantius upon his death-bed appointed his ſon Conſtantine his heir and ſucceſſor, with the ſtyle and [z] titles, as it ſeems, of emperor and Auguſtus. And immediately upon the death of his father, Conſtantine was ſo proclaimed [a] by the ſoldiers in Britain, in [b] the fourth year of the perſecution. But Galerius Maximian would allow him no higher title than that of Cæſar, which [c] Conſtantine accepted for the preſent.

On the 27th [d] of October, 306, Maxentius [e], ſon of Maximian Herculius, who had alſo married a daughter of Galerius, aſſumed the title of Auguſtus at Rome. And being ſenſible, that this would diſpleaſe Galerius, he ſends for his father Maximian Herculius, who [f] thereupon reſumed the purple.

Diocletianum & Galerium, ſub iiſdem fortiter in Aſia militavit. Anon. Valeſ. p. 710.

Nam is a Galerio, religionis ſpecie, ad vicem obſidis tenebatur. Aur. Vict. c. 40.

[y] Vid. de M. P. c. 24. Anonym. Valeſ. p. 710, 711. Aur. Vict. c. 40. Vict. Epit. c. 41. Zoſim. l. ii. p. 672. Euſeb. V. Conſt. l. i. c. 20, 21. (A) It is commonly ſaid by learned moderns, that when Conſtantine came to York, he found his father dying. And they have for it the authority of the writer De M. Perſec. c. 24. pervenit ad patrem jam deficientem, as alſo Euſeb. de V. C. l. i. c. 21. & Zoſ. l. ii. c. 572. and Aurel. Vict. Epit. Et forte iiſdem diebus ibidem Conſtantium parentem fata ultima perurgebant. But Tillemont in Conſtantin, art. vii. p. 144. ſays, that this is not exact. For Eumenes in the preſence of Conſtantine, before the war with Maxentius, and probably in 309, ſays, that Conſtantine came to his father, when he was weighing anchor for Britain. Cum ad tempus ipſum, quo pater in Britanniam transfretabat, claſſi jam vela facienti repentinus tuus adventus illuxit. Paneg. viii. § 7. And the Anonymous author, publiſhed by Valeſius, ſays, that Conſtantine found his father at Bologne: and ſpeaks of a victory, which Conſtantius obtained afterwards over the Picts. Ad patrem Conſtantium venit apud Bononiam. — Poſt victoriam autem Pictorum Conſtantius pater Eboraci mortuus eſt. Excerp. p. 711. [z] Vid. Baſn. 306. n. 2. Pagi 306. n. 7. Tillem. Conſtantin. Art. vii. T. iv. p. 145. [a] Pervenit ad patrem jam deficientem, qui ei militibus commendato imperium per manus tradidit, &c. De M. P. c. 24. Vid. & Euſ. H. E. l. viii. c. 13. p. 309. C. V. Conſt. l. i. c. 21. Valeſ. Anonym. p. 711. Socrat. l. i. c. 2. in. [b] Quarto perſecutionis anno Conſtantinus regnare orſus. Euſ. Chr. p. 180. [c] Cujus tanta maturitas eſt, ut cum tibi pater imperium reliquiſſet, Cæſaris tamen appellatione contentus, exſpectare malueris, ut idem te, qui illum declararet Auguſtum. Incerti Paneg. ad Maximian. & Conſtantin. cap. 5.

[d] Imminebat dies, quo Maxentius imperium ceperat, qui eſt ad ſextum kalendas Novembris. De M. P. cap. 44.

[e] Erat autem Maximiano [filius] Maxentius, hujus Maximiani gener, —— adeo ſuperbus & contumax, ut neque patrem, neque ſocerum, ſolitus ſit adorare. Et iccirco utrique inviſus fuit. De M. P. c. 18.

Genuit ex Eutropia Syra muliere Maxentium & Fauſtam conjugem Conſtantini: cujus patri Conſtantio tradiderat Theodoram privignam, &c. Vict. Epit. c. 40.

[f] Patri ſuo poſt depoſitum imperium in Campania moranti purpuram mittit, & bis Auguſtum nominat. Ille vero & rerum novarum cupidus, & qui depoſuerat invitus, libenter arripuit. De M. P. c. 26.

Romæ interea Prætoriani, excitato tumultu Maxentium Herculii filium, qui haud procul ab urbe in villa publica morabatur, Auguſtum nuncupaverunt: quo nun-

And in this year, or the [g] beginning of the year following, 307, Severus, who, as Cæſar, had to his ſhare Italy and Africa, was overcome [h], and put to death.

Maximian and his ſon Maxentius did not long agree together: Maximian [i] therefore, the better to ſtrengthen his intereſt, and carry on his own views, goes to Conſtantine in Gaul: and ſome time in this year [k], 307, gives him in marriage [l] his daughter Fauſta, Minervina the former wife or concubine of Conſtantine, by whom he had [m] his eldeſt ſon Criſpus, being dead, as is ſuppoſed. And now, as [n] it ſeems, Conſtantine receives the title of Auguſtus from Maximian.

About this time Galerius [o] makes Licinius, his old acquaintance, and a man of mean extraction, Auguſtus. And now there were in [p] effect ſix emperors; Maximian, who, as we ſaid before, had reſumed the purple, Galerius, Conſtantine, Maximin, Maxentius, and Licinius.

Maximian, after a baſe and unſteady conduct, was [q] condemned, and put to death by Conſtantine's order in 310. Galerius died [r] in 311, of a long [s] and grievous diſtemper, ſup-

cio Maximianus Herculius ad ſpem erectus reſumendi faſtigii, quod invitus amiſerat, Romam advolavit a Lucania. &c. Eutrop. l. x. c. ii. Vid. & Zoſ. l. ii. p. 673. Anon. Valeſ. p. 711.

g Vid. Pagi. 307. n. 5. Baluz. not. ad libr. de M. P. c. 27. p. 66.

h Auctæ Maxentio opes, confirmatumque imperium. Severus fugiens Ravennæ interfectus eſt. Eutrop. l. x. c. 3. Vid. Zoſ. l. ii. p. 673. Aur. Vict. c. 40. Vict. Epit. c. 40. i Herculius tamen Maximianus, poſt hæc in concione exercitus filium Maxentium denudare conatus, ſeditionem & convicia militum tulit. Inde ad Gallias profectus eſt dolo compoſito, tanquam a filio eſſet expulſus, ut Conſtantino genero jungeretur. Eutrop. l. x. c. 3.

k Vid. Baluz. ad libr. de M. P. c. 27. p. 66. l —— proficiſcitur in Galliam, ut Conſtantinum partibus ſuis conciliaret ſuæ minoris filiæ nuptiis. De M. P. c. 27. Vid. & Zoſ. l. ii. p. 673, 674.

m Filiumque ſuum Criſpum nomine, ex Minervina concubina ſuſceptum. Vict. Epit. cap. 41. Κωνσταντινος μεν καθιστησι Κωνσταν Κρισπον, εκ παλλακης αυτω γεγονοτα Μινερβινης ουσαν. Zoſ. l. ii. p. 679. Vid. & Baſn. Ann. 306. n. 1.

n Et tibi, Conſtantine, per ſocerum nomen imperatoris accreverit. Incerti Paneg. Maxim. & Conſt. cap. 2. Vid. & cap. 5. & Baſn. Ann. 307. n. 3. o Adeiat ibi Diocles a genero nuper accitus, ut, quod ante non fecerat, præſente illo imperium Licinio daret, ſubſtituto in Severi loco. De M. P. c. 29.

Per hoc tempus Licinius a Galerio imperator eſt factus, Dacia oriundus, notus ei ex antiqua conſuetudine, & in bello, quod adverſus Narſeum geſſerat, ſtrenuit laboribus & officiis acceptus. Eutrop. l. x. c. 4.

Licinius itaque ex nova Dacia villicus originis a Galerio factus imperator, velut adverſum Maxentium pugnaturus. Anon. Valeſ. p. 713. Vid. & Euſ. H. E. l. viii. c. 13. p. 310. A. Aur. Vict. c. 40. Vict. Epit. c. 40. Zoſ. l. ii. p. 674.

p Sic uno tempore ſex fuerunt. De M. P. 29. q Moliens tamen Conſtantinum, reperta occaſione, interficere, quia Galliis, & militum & provincialium favore regnabat. —— Detectis igitur inſidiis per Fauſtam filiam, quæ dolum viro enuntiaverat, profugit Herculius Maſſiliam, ibique oppreſſus. Eutrop. l. x. c. 3. Vid. & de M. P. c. 29, 30. Euſ. H. E. l. viii. c. 13. p. 310. A. B. De V. C. l. i. c. 57. Zoſ. l. ii. p. 674. Vict. Epit. c. 40.

r Vid. Pagi. 311. n. 14, 15.

s Jam decimus & octavus annus agitur, cum percuſſit eum Deus inſanabili plaga. Naſcitur ei ulcus malum in inferiori parte genitalium, ſerpitque latius, &c. De M. P. c. 33, 34. Vid. & Euſ. H. E. l. viii. c. 16, 17.

poſed

posed to be inflicted on him as a judgment from heaven, for his inhuman cruelty to the Christians. Maxentius was overcome by Constantine, and drowned in the river Tiber, [t] on the 27th of October, in 312. Maximin died in 313: the manner of his death is particularly described [u] in the book Of the Deaths of Persecutors, and [x] in Eusebius. I may just add here, though it was mentioned before, that Dioclesian also died [y] in the year 313.

But before the death of Maximin, in the same year, 313, Constantine [z] married his sister Constantia to Licinius. And as from that time their interests were united, so upon the death of Maximin, the whole empire was in their power, and divided between them.

But their friendship did not long subsist without [a] interruption. For in the year [b] 314, the animosity between them broke out into an open war; and two battles were fought, the first at Cibalis in Pannonia, the second in Campo Mardiense, which place is not certainly (B) known: immediately after which, peace was concluded, and a new partition made of the empire.

Paulloque post vulnere pestilenti consumtus est. Aur. Vict. c. 40.

Galerius Maximianus consumtis genitalibus defecit. Vict. Epit. c. 40.

Tunc Galerius in Illyrico Licinium Cæsarem fecit. Deinde illo in Pannonia relicto, ipse ad Serdicam regressus, morbo ingenti occupatus sic distabuit, ut aperto & putrescente viscere moreretur, in supplicium persecutionis iniquissimæ ad auctorem scelerati præcepti justissima pœna redeunte. Anon. Vales. p. 712.

[t] Ipse in fugam versus properat ad pontem, qui interruptus erat, ac multitudine fugientium pressus in Tiberim deturbatur. De M. P. c. 44.

Ipsum postremo adversus nobiles omnibus exitiis sævientem, apud pontem Milvium vicit, Italiaque potitus est. Eutrop. l. x. c. 4. Vid. Vict. Epit. c. 40. Incerti Paneg. Constant. Aug. c. 17. Eus. H. E. l. ix. c. 9. p. 358 D. 359. A.

[u] Angore animi ac metu confugit ad mortem, quasi ad remedium malorum, quæ Deus in caput ejus ingessit. — Et sic hausit venenum. &c. De M. P. c. 49.

[x] Eus. H. E. l. ix. c. 9. p. 365, 366. De V. C. l. i. c. 58, 59.

[y] Vid. libr. de M. P. c. 42, 43. Pagi A. 316. n. 3, 4, 5. Basn. An. 313. n. 2.

[z] Constantinus, rebus in Urbe compositis, hyeme proxima Mediolanum contendit. Eodem Licinius advenit, ut acciperet uxorem. De M. P. c. 45.

Sed oppresso Maxentio, cum recepisset Italiam Constantinus, hoc Licinium fœdere sibi fecit adjungi, ut Licinius Constantiam sororem Constantini apud Mediolanum duxisset uxorem. Anon. Vales. p. 713. Vid. & Eutrop. l. x. c. 5. Vict. Epit. c. 41. Eus. H. E. l. x. c. 8. p. 395. B. V. Const. l. i. c. 50.

[a] Ita potestas Orbis Romani duobus quæsita: qui quamvis per Flavii sororem nuptam Licinio connexi inter se erant, ob diversos mores tamen anxie triennium congruere quivere. Aur. Vict. c. 41.

[b] Vid. Pagi 517. n. 4, 5, 6. Basn. 214. n. 1, 2, 3, 4.

(B) My learned friend, Mr. Ward, Professor of Rhetoric at Gresham College, has favoured me with this conjecture: 'May it not be Margensi? 'Pliny mentions the river Margis in Mœsia, which joins to Pannonia. Lib. iii. 'cap. 26. And in the Notitia Im. Rom. 'we have in the same country, Auxilium 'Margense Margo. Where Margum is 'the name of a town. Sect. 30. Ed. Labbe. 'This situation seems to suit the former 'battle.'

A second war between them began [c] in 323, which was concluded in 324, with the intire defeat of Licinius, who was reduced to a private condition. Others [d] place that total defeat of Licinius in the year 323: and though his life was then given him at the intercession of Constantia, he was [e] put to death in the year 324, or 325.

This was the end of those civil wars in the empire, and Constantine now became sole emperor both of the East and West. And having reigned above thirty years from the death of his father Constantius, he died on the day of Pentecost, May 22, 337.

III. Having given this general account of the state of the Roman empire, in the latter part of the third, and beginning of the fourth century, and of the reign of Constantine, the [f] first emperor of Rome who made an open profession of the Christian religion; it is fit, we should now distinctly observe some parts of his history.

His conversion is a remarkable period in his life, as well as an important event, in which the Christians were greatly concerned. The time, occasion, and reasons of it, deserve our consideration.

One might have been apt to think, that Constantine should have received some impressions in favour of the Christian religion, in the early part of his life; for his father Constantius, is said from the beginning of the persecution to have treated the Christians with mildness, in that part of the empire which was under him. And Eusebius says, that [g] Constantius was a worshipper of the one true God, and had in his palace Christian ministers. It might be also conjectured, that Helena, mother of Constantine, had trained up her son in the principles of the Christian religion. And it must be owned, that [h] Theodoret in one place seems to say (c) as much. But yet, I think, it cannot but be more reasonable for us, to rely rather upon Eusebius; who expressly makes it one of the commen-

[c] Vid. Pagi 318. n. 2, 3, 5—8. Basn. 324. n. 1. 325. n. 2, 3. [d] See Tillemont in Constantin, Art. 48, 49, 50. and Note 43, 44. [e] Varia deinceps inter eos bella, & pax reconciliata rupta est. Postremo Licinius navali & terrestri prælio victus apud Nicomediam se dedidit, & contra religionem sacramenti Thessalonicæ privatus occisus. Eutrop. l. x. c. 6

[f] Vid. Pagi Crit. in Baron. A. D. 244. n. iv.—vii & 247. n. vi.—x.

[g] —— μονον μεν Θεον τον επι παντων ειδως, κ. λ. V. C. l. i. c. 17. p. 416. C Vid. & c. 27. p. 421. C. [h] —— η τον μεγαν τουτον φωστηρα τεκουσα, και την της Ευσεβειας αυτῳ προσενεγκουσα τροφην. Thdrt. H. E. l. i. c. 18. p. 47. D.

(c) Possibly Theodoret means no more, than that Helena nourished and cherished her son's faith by her devout exercises and pious example. So this place may be reconciled with another, where he speaks of Constantine's conversion, as the work of heaven itself. l. i. c. 2. p. 6. B.

dations

dations of Constantine, that [i] he taught his mother the true religion, who before was ignorant of it.

In order to judge rightly of this matter, it may be best for us to take Eusebius's account at large; who makes Constantine to have chosen the God whom he should worship, when he was undertaking the war with Maxentius, or however before he had finished it: which war [k] began in 311, when Constantine was a good deal above thirty years of age.

The title of the 27th chapter of the first book of Eusebius's Life of Constantine is thus: 'That Constantine, weighing in 'his mind the misfortunes of those who had worshipped idols, 'made choice of the Christian religion.' 'Considering with 'himself,' (says the historian) 'that he wanted some better 'assistance than military forces,—— he sought for a God that 'might be his helper.——He considered therefore with him-'self, what God he should take to be his helper. Whilst he 'was deliberating about that matter, this thought came into 'his mind: that all who before him had arrived at empire, 'and had placed their hopes in a multitude of gods, and wor-'shipped them with sacrifices and offerings, had been at first 'deluded by flattering speeches composed to please them, and 'by oracles that promised them success and prosperity, and 'afterwards met with an unfortunate end: nor were any 'of their gods able to deliver them from the calamities inflict-'ed on them by the divine hand: that his father alone, who 'had taken a course contrary to theirs, and had condemned 'their error, and [l] worshipped in the whole of his life the one 'supreme God, had experienced him to be the saviour and 'protector of his empire, and the author of all good.—Having 'well considered these things, he was convinced, that it was 'the utmost folly to trifle so far, as to pay honour to such gods 'as were nothing at all. He therefore determined to worship 'only the God of his father.'

Eusebius proceeds in the following chapter: 'He therefore 'called upon this God in his prayers, earnestly intreating and 'beseeching him, that he would make himself known to him, 'and afford him his powerful aid in the difficult affairs before 'him. Whilst the emperor was putting up these earnest 'prayers and supplications, a [m] divine sign of a most won-

[i] Ὁρῶν μὲν αὐτὴν θεοσέβη καταστήσαντα, [illegible] κ. λ. V. C. l. iii. c. 47. p. [illegible] D.

[k] Quinto tamen Constantinus imperii sui anno bellum adversum Maxentium civile commovit. Eutrop. l. [illegible] c. 4.

[l] —— αὐτὸν δὲ τοι ἐπεκεῖνα τῶν ὅλων Θεὸν διὰ πάσης τιμήσαντα ζωῆς, σωτῆρα καὶ φύλακα τῆς βασιλείας, ἀγαθοῦ τε πάντος χορηγὸν εὑρεσθαι. p. 421. C.

[m] —— θεοσημεία τις ἐπιφαίνεται παραδοξοτάτη. p. 422. A.

'derful nature appeared: which thing, possibly, if related by 'another, would not be easily credited. But the victorious em- 'peror himself having told it to us, who write this history a long 'time after, when we had the honour of his acquaintance and 'conversation, and [n] having likewise confirmed it with an oath, 'who can refuse his assent to it; especially when following 'events have borne testimony to the truth of it? He said then, 'that about noon, when the day was declining, he saw with 'his own eyes in the heavens, the trophy of the cross, placed 'above the sun, consisting of light, with an inscription an- 'nexed, BY THIS CONQUER: that at the sight of 'it, astonishment seized him and his whole army, which 'then followed him in a certain march, and beheld that won- 'derful sight.

'In [o] the mean time, as he said, he began to doubt with 'himself, what the meaning of this should be: but whilst he 'was revolving it in his mind, and continued meditating upon 'it, at length night came on. As he slept, the Christ of God 'appeared to him with that sign which had appeared in the 'heavens; and commanded him to make a standard resembling 'the sign, which he had seen in the heavens, and to use it, as 'a defence in the battle with his enemies.

'As [p] soon as it was day, he arose, and communicated this 'wonderful thing to his friends. And then sending for such 'as worked in gold and precious stones, he seated himself in 'the midst of them, and gave them a description of the sign, 'and commanded them to make one like it in gold and pre- 'cious stones; which also we have seen.'

The [q] standard is presently afterwards described by Eusebius, who thereupon proceeds again.

'Being [r] then deeply affected with that wonderful sight, and 'resolving to worship no other God but him that had appeared 'to him; he sent for some of those that were acquainted with 'the mysteries of his doctrine, and asked them, who that God 'was, and what was the meaning of the sign he had seen. 'They told him, that he was God, the only begotten Son of 'the one and only God: that the sign which had appeared to 'him was the symbol of immortality, and the trophy of the

n —— ὁρκοις τε πιστωσαμενος τον λογον, τις αν αμφιβαλοι μη ουχι πιστευσαι τ. λ. μαλι; —— αυθι μεσημβριας ηλιον ωρας, ηδη της ημερας απωκλινεσης, αυτος οφθαλμοις ιδειν ἐφη εν αυτω ουρανω υπερκειμενον τω ηλιω σταυρου τροπαιον, εκ φωτος συνεστωτα, γραφην τε αυτω συνηφθαι, λεγουσαν, τουτῳ νικα· Ευσεβιος δ' επι τω θεαματι καταπλαγεις τε και το προκειμενον απορων, ο δη πολλακις και αλλοις συνεπεσε τε και θαυμα εποιει· Σαυμαζος. De V. C. l. i. c. 28. p. 422.

o Ib. c. 29. p Ib. c. 30.

q C. 31. r C. 32.

'victory

'victory obtained by him over death, when he was on earth. 'They informed him likewise of the causes of his advent, and 'gave him accurate instructions concerning his incarnation. 'In such discourses as these was he taught: but he was taken 'up with the divine appearance that had been afforded him; 'and comparing the heavenly vision with the interpretation 'given of it, he was strengthened in mind; being [t] fully satis-'fied, that the knowledge of these matters had been given by 'God himself. From that time he resolved to give himself to 'the reading of the divine scriptures. And taking those priests 'of God for his counsellors, he was persuaded, that the God 'he had seen was carefully to be worshipped. Thus filled 'with good hopes, he undertook to extinguish the flames of 'tyranny.'

This is the account left us by Eusebius, who had it from Constantine himself. And hence it is apparent, I think, that Constantine's conversion, if he is to be credited, was not the work of men, or of any Christian ministers, but of God himself, together with the reflections he made in his own mind upon past events. And so Theodoret, agreeably enough to this account in Eusebius, says, 'that [u] Constantine was called, 'not of men, nor by men, but from heaven, as the divine 'apostle Paul was.'

We must, however, make here some remarks, particularly upon the appearance of the luminous cross in the heavens. For it is quite denied by some, who call it [x] a fiction, a stratagem,

[t] —— διδασκαλον αυτω των θειων γνωσιν παρασχεσθαι της φανεισης. ib. p. 424. A. B.

[u] Ος ουκ απ' ανθρωπων, ουδ' δι' ανθρωπων, αλλ' απ' ουρανου, καθαπερ και τον θειον αποστολον, κεκλησθαι παυλον συμβεβηκε. Theodr. H. E. l. i. c. 4. p. 6. B.

[x] Stratagema hoc Constantini non minus scitum, quam illud Philippi Macedonis, quo sacrilegos Phocenses prostravit. Jacob Tollius in not. ad c. 44. lib. de M. P. p. 267. Traj. ad Rhen. 1663. Vid. & ejusd. not. ad c. 46. p. 278, 279.

Sous mot, — trouvant, que le Roi Antigonus, successeur d' Alexandre le Grand, s'est servi du même stratagême, feignant d'avoir veu au ciel une pentagone, qui est le symbole du salut, avec ces paroles, 'in 'hoc signo vinces,' & qu'il le fit peindre aux boucliers de ses soldats, & gaigna ainsi la bataille: trouvant aussi, qu'un Roi de Portugal a eu la même vision que Constantin, & qu' il a par la remporté la victoire sur ses ennemis, j' avoue, qui je considere tous ces miracles comme des ruses militaires des grands capitaines. On trouvera dans tous les siecles une infinité de ces inventions. Preface du méme à Longin du Sublime.

Johannes Hoornbeek professor Leydensis in Examine Bullæ Urbani VIII. de cultu imaginum edito anno 1653, a pagina 181, somnium merum ac fabulam putat Constantini visionem crucis in aëre. H. Norisii Opp. T. iv. p. 661.

Audax enimvero nimium fuit Jacobus Oiselius, qui in Thesauro Numismatum antiquorum pag. 463, ait, eum qui totum hoc negotium de cruce ostensa Constantino ad pias veterum fraudes retulerit, parum a rei veritate aberraturum. Baluz. Annot. ad c. 44. libr. de M. P.

Et vid. omnino C. A. Heummanni Poec. Tom. ii. p. 50, &c. De Cruce Cœlesti a Constantino M. conspecta.

'derful nature appeared: which thing, possibly, if related by 'another, would not be easily credited. But the victorious em. 'peror himself having told it to us, who write this history a long 'time after, when we had the honour of his acquaintance and 'conversation, and [n] having likewise confirmed it with an oath, 'who can refuse his assent to it; especially when following 'events have borne testimony to the truth of it? He said then, 'that about noon, when the day was declining, he saw with 'his own eyes in the heavens, the trophy of the cross, placed 'above the sun, consisting of light, with an inscription an- 'nexed, BY THIS CONQUER: that at the sight of 'it, astonishment seized him and his whole army, which 'then followed him in a certain march, and beheld that won- 'derful sight.

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'Being [r] then deeply affected with that wonderful sight, and 'resolving to worship no other God but him that had appeared 'to him; he sent for some of those that were acquainted with 'the mysteries of his doctrine, and asked them, who that God 'was, and what was the meaning of the sign he had seen. 'They told him, that he was God, the only begotten Son of 'the one and only God: that the sign which had appeared to 'him was the symbol of immortality, and the trophy of the

n —— ὁρκοις τε πιστωσαμενου τοι λογοι, τις αν αμφισβαλοι μη ἐχι πιστευσαι τοις λεγομενοις; —— αυθι μεσημβριας ηλιου ἡδη της ἡμερας απολειπουσης, αυτου ὁρθαλμοις ἰδιοις ὑφ' ἡλιω αυτω ὑπερκειμενον τω ηλιω σταυρου τροπαιον, ἐκ φωτος συνεστωτα, γραφηναι τε αυτω σημειον, νικα τουτω, τυπωσιν.

o Θαμβος δ' ἐπι τω θεαματι κρατησαι αυτον τε και το στρατευμα απαν, ὁ δε σκοπειν ἐπι πορρω ἐτιθητο τε και διωρι ζετο. De V. C. l. i. c. 28. p. 422.

p Ib. c. 29. q Ib. c. 30.

r C. 31. s C. 32.

'victory obtained by him over death, when he was on earth. 'They informed him likewise of the causes of his advent, and 'gave him accurate instructions concerning his incarnation. 'In such discourses as these was he taught: but he was taken 'up with the divine appearance that had been afforded him; 'and comparing the heavenly vision with the interpretation 'given of it, he was strengthened in mind; being [s] fully satis-'fied, that the knowledge of these matters had been given by 'God himself. From that time he resolved to give himself to 'the reading of the divine scriptures. And taking those priests 'of God for his counsellors, he was persuaded, that the God 'he had seen was carefully to be worshipped. Thus filled 'with good hopes, he undertook to extinguish the flames of 'tyranny.'

This is the account left us by Eusebius, who had it from Constantine himself. And hence it is apparent, I think, that Constantine's conversion, if he is to be credited, was not the work of men, or of any Christian ministers, but of God himself, together with the reflections he made in his own mind upon past events. And so Theodoret, agreeably enough to this account in Eusebius, says, 'that [t] Constantine was called, 'not of men, nor by men, but from heaven, as the divine 'apostle Paul was.'

We must, however, make here some remarks, particularly upon the appearance of the luminous cross in the heavens. For it is quite denied by some, who call it [u] a fiction, a stratagem,

[s] —— θεοδίδακτον αὐτῷ τὴν τούτων γνῶσιν παρεῖναι πεῖθ' μενος. ib. p. 424. A. B.

[t] Οὐ ἐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων, οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀνωθεν, κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστολον, τὴν κλῆσιν ταύτης ἔτυχε. Thdrt. H. E. l. 1. c. 9. p. 6. B.

[u] Stratagema hoc Constantini non minus scitum, quam illud Pathrii Macedonis, quo sacrilegos Phocenses protrivit. Jacob Tollius in not. ad c. 44. libr. de M. P. p. 267. Traj. ad Rhen. 1673. Vid. & ejusd. not. ad c. 46. p. 278, 279.

Mais moy, — trouvant, que le Roi Antigonus, successeur d'Alexandre le Grand, s'est servi du même stratagême, feignant d'avoir veu au ciel une pentagone, qui est le symbole du salut, avec ces paroles, 'in 'hoc signo vinces,' & qu'il le fit peindre aux boucliers de ses soldats, & gaigna ainsi la battaille; trouvant aussi, qu'un Roi de Portugal a eu la même vision que Constantin, & qu'il a par la remporté la victoire sur ses ennemis, j'avoue, qui je considere tous ces miracles comme des finesses militaires des grands capitaines. On trouvera dans tous les siecles une infinité de ces inventions. Preface du même à Longin du Sublime.

Johannes Hoornbeek professor Leydensis in Examine Bullæ Urbani VIII. de cultu imaginum edito anno 1653, a pagina 181, somnium merum ac fabulam putat Constantini visionem crucis in aëre. H. Norisii Opp. T. iv. p. 661.

Audax enimvero nimium fuit Jacobus Oiselius, qui in Thesauro Numismatum antiquorum pag. 463, ait, eum qui totum hoc negotium de cruce ostensa Constantino ad pias veterum fraudes retulerit, parum a rei veritate aberraturum. Baluz. Annot. ad c. 44. libr. de M. P.

Et vid. omnino C. A. Heummanni Poec. Tom. ii. p. 50, &c. De Cruce Cœlesti a Constantino M. conspecta.

a political device of Constantine. It was also looked upon to be a pious fraud by [x] some in former times.

This opinion, as [y] Fabricius assures us, has been fully considered and confuted by Mr. Wolff, in a Dissertation which I have not seen; though I should have gladly perused it, if I could have met with it. I mention it however, that they who have an opportunity may consult it. If I should commit any mistakes in the remarks which I propose upon this subject, perhaps they may see them corrected in the Dissertation of that learned writer.

And indeed the cross, which is said to have been seen by Constantine in the heavens, is generally reckoned not only a reality, but a miracle. The fore-mentioned great man, J. A. Fabricius, thinks it [z] was a natural phænomenon in a solar halo. He therefore allows and contends for the reality of it, though he does not think it properly [a] miraculous.

I shall now mention some observations upon this history, which offer themselves to my mind.

1. This relation is delivered by Eusebius upon the sole credit of Constantine: whereas a thing of so public a nature, could not have rested upon his credit and authority only, if it had been true. If such an appearance as this had happened above twenty years before Eusebius wrote the life of Constantine, but yet in his own time, and especially if it had been seen by the whole army with astonishment: he would have been able to call other witnesses to vouch for the truth of it. And out of his dutiful affection for Constantine, and a just concern for his honour, he would not have failed to add something to this purpose: that he had heard the same account from others, who were present, or who had received it from those who were present, and were spectators of that wonderful sight.

2. The oath, or oaths, of Constantine upon this occasion, rather bring his relation into suspicion. A man of virtue and reputation can seldom be under a necessity to corroborate what

[x] Τοῦτο τὸ ἄπιστον παρὰ μηδενὶ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀνθρώπων ἐρρήθη, οὐδὲ ἐν ἱστορίαις ἐφέρετο, οὐδὲ ἐν γράμμασιν ἐσφραγίσατο. Gelas. Cyz. de Conc. Nic. l. i. c. iv. [y] Argumentis cæteris, quibus totum hoc de visa cruce negotium præsidenter nimis interea commenta adscripserunt viri docti, dissolvi Witebergæ A. 1726 acta satisfecit clarissimus doctrina atque ingenio vir & collega meus conjunctissimus Jo. Chr. Wolfius. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. vi. p. 18.

[z] Vid. ejusdem Exercita. Crit. qua disputatur crucem, quam in cœlis vidisse se juravit Constantinus Imp. fuisse phænomenon naturale in halone solari. Ap. Bib. Gr. l. v. c. 3. T. vi. p. 8, &c.

[a] At si me audis, non itaque hinc, quæ faciunt multi, crucem illam a Constantino visum totam callidis adscribes commentis —— sed vere oblatam ipsius oculis cœlo tot testibus antiquis, Constantino denique ipsi, saltem primo: neque tamen illico propterea cum stupidis tanquam rem miraculis propriis accendendam. Id. ib. p. 9.

he

he says with an oath; especially, when he is speaking to a friend, who too, if the thing were true, must have known it long before, from the report of general fame, and many credible accounts. I put some thoughts of another relating to this in the (D) margin.

3. Eusebius renders this whole account suspicious, by not mentioning the place of this wonderful fight; a necessary and proper circumstance to be taken notice of in such a history. It hence appears to me probable, that Eusebius himself did not believe this story, nor intend to vouch for the truth of it. Constantine's army, he says, was following him in a certain march: this expression seems to me, designed as a hint to the readers, not to depend upon the truth of what had been said. So that if notwithstanding this caution of Eusebius, any believe the story, he is scarce accountable for their mistake: it is to be ascribed to their own credulity.

4. There are other things concerning the standard related by Eusebius, which he also had from Constantine, and, I think, are very unlikely, if not altogether incredible. Our Historian says, that [b] wherever the standard was, the enemies fled: which may have been true enough, in many instances. It might animate Constantine's soldiers, and terrify the enemy. It is added by him, 'That [c] there was a company of fifty chosen 'men, remarkable for strength of body, and valour of mind, 'and piety, appointed to attend the standard, and to relieve 'each other by turns in bearing it; and that the person who 'held it was always safe. For [d] the salutary trophy was a safe-'guard to him that bore it; insomuch, that though darts were 'cast at it, he who bore the standard was always unhurt, the 'spear of the standard receiving the darts. This was a thing 'surpassing all miracles, that the darts of the enemy should 'light upon the narrow circumference of the spear, and there 'fall, and the standard-bearer be safe. Yea, never was 'any one wounded in this service. This is not our account,

(D) Ipse Eusebius hanc objectionem sentit, quippe in V. C. c. 22. magna [illegible] tur, rem admirabilem esse, [illegible]n, nisi Imperator ipse, sed [illegible] post, ipsi eam narrasset, & [illegible] confirmasset. — Saltem illud urget: Si totus exercitus prodigium [illegible] quo pudore Eusebius potuit, [illegible] in vulgus notissimi ignoto [illegible] colere poterit persuadere [illegible] incredulitatem debuisse ab [illegible] confirmari? Observ. [illegible] Vol. I. p. 334.

[b] V. C. l. ii. c. 7.

[c] Ib. c. 8.

[d] Τῷ δὲ τὸ σωτήριον τρόπαιον αἰωρουμένῳ ζωῆς εἰσιόντι φυλακὴ μία· ὡς πολλάκις δέλων καὶ αὐτὸς πυνθάνομαι, τὸ μὲν βέλος διαφεύγεσθαι· τὸ δὲ τοῦ τροπαιοδόρου δέχεσθαι τὰ βαλλόμενα. Καὶ ἦν δὲ τέλος παντὸς ἐπαινετώτερον θαύματος, ὡς ἐν βραχυτάτῃ περιφερείᾳ τοῦ δόρατος ἐνίεσθαι τὰ τῶν πολεμίων βέλη, εἶτα αὖθις μὲν πίπτειν κατ' εὐρύ —— αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν φέροντα μηδὲν λυπεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' αὖθις πάλιν βασιλεῖ, εἰς τρόπαιον ἀνατεθέντι πρὸς ἄπαν ἀπερύκεσθαι κακοῦ. Ib. c. 9.

[e] but

'but the emperor's, who among other matters, told this alſo 'to us.'

So Euſebius concludes this account, who but a little before had uſed the like expreſſions[e] in this relation; thus careful was he, not to make himſelf anſwerable for the truth of it. And indeed, this is above all miracles, I mean above all credible accounts of miracles; that when many darts were thrown, none ſhould ſtrike the bearer, nor yet light upon the upper part of the ſtandard, where was the croſs, and the motto, but only, and always, upon the narrow circumference of the ſpear, or pole of the ſtandard.

5. Lactantius, or whoever was the author of the book Of the Deaths of Perſecutors, who undoubtedly wrote a few years after this appearance in the heavens is ſuppoſed to have happened, ſays nothing of it, but[f] only mentions Conſtantine's dream or viſion in his ſleep. That this author ſpeaks of nothing elſe, and that his words are not to be underſtood of any ſign ſeen by Conſtantine in the ſky, is plainly ſhewn by Fabricius[g] himſelf: who obſerves likewiſe, that ſome other authors beſides mention the dream only. Baſnage too is clearly of opinion, that[h] this author ſpeaks only of Conſtantine's dream, and ſays nothing of the croſs ſeen in the heavens. And he likewiſe obſerves the ſilence of ſo many other writers as to that ſight, that he ſeems very much to weaken the credit of the thing. He however allows, that Conſtantine really received a

[e] Ταῦτα βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς τοῖς τὴν γλῶτταν ποιουμένοις——ἐφθέγξατο. lb. c. 8. fin.

[f] De M. P. c. 44. Vid. infr. not. g.

[g] Solet etiam pro confirmanda hac re ad Lactantium provocari. Sed ille de cruce viſa in cœlo tacet. Solum ſomnium commemorat libro de M. P. cap. 44. Commonitus eſt in quiete Conſtantius, ut Cœleſte ſignum Dei notaret in ſcutis, atque ita prælium committeret. &c. Poſſet quidem videri a Lactantio dici cœleſte ſignum Dei, quaſi in cœlo oſtenſum a Deo, & in cœlo a Conſtantino viſum. Verum qui hoc in dubium vocaturus eſſet, facile poſſet afferre plura loca ſcriptorum Græcorum, Latinorumque, quibus ſine ullo reſpectu ad Conſtantini viſionem crux vocatur ſignum cœleſte.—Somnium quoque, quod miror, commemorat non Johannes modo Malala in Chronica Hiſtoria. l. ii. p. 2.——ſed quoque antiquior longe Rufinus. l. ix. H. E. cap. 9. & ex eo auctor Hiſt. Miſcellæ xi. 7, &c.——Fabric. Diſſ. Crit. § 3. ap. Bib. Gr. ut ſup. p. 11, 12.

[h] Ac primum, Lactantius, qui magiſter datus Criſpo Cæſari, familiari Conſtantini colloquio uſus eſt ſæpius, de diurno crucis trophæo ex luce conflato ne verbum quidem habet. Hæc tantum habet: Commonitus eſt in quiete Conſtantinus, ut cœleſte ſignum Dei notaret in ſcutis, atque ita prælium committeret.——Argumenti vires intendit Rufinus in Euſebianæ Hiſtoriæ verſione: Conſtantinus vidit per ſoporem ad orientis partem in cœlo ſignum crucis igneo ſulore rutilare. Dormienti igitur, non vigilanti cœleſte ſignum Conſtantino oblatum eſt, idque prædicabat traditio, quæ Rufini tetigit aures. Viſi quoque diurni Sozomenus ignarus eſt. Belli Maxentiani curis diſtrictus Conſtantinus vidit in ſomnis ſignum crucis in cœlo reſplendens. Sozom. l. i. c. 3.——Denique Ethnicorum nullus Hiſtoricorum celeberrimæ hujus viſionis meminit——Itaque ſunt eruditi, qui in ſomnio divinitus profecto viſam a Conſtantino crucis figuram exiſtiment, quorum unus Johannes Columbus in notis ad Lactantium. Baſnag. A. 312. n. 5.

divine

divine admonition in his sleep, to make use of the sign of the cross in his wars. But in my mind he has also overthrown the truth of the vision in Constantine's dream; for this must solely rest upon the emperor's word: but by denying the appearance of the cross in the heavens, which Constantine confirmed to Eusebius with an oath, he so weakens the credit of the emperor, as to this whole matter, that nothing concerning it can be taken upon the authority of his testimony only.

We may farther observe, that since several ecclesiastical historians, who wrote after Eusebius, particularly Rufinus, and (E) Sozomen, (as is shewn by Basnage,) insist not upon the appearance of the cross in the heavens; there were at that time Christians, as well as others, who either were totally ignorant of it, or else did not credit the account, as related by Eusebius from Constantine. Indeed, it seems not reasonable, to believe the relation of any one man, concerning a public appearance, which is attested by no others. Nor did Eusebius himself believe it, as I have sufficiently shewn already; though it must be owned, that Constantine did his best to impose upon his learned friend, the bishop of Cæsarea.

This difference in the account, together with the silence of so many historians, about the sight in the heavens, is a thing so remarkable, that some perhaps may have a curiosity to know the cause of it. I shall therefore mention one conjecture: it is probable, that when Constantine first informed people of the reason that induced him to make use of the sign of the cross in his armies, he alleged nothing but a dream for that purpose; but in the latter part of his life, when he was acquainted with our Eusebius, he added the other particular, of a luminous cross seen somewhere by him and his army in the day-time. And the emperor having related this, and in the most solemn manner, Eusebius thought himself obliged to mention it. But the first account had been so long and so often told, that it was generally known, and the only one that was so known. Whence it came to pass, that historians a good while afterwards related the vision in the dream, as the original cause of Constantine's using the cross, that being the common and prevailing tradition concerning it.

(E) It is true, that after his account of the vision in the dream, Sozomen puts down the other story. But he relates it upon the sole authority of Eusebius, and does not confirm it as true. For he introduces it in this manner: Eusebius indeed [illegible], that he had heard the emperor say, with an oath, that he had seen the trophy of the cross about noon when the day was declining.——Ευσεβιος γε μην ο παμφιλου, αυτου φησαντος ενωμοτως του βασιλεως ακηκοεναι ισχυριζεται, ως αμφι μεσημβριαι. κ. λ. l. i. c. 3. p. 404. A.

Whether

Whether the author of the book Of the Deaths of Perſecutors makes any mention of the ſight of the croſs in the heavens, or not; many learned men think, that by way of concluſion, they have learned from him the place, day and hour, of the appearance to Conſtantine, about which there have been ſo many diſputes; and that this author has put an end to that controverſy. It [i] happened, they ſay, in Conſtantine's camp, when he was beſieging Rome, on the 26th day of October.

But with due ſubmiſſion to the judgments of ſo many learned men, I queſtion, whether this be yet a clear point. Let us then now at laſt take the words of this writer. 'Now [k] the 'war was begun between Maxentius and Conſtantine. Maxentius himſelf continued at Rome; but he had good generals 'to command his army.——The two armies engaged, and 'that of Maxentius had the better: yet Conſtantine afterwards 'took courage, and being prepared for either event, marched 'all his forces near to Rome, and poſted them oppoſite to the 'Milvian bridge. The 27th of October was now near, which 'was the anniverſary of Maxentius's empire, and his fifth year 'was almoſt out. Conſtantine was warned in a dream to put 'the divine heavenly mark [the ſign of the croſs] upon the 'ſhields of the ſoldiers, and ſo to give battle. He took care 'to execute this, and ordered (F) the letter X circumflexed at 'the top, denoting the name of Chriſt, to be put on all their 'ſhields. Having taken this for his diſtinction, he drew out 'his army.'

Hence it is argued, It being already known from Euſebius, that the trophy of the croſs was ſeen by Conſtantine in the heavens in the afternoon: and that the very next night, when he was in doubt about the meaning of it, Chriſt appeared to him,

[i] Conſtituendum eſt, viſionem illam crucis Conſtantino offenſæ contigiſſe in caſtris, dum Romam obſideret, vii. cal. Novembris anno Chr. 312. Baluz. not. ad l. de M. P. c. 44. p. 97.

Obtulit ſeſe crux videnda Conſtantino poſt prælia cum barbaris commiſſa, de quibus Nazarius in Panegyrico c. 18. ſub dio in caſtris, cum Romam obſideret an. Chr. 312. die vii. cal. Nov. Hoc recte colligit Steph. Baluzius. Fabr. Diſſ. de cruce Conſt. M. n. vi. ap. B. Gr. T. vi. p. 13. Vid. & Pagi Crit. in Baron. 312. n. v.

[k] Jam mota inter eos fuerant arma civilia. Et quamvis ſe Maxentius Romæ contineret, —— tamen bellum per idoneos duces gerebatur — Dimicatum — & Maxentiani milites prævalebant, [illegible] confirmato animo Conſtantinus, & ad utrumque paratus, copias omnes ad urbem propius admovit, & e regione pontis Milvii conſedit. Imminebat dies quo Maxentius imperium ceperat, qui eſt ad ſextum calendas Novembris, & quinquennalia celebrabantur: Commonitus eſt in quiete Conſtantinus, ut cœleſte ſignum Dei notaret in ſcutis, atque ita prælium committeret. Fecit ut juſſus eſt, & tranſverſa X litera ſummo capite circumflexo Chriſto in ſcutis notaret. Quo ſigno armatus exercitus capit ferrum. De M. P. c. 44. in.

(F) The author's words are obſcure. They are thus explained by G. Cuperus on the place: 'Chriſtum in ſcutis notari' eſt, Chriſti nomen, quod exprimitur per duas primas ſalutaris vocis literas.

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as he slept, with the sign that had appeared in the heavens, and commanded him to make a resemblance of it, and use it in his army: therefore both the visions happened in the same place, and within the space of a few hours of each other. The fore-mentioned author having assured us, that the dream, or night-vision, was in the night of the 26th of October, 312, the appearance in the day-time was also on the 26th of October. So Pagi, and in like manner other learned men, who are of the same opinion.

But it seems to me, that this author compared with Eusebius, will not determine the time, either of the appearance of the cross in the heavens, or of the dream. On the 27th day of October, Constantine fought with Maxentius, and overcame him. But he could not have the dream in the preceding night, because Eusebius assures us, that the next day after the night-vision, Constantine sent for men who wrought in gold and precious stones, and seating himself in the midst of them, he gave them directions for making the standard. The day succeeding the night-vision therefore was not a day of battle.

Farther, it is next to impossible, that the shields of Constantine's soldiers throughout his army, should be marked with the sign of the cross on the 27th of October, the day he fought with Maxentius, if the dream had happened but the night (e) before.

Lastly, I see no reason so to understand the passage of the fore-cited author, as to assure us, that the dream happened in the night before the 27th of October. He has no words that express the time of the dream; and it may be as well supposed, according to his account, that Constantine had the dream before he came to besiege Rome, some short time after his defeat by Maxentius: when, as this writer says, in bishop Burnet's version, 'Yet Constantine for that did not lose heart:' or, as the words may be better rendered, 'Yet Constantine afterwards 'took courage, and resolving to hazard all, he marched on to 'the gates of Rome.' The time, when Constantine took courage, or was strengthened in mind, seems to me, so far as

[d] Pagi in Baron. 312. n. 5.

[e] This writer does not speak of one night. But he says, that Constantine was warned in a dream, to 'put the heavenly mark upon his soldiers shields.' It seems that a single standard, adorned with the cross, might be made in a moment, and a battle fought afterwards: yet it is not easy to conceive, that the soldiers shields, throughout an whole army, should receive a new mark in a few hours. Therefore, in all probability, this author did not suppose the day immediately succeeding the dream to be the day, on which Constantine fought with and overcame Maxentius.

we

we can judge from this writer, as likely a time as any, for Conſtantine's thinking of the uſe of the croſs: that time was a little before he reſolved to march to Rome.

Upon the whole then it appears to me, that this author has led us to the time, when the ſign of the croſs began to be made uſe of by Conſtantine in his armies and battles. It was in the laſt battle with Maxentius; ſome ſhort time at leaſt before which battle, and the day of it, the thought of employing this ſign muſt have come into Conſtantine's mind: whether by divine revelation and admonition, or his own politic contrivance, let the inquiſitive judge, after mature thought and conſideration.

I do not in the leaſt doubt, but that about the time of his victory over Maxentius, or rather, probably, ſome time before it, Conſtantine became a ſincere Chriſtian, and continued ſo the remaining part of his life, and educated his children in the ſame belief. And his converſion might be partly owing to his own reflections upon the ſtate of things, and partly to converſation and diſcourſe with Chriſtian miniſters and people; with whom Conſtantine, ſon of Conſtantius their friend and favourer, muſt have been for ſome time well acquainted. But I think, that Conſtantine was a politician, as well as a Chriſtian. A change of religion is attended with hazards, and is likely to expoſe men to difficulties, of which great men eſpecially are ſenſible: and Conſtantine was willing to reconcile the minds of men to this change, and to ſecure himſelf therein, as well as he could. He might alſo aim at making ſome advantage of it, and improving it as a mean of ſucceſs in his deſigns, and of victory over his enemies. And for thoſe ends, the ſtandard of the croſs, and the mark of it upon his ſoldiers ſhields, would be of no ſmall ſervice.

As for the ſtory which Conſtantine told Euſebius, of the perpetual ſafety of the ſtandard-bearer in the greateſt dangers, and the darts of the enemies ſticking faſt in the narrow circumference of the ſpear; it muſt be owned, that here Conſtantine over-did it, and exceeded almoſt the bounds of modeſty, as well as of all reaſonable probability. Some indulgence however is due to Conſtantine, with regard to this fine contrivance of uſing the ſalutary trophy in his battles: we are all apt to be too fond of our own inventions.

I have inſiſted chiefly on the hiſtory of Conſtantine's converſion, which we have left us by Euſebius. Photius in his abridgment of Philoſtorgius's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, ſays, 'That

'That[n] writer, agreeably to other historians, relates, that the 'cause of Constantine the great's conversion from Gentilism to 'Christianity, was his victory over Maxentius. At which 'time also, the sign of the cross was seen eastward, extended 'to a great length, shining with a surprizing brightness, stars 'at the same time surrounding it like a rainbow, and com-'posing the form of letters in the Latin tongue, expressing these 'words, BY THIS CONQUER.'

From which I think we may conclude, upon the authority of that learned Patriarch, that the general account of the more ancient historians was, that Constantine was converted in or about the year 312. Eusebius makes Constantine to have chosen the God whom he should worship, before the victory over Maxentius, as[n] does Sozomen expressly, when he relates the vision of the cross in Constantine's sleep. Philostorgius says, that victory was the cause of Constantine's conversion. They are easily reconciled by only supposing, that the victory, which Constantine obtained over Maxentius, confirmed the dispositions, which were before begun to be formed in him.

Zosimus says, that it was not till after the death of Crispus and Fausta, that Constantine became a Christian; that is, not before the year 325, or 326. 'For,' as he[o] says, 'Constan-'tine being conscious to himself of those bad actions, and also 'of the breach of oaths, and being told by the priests of his 'old religion, that there was no kind of purgation sufficient 'to expiate such enormities; he began to hearken to a 'Spaniard, named Ægyptius, then at court, who assured him, 'that the Christian doctrine contained a promise of the pardon 'of all manner of sins.'

But that is a false and absurd story; and Sozomen has[p] a chapter on purpose to confute such accounts of Constantine's conversion. It is true, however, that Constantine was not baptized till after those events; which I take to have been, in part, the foundation of that story. And it is not impossible, nor very improbable, that this might be one reason of Con-stantine's deferring his baptism, as he did, till near his death, [though he might also have other reasons]: thinking this would be some security to him, and fearing, lest he should be guilty of some great sin after baptism, if he long survived it.

[n] Ὁ τὰ τῶν μεγάλων Κωνσταντίνου μέμφο-μενος, τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἐπιστροφὴν εἰς τὸν Χρισ-τὸν καὶ ὡς τοῖς ἄλλοις φιλοτιμούμενος, τῆς τοιαύτης ἀπέστερησε τὸν νέον Μαξ-[illegible]. Philost. l. i. c. 6.

[n] Ὁ τὸν τῶν μεγάλων Κωνσταντίνου μέμφο-μενος, τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἐπιστροφὴν εἰς τὸν Χρισ-τὸν καὶ ὡς τοῖς ἄλλοις φιλοτιμούμενος, τῆς τοιαύτης ἀπέστερησε τὸν νέον Μαξ-[illegible]. Philost. l. i. c. 6.

ξεντίου,—εἰ τοιαῦτας δὲ ἐρεῖται γενέσεις, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸν σταυρὸν ὀφθῆναι ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ σελαγίζοντα. Soz. l. i. c. 3. in.

[o] Zos. l. ii. p. 685.

[p] Sozom. l. i. c. 5.

Du

Du Pin seems to have suspected some such thing, when he says, 'It [q] may be thought strange, that Constantine was not 'baptized till now. But so it is: and whether he deferred to 'receive baptism till he was ready to die, that by that sacra-'ment he might expiate all his sins, and appear innocent be-'fore God, or whether he had any other reason for that delay; 'he did not prepare himself for baptism, till he found himself 'sick; nor procure the imposition of the hands of the bishops, 'for putting him into the rank of Catechumens, till the year '337, a few days before his death.'

Since, then, Constantine did so long defer to receive baptism, which was well known to be the initiating rite of the Christian religion, it is very likely, that this delay may have been one ground of that common opinion among heathen people concerning Constantine's late conversion.

Another reason of that opinion may have been, that after the intire conquest, and death of Licinius, (which also was soon followed with the death of Crispus,) Constantine appeared more openly a Christian, and more vigorously attacked heathenism by his edicts, than he had done before, when his empire was not so completely settled.

We have now seen the accounts of Constantine's conversion, which generally prevailed. Whether it was also in part a piece of policy, though accompanied with serious conviction, we cannot certainly say: for if it was, we are not to expect any hints of such a reason in the ecclesiastical historians of those times, or near them. But we learn from more than one writer, that about the same time Maxentius, son of the persecutor Maximian Herculius, and brother-in-law to Constantine, after his marriage with Fausta, began to flatter and compliment the Christians. Eusebius says, 'Maxentius [r], son of the fore-'mentioned Maximian, who had possessed himself of Rome, 'at first made an hypocritical profession of our religion, to 'please and flatter the people of Rome; and commanded those 'in subjection to him, to forbear persecuting the Christians: 'making a show of piety, and desiring to appear much more 'just and mild than his predecessors. But in time he shewed 'himself by his actions to be very different from what was 'hoped of him.'

q Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 16.

r — αρχομενος μεν την καθ' ημας πιστιν επ' αρεσκειᾳ και κολακειᾳ τȣ δημȣ ρωμαιων καθυπεκρινατο. Ταυτῃ τε τοις υπηκοοις τον κατα Χριστιανων ανειναι προστατει διωγμον, ευσεβειαν επιμορφαζων, κ. λ. H. E. l. viii. c. 14. in.

This

This was in the beginning of his reign, therefore in [s] 306, or 307. And it must be looked upon as an order for restraining the persecution of the Christians in that part of the empire, which was then subject to Maxentius; namely, at Rome, and throughout Italy.

And Optatus speaks of an end [t] being put to the persecution in Africa by an edict of Maxentius; which probably happened in the year [u] 311, or [x] 312, but not before [y] 311, because Maxentius was not sooner master of Africa, which till then was held by Alexander.

However, if there is no positive evidence, that political views and considerations had any influence in the change of Constantine, it is nevertheless very honourable to the Christian religion, and the professors of it, both in that, and former times, that though they had never had the princes of this world on their side, and they had endured from their first original a variety of difficulties, and several open persecutions, and were now under a severe persecution, which had raged with great violence for several years, in most parts of the Roman empire; yet at this very time, of those who were contending for worldly power and empire, one actually favoured and flattered them, and another may be suspected [z] to have joined himself to them, partly, from considerations of interest. So greatly had this people increased under external disadvantages of all sorts!

IV. Having thus related the time, and causes of Constantine's conversion, we will observe some of his actions as a Christian, or a favourer of Christians.

1. The author of the book Of the Deaths of Persecutors informs us, that [a] Constantine, immediately upon his becoming emperor, restored the Christians their liberty. This liberty must be supposed to have extended over Britain and Gaul, which were then under Constantine. And hereby, I think, must be chiefly intended liberty of public worship: for his father, Constantius, had not persecuted them: all that he had

[s] Vid. Pag. 306. n. 23, 24.

[t] Tempestas persecutionis peracta, & defuncta est. Jubente Deo, indulgentiam mittente Maxentio, Christianis libertas est restituta. Optat. l. i. n. 18. [u] Prius deferbuerat anno 305. Sed subinde recruduerat, nec pax omnino reddita, nisi postquam Maxentius rerum in Africa potitus est anno 311. Du Pin ad Optat. loc.

[x] Vid. Pagi. 306. n. 23.

[y] Vid. Basn. Ann. 311. n. 15.

[z] Avant que trois siecles se soient écoulés depuis la mort de J. Christ, le parti des Chrêtiens est déja si fort, qu' un Empereur l'embrasse sans craindre celui des Payens. Il semble même, que bien loin d' affoibler par là sa puissance, il l'augmenta & la fortifia par ce moien. Sermons de S. Werenfels, p. 27. 1723. [a] Suscepto imperio Constantinus Augustus nihil egit prius quam Christianos cultui ac Deo suo reddere. c. 24.

allowed of, and consented to, was the demolition of their places of worship. If any suffered death in his part of the empire, (as doubtless some did,) it must have been owing to popular tumults, or the sentences of inferior officers and magistrates, without express commission from him.

The next thing we meet with in the history of Constantine, in favour of the Christians, is an edict [b] published jointly by him and Licinius, in the year 312, probably at [c] Rome, soon after the defeat of Maxentius. It was also sent to Maximin in the east, to be published by him, for the benefit of the Christians in that part of the Roman empire. Eusebius calls it a full and complete law for Christians. But it is not now [d] extant.

In the next year 313, another edict was published by the joint authority of Constantine and Licinius, at [e] Milan, where they [f] were on account of the marriage of Licinius with Constantia, Constantine's sister. This edict we still have in the original Latin in the book [g] Of the Deaths of Persecutors, and in a Greek version, in [h] Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History. Herein [i] liberty is given to Christians in particular, and to all men in general, to make an undisturbed profession of their religious sentiments. Moreover it is ordained, that all places of worship, which had been taken from the Christians, by whomsoever then possessed, should be restored to the said Christians without delay, and without any price to be paid or demanded of them on that account: and the loss, which any might hereby suffer, to be referred to the imperial judgment, to determine what amends should be proper to be made to those, who were seized of such places, either by grant or purchase. It is likewise herein ordained, that all other places, beside those wherein their assemblies had been held, which had belonged to any churches in common, as bodies corporate,

[b] Και δη επι τουτοις αυτος τε Κωνσταντινος και συν αυτῳ βασιλευς λικινιος.——αμφω μιᾳ βουλῃ και γνωμῃ νομοι υπερ Χριστιανων τελεωτατον πληρεστατα διατυπουνται.——Και τον νομον αυτον, Μαξιμινῳ των επ' ανατολης εθνων ετι δυναστευοντι, φιλιαν τε προς αυτους υποκριζομενῳ διαπεμπονται. Eus. H. E. l. ix. c. 9. p. 360. A. B. [c] Secundum edictum Mediolani, ut suo loco videbimus, prius loco incerto datum: videtur tamen Romæ, ubi reliquo hoc anno Constantinus egit, promulgatum. Pagi 312. n. 10.

[d] Vid. Vales. annot. ad Eus. l. x. c. 5. Pagi 312. n. 10. 314. n. 9. Basn. 313. n. 10, 11. [e] Eus. l. x. c. 5. p. 388. c. De M. P. c. 48. [f] Constantinus rebus in Urbe compositis, hyeme proxima Mediolanum contendit. Eodem Licinius, ut acciperet uxorem. De M. P. c. 45. in.

[g] cap. 48. [h] l. x. c. 5.

[i] Vel in primis ordinanda esse credidimus, quibus divinitatis reverentia continebatur, ut daremus & Christianis & omnibus liberam potestatem sequendi religionem, quam quisque voluisset.——ut in colenda, quod quisque diligeret, habeat liberam potestatem. De M. P. c. 48.

should

should be restored to them without fraud or dispute, upon the terms before-mentioned.

2. There was about the same time a letter sent to Anulinus, proconsul of the province of Africa, signifying, as Eusebius says, that [k] the imperial beneficence was intended for the catholic church only; that is, the places of worship, or other things, that had been taken from the Christians, were to be restored to the catholics.

There follows soon after in Eusebius [l], the copy of a letter of Constantine to Cæcilian, bishop of Carthage; wherein the emperor informs him, that he had sent orders to Ursus, receiver-general for Africa, to give a certain sum of money for the use of [m] several ministers of the genuine and most holy catholic religion, throughout all the provinces of Africa, Numidia, and each Mauritania.

In the next place, we have a [n] letter of Constantine to the fore-mentioned Anulinus, giving immunity from civil or burdensome offices to the Christian clergy within his province, who are of the catholic church, over which Cæcilian presides.

In the year 313, Constantine [o] appointed a synod at Rome, and in 314, another at Arles, to compose the differences between Cæcilian, bishop of Carthage, and the Donatists.

3. Eusebius informs us, that [p] Constantine, when possessed of the whole empire, (which could not be before the year 324, and after Licinius was subdued,) sent letters to all the provinces, written in Greek and Latin, acknowledging the goodness of God to him, and ascribing his successes to the favour of divine providence. Now the provinces of the east became equally sensible of the emperor's favour and goodness, with the provinces of the west. Our ecclesiastical historian has left us [q] a copy of Constantine's edict, sent particularly to the people of the province of Palestine, the original of which was in his own possession. Herein the emperor restores those who had been banished, or proscribed, or confined in islands, or who had been condemned to the mines or any other public works. It is herein ordained, that Christians, who had been deprived of any military posts, may resume them, or betake themselves to any other kind of life they choose, and therein enjoy repose and honour. They who had been condemned to slavery in the public works, are restored to freedom, and to all the honours

[k] —— μονη τη καθολικη εκκλησια την ειρηνη διδοσθαι υποσημηναμενοι. l. x. c. 5. p. 390. c.

[l] ib. c. 6.

[m] Ρησις τισι των υπηρεσιων της ευθεσμου και αγιωτατης καθολικης θρησκειας. ib. p. 393. A.

[n] ib. c. 7.

[o] ib. l. x. c. 5. p. 391, 392.

[p] Vit. Const. l. ii. c. 23.

[q] ib. c. 24—42.

which before they were intitled to. All goods, and lands, and houſes, which had been confiſcated, are to be reſtored to the original poſſeſſors or proprietors: or, if they were dead, whether martyrs or confeſſors, to their heirs and ſucceſſors. If ſuch, who had been deprived of their rights, have no relations left, the church of the place where they had lived, is to be their heir, and ſucceed to them. All theſe things, whether lands, houſes, gardens, or country ſeats, are to be reſtored, but not the mean profits. This law of reſtitution is to be underſtood to relate to the public treaſury, as well as to other poſſeſſors. And beſides this, the cœmeteries are to be reſtored to the ſeveral churches to which they had belonged. All which things, as [r] the hiſtorian aſſures us, were performed and executed, according to the tenor of this law.

After this, as the hiſtorian farther aſſures us, Conſtantine [s] gave the government of the provinces chiefly to Chriſtians: and when any Gentiles were made governors, they were prohibited to ſacrifice: which law comprehended not only preſidents of provinces, but alſo higher officers, and even the prætorian præfects. If they were Chriſtians, they were required to act according to their principles: if they were otherwiſe diſpoſed, yet the practice of idolatrous rites was forbidden.

Afterwards there were publiſhed [t] two laws at the ſame time, one forbidding the deteſtable rites of idolatry, of old time uſed in cities and villages; wherein it was enacted, that for the future none ſhould erect ſtatues of gods, or practiſe divination, or offer any ſacrifice. The other law was for enlarging Chriſtian oratories and churches, or for rebuilding them more lofty, grand, and ſplendid.

Moreover, the emperor ſtill making progreſs in piety, wrote [u] an Oration againſt idolatry; which was ſent to the ſeveral provinces of the empire, both in the eaſt and the weſt. In this Oration Conſtantine ſays, that [x] during the late perſecution the barbarians received and entertained kindly the Chriſtians that fled to them, and allowed them the liberty to worſhip God according to their own ſentiments: which, he ſays, was a reproach upon the Roman name, in that barbarians were more merciful than they. In another part of the Oration he expreſſeth his deſire, that [y] the Gentiles, who are in error, may enjoy the ſame peace and quiet with believers, as being con-

r ib. c. 43.
s ib. c. 44.
t c. 45, 46.
u c. 47—60.
x c. 53.
y Ομοιαν τοις πιστευουσιν οι πλανωμενοι χαιρουσι λαμβανοντες, ειρηνης τι και ησυχιας απολαυσιν· Αδιη γαρ η της κοινωνιας επανορθωσις, και προς ευσεβειαν αγαγειν οδον ισχυει. Μηδεις τω ετερον παρενοχλειτω· εκαστος εστω η ψυχη βελτιων, τουτο και πρατετω. ib. c. 56.

ducive

ducive to the bringing them into the right way. Let every one do, says he, what his soul desires. He wishes that all were unanimous in the truth, and in obedience to God's holy laws: nevertheless, if any dissent, and withdraw themselves, let them have their temples of lies, since [z] they choose them.

Such is that Oration: and Eusebius assures us, that [a] the emperor would sit up whole nights, employing himself in study and meditation, for improving his own mind, and composing Orations, which he afterwards spoke in numerous assemblies.

4. After this Oration, Eusebius gives [b] an account of some differences and controversies among the Christians themselves, which occasioned the calling of the council of Nice in 325, where Constantine was present.

5. We have also [c] an account in Eusebius, of several churches built by Constantine's order, and at the public expence; as the churches at Bethlehem, and mount Olivet, and the church of the Sepulchre, called (H) also Anastasis or the church of the Resurrection, at Jerusalem. Which last was very magnificent, and was solemnly [d] consecrated by Constantine's special order, in the year 335.

Eusebius does indeed in one place say, that [e] Helena built two churches, one at Bethlehem, the place of our Saviour's nativity; the other at mount Olivet, the place of his ascension. But the meaning is no more than what is said by him just before, that [f] Constantine let her have the honour of founding or building those churches.

Nevertheless, Socrates [g] and some other ancient writers, ascribe to Helena the building of all the three fore-mentioned churches or temples in Palestine. But it must be better, I think, to rely upon Eusebius himself, with whom also Sozomen agrees [h] intirely. Besides, Helena was in that country but a very short time: she could not go thither, before Constantine's conquest of Licinius in 324. According to the course of Eusebius's narration, this journey of Helena was undertaken after the Council of Nice, which was held in 325, and when she was of a great age; as is particularly observed by [hh] Theodoret.

[z] Οἱ δ' ἑαυτῶν αφιλκοῦσιν, ἐχοῦσιν βιβλοποιεῖα τὰ τῆς ψευδολογίας τεμένη. ibid.

[a] De V. C. l. iv. c. 29. in. [b] ib. c. 61—73. [c] Vid. de V. C. l. iii. c. 25—43. (H) That by the Martyrion, or church of the Sepulchre, and Anastasis, are to be understood one and the same building, see Vales. ad l. iv. De V. C. c. 47. [d] De V. C. l. iv. c. 42—45. [e] —— δυο νεως αφιερωσε τον μεν προς τῳ τῆς γενεσεως ἀντρῳ· τον δ' επι τῷ τῆς ἀναλήψεως ὄρους. De V. C. l. iii. c. 43. in. [f] —— τῆς τοῦ μήτρος —— διαιωνίζων τὴν μνήμην. ib. c. 41.

[g] Socr. l. i. c. 17. [h] εν μέρει δε και ελενη η αὐτου μητηρ δυο ναους ωκοδομησε. κ. λ. Soz. l. ii. c. 2. in. [hh] Αὐτη των τῆς οδοιπορίας πονων ανασχομενη, και τῳ γηρως ὑπολογισαμενη τα παθη· πρὸ γαρ ολιγου της τελευτης αποδημιαν ταυτην εξειλατο, ογδοηκοντετης δε τῳ βιῳ το τερμα κατειληφεν. H. E. l. i. c. 18. in.

And according to all accounts, she died at Rome, or near it, in 326, or soon after.

6. It is well known likewise, that Helena is said to have found at Jerusalem the real cross on which our Saviour suffered. This is related by several writers of the fourth and fifth centuries; but with so many different circumstances, as to render the whole story doubtful. And, which is very material, there is nothing said of it in Eusebius: his silence is the more remarkable, because he has [i] with great particularity related the clearing of the ground about the sepulchre, and expatiates very much in his account of the temple there built by Constantine. As the silence of Eusebius is alone satisfactory upon this head, I forbear to confute at large the common accounts of the invention of the cross; and only refer to a few authors, who [k] seem to me to have made good observations upon them.

Montfauçon pleased himself with the thought, that in the Commentary upon the Psalms, published by him, Eusebius had referred [l] to the miracles, said by Rufinus, Sozomen, and others, to have been done at Christ's sepulchre, when Helena was at Jerusalem. But I humbly conceive, that there is no ground for that supposition: Eusebius says no more in his [m] Commentary upon the Psalms, than he had done in [n] the Life of Constantine. The finding, after so long a space of time, the sepulchre of our Saviour, which had been hid by rubbish, and by buildings placed over it by the heathens, the raising a magnificent temple upon the spot by the order of an emperor, the journey of Helena to Jerusalem, the great concourse of people there, and other things, appeared to him wonderful facts, that exhibited to the world a proof of Christ's death and resurrection, as related by the evangelists, and foretold by the prophets. Valesius [o] understood our author in this manner:

[i] Vid. de V. C. l. iii. c. 26, &c.

[k] Vid. Basnag. Ann. 326. n. ix. x. Jacob Gothofredi Notæ seu Dissertationes in Philostorg. c. 14. p. 388, &c. Witsii Miscellan. T. ii. Exercita xii. p. 361.——369. Chamier. Panstrat. l. xxii. c. 4. Le Clerc. Bibl. Ancien. & Mod. T. xvi. p. 112, &c.

[l] De miraculis in Sepulchro & Martyrio Christi editis ne verbum quidem habet Eusebius in Vita Constantini: etsi detectum, curante Helena, Sepulchrum & Martyrium memoret——verum hic de miraculis agi quæ a Rufino, Sulpitio Severo, Socrate——recensentur, ne ambigas. Mont. Prælim. in Euseb. Comm. in Ps. p. 8.

[m] Ει δε τις τον νουν επιστησειε τοις καθ' ημας αμφι το μνημα, και το μαρτυριον του σωτηρος ημων επιτελεσθεισι θαυμασιοις, αληθως εισεται οπως πεπλωρεται εργοις τα τεθεσπισμενα. Euseb. Comm. in Ps. 87. p. 545. B.

[n] ——αυτο δη λοιπον το σεμνον και παναγιον της σωτηριου αναστασεως μαρτυριον παρ' ελπιδα πασαν ανεφαινετο· και τοτε——αντρον——διο μετα την εν σκοτω καταδυσιν, αυθις επι το φως προηει, και τοις επι θεαν αφικνουμενοις εναργη παρειχεν ορᾳν των αυτοθι πεπραγμενων θαυματων την ιστοριαν· εργοις απασης γεγωνοτερως φωνης την του σωτηρος αναστασιν μαρτυρουμενον. De V. C. l. iii. c. 28. Vid. & c. 29, 30. & 26.

[o] Est autem hic hujus loci sensus: illam Domini sepulchri

and

and it was very natural for the Christians of that time, who had been witnesses of the sufferings of their brethren, and of the extreme contempt cast upon every thing that bore the name of Jesus, or belonged to him, to behold these alterations with astonishment. The fault was, that they were not only surprized at them, but were too much pleased with the external peace, splendor, and prosperity of the church.

These are thoughts which offered themselves to me, upon reading Eusebius's Commentary, and Montfaucon's remarks. I have since had the pleasure of seeing Wesselingius's observations upon this matter, in his notes [p] upon the Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum: who, I think, has well confuted Montfaucon's argument; and has some thoughts not very [q] different from those already insisted on by me. And moreover observes, not only the silence of Eusebius before insisted on, but also the [r] silence of Constantine himself in his letter to Macarius bishop of Jerusalem, recommending to him the care of erecting the designed temple, and the [s] silence of the author of the Itinerary, who seems to have written in the latter part of the reign of Constantine.

7. Though Constantine expressed himself with so much mildness in the Oration before taken notice of, yet certainly he did not intend to leave the temples to the heathen people, and let them enjoy their worship there. This is inconsistent with some things already transcribed, in the order in which they are mentioned by Eusebius. And afterwards, comparing Constantine with other emperors, he says: They [t] commanded the temples to be magnificently adorned: he demolished them to

post tot secula restitutionem, reipsa confirmasse resurrectionem Domini nostri. Vales. ad Euseb. De V. C. l. iii. c. 28.

[p] Et qui possint ea hoc loco intelligi? Loquitur de rebus stupendis, quæ ad Christi sepulchrum & Martyrium sua ætate contigerunt. Atqui Martyrium illud nusquam erat, cum ea fierent, quæ evenisse Sulpitius atque alii prodiderunt. &c. Pet. Wesseling. Annot. ad. Itinerar. Hierosol. p. 593, 594.

[q] Ecquid magis mirabile & stupendum Judæis ac paganis esse poterat, quam Augusti matrem, ejusque exemplum imitatos plures, ad vilem antea & despectum eum locum, ut Christo domino meritum honorem haberent, confluere; mirificis operibus illum exornari; quod quam admirandum utrisque fuerit, ex Orat. de Laudibus Constantin, p. 633, colligas. Id. p. 594.

[r] Quam rem & Constantini Imp. in ep. ad Macarium, & Eusebii, in his locis & gestis recensendis versati, silentium adfirmat. ib. p. 593.

[s] Id vero maximopere demiror, nullam hic de cruce, Helenæ auspiciis inventa, nec ullam de stupendis operibus, ejus virtute & contactu patratis, fieri mentionem. Dicemusne præterire ea scriptorem, qui summa diligentia rumusculos, de locis Hierosolymitanis in vulgus sparsos, collegit? —— præsertim cum pauciſſimis ante ejus in urbem Hierosolymitanam adventum annis facta ferantur. Mihi nihil aliud dici posse videtur, quam ea miracula, & quæ illis arctissime cohærent, in urbe eo tempore nondum fuisse audita. ib. p. 593.

[t] Οι μεν τας νεως φιλοτιμως κοσμειν εκελευον· ο δε εκ βαθρων καθηρει τυλων αυτων, τα μαλιστα παρα τοις δεισιδαιμοσι πολλου αξια. V. C. l. iii. c. 1. p. 483. B.

the foundation, especially such as were most respected by superstitious people. Moreover Constantine [u] made very free with the statues of the gods, taking them out of the temples, and placing them in the forum, and other parts of the city of Constantinople: thereby serving, as the historian says, two ends, both adorning the city, and exposing to contempt those gods whose images they were. And many rich statues of the gods, consisting of gold and silver, were melted down by him.

Our historian has also left us a particular account of the demolishing several heathen temples by Constantine's order, beside the depriving many others of their richest and most respected ornaments: as [x] a temple dedicated to Venus in a grove at Aphæa in Phœnicia. He says, it was a kind of school of lewdness, and all manner of vice, where no grave or modest people came. The emperor ordered it to be totally demolished, which was done by his soldiers. A temple of Æsculapius at Ægis in Cilicia was in like manner destroyed by the military power at the emperor's command. He does not say, that any lewdness was practised here. However, this temple was a means of seducing people, and it was much respected by the philosophers. At [y] one nod of the emperor, as Eusebius says, this celebrated wonder of the egregious philosophers lay flat upon the ground, being pulled down by a band of soldiers. Beside these, there [z] was another temple of Venus, a place of much lewdness, destroyed at Heliopolis in Phœnicia; and a spacious Christian church was erected in the room of it.

And afterwards Eusebius expressly says, that [a] throughout the whole Roman empire, the doors of idolatry were shut to the commonalty and to the soldiery: and that every kind of sacrifice was prohibited. Again, he says, that [b] there were several laws published for these purposes, forbidding sacrifices, divinations, raising statues, and the secret mysteries or rites of initiation. And he says farther, that [c] in Egypt a sort of priesthood, consecrated to the honour of the Nile, was entirely suppressed. And though the heathen people thereupon surmised, that the Nile would no more overflow the fields, it rose the next year very high, and gave them great plenty.

However, it may reasonably be supposed, that the admonitions in the Oration against idolatry were of use to prevent po-

u ib. l. iii. c. 54. x ib. c. 56. z c. 58. a —— θυσιας τε τῆι· V. C. l. iv. c. 23.
y Ει δε τινμαλι καλα γης κλαδε, δεξια καλαβρισθεμενος σφαδιλιχη το των γενναιων φιλοσοφων βουμενον θαυμα. ibid. πας απησερευδο πας. b c. 25. c ib.

pular

pular tumults, and the doing any things of this kind, which were not authorized by the emperor's order.

8. We have likewise an account of Constantine's [d] treatment of heretics, after he had composed differences, and restored harmony in the church of God: that is, after the council of Nice.

Our historian says, that [e] by a law sent to the presidents of provinces, he dispersed and put to flight all these men. Beside the edict, the emperor gave those people a salutary admonition, exhorting them to repent without delay. This [f] edict is directed against the Novatians, Valentinians, Marcionites, Paulianists, and those called Cataphrygians, and all others, who by private meetings endeavour to support heresies. Here the emperor condemns his past forbearance, as an occasion of men's being seduced by these erroneous people. He therefore threatens to extirpate the roots of evil by a public animadversion. 'Wherefore,' says [g] he, 'since this your pernicious wickedness is no longer to be endured, we by this 'present law command you, that you no more presume to 'meet together. And we have given orders, that all those 'places, where you are wont to hold assemblies, should be 'taken away. Yea, our concern for this matter is such, that 'we not only forbid you to assemble in any public place; but 'we likewise forbid all assemblies of your foolish superstition 'in private houses, and in all private places whatever. All 'of you therefore, who have any sincere love of truth, come 'to the catholic church.—And that this remedy may have its 'full effect, we ordain, that all your superstitious conventicles, 'I mean oratories of all heretics, if it be fit to call such houses 'oratories, be forthwith taken away, and without any opposi-'tion delivered to the catholic church: and that the rest of 'your places be adjudged to the public. Thus,' says our ecclesiastical historian, 'the [h] dens of heretics were laid open by 'the imperial edict, and the wild beasts, the ringleaders of 'their impiety, were scattered.' He adds, that [i] in this edict orders were given for searching out their books. The effect of all which was, as the historian says, that some of those heterodox people, being terrified by the emperor's edict, renounced their errors, hypocritically only, and in that manner came into the church, whilst others of them became sincere converts.

[d] l. iii. c. 63——66.
[e] ib. c. 63. κασθαι των ανδρων τας βιβλους διηξορευειν ο νομος. c. 66. ib.
[f] c. 64.
[g] ib. c. 65.
[h] ib. c. 66.
[i] Επει δε και διερευ-

This

This edict was published in [k] 326. Here is no mention made of Arians. The reason of it may be, that their cause had been lately determined, and it was supposed, that sufficient care had been already taken of them: or the reason may be, that there were few who went under that denomination. For Sozomen says, that [l] though the Arian scheme was much discoursed of, it did not form a separate people, or make a distinct sect in the time of Constantine. Indeed many who held that sentiment, kept their places in the church.

9. I must pass over divers things related by Eusebius, and observe only these following. Constantine [m] constituted a kind of church in his own palace, and with chearfulness led the way to those that assembled there with him. Taking the sacred books in his own hands, he attentively read and meditated upon the divine oracles: and then recited the usual prayers with the whole assembly of his courtiers. These were public prayers. Constantine besides prayed [n] daily in private in his own closet. In time of war he [o] had a tabernacle, or chapel, at a small distance from his camp; in which he used to pray, especially before a battle, for the divine protection and blessing: having at the same time in his company a few of his friends, who were men of known virtue and piety. He [p] taught even his heathen soldiers a form of prayer, in which they worshipped the one true God, praising him for past benefits, and expressing their trust in him for the future; and praying particularly for the safety of the emperor and his family, and the continuance and prosperity of his government. He ordained by an edict, that [q] the Lord's-day should be a day of rest throughout the Roman empire. He [r] was present at divers synods for making up differences between Christians, and earnestly recommended to them peace and friendship. He [s] would converse familiarly with Christian bishops, and make them sit at his table. He [t] was very kind and bountiful to the poor, especially such as fell into want from plentiful circumstances. He [u] likewise made donations of money and lands to many

[k] Vid. Basnag. Ann. 327. n. 3.

[l] Το δε αρειον δογμα, ε. περι πολλοις εν τοις διαλεξεσιν εστασιαζετο, ειπω εις εθνος διενεχθη λαου, η εκκλησιαν τινας ποιησ. Sozom. l. ii. c. 32. in. Et conf. Basnag. Ann. 326. n. iv.

[m] —— ως αυτος τοις βασιλειοις εκκλησιαν; και τροπον διδασκ. επειδη εξαρχων αυτος επι τας ευχας εφ- μιαν χειρας προς τα βιβλια των ρ- ξλεις, τα των θειων- λογιων αναγν- αυτος τοις περι αυτον ευχας ανεπεμπε τοις ιδιοις ευχαις ανεπεμπε τοις περι τον βασιλεα οικειοις συλλογοις αυτου. Euseb. V. C. l. iv. c. 17.

[n] ib. c. 22.

[o] ib. l. ii. c. 12, 14.

[p] l. iv. c. 19, 20.

[q] l. iv. c. 18. 23. Vid. & Soz. H. E. l. i. c. 8. p. 410. B. C. & Cod. i. bb. iii. T. 12. l. iii.

[r] V. C. l. i. c. 44.

[s] ib. l. i. c. 45.

[t] ib. c. 43.

[u] l. iv. c. 28.

churches,

churches, and certain allowances to poor widows and fatherless children.

By Sozomen we are informed, that [x] Constantine abolished the punishment of the cross, which had been so long used by the Romans. This edict is also mentioned by [y] a heathen historian with commendation. It appears to have been a popular act.

He forbad [z] the cruel sports of gladiators; though his authority was not sufficient to abolish them every where, and entirely. There [a] was need of repeated laws of Christian emperors for that purpose. He likewise appointed, that [b] criminals, which had been hitherto usually condemned to act as gladiators in the public shews, should rather be sent to work in the mines.

10. I must not allow myself to give a particular account of all the synods held in his time, nor of all his epistles, edicts, or orations. I have already taken notice of several of them, and I may have occasion to make extracts out of some more. A catalogue of Constantine's epistles and orations may be seen in [c] Cave, and [d] Fabricius. Fr. Baudouin, or Balduinus, as we usually call him, wrote [e] two books concerning this emperor's laws. And there is a kind of list or collection of the titles of his laws in Varenius's Life of Constantine.

V. We may now, I presume, be indulged the liberty of drawing Constantine's character, some outlines of it at least, and of making some few general remarks upon his reign.

Constantine was remarkably tall, [f] of a comely and majestic presence, and great bodily strength. It may be concluded from the whole tenor of his life, that he was a person of no mean capacity: the atchievements and successes of Constantine

[x] —— [illegible] Sozom. [illegible] p. 412. C. [y] Eo pius, ut [illegible] veterrimumque supplicium pa[illegible] cruribus suffringendis primus [illegible]. Hinc pro conditore aut deo [illegible] Aur. Vict. Cæs. cap. 41.

[illegible] Lus. de V. C. l. iv. c. 25.

[illegible] spectacula in otio civili, & [illegible], non placent. Quapropter [illegible] esse prohibemus. [illegible] 1. [b] Cruenta spectacula [illegible] civili, & domestica quiete, [illegible]. Quapropter qui omnino [illegible] esse prohibemus, eos qui forte [illegible] causa hanc conditionem atque sententiam mereri consueverant, metallo magis facies inservire, ut sine sanguine suorum scelerum pœnas agnoscant. Cod. Th. T. v. p. 395. [c] H. L. T. i. p. 184, 185. [d] Bib. Gr. T. vi. p. 2.—7. & Lux Evangelii. p. 273.—294.

[e] Fr. Balduini Constantinus Magnus: sive Commentariorum de Constantini Imp. Legibus ecclesiasticis & civilibus. Libri duo. Lipsiæ. 1727. [f] —— το, τ' αλλο ειδος· το μεγεθος τε υπερβαλλον [illegible] τας αμφ' αυτον απαντας, τῳ τε καλλει [illegible] ὁρας, και τῳ μεγαλοπρεπει της τε σωματος ευπρεπειας, αλκη τε ρωμης αμαχου. κ. λ. Lus. De V. C. l. iii. c. 10. p. 488. C. D. Vid. & l. i. c. 19. & de Mort. Pers. c. 18.

do not belong to men of weak and irresolute minds. Indeed, his [g] mind was equal to his fortune, great as it was. His escape from Galerius to his father Constantius, is a proof of considerable sagacity, forecast, and circumspection: his valour had been tried and approved more than once [h] in his youth, and was conspicuous on all proper occasions throughout his whole life: his [i] chastity, together with his valour, justice, and prudence, is commended by a heathen panegyrist: his many acts of bounty to the poor, and his just edicts, are arguments of a merciful disposition, and a love of justice: he was moreover a sincere believer of the Christian religion, of which he first of all the Roman emperors made an open profession.

He is taxed by a heathen historian [k] with ambition and prodigality. He owns, however, that these are the faults of great minds: which if Constantine had escaped, he would have been perfect.

Praxagoras, a heathen author, native of Athens, who, beside other works, wrote a [l] History of Constantine, in two books, says, that [m] this emperor surpassed all his predecessors in all virtue and goodness, and in the felicity of his reign.

VI. Having observed these virtues of Constantine, and other things, which are to his advantage; a just respect to truth obligeth us to take notice of some other things, which seem to cast a reflection upon him.

Among these, one of the chief is his putting to death so many of his relations: as Maximian Herculius, his wife's father; Bassianus, husband of his sister Anastasia; Crispus, his

[g] Innumeras in eo animi corporisque virtutes claruerunt, militaris gloriæ appetentissimus: fortuna in bellis prospera fuit: verum ita, ut non superaret industriam. Eutrop. Brev. l. x. n. 7.

Constantio quoque filius erat Constantinus, sanctissimus adolescens, & illo fastigio dignissimus, qui insigni & decoro habitu corporis, & industria militari, & probis moribus, & comitate singulari, a militibus amaretur, a privatis & optaretur. De M. P. c. 18.

[h] Fortitudinem autem illius [Constantii patris] jam tum in principiis consecutus es. Paneg. vi. n. 4. [i] Neque enim forma tantum in te patris, Constantine, sed etiam continentia, fortitudo, justitia, prudentia sese votis gentium præsentant. Quo enim magis continentiam patris æquare potuisti, quam quod te ab ipso fine pueritiæ illico matrimonii legibus tradidisti, ut primo ingressu adolescentiæ formares animum maritalem, nihil de vagis cupiditatibus, nihil de concessis ætati voluptatibus in hoc sacrum pectus admitteres: novum tum miraculum, juvenis uxorius. Paneg. vi. n. 3, 4.

[k] At memoria mea Constantinum, quamquam cæteris promptum virtutibus, ad usque astra votis omnium subvexere. Qui profecto, si munificentiæ atque ambitionis modum, hisque artibus statuisset, quibus præcipue adulta ingenia gloriæ studio progressa longius in contrarium labuntur, haud multum obesset deo. Aur. Vict. Cæs. cap. 40.

Fuit vero ultra quam æstimari potest, laudis avidus. Vict. Epit. c. 41.

[l] Πραξαγορα τα αθηναιου της καθ' ημας Κωνσταντινου ιστοριας βιβλια δυο. Phot. Cod. 62. p. 64. in. [m] Καθ' ον τον διηνεκειαν ελλην ων, ὁτι σωφρων αριστη και καλοκαγαθια, και παση ευδαιμονια πασας προ αυτου βασιλευσασας ο βασιλευς Κωνσταντινος απεκρυψατο. ib. p. 65.

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own son; Fausta, his wife; Licinius, husband of his sister Constantia; and Licinianus, or Licinius the younger, his nephew, and son of the fore-mentioned Licinius.

To some of these actions Constantine was reduced by a hard necessity, arising from the treacherous conduct of his relations, in which therefore he is generally justified. For the rest he is blamed, especially some of the last; which is one reason, why the [n] latter part of his reign is not reckoned equal to the former part of it.

The death of Maximian in 310, has [o] escaped in a manner all censure. It was partly a just punishment for past crimes, and partly a necessary defence against future dangerous designs, and attempts.

In [p] 314 or 315, Constantine put to death Bassianus, to whom he had married his sister Anastasia. We have no very particular account of this matter; but it is said, that [q] Constantine had discovered, that Licinius had set Bassianus against him, by means of Senecion, brother of the same Bassianus, at the time that the emperor was designing favours for him.

In 325, [r] Licinius was put to death at Thessalonica, after that Constantine had reduced him to a private condition, and promised him his life. This action is censured not only by [s] Zozimus, but by others [t] also, as contrary to the promise which Constantine had made him, of preserving his life. On the other hand, some attempt to justify it, upon account [u] of bad designs, actually formed by Licinius; or to excuse it, by [x]

[n] Verum insolentia rerum secundarum aliquantum Constantinum ex illa favorabili animi docilitate mutavit. Primum necessitudines persecutus, egregium virum, & sororis filium, commodæ indolis juvenem, interfecit; mox uxorem; post, numerosos amicos. Vir primo imperii tempore optimis principibus, ultimo mediis comparandus. Eutrop. l. x. c. 6, 7. [o] Cumque specie officii, dolis compositis [Herculius], Constantinum generum tentaret acerbe, jure tandem interierat. Aur. Vict. Cæs. c. 40.

Moliens tamen Constantinum, reperta occasione, interficere. —— Detectis igitur insidiis per Faustam filiam, quæ dolum viro enuntiaverat, —— pœnam dedit justissimo exitu. Eutrep. l. x. cap. 3. Et vid. omnino De M. P. c. 30.

[p] See Tillem. Constantin. art. 36.

[q] Post aliquantum deinde temporis Constantium Constantinus ad Licinium misit, persuadens ut Bassianus Cæsar fieret, qui habebat alteram Constantini sororem Anastasiam; ut exemplo Diocletiani & Maximiani inter Constantinum & Licinium Bassianus Italiam medius obtineret. Et Licinio talia frustrante, per Senecionem Bassiani fratrem, qui Licinio fidus erat, in Constantinum Bassianus armatur. Qui tamen in conatu deprehensus, Constantino jubente, convictus & stratus est. Anon. Vales. p. 713. [r] Vid. Basn. Ann. 325. n. 3. Pagi. 318. n. 7, 8. & 324. n. 3.

[s] Λικινιον δε εις την Θεσσαλονικην εκπεμψας ως βιωσομενον αυτοθι συν ασφαλεια, μετ' ου πολυ τους ορκους πατησας (ην γαρ τουτο αυτῳ συνηθες,) αγχονη αυτον του ζην αφαιρειται. Zos. l. ii. p. 685. [t] Licinius Thessalonicæ contra jus sacramenti privatus occiditur. Hieron. Chr. p. 181.

Postremo Licinius navali & terrestri prælio victus apud Nicomediam se dedit, & contra religionem sacramenti Thessalonicæ privatus occisus est. Eutrop. l. x. c. 6.

[u] Socrat. l. i. c. 4. [x] Sed Hercu-

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the apprehensions of designs to resume the purple, and create disturbances, contrary to engagements. By some this matter is [y] past by, or [z] just mentioned, without either censure or apology. Basnage argues, that [a] there can be no good foundation for the defence made by Socrates, forasmuch as Eusebius says nothing of Licinius having attempted any disturbances after his last defeat. Indeed it is observable, that so many ancient writers charge Constantine with breach of faith in this matter. Nor is it strange, that some should omit to pass any censure upon this action, considering [b] the cruelty, avarice, and other vices of Licinius; who had in him few agreeable or commendable qualities, beside his being a good general, and a lover of military discipline.

In 326, [c] Constantine put to death his son Crispus, and his nephew Licinianus, or the younger Licinius, who had been [d] Cæsars ever since the year [e] 317. Crispus had been consul likewise in 318, 321, and 324, and Licinianus in 319.

Crispus, son of Constantine by Minervina, was now at least 25 [f] years of age, a person of great qualifications, who had been serviceable to his father in the wars with [g] the Franks, and

Iii Maximiani soceri motus exemplo, ne iterum depositam purpuram in perniciem reipublicæ sumeret, privatum jussit occidi. Oros. l. vii. c. 28. Conf. Anon. Vales. p. 715. in.

[y] Itaque Sexennio post rupta pace apud Thracas, Licinius pulsus Chalcedona concessit. Ibi ad auxilium sui Martiniano in imperium cœptato, una oppressus est. Aur. Vict. Cæs. c. 41.

[z] Dehinc Constantinus acie potior apud Bithyniam adegit Licinium, pacta salute, indumentum regium offerre per uxorem. Inde Thessalonicam missum, paullo post eum Martinianumque jugulari jubet. Hic Licinius annum dominationis fere post quintum decimum, vitæ proxime sexagesimum, occiditur. Victor. Epit. c. 41.

[a] Vellemus quidem ea rebellione omni labe Constantinianam innocentiam liberari. Verum enimvero creditu difficillimum est, Licinium ad privatam fortunam redactum in bellum consurrexisse, quam Licinii perfidiam Eusebius non præteriisset. Basn. 325. n. 3.

[b] —— ob diversos mores tamen anxie triennium congruere quivere. Namque illi præter modum magnificentia, huic parsimonia, & ea quidem agrestis, tantummodo inerat. Denique Constantius cunctos hostes honore ac fortunis manentibus texit, recepitque.——Licinio ne insontium quidem ac nobilium philosophorum servili more cruciatus adhibiti modum fecere. Aur. Vict. de Cæsar. c. 41.

Avaritiæ cupidine omnium pessimus, neque alienus a luxu venerio, asper admodum haud mediocriter impatiens: infestus literis, quas per insciitiam immodicam virus ac pestem publicam nominabat, præcipue forensem industriam. Agrariis plane ac rusticantibus, quia de eo genere ortus altusque erat, satis utilis, ac militiæ custos ad veterum instituta severissimus. Vict. Epit. c. 41. Vid. & Euseb. H. E. l. x. c. 8. p. 396, 397. De V. C. l. i. c. 55.

[c] Vid. Pagi. 324. n. 3, 4. 325. n. 4. Basn. 326. n. 1, 2. [d] Crispus & Constantinus filii Constantini, & Licinius adolescens, Licinii Augusti filius, Constantini ex sorore nepos, Cæsares appellantur. Eus. Chron. p. 180.

Filiumque suum Crispum nomine, ex Minervina concubina susceptum, item Constantinum, iisdem diebus natum opido Arelatensi, Licinianumque Licinii filium, mensium fere viginti, Cæsares effecit. Vict. Epit. c. 41.

Vid. & Vict. de Cæsar. c. 41. Idat. Fast. Conf. Zos. l. ii. p. 679. f. Anon. Vales. p. 713. f.

[e] Vid. Pagi. Ann. 315. n. 3. 317. n. 2. Basn. 317. n. 1. [f] See Tillem. in Constantin. Art. 41. 62. [g] Declarant ecce rationem cupiditatemque votorum facta Crispi Cæsarum Maximi, in quo vc-

with

with [h] Licinius. Many historians relate [i] the unhappy end of this young prince. The silence of Eusebius is reckoned very remarkable: in his Ecclesiastical History he commends Crispus; in [k] his Life of Constantine, written several years after, as [l] Tillemont observes, he repeats the same matters almost word for word, but leaves out all he had said of Crispus: and though he relates at length Constantine's victory over Licinius, in which Crispus had a large share, as he himself had related in the History, he does not now so much as name him. These silences and omissions, as the same diligent and accurate writer farther adds, speak a great deal. For Eusebius would have excused this thing, if he had been able; but he saw no other method he could take, but to pass it by in utter silence: choosing rather to expose himself to the charge of violating the laws of history, than to undertake to justify what all the world condemned.

The death of Crispus is ascribed by some historians [m] to the calumnies of Fausta. Zozimus's account is, that [n] he was accused of criminal conversation with Fausta, or of attempting it. Gregory of Tours makes [o] the crime he was charged with to be rebellion; in which charge he supposes Fausta to have been joined with him. Some historians [p] do not seem to know the reason of his death; which ignorance, or suspense, possibly,

lx virtus ætatis mora non retardata pueriles annos gloriis triumphalibus occupavit. &c. Paneg. x. c. 36. Vid. & c. 37.

[h] Constantinus Cæsarem Crispum cum grandi classe ad occupandam Asiam misérat. —— Crispus vero cum classe Constantini Callipolim pervenit, ubi bello maritimo sic Amandum vicit, ut vix per eos, qui in litore permanserant, vivus Amandus effugeret.——Anon. Vales. p. 714. Vid. & Eusеb. H. E. l. x. c. 9. [i] His Consulibus occisus & Crispus, & edidit vicennalia Constantinus Augustus Romæ. Idat. Fast.

Ad Istriam duxit prope opidum Polam, ubi quondam diremtum Constantini filium accepimus Crispum. Ammian. M. l. xiv. c. 11. p. 63.

—— ut mihi non figuratius Constantini domum vitamque videatur vel pupugisse versu gemello Consul Ablabius, vel momordisse, districho tali clam palatinis foribus appenso:

Saturni aurea sæcla quis requirât?
Sunt hæc gemmea, sed Neroniana.

Quia scilicet prædictus Augustus iisdem fere temporibus exstinxerat Faustam calore balnei, filium Crispum frigore veneni. Apol. Sidon. l. v. ep. 8.

[k] Conf. H. E. l. x. c. 9. & De V. C. l. ii. c. 19. [l] Constantine, Art. 62.

[m] Οἱ φησι τον Κωνσταντινον ανελειν τον ιδιον παιδα, διαβολαις της μητρυιας συναρπασθεντα. Philost. l. ii. c. 4.

At Constantinus, obtento totius Romani imperii, mira bellorum felicitate, regimine, Fausta conjuge, ut putant, suggerente, Crispum filium necari jubet. Vict. Epit. c. 41.

[n] Κρισπον γαρ παιδα, της τε καισαρος (ως εφηλαι πρεσβυτερον,) αξιωθεντα τιμης, εις υποψιαν ελθοντα τη Φαυστη τη μητρυιᾳ συνειναι,——ανειλε. Zos. l. ii. p. 685. m.

[o] Hic Constantinus anno vicesimo imperii sui Crispum filium veneno, Faustam conjugem calente balneo interfecit: scilicet, quod proditores regni ejus voluissent. Gr. T. Hist. Fr. l. i. c. 36. [p] Quorum cum natu grandior, incertum qua causa, patris judicio occidisset. Vict. de Cæsar. c. 41.

Sed inter hæc latent causæ, cur vindicem gladium, & destinatam in impios punitionem, Constantinus imperator etiam in proprios egit affectus. Nam Crispum filium suum, & Licinium sororis filium, interfecit. Oros. l. vii. c. 28.

may

may be aſcribed to a reſpect for Conſtantine himſelf, or the reigning emperor, in whoſe time they wrote. Jerom, in an addition, inſerted by him in Euſebius's Chronicle, condemns both the death of Criſpus and Licinianus. 'In [q] this year,' ſays he, 'Criſpus, ſon of Conſtantine, and Licinius the younger, 'ſon of Licinius and Conſtantine's ſiſter Conſtantia, are moſt 'cruelly put to death, in the ninth year of their empire;' that is, their Cæſarean empire.

The younger Licinius could not then be more than a little above eleven years of age, if ſo much: he [r] is alſo ſpoken of as a hopeful youth; and St. Jerom, in the paſſage juſt cited, calls his death, as well as that of Criſpus, a cruel action.

Next comes Fauſta, not long after the two laſt. Zozimus ſays, that [s] Helena being extremely grieved for the death of Criſpus, excited Conſtantine to revenge it on Fauſta, the adviſer of it. There is much the ſame account [t] in Victor's Epitome. Fauſta, however, [u] is accuſed by ſome of adultery with a very mean perſon: but that account does not appear well founded.

Theſe are the executions, which above all others caſt a reflection upon the reign of Conſtantine; though there are alſo hints of the death of ſome others about the ſame time, with whom Conſtantine had till then lived in friendſhip.

I do by no means think, that Conſtantine was a man of a cruel diſpoſition; and therefore I am unwilling to touch upon any other actions of a like nature: as [x] his making ſome German princes taken captive fight in the theatre, and ſending the head [y] of Maxentius to Africa, after it had been made [z] a part of Conſtantine's triumphal entry at Rome.

At the time of the firſt affair Conſtantine was not a Chriſtian; and but newly converted at the time of the other. Theſe

q Criſpus filius Conſtantini, Licinius junior, Conſtantiæ ſororis & Licinii filius, crudeliſſime interficiuntur anno imperii ſui nono. Euſ. Chron. p. 181. r Primum neceſſitudines perſecutus, Criſpum filium, egregium virum, & ſororis filium, commodæ indolis juvenem, interfecit, mox uxorem, poſt numeroſos amicos. Eutrop. l. x. c. 6. s Τῆς δὲ Κωνσταντίνου μήτηρ ἐλεινῆς ἐπὶ τῷ τηλικῷδε παιδὶ δυσχεραινούσης, καὶ ἀσχέτως τὴν αἰκίαν τοῦ νεανίσκου φερούσης, κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἀσαφὲς μείζονι βαλλειν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον ἐκτετρῶθαι κελεύσας καὶ τῷ τῆς Φαύστης ἐπιβουλεύσαι, ἐξήλασε νεφρὰν γενομένην. Zoſ. l. ii. p. 685.

t Dehinc uxorem Fauſtam in balneas ardentes conjectam interemit, cum eum mater Helena dolore nimio nepotis increpret. Vict. Epit. c. 41. u Καίτοι δὲ τινες φαρμάκοις τὴν τῶν κυρσῶν μοιχείαν τῇ τε λοιπῇ αἰσχρᾷ ἀποπλύναι σπουδῇ. Philoſt. l. ii. c. 4. x Puberes, quem manu venerunt, quorum nec perfidia erat apta militiæ, nec ferocia ſervituti, ad pœnas ſpectaculo dati ſævientes beſtias multitudine ſua fatigarunt. Paneg. vii. c. 12.

y Pari ſtudio miſſum ejuſdem tyranni ad permulcendam Africam caput, ut quem maxime vivus afflixerat, laceratus expleret. Nazar. Paneg. 10. c. 32. z Sequebatur hunc comitatum ſuum tyranni ipſius terrimum caput.——Injiciebantur vocis contumelioſiſſimæ voces. Id. cap. 31.

things

things too, may receive an excuse from the custom of those times, and the necessity of some outward severity at the beginning of a reign, the better to settle it, and to deter from farther attempts. The Franks or Germans had been guilty of breach of faith, and therefore were punished for [a] perfidiousness. And, by the confession of Zosimus [b] himself, Constantine used his victory over Maxentius mercifully, and did no more than was necessary for his own and the public security.

As for the deaths of his relations, of which a distinct account has been given, that of Maximian, as before observed, seems a clear case; that of Bassianus lies in obscurity: of the four last, the death of Licinius also is doubtful. And what cause of displeasure there might be against Fausta, we cannot certainly say: one might be apt to suspect, that she had been guilty of unfaithfulness to the emperor's bed, or else had greatly deceived him with regard to Crispus, or some other matter of high importance. And yet it must be owned, that Zozimus [c] does not approve of her death; and says, that Constantine did not mend the matter, by adding one crime to another. And Apollinarius Sidonius reckons [d] the death of Fausta, as well as of Crispus, among Constantine's cruel actions. The death of Crispus is altogether without any good excuse: so likewise is the death of the young Licinius, who appears not to have been charged with any fault, and can hardly be suspected of any.

In order to judge of the general causes of these last executions, I think it worthy of observation, that they all happened very near to one another; when Constantine was come, as it were, to the top of his fortune, and was in the greatest prosperity. And both [e] Zozimus and [f] Eutropius mention the pride of his successes, as the cause and spring of these bad actions. Here then lies the general excuse, or alleviation of these faults. Prosperity is a dangerous state, full of temptation, and puts men off their guard. Now also, it is likely, Constantine was thinking how to secure the empire in his family, and perpetuate the quiet possession of it, free from disturbances. For this end, and with this view, he might be too much inclined to cut off both Licinius and his son. And possibly, on the like account, was too susceptible of impressions

[a] Vid. supra not. x. [b] Ο Κωνσταντινος τοις των επιβουλευσαντων Μαξεντιῳ στρατευμασι, και τοις ἑαυτου πολεμιοις μετριως εχρησατο. κ. λ. Zos. l. ii. p. 677.

[c] Vid. supr. not. s. [d] See before p. 170. [e] Ετι δ' εις την ψυχην αφικομενος πασης αλαζονειας, αφ' ης αρχεσθαι της ασεβειας· Κρισπον γας παιδα. κ. λ. Zos. l. ii. p. 685.

[f] Verum insolentia rerum secundarum aliquantum Constantinum ex illa favorabili animi docilitate mutavit. Primum necessitudines persecutus, &c. Eutrop. l. x. c. 6.

from Fauſta; who for the ſame reaſons, that Conſtantine was deſirous to ſecure the empire in his own family, was alſo concerned to ſecure it to his iſſue by her.

Empire is eſteemed a precious jewel; many are catching at it; and they who are poſſeſſed of it, are ſenſible of as much, which cauſeth troubleſome and exorbitant jealouſy. It is to be feared, that this occaſioned the death of Licinius, both father and ſon; and poſſibly had, ſome way or other, an influence in the death of Criſpus.

We ſhould however be willing to make allowances in favour of princes, and eſpecially of long reigns. It is next to impoſſible, for human wiſdom and diſcretion, in the courſe of many years filled with action, not to be ſurprized into ſome injuſtice, through the biaſs of affection, or the ſpecious ſuggeſtions of artful and deſigning people. Though, therefore, there may have been ſome tranſactions in this reign, which cannot be eaſily juſtified, and others that muſt be condemned; yet we are not to conſider Conſtantine as a cruel prince, or a bad (1) man.

Upon the whole, the higheſt ſtations of life are not ſo deſirable as we imagine; the happineſs of them does not com-

(1) Some have been very ſevere in their cenſures of Conſtantine. They who deſire to ſee an inſtance of this, may read Obſervat. Hallenſ. xxiv. Fabulæ de Conſtantino M. & potiſſimum de ejus Chriſtianiſmo. Others have paſſed a favourable judgment upon him. Nor have they ſcrupled to make an apology for thoſe parts of his conduct, which are not unexceptionable. Among theſe latter are Balduin. de Legib. Conſtantini M. and Vitringa upon the Apocalypſe. From this laſt I ſhall tranſcribe ſome obſervations. Fuitque vere Conſtantinus talis, qualis hic pingitur, vir fortis, & non minus decoro corporis habitu, quam animi magnitudine & virtute inſignis. Vitring. in Apoc. c. 12. ver. 1—6. n. ii. p. 705. in. Fateor enim me, non videre quæ juſta cauſa moveat Chriſtianæ profeſſionis homines, cur tam inclementer de hoc Principe judicent, in quo Eutropius, ipſe Paganus homo, ejuſque memoriæ, ut conſtat, minus favens, innumeras animi corporiſque virtutes claruiſſe, agnoſcit. Id. n. iii. p. 710. Cætera autem quod attinet, ſi inter ſe comparemus, & æqua libremus lance, quæ ab hac parte Panegyrici, Euſebius & Eumenius, in ejus laudem, ab altera obtrectatores famæ ejus, Julianus & Zoſimus, in ejus vituperium ſcripſerunt, longe hic Princeps major erit virtutibus, quam vitiis. Fuerit enim ſupra modum munificus, laudis amans, & quoque, quod negare nolim, plus quibuſdam caſibus tribuens & fidens amicis, quam ſæpe prudentia ſuadet: quæ vitia in tanti imperii & poteſtatis Principe non ſunt ex maximis: cætera Imperatorem præſtitit optimum & laudatiſſimum, elegantiæ omnis & literarum non patronum tantum ſed & cultorem. Quod enim fævitiæ quoque & crudelitatis ipſi inuratur macula, calumnia eſt, quam ad memoriam Principis deformandam livor produxit Paganorum. Certe quæ Zoſimus tam de hoc vitio, quam de profuſa ejus liberalitate & ἀσωτίᾳ ſcripſit, ex invidia & odio hujus Principis ab homine Pagano vel maligne ficta, vel in majus aucta eſſe, æquo & veri amanti lectori facile patet. Quæ enim de Criſpi & Fauſtæ conjugis nece habet ille, non tam arguunt Conſtantini malitiam crudelitatemque, quam illius imprudentiam, qua factum, ut falſis accuſationibus Fauſtæ conjugis—facilem nimis præbuerit aurem: quæ poſtquam detectæ fuerint, quis miretur, tantum juſto dediſſe dolori, ut ab ea exegerit vindictam?——Certe ſi hoc vitium in principe regnaſſet, non pauca, ſed plurima exempla conſervata eſſent in hiſtoria, quæ ſpatio triginta & amplius annorum, quo ſumma imperii penes ipſum fuit, excidiſſet. Nec neglexiſſent Gentiles, inique omnes hujus memoriæ Principis, eadem ad obſcurandam ejus laudem committere poſteritati. Ib. n. iv. p. 712, 713.

penſate for all their care and toil; and for all thoſe actions neceſſary to keep them, which are not conſiſtent with innocence. Great men are rather to be pitied than envied. They however, who ſteadily purſue the good of thoſe who are ſubject to them, will have a great reward for all their labour and care, and attention to government: they are intitled to the higheſt honours from men, and ſhall receive a yet greater reward from God, the beſt friend and trueſt lover of mankind.

VII. If we proceed to conſider the treatment of men under this reign, according to their different religious diſtinctions and denominations, catholic, heretic, and heathen, we ſhall obſerve ſeveral things liable to exception.

The unequal treatment of catholics and heretics, ſoon after the firſt ceaſing of the perſecution and the opening of liberty to the profeſſors of the Chriſtian religion, is not to be juſtified in point of religion or policy. We do not lay all the blame of this upon Conſtantine. If there be any fault, it will partly fall upon the Chriſtians, both miniſters and others, with whom he adviſed. But it ſeems, that Conſtantine ſhould not have made himſelf a party with any of the ſects, into which the Chriſtian profeſſion was then divided. It was fit, that as they had all ſuffered in the late perſecution, ſo they ſhould all ſhare in the liberty now granted. If any, whether catholics or others, were not contented with enjoying equal rights and privileges together with their brethren, fellow-creatures, fellow-ſufferers, and fellow-ſubjects, they were unreaſonable men, and ſhewed, that they were not to be humoured.

The following treatment of thoſe called heretics, when Conſtantine's government was more firmly eſtabliſhed, was ſtill more ſevere, and conſequently more unreaſonable, than the unequal regards to Cæcilian and his party, and the Donatiſts in Africa. For then, as Euſebius has aſſured us, the private aſſemblies of all heretics, Valentinians, Marcionites, Cataphrygians, and others, were prohibited.

It is ſurprizing, that our eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian ſhould relate theſe things with ſuch manifeſt tokens of approbation and ſatisfaction. According to that edict, Tertullian, who in the time of the emperor Severus publiſhed ſo noble an apology for the Chriſtian religion and its profeſſors, could not have had liberty of public worſhip under a Chriſtian emperor: no, according to law, he could not now, any more than in his own time, have joined with his friends in the worſhip of God, in the moſt private place whatever. In ſhort, liberty was ſtill given to thoſe only, who were of the emperor's religion: and

little regard was had for thoſe, who preſerved a ſupreme reverence for him, who is King of kings, Emperor of all emperors, Sovereign Lord of the whole world, and Judge of the thoughts, reaſonings, and determinations, as well as the outward actions of his rational and intelligent creatures. Certainly, there remains a reſt for the people of God; there is a future recompenſe in another world for the ſtrictly and inflexibly virtuous of all denominations. For in this world they ſcarce ever have ſecurity and protection; but under almoſt all governments, without any offence whatever againſt the ſtate, they are treated as impious, profane, and diſaffected.

It cannot be reckoned ſtrange, that in this place, and upon occaſion of this partiality toward Chriſtians by the firſt Chriſtian emperor, I freely deliver my thoughts upon it, conſidering the ſad influence of this precedent: and that in conſequence of it, and the principle from which it proceeded, not long after this, ſometimes Arians, ſometimes Homouſians, were under perſecution, and all its penalties: or elſe were advanced, without reſpect to virtue, only in regard to external agreement of opinion and denomination, to the great prejudice of true religion and virtue, in every age from that time to this.

The ſeveral laws of Conſtantine againſt heathens are not to be juſtified. How ſhould Conſtantine have a right to prohibit all his ſubjects to ſacrifice, and worſhip at the temples? Would he have liked this treatment, if ſome other prince had become a Chriſtian at that time, and he ſtill remained a heathen? What reaſon had he to think, that all men received light and conviction when he did? And if they were not convinced, how could he expect that they ſhould act as he acted?

Now alſo the Chriſtians, with whom Conſtantine adviſed, come into a ſhare of blame with him. It may be ſaid, indeed, that the heathen people had given the Chriſtians great provocation by their former terrible perſecutions. But did not every Chriſtian know, that they ought to forgive injuries? and that they ſhould not return evil for evil? And had not they pleaded a right to worſhip God according to their conſciences, though the reſt of the world around them were of a different ſentiment?

It may be again ſaid, that the Chriſtians, or this Chriſtian emperor, did not put men to death for heatheniſm: but this is no ſufficient apology. It would have been ſtrange, beyond all inſtances of infatuation, if the Chriſtians had returned all the tortures which they had ſuffered. But indeed, the leſſer degree of perſecution is but a ſmall honour to the Chriſtian virtue. For whatever was their inclination, it could not be

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prudent to exasperate the heathens at first by laws of the utmost severity. But it seems, that as Constantine's government, and the Christian profession, were established, the severity of the laws against the heathen people increased.

A prince has the advantage of a right to do many things for the service of truth and virtue. He can protect men in detecting and exposing frauds. He may prohibit nocturnal, and all secret, clandestine assemblies; and may require men to perform their religious rites by day-light, and in public view, with their temple doors open. He has the right and power of punishing evil-doers of all sorts, and of restraining and punishing all actions injurious to particular persons, or contrary to good manners, and the peace of society in general. He can protect and defend peaceable, innocent men, in their several civil employments, and in their pursuits of truth, and the profession of the principles of religious or philosophic science. Nor have any like him ability to reward and encourage the virtuous and the skilful. All this is the high privilege of those, whom divine providence intrusts with the reins of civil government: and he who improves this prerogative to the utmost, without exceeding its due bounds and limits, must be an amiable and glorious character. And if this kind of government had obtained, and been thankfully received and heartily approved and applauded by Christian people for some ages, I cannot but think, that the religion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ would have been before now, the universal religion of mankind.

All those things before-mentioned, a supreme magistrate has a right to do: but for a prince to pull down men's temples, where nothing is done contrary to the peace of society, to deprive them of their statues and other consecrated ornaments, and to forbid them to worship in the way they approve, and that under heavy penalties: what is this but to vindicate, so far as he is able by his conduct, all instances of persecution in times past: and to encourage and excite to the like injustice in time to come, all princes and emperors toward such as differ from them: and, as it may happen, those of his own religion?

As the late Mr. Le Clerc said, 'They [g] that continued heathens, were no doubt extremely shocked, at the manner in which the statues of their gods were treated; and could not consider the Christians as men of moderation. For, in short, those statues were as dear to them, as any thing the most sacred could be to the Christians.'

[g] Bibl. Univ. T. 15. p. 94.

And, as the same learned and judicious writer says in another place, speaking of the Christians below the period we are in, (as was also the former observation): 'Thus [h] the Christians went on, returning to the heathens what they had suffered from them, during the first three centuries; instead of gaining them by the patience and gentleness, which they had so much taught and recommended, when they were the undermost.'

It is not a little surprizing, that Eusebius should triumph over the philosophers, as he does, upon Constantine's soldiers pulling down a temple of Æsculapius, without being hindered by that pretended deity. Had not Eusebius often heard with his own ears, and read in the history of ancient martyrs, the insults and triumphs of the heathens over the Christians? that they professed themselves the worshippers of the great, and only true God, and yet every body, that pleased, was able to molest and destroy them, as he saw good?

To use the words of bishop Burnet, 'It [i] has been often observed, that though a plea for moderation is the sanctuary of all the unfortunate, yet their fortunes come no sooner to be changed, but they insensibly get into that principle, which was so much decried by themselves, when their affairs were in an ill condition: as if the only quarrel they had with persecution was, that they had not the managing of it themselves.'

How different is this conduct from the principles and sentiments recommended by Lactantius, near the end of the last heathen general persecution, which the Christians suffered! whose argument upon this head was at large shewn by us some time [k] ago.

And how deplorable was the consequence! The two prevailing evils of this reign, as [l] Eusebius owns, were avarice and hypocrisy. And for certain, authority and force in matters of a religious nature, will multiply hypocrites.

Thus I have shewn, that in the time of this first Christian emperor, there was a treatment given to many people, which was not agreeable to strict justice, nor honourable to the Christian religion.

Besides, it is likely, that a more equal treatment and protection of all sorts of people, who were quiet and peaceable, without regarding their several speculative religious sentiments

[h] Bibl. ch. T. 8. p. 276. [i] Preface to the book Of the Deaths of Persecutors, p. 10. [k] See p. 52—56.

[l] Και γαρ ουν αληθως, δυο χαλεπα ταυτα κατα τους δηλουμενους χρονους και αυτοι κατενοησαμεν·——ειρωνειαν τ' αλεκτον των την εκκλησιαν υποδυομενων, και το χριστιανων επιπλαστως σχηματιζομενων ονομα. De V. C. l. iv. c. 54.

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or opinions, would have been more for the peace of the emperor's government; and he would also have set an example, that might have been of great use to Christian governments in time to come.

In a word, the conversion of Constantine to Christianity was a favour of divine providence, and of great advantage to the Christians: and his reign may be reckoned a blessing to the Roman empire upon the whole. But there is nothing perfect in this world: oftentimes advantages are not duly improved; and changes for the better do not fully answer expectations, nor turn out to all the account that might have been wished.

From what has been seen and observed by us, it appears, that the happiness of this reign was not equal to all. The heathens had not liberty of worship; for they were forbidden to sacrifice, and all their temples were shut up, which must have been exceeding grievous to them. From the beginning of the liberty to the Christians, some of them too felt the disagreeable effects of partiality. And the severity toward heretics increased: at length these measures incommoded by turns the Homousians and the Arians.

There was still one thing more, which somewhat damped the universal joy of the Christians upon the conversion of Constantine, and lessened the benefit they expected from it. For the particular affection which the Christians in general had for Constantine, was one ground of the persecution raised against them by Licinius. Some of the Christian churches were pulled down or shut up by his order, that men might not meet there for their usual worship. 'For,' says [m] Eusebius,' 'he, who 'gave this order, did not think the prayers there offered were 'for him, being conscious of his own wickedness. But he 'thought, we did all for Constantine, and prayed for his pros-'perity only.'

Nay the uncommon affection of the Christians for Constantine, or the suspicion of it, was prejudicial to them without the bounds of the Roman empire. It is disputed, when the persecution in Persia began: some place the rise of it in [n] the year 343, or 344, under Constantius. But Asseman thinks it 'began in the year 330, and argues very plausibly [p] from Sy-

[m] Εὐλαβεῖσθαι γὰρ οὐκ ἦλθε ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ταῦτα ὁ τυραννὶς στρατῶν· συνειδὼς ἑαυτῷ φαύλῳ τὰ πολλὰ γεγενημένος· ὑπὲρ δὲ Κωνσταντίνου στρατιὰν πᾶσαν ἅμα, καὶ τῷ Θεῷ πλεῖσθαι στέφανον. Euseb. V. C. l. ii. c. 2. p. 443. D.

[n] Vid. Pagi. 343. n. 3, 4. & Baln. 344. n. 3.

[o] Hæc autem persecutio cœpit sub Sapore anno Christi 330, ut in S. Simeone Barsceboë statuimus, duravitque annis 40, ut in Actis Martyrum habetur, nimirum usque ad annum 370. Assemani Bib. Or. T. i. p. 183.

[p] Vid. eund. ib. p. 4—9.

rian, and other authors. Petavius [q] was of the same opinion, as Asseman also observes. Eusebius has inserted in the Life of Constantine [r] a letter, which that emperor sent to Sapor upon that occasion, as it seems. Theodoret [s] too, has a copy of it from him. And Sozomen likewise [t], gives a particular account of it. Whatever was the time of this persecution, a notion that the [u] Christians in Persia favoured the Roman empire, (either under Constantine or Constantius), was one pretence for it. Whether the Christians gave any just ground for such a suspicion or charge, we cannot certainly say. But if they did, they were to blame: for the Christian religion teaches men to be faithful subjects of the government under which they live, and by which they are protected. Possibly, that charge against the Persian Christians had no other foundation, but the suspicions, or pretences and insinuations of ambitious and artful, or bigotted and prejudiced men; who had some private ends to serve, or mean passion to gratify thereby. But if Constantine, or his successor, had protected the heathens, as well as the Christians, in his empire, I think, he might have sent the king of Persia more forcible and effectual remonstrances against that dreadful persecution, than he did.

VIII. I proceed to observe Constantine's testimony to the scriptures.

1. Eusebius, giving an account of Constantine's conversion, says, 'From [x] that time he resolved to give himself to the 'reading of the divine scriptures.'

2. We saw before, in a passage already cited, 'that [y] Con-'stantine had a kind of church in his own palace, and with 'cheerfulness led the way to those that assembled there with 'him. Taking the sacred books in his own hands, he atten-'tively read and meditated upon the divine oracles.'

3. Our historian drawing a comparison between former emperors and Constantine, says, 'They [z] ordered the divine ora-'cles to be burned: he gave directions for multiplying co-'pies of them, and for magnificently adorning them at the ex-'pence of the imperial treasury.'

Whether this be something different from what is to be presently taken notice of, or the same with it, I cannot certainly say.

q Petav. Rat. Temp. Part i. l. vi. c. 2.
r l. iv. c. 9—13.
s Thdrt. l. i. c. 25.
t Soz. l. ii. c. 15.
u Και διαβαλλουσι προς σαβωρην τον τοτε βασιλεα συμφωνιαν ——, ως φιλοι οντα τω καισαρι ῥωμαιων, και τα παρων πραγματα τε κατα μαιουσιτα. Soz. l. ii. c. 9. in. Vid. & Asseman. ubi supra. p. 183. a.
x Και αυτος δ' ηδη τοις ενθεοις αναγνωμασι προσεγειν ηξιου. De V. C. l. i. c. 2[illegible]
y See p. 170.
z De V. C. l. [illegible] c. 1. p. 183. A.

4. Con-

4. Constantine having enlarged the city of Byzantium, and consecrated it in the year 330, by the name of Constantinople, wrote a letter to our bishop of Cæsarea, to send him fifty copies of the sacred scriptures for the use of the churches there. The letter probably was written about the year 332, and is to this purpose.

'The [a] city that bears our name, through the goodness of 'providence increases daily, and there [b] will be occasion for 'erecting in it many churches. Wherefore [c] we hope, you 'will approve of our design, and take care to procure fifty 'copies of the divine scriptures, which you know to be ne'cessary in churches, of fine parchment, legible, and easily 'portable, that they may be the fitter for use, transcribed by 'such as are most skilful in the art of fair-writing. Directions 'are given to the receiver-general of the province to furnish 'you with all things needful. By virtue of this letter you 'may demand the use of two public carriages, for the more 'commodious and speedy conveyance of the fairly written 'books to us. And if you send them by a deacon of your 'church, he will be made sensible of our bounty. Which or'ders,' as Eusebius adds, 'were immediately obeyed by us. 'And [d] we sent him ternions and quaternions magnificently 'adorned, as appears by the emperor's answer, contained in a 'letter sent to us upon another occasion.'

Valesius in his notes upon this place says, that books written on parchments were generally bound up in ternions and quaternions. The former consisted of three, the latter of four sheets. So that a ternion had twelve, a quaternion sixteen pages. And upon the last page of these several divisions was written its number, 1, 2, 3, and the rest.

It is commonly supposed, that hereby is to be understood so many copies of the sacred scriptures both of the Old and the New Testament. But I have sometimes suspected, that two carriages were scarce sufficient for fifty copies of the Bible, fairly written upon parchment, and handsomely done up. If that were the case, it might lead us to think, that Constantine wrote only for copies of the New Testament.

[a] De V. C. l. iv. c. 36.

[b] —— καὶ ἐκκλησίας εἰ αὖθι καθασκευασθεῖεν, &c. ibid. [c] —— ὅπως ἂν ἡμῖν τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ εἰδῶμεν διῃρημένα· ἐξαιρέτως δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν εὐμετακόμιστα, τῇ τεχνῇ καλλιγράφων, καὶ τῇ τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἐπιστάμενα· γράφηναι κελεύσεως· τῶν θείων δηλαδὴ γραφῶν, ὧν μάλιστα τὴν τ' ἐπίσκευὴν καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λαῷ αἰσθήσεσθαι. ib. p. 544. A. [d] —— εἰ πολυτελῶς κεκαμμένοις τεύχεσι· τρισσὰ καὶ τετρασσὰ διαπεμψαίμεθα ἡμῶν. ib. c. 37.

The

The tenor of Constantine's letter leads us to suppose, that these copies of scripture were not for private use, but for the use of churches; and probably for the public readings there. However, I may add, that before the end of the fourth century it seems to have been customary, in some places at least, to have a bible, or some part of the sacred scripture, lodged [e] in some part of the church, for people to read in at their leisure.

5. Eusebius mentions it to the honour of Constantine, that [f] he persuaded many, both men and women, to seek the true nourishment of their souls in reading the holy scriptures.

6. Theodoret says, 'that Constantine recommended to the 'bishops assembled in the council of Nice, to decide all things 'by the scriptures. It is pity, he said, that now when their 'enemies were subdued, they should differ and be divided 'among themselves; especially when [g] they had the doctrine 'of the Holy Ghost in writing. For, as he added, the writ-'ings of the evangelists and apostles, and the oracles of the 'ancient prophets, clearly teach us how we ought to think of 'God.'

So Theodoret. But as this is no where distinctly related by Eusebius, perhaps it may be best not to rely entirely upon this account.

7. I add no more. This is sufficient to satisfy us of Constantine's sincere respect for the sacred scriptures. Nor can there be any question made, but he received all those books of scripture, both of the Old and New Testament, which were generally received by the Christians of his time.

[e] Si quem sancta tenet meditandi in lege voluntas,
Hic poterit residens sacris intendere libris.
Paulin. Nolan. ep. 12. ad Severum.

[f] Τις γυναια και μυρια πληθη ανδρων ανεπεπεικε, δι' ενθεων αναγνωσματων αντικαταλαξεσθαι των του σωματος τριφων; De Laud. Constant. c. 17. p. 661. C.

[g] —— και του παναγιου πνευματος την διδασκαλιαν αναγραπτον εχοντας. Ευαγγελικαι γαρ, φησιν, βιβλοι, και αποστολικαι, και των παλαιων προφητων τα θεσπισματα, σαφως ημας, α χρη περι του θειου φρονειν, εκπαιδευουσι. Thdrt. H. E. l. i. c. 7. p. 25. C. D.

THE

THE CREDIBILITY OF THE GOSPEL HISTORY;

PART II.

[VOL. VIII. FIRST PUBLISHED IN MDCCL.]

PREFACE.

Some of my learned friends have been of opinion, that I need not to carry on this work below Eusebius of Cæsarea: and indeed I think, that the period ending with him, contains what is sufficient to make good the great design of the work, and answer the title of it, The Credibility of the Gospel History. But as my design leads me to shew, in the fullest manner, the genuineness and authority of the books of the New Testament, the original records of that history, and not a few material things relating to them may be collected out of later writers, I have thought it best to proceed. And I suppose, that the chapters following that of Eusebius, in this very volume, may justify my intention. But, as I hinted in the advertisement prefixed to the fifth volume, I may now contract. I shall not think myself obliged to take notice of all succeeding authors: I shall omit very many, especially after the end of the fourth century. And with regard to those whom I produce, I shall do little more than take their testimony to the scriptures, and some select passages: and I shall write their history, for the most part, no further than may be requisite to settle their time, and distinguish their genuine writings from others, if any have been falsly ascribed to them.

CHAP. LXXI.

THE COUNCIL OF NICE.

I. *The occasion of the Council.* II. *Convened by Constantine.* III. *The number of the bishops present.* IV. *Were chiefly of the Eastern part of the Roman Empire.* V. *Who presided in the Council, and the place of meeting.* VI. *Its time and duration.* VII. *Whether the Bible was placed before them?* VIII. *The points decided by them, with their Creed, Epistle, and Canons.* IX. *All the bishops signed the Creed, except a very few.* X. *The sentence passed upon Arius.* XI. *The judgments of ancients and moderns upon this Council.* XII. *The determination of the Council concerning Meletius.* XIII. *Concerning the time of keeping Easter, with remarks.* XIV. *Concerning the Arian controversy, with remarks.*

I. When Constantine became master of the East in 323, or 324, after the final defeat of Licinius, a warm controversy was on foot in Egypt, and the neighbouring countries, which gave the emperor a great deal of uneasiness. In order to put (A) an end to it, and to restore peace to the churches, he sent, as [a] Eusebius says, a bishop of great note, (Hosius bishop of Cor-

(A) They who are desirous to inform themselves farther about the council of Nice, may consult Tho. Ittigi Hist. Conc. Nic. Tillemont Mem. Ec. T. vi. Pagi crit. in Baron. Ann. 325. 327. 340. & Basnage Ann. &c, &c. [a] De V. C. l. ii, c. 61. &c.

duba,

duba, as Socrates [b] informs us,) with a letter addreſſed to the biſhop Alexander, and the preſbyter Arius, the two principal contending parties. But notwithſtanding the arguments and intreaties of the emperor's letter, and the utmoſt endeavours of the good man who carried it, the contention, as [c] Euſebius aſſures us, grew ſtill warmer, and ſpread wider: or, as Socrates ſays, neither [d] Alexander nor Arius were ſoftened thereby, and among the people diſturbances increaſed.

II. Whereupon ſome time in the year 324, Conſtantine ſent letters into the ſeveral provinces of the empire, inviting the biſhops to come and aſſemble themſelves at Nice in Bithynia: at the ſame time giving orders alſo for furniſhing them with beaſts, or carriages, and for bearing the expences of their journey. And according to what Euſebius writes, 'there came 'thither [e] biſhops from Syria, Cilicia, Phœnicia, Arabia, Pa- 'leſtine, Egypt, Thebais, Libya, Meſopotamia. There was 'alſo at the ſynod a biſhop from Perſia. Nor were there want- 'ing ſome from Scythia. And the moſt eminent of their bi- 'ſhops came alſo from Pontus, Galatia, Pamphylia, Cappa- 'docia, Aſia, and Phrygia. Likewiſe from Thrace, Mace- 'donia, Achaia, Epirus. From Spain a biſhop of great note. 'The biſhop of Rome did not come, becauſe of his great age: 'but there were preſbyters deputed by him.' Their names, in [f] Sozomen, are Vito and Vincentius.

III. The biſhops who met in this council, as Euſebius ſays, were [g] more than 250, beſide preſbyters, and deacons, acolythiſts, and others, whoſe number could not be eaſily counted. Euſtathius, biſhop of Antioch, as cited by [h] Theodoret, ſays, there were about 270 biſhops. Athanaſius reckons the numbers differently. In one place he ſays, they were [i] 318, in another [k] about 300, in other places [l] 300. Sozomen computes the number at [m] about 320. Socrates, tranſcribing the paſſage of Euſebius before referred to, puts down [n] above 300. And afterwards he ſays they were [o] 318. Conſtantine, in his letter to the people of Alexandria, as exhibited by Socrates, ſpeaks of the ſynod's conſiſting of [p] more than 300. Afterwards [q] of 300. Theodoret, who cites the paſſage of Euſtathius above referred to, does himſelf count [r] them 318. This is the num-

[b] Socr. l. i. c. 7. in. [c] Ib. c. 23. [d] Οὔτε γὰρ ἀλεξάνδρος, οὔτε ἄρειος ὑπὸ τῶν γραφέντων ἐμαλάττοντο. Socr. ib. c. 8. in. [e] De V. C. l. iii. c. 6, 7, 8. Conf. Socr. l. i. c. 8. Sozom. l. i. c. 16. [f] L. i. c. 17. [g] De V. C. l. iii. c. 8. [h] L. i. c. 8. in. [i] Ad Afr. Epiſc. c. 2. p. 892. A. [k] Τριακοσίοι μᾶλλον ἢ ὀλίγῳ πλείονες. Hiſt. Arian. ad Monach. c. 66. p. 383. D. [l] Οἱ τριακόσιοι. κ. λ. Apol. contr. Arian. n. 23. p. 143. D. Τῶν τριακοσίων τὴν ψῆφον. Ib. n. 25. p. 144. F. Vid. & de Synodis, num. 43. p. 757. [m] Soz. l. i. c. 17. p. 430. B. [n] Socr. l. i. c. 8. p. 19. D. [o] Ib. p. 23. A. [p] Socr. l. i. c. 9. p. 30. D. [q] Ib. p. 31. A. [r] L. i. c. 7. p. 24. B.

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ber which has been generally followed. And divers ancient writers have obſerved a myſtery in it, that ' the ſynod ſhould conſiſt exactly of the ſame number of men, with which Abraham " overcame his enemies. Epiphanius ſays, the number was 318, as ' appeared from the ſubſcriptions then in being. And yet Euſtathius, in Theodoret, does moſt expreſly ſay, that ' he did not exactly know the number: which is ſomewhat ſtrange, if there be any truth in what Epiphanius ſays.

The late Mr. Beauſobre, who did not implicitly embrace the prevailing opinions of the times in which he lived, and allowed himſelf to conſider impartially what he met with in antiquity, has ſome thoughts upon this point, which may be placed here. ' Euſebius [w], who made a great figure in the ' council of Nice, makes it not to conſiſt of more than two ' hundred and fifty biſhops. Euſtathius of Antioch, who com- ' plimented Conſtantine in an oration, counts them about two ' hundred and ſeventy . . . Athanaſius, who in two places ſays, ' they were three hundred more or leſs, and elſewhere three ' hundred, in his letter to the African biſhops ſays at length, ' they were three hundred and eighteen. I ſuſpect, or rather ' I make no doubt, but this laſt place has been altered. It is ' not likely that Athanaſius, who ſeveral times expreſſeth him- ' ſelf looſely, ſhould in one place be ſo preciſe.' So that acute author. He afterwards obſerves ſeveral other alterations of numbers in ancient authors, concerning this very matter; and then concludes: ' If the [x] fact were capable of proof, I could ' venture to be poſitive, that the number of biſhops preſent in ' the council of Nice was not fixed at three hundred and eigh- ' teen, till after the myſtery of it had been found out.'

IV. I hope I may be excuſed for not giving a particular account of the names and characters of the biſhops, known to have been preſent at the council: whether Homouſians, or favourers of Arius. For this I would refer to the ancient [y] eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians and their commentators. I would nevertheleſs obſerve, that the council conſiſted chiefly of biſhops from the ſeveral parts of the Eaſt. It does not appear that there were many out of Europe: or that there were any from Africa, excluſive of Egypt and parts adjacent, except Cæcilian biſhop of Carthage.

[v] Vid. Hilar. de Synod. n. 86. & 118. Ambr. de Fid. n. 5. & paſſim. Liber. ap. Socr. l. iv. c. 12. p. 223. A. B. * Gen. xiv. 14. ——καὶ τὰ σώματα εἰς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκέτας τριακοσίους δεκαὲξ καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐκτήσατο. H. 69. n. 11. [u] Τὸ γὰρ σαφὲς διὰ τὸν τῆς συνόδου ἀριθμὸν οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι· τὰ δὲ ἀνάγραφα. Ap. Theodrt. l. i. c. 8. in fin. [w] Hiſt. de Manich. T. i. p. 529. [x] Ib. p. 591. [y] Vid. Socr. l. i. c. 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15. Soz. l. i. c. 10, 11. Theod. l. i. c. 11.

V. I

V. I forbear to enquire who preſided in the council; whether the legates of the biſhop of Rome, or Euſtathius of Antioch, or ſome other: and who [z] complimented the emperor in a ſhort oration upon his coming into the aſſembly; whether Euſtathius before named, or Euſebius of Cæſarea: as alſo, where the council was held; whether in a church, or in the emperor's palace. They who have a curioſity to be ſatisfied upon thoſe heads, may conſult the authors referred to in a note at the beginning of this chapter.

VI. The council was aſſembled at Nice in Bithynia in the year of Chriſt 325. How long it ſat is not abſolutely certain. Some have made it laſt two or three years; but learned moderns generally contract it within a ſmall ſpace. Baſnage thinks it [a] did not continue longer than ſix weeks, beginning the 19th of June, and ending the 25th of July. But for the moſt part learned men are of opinion, that it ſat ſomewhat above two months, beginning the 19th of June, and riſing the 25th of Auguſt. So [b] Cave, and [c] others, following [d] Pagi; with whom Beveridge [e] likewiſe agrees.

VII. Some have ſuppoſed, that [f] the Bible, or the New Teſtament at leaſt, was placed upon a table in the midſt of the council, to intimate what was the rule by which they ought to decide. James Baſnage in his Hiſtory of the Church expreſly ſays [g] ſo: which I wonder he ſhould do, without referring to ſome authority. The paſſage of Theodoret, alleged by me [h] elſewhere, is no direct or full proof. The goſpels were ſo placed in the council of Chalcedon; which may have been the caſe likewiſe in this council; but I do not know of any clear evidence of it.

VIII. The three points debated and determined there, as appears from all the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, and from the ſynodical epiſtle of the council itſelf, were the Arian controverſy

z Vid. Euſeb. de V. C. l. iii. c. 11. & Thdrt. l. i. c. 7. Soz. l. i. c. 19.

a Nos ſeſqui fere menſis ſpatio circumſcriptum eſſe putamus . . . cum a Junii xix. quo ſynodus incepit, ad uſque Julii xxv. ſpatii ſatis foret abſolvendis negotiis omnibus, quorum patres una convenerant. Baſn. An. 325. n. 13. b Et ita quidem poſt menſes duos, & ſex dies, die nempe Auguſti xxv. celeberrimæ huic ſynodo finis imponitur. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 350.

c Vit. Ittig. Hiſt. Conc. Nic. n. 10.

d Vid. A. 325. n. 6, 7. e Bever. Annot. in Can. Conc. Nic. p. 42. f.

f 'Did not Conſtantine the emperor, 'at the opening of the firſt general council, 'lay the bible before them, as the only 'rule, according to which they were to 'proceed, and this with the approbation 'of all thoſe holy fathers that were aſſem-'bled in that council?' Tillotſon's Serm. viii. Vol. 2. p. 64. folio. g Enfin la deciſion . . . étoit claire, & conforme à l'Evangile, qu' on avoit placé au milieu du Concile, afin d' être la regale de la foi. Hiſt. de l'Egliſe, T. i. p. 494. n. 2.

h See p. 186. i —— εν μεσῳ τῳ αγιαδελφῳ και αχριβεις ευαγγελιῳ. Labb. Conc. T. 4. p. 93. C.

before

before mentioned, the time of keeping Easter, and the affair of Meletius in Egypt.

There is nothing remaining of this council, but [k] the creed, the [l] synodical epistle, and [m] twenty canons: in (B) which last there is no catalogue of the books of scripture. But if the story of Paphnutius, related by [n] Socrates, and [o] Sozomen, be true, it may be thence argued, that this council received the epistle to the Hebrews.

IX. All the bishops present at the council did at last sign the creed, except Secundus bishop of Ptolemais, and Theonas of Marmarica, both in Egypt. Sozomen's account is, 'that [p] 'at length they all in general decreed, that the Son was con-'substantial to the Father. It was said, that there were seven-'teen who at the first favoured the doctrines of Arius: but at 'length most of these came over to the common opinion.' Socrates seems to say, that [q] there were five who stood out to the last, and would not receive the consubstantial doctrine: namely, the two Egyptian bishops above named, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nice, and Maris of Chalcedon. But the truth is, that though these three last hesitated for a time, all subscribed in the end, except Secundus and Theonas. So Philostorgius says [r] expressly; and to the like purpose [s] Theodoret: and it is manifest from the words of the council itself, in [t] their synodical epistle, to be quoted presently.

X. The synod excommunicated Arius, and those who agreed with him, and forbade his going to Alexandria, as [u] Sozomen writes. He adds, 'The [w] emperor banished Arius, and also published an edict, that Arius and his followers should be esteemed impious: that wherever any of his writings were found, they should be burned; and that if after this any were detected concealing his books, they should be liable to death.' Socrates speaking of the same edict says, one part of it was, that [x] Arius and his followers should be called Porphyrians, as having deserved the same brand of infamy, that had been affixed on Porphyry for writing against the Christian religion.

[k] Vid. Socrat. l. i. c. 8. p. 22, & 25.
[l] Ap. Socr. l. i. c. 9. Thdrt. l. i. c. 9.
[m] Thdrt. l. i. c. 8. f. Soz. l. i. c. 23. in. Epiph. H. 69. n. 11. p. 735. A.
(B) That it made no catalogue of sacred books, see Du Pin. Diss. Prelim. Sect. v. p. 12. Tillem. Concil. de Nicée, art. xvi. fin. Basnage Hist. de l'Eglise, l. viii. ch. 8. n. 1.
[n] Socr. l. i. c. 11.
[o] Soz. l. i. c. 23.
[p] ——συνεβησαν αλληλοις παντες οι ιερεις, και ομοουσιον ειναι τω πατρι τον υιον εψηφισαντο. κ. λ. Soz. l. i. c. 20. in.
[q] Socr. l. i. c. 8. p. 23. A. B.
[r] Vid. Philost. l. i. n. 8, 9.
[s] Theod. l. i. c. 8. fin.
[t] Ap. Socrat. l. i. c. 9.
[u] Soz. l. i. c. 21. p. 435. C. D. & 436. A. B.
[w] Soz. ibid.
[x] Socr. l. i. c. 9. p. 32. A. B.

This

This whole sentence therefore all the adherents of Arius were involved in, equally with himself, except what relates to his writings. And every part of this sentence, I think, had been decreed before the council broke up, and is included in these modest, or artful expressions of the synodical epistle. 'And [y] the things that have been decreed concerning him either you have already heard, or will hear; that we may not seem to insult a man, who has received the just reward of his iniquity. And [z] so far has his impiety prevailed, as to draw into the like perdition Theonas of Marmarica, and Secundus of Ptolemais. For the same sentence has been passed upon them and him.'

XI. This council has received great commendations from many, both ancients and moderns. Athanasius, agreeably to the sense of many others in his own time, says, that one council was sufficient without any other. These Epiphanius [b] reckoned to be the two great benefits, which the church received from divine providence by means of Constantine: that by calling the council of Nice, he procured a determination of faith against Arians, and a certain rule for keeping Easter.

By moderns this [c] is said to be not only the first œcumenical council, but also the most celebrated council, since the time of the apostles. It is [d] the most famous, and the most venerable of all councils: than [e] which the church has nothing more illustrious.

It has also been censured by some of former, as well as later ages. Sabinus, bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, one of those Arians, which were called Macedonians, who wrote a history of councils, and is often cited by Socrates, called [f] the bishops of the council of Nice weak and illiterate men. Among moderns some have not scrupled to say, that in this, as well as in most other councils, party, passion and intrigue, bore a great sway. I put down [g] at large in the margin one censure of this kind.

[y] Ap. Socr. ib. p. 28. A. B.

[z] Τοσουτον δε ισχυσεν αυτου η ασεβεια, ... των γαρ αυτων κακεινοι τετυχηκασιν. Ap. Socr. p. 28. B.

[a] Τις η χρεια των συνοδων, αρκουσης της εν νικαιᾳ γενομενης προς τε την αρειανην και τας αλλας αιρεσεις; de Synod. n. 6. p. 720. A. ... Αλλα μονον κρατειτο εν υμιν η εν νικαιᾳ παρα πατερων ομολογηθεισα πιστις. ... Αυτη γαρ η εν νικαιᾳ συνοδος αληθως στηλογραφια κατα πασης αιρεσεως εστιν. Ad African. n. 10. & 11. p. 899. D.

[b] H. 70. n. ix. p. 821. B. C.

[c] Oecumenicarum prima, omnium post apostolicas celebratissima synodus. Beverig. Annot. p. 42.

[d] Basnag. Hist. de l'Eglise, liv. x. ch. 2. n. ii.

[e] —— hunc Nicænum patrum confessum, quo nihil deinde unquam illustrius habuit ecclesia. Balduin. De Leg. Const. M. l. i. p. 55.

[f] Τους μεν εν νικαιᾳ, ως αφελεις και ιδιωτας διεσυρε. Socr. l. i. c. 8. p. 22. A. Αλλ' ιδιωτας, και μη εχειν γνωσιν, τους εκει συνελθοντας φησιν. c. 9. p. 31. D.

[g] Quod

XII.

XII. Let us in the next place obſerve the ſeveral points brought before this council.

One was the Meletian controverſy, or ſchiſm. Of which I intend not to give any farther account than was done [h] formerly. I only add, it ſeems to me, that there could be no occaſion to call a general council for the ſake of it. It might have been determined by the Egyptian biſhops, and their neighbours.

XIII. Another point brought before them, and one [i] occaſion of their meeting, was the diſagreement of the churches in ſeveral parts of the world about the time of keeping Eaſter: which the council now determined ſhould be obſerved by all on the Sunday, which followed immediately after the 14th of the moon, that happened next after the vernal equinox: which (equinox) happened that year on the 21ſt day of March.

Upon this we may make ſeveral remarks.

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[h] See Vol. iii. p. 357—360.

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XIV. But the principal determination of the council of Nice relates to the Arian controversy.

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[m] De die Paschæ quæstio res levior videri poterat. . . . Superstitiosior fortassis fuit posteritas in hoc genere, quam opus erat. Atque ut eam puniret Deus, passus est, sensim vitiata anni mensium temporandorum vera ratione, & æquinoctiorum diligenti consideratione neglecta, eo rem recidere, ut integro prope mense imprudentes plerumque dissideamus ab eo, quem Niceni Patres præfixerant, die

senatum Basileensem responso, de die, quo celebrandum Pascha, censet, negligi debuisse tam canones Nicænos, quam operosam supputationem astronomicam plenilunii Paschalis. Ejusdem hæc sunt: Melius fuisset, si Protestantes non essent secuti statuta Concilii Nicæni. sed quendam solis, dium in Principium veris incidentem: e. g. primum post æquinoctium vernum, determinassent, ac decrevissent, ut eo die annuatim festum Paschatis celebretur. Hac methodo omnes lites tolli possent.

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The hiſtory of the church in the fourth century, fully juſtifies the obſervations of thoſe writers. In ſhort, notwithſtanding the profeſſions made by many, of a high veneration for councils, men do not value them any farther, than they countenance their own particular opinions; and if they are under no reſtraints of external force, they contradict their deciſions without ſcruple.

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This whole sentence therefore all the adherents of Arius were involved in, equally with himself, except what relates to his writings. And every part of this sentence, I think, had been decreed before the council broke up, and is included in these modest, or artful expressions of the synodical epistle. 'And [y] the things that have been decreed concerning him either you have already heard, or will hear; that we may not 'seem to insult a man, who has received the just reward of his 'iniquity. And [z] so far has his impiety prevailed, as to draw 'into the like perdition Theonas of Marmarica, and Secun'dus of Ptolemais. For the same sentence has been passed 'upon them and him.'

XI. This council has received great commendations from many, both ancients and moderns. Athanasius, agreeably to the sense of many others in his own time, says, that one council was sufficient without any other. These Epiphanius [b] reckoned to be the two great benefits, which the church received from divine providence by means of Constantine: that by calling the council of Nice, he procured a determination of faith against Arians, and a certain rule for keeping Easter.

By moderns this [c] is said to be not only the first œcumenical council, but also the most celebrated council, since the time of the apostles. It is [d] the most famous, and the most venerable of all councils: than [e] which the church has nothing more illustrious.

It has also been censured by some of former, as well as later ages. Sabinus, bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, one of those Arians, which were called Macedonians, who wrote a history of councils, and is often cited by Socrates, called [f] the bishops of the council of Nice weak and illiterate men. Among moderns some have not scrupled to say, that in this, as well as in most other councils, party, passion and intrigue, bore a great sway. I put down [g] at large in the margin one censure of this kind.

y Ap. Socr. ib. p. 28. A. B.

z Τοσαύτη δε ισχυσεν αυτου η ασεβεια, ... των γαρ αυτων κακεινοι τετυχηκασιν. Ap. Socr. p. 28. B. a Τις η χρεια των συνοδων, αρκουσης της εν νικαια γενομενης περι τε των αρειανων και των αλλας αιρεσεις; de Synod. n. 6. p. 720. A. .... Αλλα μονον κρατειτω εν υμιν η εν νικαια παρα πατερων ομολογηθεισα πιστις. ... Αυτη γαρ η εν νικαια συνοδος αληθως στηλογραφια καλα πασης αιρεσεως εστιν. Ad African. n. 10. & 11. p. 899. D. b H. 70. n. ix. p. 821. B. C. c Oecumenicarum prima, omnium post apostolicas celebratissima synodus. Beverig. Annot. p. 42.

d Basnag. Hist. de l'Eglise, liv. x. ch. 2. n. ii. e —— hunc Nicænum patrum confessum, quo nihil deinde unquam illustrius habuit ecclesia. Balduin. De Leg. Const. M. l. i. p. 55. f Τους μεν εν νικαια, ως αφελεις και ιδιωτας διεσυρε. Socr. l. i. c. 8. p. 22. A. Αλλ' ιδιωτας, και μη εχειν γνωσιν, της εκει συνελθουσης φησιν. c. 9. p. 31. D. g Quod

XII.

XII. Let us in the next place obſerve the ſeveral points brought before this council.

One was the Meletian controverſy, or ſchiſm. Of which I intend not to give any farther account than was done [h] formerly. I only add, it ſeems to me, that there could be no occaſion to call a general council for the ſake of it. It might have been determined by the Egyptian biſhops, and their neighbours.

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n Bing. Antiq. B. xx. Ch. v. Vol. 9. p. 107. &c. Conf. Ittig. Hist. Conc. Nic. p. 60, 61, 104.

o Rectius facturos fuisse Theologos Nicænos, si Pascha, æque ac Christi festum natale, jussissent eo die celebrari, quo resurrexisse credimus Christum, in quemcunque diem hebdomadis hoc festum incideret, censet Lutherus noster in libro de Conciliis in T. vii. Witteb. Germ. f. 478. Nunc tamen morem tot seculis usitatum migrandum esse, negat. Recte etiam summus ille mathematicus, Jo. Bernullius, in suo ad senatum Basileensem responso, de die, quo celebrandum Pascha, censet, negligi debuisse tam canones Nicænos, quam operosam supputationem astronomicam plenilunii Paschalis. Ejusdem hæc sunt: Melius fuisset, si Protestantes non essent secuti statuta Concilii Nicæni, sed quendam solis, diem in Principium veris incidentem: e. g. primum post æquinoctium vernum, determinassent, ac decrevissent, ut eo die annuatim festum Paschatis celebretur. Hac methodo omnes lites tolli possent, quæ superfluis subtilitatibus ortum suum debent. Heumann. Diss. de Vero Paschate. p. 13. not. m.

p . . . . quo Arianorum contentio damnata est, cusumque symbolum, quo filius Dei *genitus*, non *factus* Patrique *consubstantialis*, affirmabatur. Verum, neque hac definitione, neque illorum exiliis, qui subscribere renuerunt, finis malo allatus est. Quippe Ariani, tum ultimis Constantini annis, tum in primis sub Constantio, Ariano ipso, vires resumsere, nec uno in Concilio prævaluere. Turret. Compend. H. E. p. 33, 34.

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'Pamphilus

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2. No man, or number of men, ſeparate, or united in council, ſince the times of Chriſt and his apoſtles, have any right to decide in matters of faith. It is inconſiſtent with the reſpect due to Jeſus Chriſt, to attempt it: unleſs they can ſhew themſelves to be inſpired, and work miracles, to manifeſt evidently a divine commiſſion. And if any ſuch caſe as that ſhould happen (which is very unlikely), I think that what

[r] Vid. de Vit. Conſtantin. l. iii. c. 23.

[s] ὡς ἀναιρουντας τὴν ὑπαρξιν τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ. ib. C.

[t] Αμφοτεροι τε λεγοντες ἐνυποστατον τε και ἐνυπαρχοντα τον Υἱον ειναι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ενα τε Θεον εν τρισιν ὑποστασεσιν ειναι ὁμολογουντες. κ. λ. p. 58. D.

[u] L. ii. c. 18. p. 468. C. D.

even such persons should propose, must be tried and examined by the doctrine of the gospel, delivered in the New Testament. This is agreeable to many things said by our Lord, particularly Matt. xxiii. 9, 10. *And call no man your father upon the earth; for one is your Father, which is in heaven. Neither be ye called masters; for one is your master, even Christ.* Compare 1 Cor. iii. 11—23.

3. The introducing force and authority in matters of a speculative nature, is subversive of true religion and virtue. For what avail human decisions, when they are not satisfying? If you can bring reason or scripture for any doctrine, men will assent: but [w] to say, that the bishops of such a council have so declared and determined, is not convincing: therefore it ought not to be expected, that men should confess and act, as if they were convinced. If you make use of any methods, beside those of rational arguments, to induce men to profess and act as you desire, you do what lies in your power to make them lie and prevaricate. So did this council of Nice.

It has been sometimes said, that they shew their moderation in their manner of speaking, concerning the sentence passed upon Arius. But I own, I can discern no such thing. There may be art and dissimulation, but there is no real moderation, or sincere kindness in what they write. Whatever the sentence was, they approved of it: if it had not been agreeable to their mind, Constantine would not have banished Arius, or his adherents. Moreover, before the meeting of this council, Alexander and his synod had excommunicated Arius, and banished him from the city of Alexandria.

Thus this council of Nice introduced authority and force in the church, and the affairs of religion. Or, if authority had been introduced before, they now openly countenanced it, and gave it a farther sanction.

This way of acting, may be supposed to have been the chief cause of the ruin of the Christian interest in the east. This and the like determinations of speculative doctrines, and the violent methods, by which they were enforced, may be reckoned to have paved the way for Mahometanism, more than any thing else. By these means ignorance, and hypocrisy, and tedious rituals, came to take place of honesty, true

[w] Conciliis non majorem, quam Aristoteli tribuit auctoritatem Daubuzius in Hydrophis, p. 199. Utrique enim licet [illegible] habendam, quod, quæ latuerunt, recte statuerunt, & vel Scripturæ sacræ vel rationi convenienter. Heumann. Diss. de Ario Turcis. p. 13. not. m.

piety,

piety, and undiſſembled, ſpiritual, and reaſonable worſhip and devotion.

In about three hundred years after the aſcenſion of Jeſus, without the aids of ſecular power, or church authority, the Chriſtian religion ſpread over a large part of Aſia, Europe, and Africa: and at the acceſſion of Conſtantine, and convening the council of Nice, it was almoſt every where, throughout thoſe countries, in a flouriſhing condition. In the ſpace of another three hundred years, or a little more, the beauty of the Chriſtian religion was greatly corrupted in a large part of that extent, its glory defaced, and its light almoſt extinguiſhed. What can this be ſo much owing to, as to the determinations and tranſactions of the council of Nice, and the meaſures then ſet on foot, and followed in ſucceeding times?

Theſe impoſitions poiſon the waters of the ſanctuary at the very fountain. They require the miniſters of Chriſt, the officers of his church, to ſubſcribe certain articles upon pain of heavy forfeitures: and a ſubſcription to theſe articles, whether believed or not, gives a right to preferment. If any ſubſcribe what they are not ſatisfied about, and ſo enter into the ſervice of the church (which is very likely to happen), they gain and hold their offices by the tenure of hypocriſy. How can religion flouriſh in this way? Will the perſons who have ſo ſubſcribed, (without conviction, or againſt it), be ſincere and upright ever afterwards? will they, upon all other occaſions, ſpeak the truth without fear or favour, who have once ſolemnly and deliberately prevaricated? and can others intirely confide in them? or can they heartily reverence them, as upright and diſintereſted men?

The temptation upon ſome occaſions muſt be exceeding ſtrong, and many ſpecious things may be offered, to put a fair colour upon unrighteouſneſs. Even an appearance of religion may concur with ſecular intereſt, to impoſe upon the mind, and lead to what is not to be juſtified. Has a perſon at great expence of ſtudy and labour qualified himſelf for the ſervice of the church, with a ſincere view of uſefulneſs in an important ſtation? how grievous muſt it be, to be after all diſappointed and excluded! If any obſtacles lie in the way, there is great danger of compliance, not quite conſiſtent with duty and conſcience, provided thoſe bars cannot be removed.

The temptation may be ſtill ſtronger to ſome, who are already ſettled in agreeable ſtations. How trying is this caſe! This was the caſe of Euſebius, biſhop of Cæſarea; he was in a ſtation of great honour and uſefulneſs, beloved by his people,

and they by him: moreover, he might imagine, and reasonably, that his usefulness as an author, depended much upon his continuance in that station. Without the advantages which he there enjoyed, he could not carry on his various designs for composing useful books, which he hoped might be of extensive service to the Christian religion, in that and future times. Was not this a temptation to sign what he did not approve of?

I beg leave, however, to add here, that I would be cautious of condemning particular persons, whose circumstances I am not exactly acquainted with. Nor do I absolutely condemn Eusebius: the reason is, that he was present at the drawing up of the Nicene Creed, and declared in what sense he understood the word consubstantial. This is an advantage which may not be allowed to all: when they have not a liberty to explain themselves, it will cause a diversity of case.

Tillemont has these words: 'It[x] was then, fear of banish-
'ment, and of the shame of having so illustrious an assembly
'the witness of their ignominy, that induced the Arians to
'make haste to renounce the doctrines that had been con-
'demned, to anathematize them, and subscribe the consub-
'stantial faith, after all the other bishops; being led by Euse-
'bius of Nicomedia, to confess with the mouth the faith of the
'church, without having it in the heart, as the event shewed.'

How can any man speak in this manner! how can any man triumph in the falls of his fellow-creatures, who has any respect for the Lord Jesus, any love of truth and sincerity, any tenderness of conscience, any sense of equity and goodness! Those Arians confessed with the mouth, and signed with the hand, what they did not believe. For that they are to be blamed. But how came they to do so? It was owing to a fear of ignominy and banishment. But why were they put in fear? Why was a law made to banish such as did not believe the consubstantial doctrine? They offended, who signed; it is allowed: and are they innocent, who laid before them a temptation to sign? Was there a necessity, that they should be required to sign, whether they believed or not? Can you shew any ground or authority from reason, or from Jesus Christ, whereby you are allowed or enjoined to require your brethren to sign certain speculative articles, whether they believe them or not? Nay, is not this quite contrary to the design and example of the Lord Jesus, who never proposed to men any arguments, but such as were suited to gain the judgment? and

x Le Concile de Nicée, Art. x. near the end. Mem. Tom. vi.

who

who, when many forſook him, who had followed him for a time, took that opportunity, to refer it to the choice of thoſe who ſtill ſtayed with him, whether [y] *they alſo would go away?*

If any pretend it to be of importance, that others ſhould ſign or profeſs certain doctrines, ſuppoſed by them to be true; I would anſwer, that ſincerity is of yet greater importance. And you ought never to endeavour to ſecure the intereſt of ſpeculative points, with the prejudice of what is of greater moment, honeſty and integrity.

4. It remains, that when this council met, inſtead of deciding by their authority, and enforcing by worldly menaces or recompences, any ſpeculative doctrines, they ſhould rather have recommended forbearance and moderation to all parties.

They ought to have adviſed men to practiſe love and forbearance one to another, and ſhould have intreated them, if there be any *bowels* [z] *and mercies*, and for the love of Jeſus, *to receive* [a] *one another in love*, as the apoſtle ſays, *but not to doubtful diſputations*: that is, to own each other for brethren, and communicate together as Chriſtians, notwithſtanding ſome differences of opinion. Or, if any could not perſuade themſelves to do this, that yet they ſhould allow each other full liberty to profeſs their principles, and carry on their worſhip, according to their own ſentiments, in their religious aſſemblies, in their own way. This at leaſt they ſhould have recommended, and with the utmoſt earneſtneſs, as altogether reaſonable, agreeable to the goſpel, and abſolutely neceſſary for the honour of the Chriſtian name. And they ſhould have humbly recommended it to the emperor, to take care accordingly, and in his great wiſdom to provide, that all who acted peaceably ſhould be protected, in the ſeveral cities where they dwelt: and that all who cauſed tumults and diſturbances, or by any outward act infringed the liberty of their neighbours, on account of diverſity of opinion, ſhould be reſtrained and puniſhed, as the nature of their offence required.

Poſſibly ſome may ſay, that ſuch thoughts as theſe are founded upon the experience and obſervation of later ages; and that all this is more than could be reaſonably expected of any men, however wiſe, at that time.

To which I anſwer, that it is no more than might have been expected: for it is not more than what men are taught by the common principles of equity. The goſpel too, teaches and enacts moderation and forbearance, and condemns all im-

[y] John vi. 67. [z] Philip. ii. 2. [a] Rom. xiv. 1.

position on the consciences of men, and all force and violence in things of religion.

Farther, what has been here suggested, is no more than what the Christians had before demanded and expected of heathens in power, as just and reasonable: they were therefore self-condemned in acting otherwise. If it was reasonable, that they should be tolerated and protected by heathen emperors; much more was it reasonable and evident, that all other sects of Christians should be tolerated and protected by that sect which happened to be the most numerous and powerful.

Finally, for the main part, this is no other than the advice sent [b] by Constantine, in his letter to Alexander and Arius, which the bishops assembled in council should have stood to. Nothing could have been more for their honour, and the interest of religion, than for them to have enforced with all their credit, the sage, and pious, and moderate counsels of the emperor.

I have taken all this freedom, thus to propose these thoughts. But I do not mention them so much by way of blame and censure, as with a view of amendment; that Christians in general may at length be so wise, as to consult the true interest of their religion: and hoping, that they who are in high stations in the church, and have a powerful influence, will improve all opportunities, and use their best endeavours, that *the* [c] *moderation of Christians may be known unto all men.*

CHAP. LXXII.

Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea.

I. *A brief account of his life.* II. *His works.* III. *General remarks upon his works.* IV. *Whether he was an Arian?* V. *His character.* VI. *Select passages.* VII. *Four passages concerning the books of the New Testament.* VIII. *Remarks upon those passages.* IX. *Books of the New Testament received by Eusebius himself.* X. *Of the controverted and spurious writings mentioned by him.* XI. *The time of writing St. Matthew's gospel, according to Eusebius.* XII. *The language of St. Matthew's gospel, and of the epistle to the Hebrews.* XIII. *Various readings.* XIV. *Of the canon of the Old Testament, received by this writer.* XV. *General divisions of scripture.* XVI. *Respect for the scriptures.* XVII. *The sum of his testimony.*

[b] Vid. Euseb. de Vit. Const. l. ii. c. 64. &c. & Socr. l. i. c. 7.

[c] Philip. iv. 5.

I. [c] Euse-

I. 'EUSEBIUS biſhop of Cæſarea in Paleſtine,' ſays [a] Jerom, 'a man moſt ſtudious in the divine ſcriptures, and together with the martyr Pamphilus, very diligent (A) in making a large collection of eccleſiaſtical writers, publiſhed innumerable volumes, ſome of which are theſe: The Evangelical Demonſtration in twenty books: The Evangelical Preparation, in fifteen books: Five books of the Theophanie: Ten books of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory: Chronical Canons of univerſal hiſtory, and an Epitome of them: and Of the Difference between the Goſpels: Ten books upon Iſaiah: Againſt Porphyry, who at the ſame time wrote in Sicily, thirty books as ſome think, though I have never met with more than twenty: Topics in one book: An Apology for Origen in ſix books: The Life of Pamphilus, in three books: Several ſmall Pieces concerning the Martyrs: moſt learned Commentaries upon the 150 Pſalms, and many other works. He flouriſhed chiefly under the emperors Conſtantine and Conſtantius. On account of his friendſhip with the martyr Pamphilus he received his ſurname from him.'

Euſebius, as is generally thought, and with ſome good degree of probability, was born at Cæſarea in Paleſtine, about [b] the year 270, or, as ſome [c] think, ſooner. We have no account of his parents, or who were his inſtructors in early life. Nor is there any thing certainly known of his family and relations: for Pamphilus, as is evident, was only a friend. Arius, in a letter to Euſebius of Nicomedia, calls our Euſebius his [d] brother. But I do not think, that the word ought to be underſtood literally. It is not common for two brothers

[a] Euſebius Cæſareæ Paleſtinæ epiſcopus, in ſcripturis divinis ſtudioſiſſimus, & bibliothecæ divinæ cum Pamphilo martyre diligentiſſimus perveſtigator, edidit infinita volumina, de quibus hæc ſunt: Ευαγγελικης αποδειξεως libri viginti: Ευαγγελικης προπαρασκευης libri quindecim: Θεοφανιας libri quinque: Eccleſiaſticæ Hiſtoriæ libri decem: Chronicorum Canonum omnimoda hiſtoria, & eorum Επιτομη: Et de Evangeliorum Diaphonia: In Iſaiam libri decem: Et contra Porphyrium, qui eodem tempore ſcribebat in Sicilia, ut quidam putant, libri triginta, de quibus ad me viginti tantum pervenerunt: Τοπικων liber unus: Απολογιας pro Origine libri ſex: De Vita Pamphili libri tres: De Martyribus alia opuſcula: Et in centum quinquaginta Pſalmos eruditiſſimi commentarii, & multa alia. Floruit maxime ſub Conſtantino imperatore & Conſtantio. Et ob amicitiam Pamphili martyris ab eo cognomentum ſortitus eſt. Hieron. de V. I. c. 81.

(A) That interpretation was juſtified formerly. See Vol. iii. p. 335, 336. And it is the ſenſe in which the words were always underſtood, till very lately. Says Valeſius, ſpeaking of Pamphilus: Qui cum literarum ſacrarum ſingulari amore flagraret, omneſque eccleſiaſticorum ſcriptorum libros ſummo ſtudio conquireret, celeberrimam ſcholam ac bibliothecam inſtituit Cæſareæ. De Vit. & Scriptis Euſeb. Cæſ. ſub init.

[b] Natus ... circa annum, ſi divinare liceat, 270. Cav. H. L. in Euſeb. Cæſ.

[c] Tillemont argues, that he was born about the year 264. Euſeb. Art. i. Vid. & Valeſ. de Vit. & Script. Euſeb. Cæſ. ſub init.

[d] Ευσεβιος ο αδελφος συ εν Καισαρεια. Ap. Thdrt. l. i. c. 5. p. 21. A.

to

to have one and the ſame name. Euſebius of Nicomedia, ſpeaking of him of Cæſarea, calls him [e] his lord. And the biſhop of Cæſarea calls him of Nicomedia the great [f] Euſebius: but neither ſays he was related to the other. Arius therefore, it is likely, gives our Euſebius the title of brother of the other Euſebius, as he alſo was biſhop, and they were good friends, and to intimate, that they were both of the ſame opinion upon the doctrine controverted at that time.

It is ſomewhat probable, though not certain, that our Euſebius was ordained preſbyter by Agapius, biſhop of Cæſarea, of whom he has made a very honourable [g] mention. He had a long and happy intimacy with Pamphilus, preſbyter in that church, who was impriſoned in the year 307, and obtained the crown of martyrdom in 309. During the time of that impriſonment Euſebius was much with his friend. After the martyrdom of Pamphilus he went to Tyre, where he ſaw [h] many finiſh their teſtimony to Jeſus in a glorious manner. From thence, as it ſeems, he [i] went into Egypt: where too he was a ſpectator of the ſufferings and patience of many of his fellow-chriſtians: where likewiſe he ſeems to have been impriſoned. And becauſe he did not ſuffer, as ſome others did, it has been inſinuated, that [k] he procured his liberty by ſacrificing, or ſome other mean compliance, unbecoming a Chriſtian. But that is a general accuſation without ground. No one was ever able to ſpecify any mean act of compliance in particular, as appears from Potamon's charge in Epiphanius. If [l] Euſebius had ſacrificed, or done any thing like it, he would not have been made biſhop of Cæſarea, nor invited to the ſee of Antioch. Euſebius either made Pamphilus many viſits, or was ſhut up with him in priſon: and yet he has never been reproached, that I know of, becauſe he did not ſuffer with him. In like manner he may have been for ſome time in priſon in Egypt, and releaſed without any thing diſhonourable in the (B) affair.

[e] ——τῳ δεσπότῃ μου Ευσεβίῳ. Ap. Thdrt. l. i. c. 6. in. [f] —— πρὸς Ευσεβίον τον μεγαν. Cont. Marcell. l. i. p. 18. D. ——αλλα και τον μεγαν Ευσεβιον. κ. λ. ib. p. 20. A. [g] H. E. l. vii. c. 32. p. 288. C. [h] Vid. ib. l. viii. c. 7. p. 209. A. [i] Ib. c. 8, 9.

[k] Vid. Epiph. H. 67. n. 7. & Athan. Apol. contra Arian. p. 130. F.

[l] Vid. Euſeb. in Cav. H. L. Baſnag. Ann. 326. n. 18. Valeſ. de Vit. & Script. Euſeb. p. 3. m. Du Pin Euſebius de Cæſarée init. Martin. Hank. de Byzant. Hiſt. Scriptorib. in Vit. Euſeb. cap. 120.

(a) I cannot tell, whether it will not be thought too trifling to obſerve the conduct of the Benedictine editors of St. Athanaſius upon this head. Athanaſius having ſaid in his Apology, that Euſebius of Cæſarea was accuſed by ſome confeſſors of having ſacrificed, they put this note at the bottom of p. 130. Epiphanius ait, Euſebium C. a Polamone Ægyptio objurgatum fuiſſe—— Quæ fuſius in Athanaſii vita agemus. But

Agipius

Agapius ſucceeded Theotecnus in the ſee of Cæſarea. And it is the more general opinion, that [m] Euſebius ſucceeded Agapius in 315. But ſome place [n] Agricolaus between Agapius and him. Nevertheleſs that will not much [o] protract the time of our author's epiſcopate. This is certain, that [p] he was biſhop of Cæſarea in 320 at the lateſt. After which we can perceive, that he was preſent at moſt of the ſynods held in that part of the world. He died in the year 339 or 340.

I omit many particulars, deſiring to be as conciſe as poſſible. If we had Euſebius's life, written by his ſucceſſor [q] Acacius, we ſhould have the pleaſure to be informed of many things which we are now ignorant of.

II. I muſt give ſome account of Euſebius's works: though, for the ſake of brevity, I ſhould have been very glad to be excuſed.

When an author's works are ſomewhat numerous, learned moderns generally ſpeak in the firſt place of ſuch as are ſtill in being, then of thoſe which are loſt. The order of time pleaſeth me beſt, in this inſtance at leaſt. I therefore ſhall ſpeak of Euſebius's writings, extant and not extant all together in the continued order of time, ſo far as I can attain it. And as I do not reckon myſelf obliged to give a particular account of all his pieces, mentioned in ancient authors; I refer to [r] ſeveral learned moderns, ſome of which have treated largely of them.

1. An exact edition of Origen's Hexapla. This, ſo far as I recollect, is very ſeldom [s] taken notice of by learned moderns in their accounts of Euſebius's works; but I think it ſhould not have been omitted. It is likely, that it was one of our author's firſt undertakings. He had the aſſiſtance of Pamphilus in this work: which therefore we may ſuppoſe was finiſhed

[l] in Vit. Ath. p. 21. having cited at length the paſſage of Epiphanius, they add: Non deſunt tamen, qui Euſebium purgare velint a crimine vel ſuſpicione oblati diis ſacrificii. Verum nobis ad ulteriora properantibus hæc non licet ſubtilius explorare. But if Euſebius had been a favourite of theirs, I am apt to think, they would have paſſed a while, to offer a word or two in defence of him. And were they not obliged, by the fore-mentioned note to be a little more particular? [m] Euſebii Cæſarienſis epiſcopi —— obitus recte hoc anno a Baronio conſignatur. Mortuo Agapio —— cum perſecutio jam ſedata, & pax eccleſiæ reddita eſſet, Euſebius communi omnium conſenſu in ejus locum ſubſtitutus erat. Alii ſucceſſorem Agapii ponunt.—— Verum, ut obſervat Valeſius, —— Pagi. 340. n. 23. [n] Defuncto, qui Agapio ſucceſſerat, Agricolao, quem vel invita Valeſii chronologia retinendum eſſe putamus, eccleſiæ Cæſarienſis epiſcopatum iniit anno circiter 315. Baſn. Ann. 326. n. 18. [o] See the preceding note. [p] See Tillemont in Euſebius de Ceſarée, § ii. Mem. Ecc. Tom. vii. [q] Vid. Socr. l. ii. c. 4. [r] Il. Valeſ. de vit. & ſcriptis Euſeb. Cæſar. Tillem. Mem. E. T. vii. Euſebius art. v—viii. Cav. H. L. Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. v. c. 4. T. vi. p. 30. &c. Du Pin. Bib. des Aut. Ec. [s] It is mentioned by Du Pin, T. ii. p. 3.

about the year 306, before that excellent man and martyr came into trouble. I need ſay nothing of it here, having given an account of it [t] formerly.

2. An Apology for Origen in ſix books: in five of which he had likewiſe the aſſiſtance of Pamphilus in priſon. The ſixth was written by Euſebius alone, after the martyrdom of Pamphilus. It was compoſed therefore in 308 and 309. The firſt book remains in a Latin tranſlation of Ruffinus: I ſpoke of this work [u] formerly.

3. The Life of Pamphilus in three books, probably written in 309 or 310, but not extant. I have ſpoken ſufficiently of it [w] already.

4. A book of the Martyrs of Paleſtine, who ſuffered in the perſecution of Diocleſian and Maximin, written about the year 311 or 312. This has been reckoned by ſome a part of the eighth book of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory: but Valeſius has more properly placed it by itſelf, after that book, as a ſupplement to it.

5. Among Euſebius's Works Jerom mentioned ſeveral ſmall pieces concerning the martyrs. And, as Tillemont [x] obſerves, 'beſide that juſt mentioned, there was another book, which 'Euſebius quotes [y] ſeveral times in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. 'It was a collection of the Acts of the ancient martyrs, where-'in he had placed at length the hiſtory of the martyrs of Lyons 'in the time of Marcus Antoninus: Apollonius the Roman ſe-'nator in the time of Commodus, with his Apology: The Acts 'of Pionius, martyred at Smyrna, and others.' But of this work, as * juſt hinted, Euſebius inſerted ſeveral things, by way of extract at leaſt, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. This collection may have been made in 312 or 313, or ſoon after.

6. One book againſt Hierocles, who had made a compariſon of Apollonius Tyanæus with our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt: a ſmall piece, not mentioned by Jerom, but undoubtedly genuine, and ſtill extant [z] in the original Greek. It may have been compoſed in 312, or 313, or ſooner; for we do not know the exact time.

7. A confutation of Porphyry in thirty books. Valeſius was of opinion, that this work was not compoſed until after the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory: becauſe in [a] the ſixth book of that

[t] See vol. iii. p. 326, 342.
[u] ibid. p. 336, 345, 346.
[w] ibid. p. 338, 339.
[x] Euſeb. de Cæſ. art. vii.
[y] —— τῆ τῶν μαρτύρων συναγωγῆ. H. E. l. 5. Præfat. —— τῆ τῶν μαρτύρων συναγωγῆ ὡρος ἡμῶν. ib. c. 4. fin.
* See note y.
[z] Ad Calcem libr. de Dem. Ev. p. 511—515.
[a] H. E. l. vi. c. 19.

work,

work, Eusebius quotes a passage of Porphyry's third book against the Christians, without taking notice of his own answer to him. But that argument does not appear to me decisive. Eusebius had many fair occasions in several of his writings to refer to his Confutation of Porphyry, but has never done so that I remember. Nevertheless we cannot hence conclude, that it was written after all his other works, which is very improbable. Jerom supposes, that Porphyry was living at the same time in Sicily; which is an argument, that he thought this one of our author's most early performances. If it was so, that may have been one reason why it was not much esteemed, as being written before Eusebius had attained to all that maturity of knowledge and understanding, by which he was afterwards distinguished. For that reason too he might not be disposed to quote it himself. It is observable, that Apollinarius wrote against Porphyry after him: which may be reckoned an argument, that in this work Eusebius had not fully answered the expectation of the public. Nay, Philostorgius made no scruple to say, that[b] in his books against Porphyry, Apollinarius greatly excelled our author. St. Jerom, as it seems, did not[c] esteem this one of Eusebius's best books. I might farther add; if this voluminous confutation of Porphyry had been written after Eusebius became acquainted with Constantine, it is likely he would have dedicated it to the emperor, and we should have had it distinctly mentioned in the Life of Constantine. Le Clerc[d] thought the loss of this work to be the greatest loss we have sustained, as to any writings of this author. And indeed it is very probable, that we of these times should have been pleased to see Porphyry's objections in his own words, as alleged by Eusebius. In other respects, I imagine, it would not have equalled the remaining work of the Evangelical Preparation, or the still extant books of the Demonstration. After all, I do not know the exact time when this work was published; but I am inclined to think, it must have appeared before the council of Nice.

8. Photius speaks of two books of our author, entitled[e] 'A Confutation and Apology, in which he proposes several 'heathen objections, and answers them very well.' This work is not extant; nor do we know the time of writing it. It de-

[b] Οτι φησι, απολλιναριος κατα πορφυριου γραψας επι πολυ κρατειν των ηγωνισμενων Ευσεβιῳ κατ' αυτου. Phil. l. viii. c. 15.

[c] Fortissimos libros contra Porphyrium scribit Apollinaris. Ecclesiasticam pulchre Eusebius historiam texuit. Ad Pammach. & Ocean. Ep. 44. al. 65. p. 342. supr. m. Vide ejusdem. Præf. ad Dan.

[d] Bib. Univ. T. x. p. 495.

[e] Ευσεβιου ελεγχου και απολογιας λογοι δυο. κ. λ. Cod. 13. p. 11.

served,

ſerved, however, to be mentioned, as one of the many writings of this biſhop, in defence of the Chriſtian religion.

9. Five books of the Theophany, or the coming of the Meſſiah: mentioned by Jerom; not extant, nor do we clearly know the deſign of it.

10. Of the difference between the Goſpels: mentioned by Jerom, not extant, but undoubtedly deſigned to reconcile the ſeeming contrarieties in the accounts of the ſeveral evangeliſts.

11. Ten Evangelical Canons, with a letter to Carpianus, ſhewing what things are related by four, what by three, what by two, what by one. Theſe canons, with the letter to Carpianus, are uſually prefixed to the beſt editions of the New Teſtament, and the letter may be alſo ſeen [f] elſewhere. We do not know the exact time of this work.

12. A letter to Euphration, mentioned by [g] Athanaſius, and certainly written before the council of Nice.

13. St. Jerom ſays, that [h] Euſebius and others had largely explained the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians. But whether he intends a diſtinct work I cannot tell. However, Tillemont's expreſſions are, that [i] he made a large Commentary upon that epiſtle.

14. Of the Fruitfulneſs of the ancients: expreſsly mentioned by our author in [k] his Evangelical Preparation, and probably referred to, and intended by him in a paſſage of the [l] Demonſtration.

15. The Evangelical Preparation, in fifteen books, as mentioned by Jerom, ſtill extant. This work, as well as the Chronicle, and the Hiſtory, are with great juſtice highly commended by [m] Joſeph Scaliger.

16. The Evangelical Demonſtration in twenty books. Which work Euſebius promiſeth at the end of the former. The laſt ten books are loſt. And until lately the beginning of the firſt book, and the concluſion of the tenth, were miſſing: but were publiſhed by Fabricius [n] with great applauſe in 1725. This work Euſebius evidently mentions at the beginning [o] of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and therefore it was firſt written.

f Vid. Fab. Bib. Gr. T. vi. p. 97. &c.

g De Synodis, c. 17. p. 730. E.

h Origines——Pierius, Euſebius Cæſarienſis——latiſſime hanc epiſtolam interpretati ſunt. Hieron. Ep. 31. al. 52. p. 243. f.

i As before, § 10.

k —— ἐν οἷς ἐπραγματευσάμεθα περὶ τῆς τῶν παλαιῶν πολυπαιδίας. Præp. E. l. vii. c. 8. p. 310. f.

l Dem. l. i. c. 9. p. 33. C.

m Taceo auctoris multiplicem eruditionem——ſummam vetuſtatis peritiam, qui in omnibus priſcorum auctorum monimentis peregrinatus illum divinum πραπαρασκευης theſaurum collegit. Prolegom. in Chr. p. 18.

n Vid. Syllab. auctor. de Veritate Relig. Chriſtian.

o Vid. H. E. l. i. c. 2. fin.

17. An

17. An Epiſtle [p] to the church at Cæſarea, concerning his ſubſcribing the Nicene Creed.

18. An Oration in the twentieth year of Conſtantine's [q] reign, 325, pronounced in the preſence of Conſtantine and the fathers of the Nicene council. Not extant.

19. The Chronicle, in two books: or as Jerom ſaid, Chronical Canons of Univerſal Hiſtory, and their Epitome. It is likely, that by their Epitome he means the ſecond book, which was ſhorter than the firſt, and repreſented in a ſummary way the ſubſtance of it. In another place this work is called by Jerom, [r] Chronological Canons. The original is loſt, except ſome fragments preſerved in Greek authors. We have only a Latin verſion of Jerom, who in this, as well as other things, is both an author and interpreter. His additions relate chiefly to the affairs of the weſtern part of the Roman empire, with which Euſebius was little acquainted. The Chronicle was publiſhed in 325, as Pagi [s] ſays. And Jerom aſſures us, that [t] it came down to the twentieth year of Conſtantine. Nevertheleſs Euſebius refers to it in [u] his Preparation. Tillemont therefore thinks there muſt have been two editions. But perhaps in the Preparation he only ſpeaks of the work, as then in hand, though not publiſhed: which may well be the caſe ſometimes with an author who writes much. The Chronicle was a work of prodigious labour and learning.

20. The Evangelical Hiſtory, in ten books, publiſhed, as it [w] ſeems, in 326. Du Pin having ſhewn the importance of this work adds: 'It muſt be owned however, that [x] Euſebius's 'Hiſtory has not all the perfection which one could wiſh: that 'it is not written in an agreeable manner: that it is not exact: 'that the author often enlarges on things that might be lightly 'paſſed over, and mentions other things ſuccinctly, which 'ſhould have been related at large.' Tillemont ſays: 'Not-'withſtanding [y] ſome defects, which may be obſerved, it will 'be always a moſt valuable and moſt important work, and moſt 'uſeful to the church. Without Euſebius we ſhould ſcarce 'have had any knowledge of the hiſtory of the firſt ages of 'Chriſtianity, or the authors who wrote in that time. All 'the Greek authors of the fourth century, who undertook to 'write the hiſtory of the church, have begun where Euſebius 'ended, as having nothing conſiderable to add to his labour.'

[p] Ap. Socr. l. i. c. 8. p. 23, 24. Thdrt. l. i. c. 12. [q] Vid. de Vit. C. l. i. in fin. & Valeſ. Annot. [r] Poſt tempora canones. Præf. ad lib. de Loc. Hebr. [s] An. 325. n. 51. [t] Vid. Euſeb. Chr. p. 4, & 181. [u] —— ἐν τοῖς πονηθεῖσιν ἡμῖν χρονικοῖς κανόσιν. Pr. E. l. x. p. 484. D. [w] Pagi Ann. 326. n. 8. [x] Bibl. T. ii. p. 5, 6. [y] Euſeb. vi. Mem. T. vii.

21. The

21. The Topics, so called in Jerom's catalogue: consisting of two books, the second of which is still extant in Greek, somewhat altered, with Jerom's version, who says, 'that [z] after 'the Ecclesiastical History, and Chronological Canons, Euse- 'bius published a Geographical Description of Judea, accord- 'ing to the divisions of the several tribes, with a map of Je- 'rusalem, and the temple, and proper descriptions: and at 'last this small book, containing the names of the cities, moun- 'tains, and rivers of the country, according to the order of 'the letters of the alphabet.' It was a kind of dictionary of places mentioned in the scriptures.

22. A Treatise concerning Easter, mentioned [a] by Eusebius in the Life of Constantine, and by Jerom in his Catalogue, in the article [b] of Hippolytus. This work is not extant. It might be written about the year 334.

23. An 'Oration in praise of Constantine, still extant, spoken at Constantinople in the emperor's presence, before [d] the end of the year 335. It is as much an argument for the truth of the Christian religion, as a panegyric upon the emperor. It is, in my opinion, a fine performance: and has been already commended by Du Pin [e] for its eloquence and politeness, as well as on other accounts.

24. A Description of the [f] Church of the Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and its ornaments, and the presents sent thither by the emperor: composed in 335.

25. Five books against Marcellus: or, as they are generally divided and entitled, Two books against Marcellus, and three books of Ecclesiastical Theology, written in 336: and Euse- bius handles his antagonist very roughly. Marcellus, he says, teaches Sabellianism, and [g] thereby apostatizes from Christ and the grace of the gospel. Marcellus revives [h] the impious and atheistical heresy of Sabellius. His heresy exceeds [i] all the impious heresies that ever were, and the like.

26. The Life of Constantine, in four books, written in the latter part of the year 337, or the beginning of 338. Some few have denied this [k] to be a work of Eusebius: but certainly without all reason. It has many internal characters of genuine- ness; for it is entirely in Eusebius's manner, and here are

z Hier. Pr. in libr. de situ & nominib. locor. Hebr. T. 2. p. 382, 383.

a De V. C. l. iv. c. 34, 35. b De V. I. c. 61. c De V. C. l. iv. c. 33, & 46. d Vid. Pagi Ann. 335. iii. & 336. iii. e Ubi supr. p. 4. a.

f Vid. de V. C. l. iv. c. 33, & 46.

g —— της δε εν χριστω χαριτος τε και χαρας αλλοτριωσαμενος. Contra Marcell. l. i. p. 5. A. h —— ως αθεα και δυσσεβη τερατολογια. De Ec. Th. l. i. c. 5. p. 63. C. D. i —— κατα πασαν την κακιαν αιρεσιν. l. ii. p. 33. C. k Vid. Pagi Ann. 340. n. 25.

letters

letters of the emperor to the author. Not only [l] Socrates, but [m] Photius alſo, and other ancient writers, ſpeak of it as his. Jerom's ſilence is of no importance. He owns, that Euſebius wrote many books beſide thoſe expreſly mentioned by him. This work has been generally reckoned [n] rather a panegyric than [o] hiſtory.

27. A Commentary upon the 150 Pſalms, mentioned and commended by Jerom in his Catalogue: but wanting in late ages, till Montfauçon in the year 1705 publiſhed it as far as the 119th Pſalm. That learned writer ſays, there [p] is not any the leaſt reaſon to doubt the genuineneſs of what is publiſhed by him. Euſebius has no where in his remaining works quoted *this* Commentary: for which reaſon it may be argued, that [q] it is one of his laſt works. It is probable, that it was written [q] ſome good while after the reſpect ſhewn to our Saviour's ſepulchre at Jeruſalem, in 326 or 327.

28. A Commentary upon the prophecies of Iſaiah, mentioned by Jerom in his Catalogue, and elſewhere: publiſhed likewiſe by Montfauçon. It ſeems to me, that ſome things, not Euſebius's, have been inſerted in theſe Commentaries, eſpecially in that upon Iſaiah, as we now have it, taken from the Greek Chains. Beſide ſome things inſerted, probably, afterwards, there ſeem likewiſe to be obſervations, or interpretations, taken by the author from Origen, or other commentators, more ancient than himſelf.

29. Fourteen ſmall pieces in [r] Latin, publiſhed by James Sirmond, who makes no doubt of their being genuine. Cave was rather inclined to think, they were written by Euſebius Emiſenus. Fabricius [s] diſlikes that opinion, and is willing, that our Euſebius ſhould be reckoned author of them.

1.) The firſt two are againſt Sabellius. 'Theſe, ſays [t] 'Tillemont, manifeſtly oppoſe Marcellus, and may have been 'written by Euſebius in the latter part of his life.' On the other hand it may be ſaid: What occaſion had our author to write any thing againſt Marcellus, beſide the five books before mentioned? I have ſometimes ſuſpected, that Euſebius's known averſion for Sabellianiſm induced ſome tranſcriber of theſe pieces, to put his name at the head of them.

[l] Soc. l. i. c. 1. & l. v. c. 22. p. 285. [m] Phot. 127. p. 305. [n] Vid. Soc. l. i. c. 1. p. 5. A. B. & Theodrt. l. i. [o] Vid. epiſd. Prælim. [p] Vid. Montf. Prælim. cap. 2. § i. [q] Ib. c. 3. § vi. [r] Ap. Bib. PP. Max. T. iv. init. [s] H. L. in Euſeb. T. vi. p. 103. [t] Mem. Ec. T. ii. [u] As before, § ix.

It is generally allowed, that they are translated from the Greek. But here are abundance of studied antitheses, and some [w] jingles of Latin words, as if they were written in that language. The empire was become [x] Christian, when these pieces were written.

2.) The third piece is a homily concerning the Resurrection, by Tillemont reckoned not worthy of Eusebius. However, here [y] is a good argument for a future state from reason.

3.) The fourth, upon the Resurrection and Ascension, is, in the main, a fine performance. The author [z] argues exceeding well for the truth of Christ's resurrection, and of the Christian religion from the former character of Christ's apostles, from the gifts of the Spirit poured down upon them, and from their conduct and success after the crucifixion of Jesus.

4.) I shall give no distinct account of the rest of these pieces. I shall, however, refer to some remarkable things in them.

5.) Here are some observations [a] upon the third chapter of Zechariah, and the beginning of the book of Job, that deserve the notice of the curious.

6.) Moses, the [b] author says, was as a lamp or candle in a house: but Christ as the sun enlightens the world.

7. Here are references to [c] the first chapter of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John. The [d] Acts of the apostles are much and often quoted. And [e] the gospels are called sacred and divine.

8.) He speaks [f] of the gospels, the Acts, and Paul's epistles, as open to be read by all who please.

9.) He expresses a great respect for the scriptures, and is for [g] having all controversies in things of religion decided by them.

[w] Mortuus est, ut occideret mortem. Condemnatus est, ut condemnaret corruptelam, p. 5. E. Misit filium obedientem, ut salvaret hominem inobedientem. ib. C.

[x] Adorant nobiscum & reges & judices p. 21. C. Si autem reges, exercitus & leges pro religione sunt. p. 22. C.

[y] p. 10. D. E. F. [z] —— Unde & majora servata sunt mirabilia post mortem, quam ea quæ ante mortem sunt facta. —— Si enim stant eorum templa, non resurrexit —— p. 17. C. Petus, in quinquagesima diebus piscator rusticanus ex vico linguam? p. 21. E. Vid. & F. C. H. Cogitaverunt autem piscatores ad mundum exire. —— Sine literis, ad eruditos imperiti, ignobiles ad ingenuos? p. A. A. B. C. Præconium autem abjectio, ignobilitas, nulla doctrina, egestas, numerus parvus. ib. D. E. [a] p. 24. E. &c. p. 25. B. E. [b] Quid valuit lucerna Moyses? —— Si autem unum populum per signa non suasit, Jesus autem per crucem, per scandalum, & non per signa aut prodigia mundum transtulit ad Dei cultum. Moyses lucerna ne quidem uni domui sufficit: Jesus autem sol justitiæ. p. 29. D.

[c] p. 31. A. B. [d] In Actibus enim scriptum est Apostolorum. p. 21. A. &c. A. & passim. [e] —— a sanctis Evangelis & vere divinis. p. 42. G.

[f] Hi sunt gustus prædicationum Domini. Plena autem Evangelia sunt volentibus bene legere: pleni Actus Apostolorum sunt, & epistolæ Pauli. p. 23. D.

[g] Utinam solis scripturis contenti essemus.

III. Of

III. Of all Euſebius's works the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory is the moſt valuable: but, as it ſeems to me, the leaſt accurate of all his large works, that are come down to us in any good meaſure entire. Some faults may be owing to haſte, others to defect of critical ſkill, others to want of candour and impartiality. For our great author, as well as moſt other men, had his affections. He was favourable to ſome things, and perſons, and prejudiced againſt others.

1. He was a great admirer of Origen: in which he was in the right. Nevertheleſs he ſhould not have therefore omitted all notice of Methodius, becauſe [h] he was Origen's adverſary.

2. He had a great zeal for the Chriſtian religion: and ſo far, undoubtedly, he was in the right. Nevertheleſs he ſhould not have attempted to ſupport it by weak and falſe arguments: which a good cauſe never needs.

3. Agbarus's letter to our Saviour, and our Saviour's letter to Agbarus, copied at length in our author's Eccleſiaſtical [i] Hiſtory, are much ſuſpected by many learned men not to be genuine.

4. It is wonderful, that Euſebius ſhould think [k] that Philo's Therapeutæ were Chriſtians, and that [l] their ancient writings ſhould be our goſpels and epiſtles.

5. Euſebius [m] ſuppoſes, Joſephus to ſpeak of the enrolment at the time of our Lord's nativity, before the death of Herod the great, related Luke ii. 1—4. whereas indeed, the Jewiſh hiſtorian ſpeaks of that made after the removal of Archelaus, which is alſo referred to in Acts v. 37.

6. Our author [n] does juſtly allege Joſephus, as confirming the account which St. Luke gives, Acts xii. of the death of Herod Agrippa. But whereas Joſephus ſays, that 'Agrippa [o] 'caſting his eyes upwards ſaw an owl ſitting upon a cord over 'his head:' our eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian ſays, he *ſaw an angel over his head.* I know not, what good apology can be made for this.

7. He tranſcribes [p] Joſephus's account of Theudas, as confirming what is ſaid Acts v. 36. whereas what Joſephus ſays is [q]

Et his nulla foret. p. 4. F. Quæ ergo deſunt quæri? Quæ invenimus in ſcripturis poſita. Quæ autem in ſcripturis non invenimus poſita, ea non quæramus. Si enim oporteret nobis eſſe cognita, utique ſpiritus ſanctus poſuiſſet ea in ſcripturis. Non enim ſumus ſapientiores a ſpiritu ſancto. [f] c. D. Vid. & G. [h] See before, V. iii. p. 303, 305, 308. [i] L. i. c. 13. p. 31—35. [k] L. ii. c. 17. p. 53. & ſeq. [l] p. 55. D. [m] H. E. l. c. 5. [n] L. ii. c. 10. [o] Joſephus's account, with remarks, may be ſeen in Part i. of this work. B. i. ch. i. § vi. [p] L. ii. c. 11. [q] See Part i. of this work. B. ii. ch. vii.

reckoned to be a considerable objection against the Evangelical History.

8. In the Demonstration he transcribes a passage of Josephus relating to the wonderful signs preceding the destruction of Jerusalem, and then adds, 'These' things he writes, as hap-'pening after our Saviour's passion:' though they did not happen till above thirty years afterwards. To the like purpose in the' Chronicle. And in 'the Ecclesiastical History Eusebius transcribes largely that passage of Josephus, as giving an account of the signs before the Jewish war. Concerning this matter may be seen [u] Joseph Scaliger.

9. If the testimony to Jesus, as the Christ, had been from the beginning, in Josephus's works, it is strange, it should never have been quoted by any ancient apologist for Christianity; and now in the beginning of the fourth century be thought so important, as to be quoted by our author in [w] two of his works, still remaining.

10. There is a [x] work, ascribed to Porphyry, quoted by Eusebius, in the Preparation, and Demonstration. If that work is not [y] genuine, (as I think it is not) it was a forgery of his own time. And the quoting it, as he does, will be reckoned an instance of want of care, or skill, or candour and impartiality.

11. I formerly complained [z] of Eusebius, for not giving us at length the passage of Caius, concerning the scriptures of the New Testament, or however of St. Paul's epistles. But he abridged that, and afterwards transcribed at length several passages [a] of an anonymous writer of little worth, concerning the followers [b] of Artemon. It may be reckoned somewhat probable, that Eusebius's aversion for Sabellianism, and every thing a-kin to it, led him to pay so much respect to that author.

12. I add no more at present. Many observations upon this author's works may be seen in Joseph Scaliger's Prolegomena to the Chronicle. Dr. Heumann intended [c] to write remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History; but I do not know,

[r] Dem. Ev. l. viii. p. 402. D.

[s] Chr. p. 138. infr. m. [t] H. E. l. iii. c. 8. [u] Prolegom. p. 12. m. Et Animadv. in Euseb. p. 186. Vid. & Van Dale de Orac. Diss. p. 39, 40.

[w] Hist. Ec. l. i. c. xi. Dem. Ev. l. iii. p. 124. [x] Περι της εξ Λογιων Φιλοσοφιας. [y] Conf. Van Dale de Orac. Diss. i. p. 14, 15. [z] See Vol. ii. p. 373 and 385. [a] H. E. l. v. c. 28.

[b] See those passages, with remarks upon them. Vol. ii. p. 379—385.

[c] —— alio tempore, si vita suppeditat, copiosum exhibiturus tibi judicium de Eusebii Historia Ecclesiastica, non perfunctorie a me perlecta. Heumann. Epist. Miscell. T. ii. p. 25.

that

that he has published them: if he had, I should have read them with pleasure.

IV. It has been often disputed, whether Eusebius was an Arian. It may be proper therefore for me to refer to some authors upon this question. The ancients were not all of one mind here. Socrates, in the fifth century, inserted an Apology [d] for him in his Ecclesiastical History.

Among moderns it is needless to mention Baronius, whose antipathy to this writer is well known. Petavius [e] readily places Eusebius amongst Arians. Bull [f] vindicates him. Cave [g] and Le Clerc [h] had a warm controversy upon this head. Cave allows, 'That [i] there are many unwary and dangerous expressions to be found in his writings.' 'That [k] he has at best doubtful and ambiguous expressions in this controverted doctrine:' 'and that [l] he was reckoned to be an Arian by Athanasius, and divers others his contemporaries, as well as others in the latter part of the fourth century, and afterwards.' Still he says, he [m] did not hold the peculiar doctrines of Arianism. Fabricius [n] and Du Pin [o] do not much differ from Cave. Valesius * too was favourable to our author. G. J. Vossius says, his [p] works would sufficiently manifest him to have been an Arian, if the ancients had been silent about it. Of the same opinion was [q] James Gothofred. Tillemont is clear, that [r] Eusebius shewed himself an Arian by his actions and his writings. Montfauçon says the same thing [s] exactly; and earnestly, and at large, argues on this side of the question; and that he shewed himself to be an Arian as much in his writings after the council of Nice, as before it. As for his subscribing the Nicene Creed, he supposes, that [t] Eusebius was

[d] L. ii. c. 21. [e] Dogm. Theol. [illegible] cap. xi. xii. [f] Def. Fid. [illegible] [g] Lives of the Fathers, in [illegible] T. ii. & H. L. & Diss. tertia. De Eusebii Cæsariensis Arianismo & Epist. [illegible] ad calcem. H. L. [h] See Bib. [illegible] p. 379, &c. and Epistolæ Cri[illegible] in the 2d vol. of his Ars Critica.

[i] [illegible] Life of Eusebius, in English, § [illegible] to the like purpose in the Diss. be[illegible] to, p. 42. a. m. Oxon. —— [illegible] ejus messe incautius, durius, [illegible] dicta —— sed hic pedem figo, [illegible] probandum recipio, Eusebium [illegible] Arianum. [k] Life of Eu[illegible] as before, § xxii. [l] In vete[illegible] tenent Athanasius, Eustathius [illegible], Marcellus Ancyranus, Epi[illegible], Hilarius, Hieronymus, &c. Diss. iii. p. 43. a. f. [m] See note [i].

[n] Bib. Gr. T. vi. p. 32. [o] Bib. Ec. T. ii. p. 7. * Vid. de Vit. & Scrip. Euseb. Cæs. [p] De Hist. Gr. l. ii. c. 17. [q] Vid. Not. seu Dissert. in Philostorg. lib. i. c. 8. p. 28. &c.

[r] See Eusebius de Cæs. Art. xii. M. E. T. vii. [s] Arianum probant tam gesta quam scripta. Prælim. in Euseb. Comm. in Ps. cap. vi. § 17. [t] Objicere solent qui Eusebii partes tutantur, ipsum in Synodo Nicæna τῷ ὁμοουσίῳ subscripsisse.—— Quare id non puto esse tanti ad ejus defensionem. Quid enim exoneratus metu fecisset, experiundi potestas non fuit. Id in Præl. cap. vi. § 12. Ab exordio enim Arianismi ad obitum usque cum Arianis concordissime vixit, nascenti hæresi non endedit; in Nicæna Synodo, quantum licuit,

moved by worldly conſiderations, and that he did not ſubſcribe ſincerely. Which is grievous to think: better had it been, that the biſhops of that council had never met together, than that they ſhould have tempted, and prevailed upon a Chriſtian biſhop, or any one elſe, to prevaricate, and act againſt conſcience. Our bleſſed Lord has pronounced a woe upon thoſe, by whom offences come. Matt. xviii. beg. And I am apt to think, that in the end his authority will be found ſuperior to that of the moſt reſpected of his followers.

Pagi [u] thought this to be a very difficult queſtion.

I preſume, it is not requiſite, that I ſhould deliver my own opinion; eſpecially as I have not room to ſay what would be ſufficient to the purpoſe: and in the writers already referred to, may be found very good obſervations.

I once ſuſpected, that in examining this queſtion, many learned men were under a biaſs. As Euſebius was ſo eminent a man, and well acquainted with the writings of primitive Chriſtians, they might be unwilling to have it thought, that he held a different ſentiment upon the doctrine of the Trinity from what they judged to be right. But now I am deſirous to drop that ſurmiſe, and to allow, that there is ſome real difficulty in deciding this queſtion: for ſurely there muſt be on both ſides, men wiſe enough to guard againſt prejudice. However, in this I am clear, that the principles of religion may be learned from reaſon and ſcripture: and that we ought not to pay too much regard to any man's authority, how great ſoever he may be. For what Arnobius ſays gloriouſly of the Chriſtian religion, may be ſaid of every important truth: it [w] truſts to its own evidence, and ſtands firm upon its own bottom; whether any man embrace it, or not.

V. This author was a witneſs of the ſufferings of the Chriſtians in the early part of his life; and afterwards ſaw the ſplendor of the church under the firſt Chriſtian emperors. Like moſt other great men, he has met with good report, and ill report. His [x] learning, however, and knowledge of the ſcrip-

Catholicis obſtitit. Sed qui adprime calleret concedere tempori, demum ceſſit & ſubſcripſit. Sic enim ſuadebat timor, non diuturni magiſter officii. Qua enim mente id egerit, ſibi ſubditis populis ſic enarravit, ut ſibi priſtina repetendi, ſicubi liceret, aditum reliquerit. ib. § xvii.

[u] Sed prorſus incertum, an Arianis vel orthodoxis annumerandus ſit — Hankius refert — tandemque concludit, via tutiſſima videri illos incedere, qui poſt Synodum Nicænam Euſebium Arianum fuiſſe, neque negantibus, neque affirmantibus accedentes, judicium ſuum ſuſpendunt. Tot ambagibus hæc quæſtio intricata eſt! Pagi Ann. 325. n. xxxii.

[w] Suis illis contenta eſt viribus, & veritatis propriæ fundaminibus nititur: nec ſpoliatur vi ſua, etiamſi nullum habeat vindicem. Arnob. l. iii. in.

[x] —— αλλ' ουδε των θειων γραφων και της παρ' αλλοις σοφιας και συγγραφεων σπουδαιος ην. Sozom. l. i. c. 1. p. 401. A.

tures,

tures, have been univerſally allowed. 'It appears from his 'works,' ſays [y] Tillemont, 'that he had read all ſorts of Greek 'authors, whether philoſophers, hiſtorians, or divines, of 'Egypt, Phœnicia, Aſia, Europe, and Africa.' With a very extenſive knowledge of literature he ſeems to have had the agreeable accompliſhments of a courtier. He was both a biſhop, and a man of the world: a great author, and a fine ſpeaker. He muſt have had a good education, though we have no particular account of it. We plainly perceive from his writings, that through the whole courſe of his life he was ſtudious and diligent; inſomuch, that it is wonderful, how he ſhould have leiſure to write ſo many large and elaborate works, of different kinds; beſide the diſcharge of the duties of his function, and beſide his attendance at court, at ſynods, and the ſolemnities of dedicating churches. He was acquainted with all the great and learned men of his time; and had acceſs to the libraries at [z] Jeruſalem, and [a] Cæſarea: which advantages he improved to the utmoſt. Some may wiſh, he had not joined with the Arian leaders in the hard treatment that was given to Euſtathius, biſhop of Antioch, Athanaſius of Alexandria, and Marcellus of Ancyra. But it ſhould be conſidered, that the Chriſtian biſhops in general, after the converſion of Conſtantine, ſeem to have thought, that they had a right to depoſe and baniſh all eccleſiaſtics, who did not agree with them upon the points of divinity controverted at that time. Finally, though there may be ſome things exceptionable in his writings and conduct, I am perſuaded, notwithſtanding [b] what ſome may ſay, that he was a good, as well as great man. His zeal for the Chriſtian religion, his affection for the martyrs, his grateful reſpects for his friend Pamphilus, his diligence in collecting excellent materials, and in compoſing uſeful works for the benefit of mankind, his [c] caution and ſcrupulouſneſs in not vouching for the truth of Conſtantine's ſtory of the apparition of the croſs, as well as other things, fully ſatisfy me of this.

Du Pin [*] ſays, 'Euſebius ſeems to have been very diſin-'tereſted, very ſincere, a great lover of peace, of truth, and re-'ligion. Though he had cloſe alliances with the enemies of 'Athanaſius, he appears not to have been his enemy, nor to 'have had any great ſhare in the quarrels of the biſhops of 'that time. He was preſent at the councils, where unjuſt

[y] Euſeb. de Caſ. Art. i. [z] Vid. H. Eccl. l. vi. c. 20. [a] L. vi. c. 32.

[b] —— qui ſi quantum eruditionis, tantum ſinceræ fidei laudem tuliſſet, vix parem admitteret. Montfaucon. Prælim. in Euſeb. Comm. in PS. init. [c] See before, p. 153, 154.

[*] As before, p. 10.

'things were transacted against Eustathius and Athanasius; 'but we do not discern, that he shewed signs of passion him- 'self, or that he was the tool of other men's passions. He 'was not author of new creeds. . . . he only aimed to reconcile 'and re-unite parties. He did not abuse the interest he had 'with the emperor to raise himself, nor to ruin his enemies, 'as did Eusebius of Nicomedia; but he improved it for the 'benefit of the church.'

VI. I have omitted many descriptions of the nature and design of the Christian religion, to be found in the primitive writers, proofs of their good sense, and just sentiments of religion. But I think it not proper to pass by every thing of that kind in this celebrated bishop of Cæsarea.

1. The title of the fourth chapter of the first book of the Ecclesiastical History is to this purpose: 'That the religion 'published by Jesus Christ to all nations, is neither new nor 'strange.'

'For though,' says [d] he, 'without controversy, we are but 'of late, and the name of Christians is indeed new, and has 'not long obtained over the world; yet our manner of life, 'and the principles of our religion, have not been lately de- 'vised by us, but were instituted and observed, if I may so 'say, from the beginning of the world, by good men, accept- 'ed of God, from those natural notions which are implanted 'in men's minds. This I shall shew in the following manner: 'It is well known, that the nation of the Hebrews is not new, 'but distinguished by its antiquity. They have writings con- 'taining accounts of ancient men; few indeed in number, but 'very eminent for piety, justice, and every other virtue. Of 'whom some lived before the flood, others since, sons and 'grandsons of Noah; particularly Abraham, whom the He- 'brews glory in as the father and founder of their nation. 'And if any one, ascending from Abraham to the first man, 'should affirm, that all of them who were celebrated for vir- 'tue, were Christians in reality, though not in name, he would 'not speak much beside the truth. For what else does the 'name of Christian denote, but a man, who by the knowledge 'and doctrine of Jesus Christ is brought to the practice of so- 'briety, righteousness, patience, fortitude, and the religious 'worship of the one and only God over all. About these 'things they were no less solicitous than we are; but they 'practised not circumcision, nor observed sabbaths, any more 'than we: nor had they distinctions of meats, nor other ordi-

[d] H. E. l. i. c. 4. p. 15. B. C. & 16.

'nances,

'nances, which were first appointed by Moses.—Whence it 'is apparent, that ought to be esteemed the first and most 'ancient institution of religion, which was observed by the 'pious about the time of Abraham, and has been of late pub-'lished to all nations, by the direction and authority of Jesus 'Christ.'

2. After the same manner, our author expresseth himself[e] in the second chapter of the Evangelical Demonstration, published by Fabricius. 'I have already shewn in the Evangelical 'Preparation, that Christianity is neither heathenism nor Ju-'daism; but is a peculiar form of religion, neither new, nor 'absurd and unreasonable, but most ancient, observed by and 'well known to those who lived before Moses, who were dear 'to God, and renowned for piety and virtue. Nevertheless 'it will be proper here to shew briefly, what is heathenism, 'what Judaism. Judaism may be defined to be a republic 'established according to the law of Moses, subject to the one 'supreme God. As for heathenism, it may be said to be a 'superstition, consisting of the worship of many gods, accord-'ing to the rites of several nations. What then shall we say 'of those men before Moses, and before Judaism, who were 'dear to God, of whom also Moses makes mention, as Enoch, 'to whom he bears testimony, that *he pleased God.* Gen. v. '22, 24. And Noah, of whom he says, *he was a just man in 'his generation.* Gen. vi. 9. And Seth and Japheth——And 'beside these, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and Job, and 'others, who followed the same course of life. Were they 'Jews or heathens? They cannot be said to have been Jews, 'since the law of Moses was not yet delivered.—Nor can they 'be reckoned heathens, since they were not involved in the 'superstition of polytheism.—Wherefore there must be a third 'religion, neither Judaism nor heathenism, the most[f] ancient 'institution, and the most ancient philosophy, which has been 'lately declared to all men throughout the world. He there-'fore who forsakes Judaism or heathenism, and becomes a 'Christian, embraces that law and course of life, which had 'been followed by the ancient patriarchs, friends of God: 'which[g] indeed had long lain dormant, but has been now re-'vived by our Lord and Saviour, agreeably to the predictions 'of Moses, and the rest of the prophets.'

[e] Vid. Fabric. de Verit. Relig. Christian. [illegible] 13. [f] —— παλαιοτατον [illegible] πολιτευμα, και αρχαιοτατη μεν τις φιλοσοφια. κ. λ. ib. p. 14. [g] —— μακρον εφησυχασαντα χρονον, αυθις ανενεωσατο. ibid.

3. He

3. He expresseth himself again to the like purpose, in the fifth chapter of the same book of the Demonstration; where he observes, that the law of Moses was suited to the one nation of the Jews only, and them living in their own land. For it could not be obeyed by the Jews themselves in foreign and distant countries, much less by all nations of the earth. I say, having observed these things, he adds: 'The law and [h] course 'of life instituted by our Saviour Jesus Christ, is a revival of 'the ancient religion before Moses, according to which Abra-'ham the friend of God, and others before him, lived.'

4. Again, in the Preparation he largely shews, 'That [i] 'Abraham, and good men before him, had a freer and more 'rational religion than that of Moses, which contained ordi-'nances about the sabbath, and annual festivals, and a multi-'tude of rules about meats and drinks, and bodily purifica-'tions, troublesome to observe. The [k] ancestors of the Jews 'followed right reason, and were truly pious:' that is, I think, the patriarchal religion consisted of those principles and duties, which are reasonable in themselves, without a multitude of positive appointments; which too, undoubtedly, is the character of the Christian religion.

5. He elsewhere speaks of true religion, as the [l] divine philosophy: 'Jesus Christ,' he says, 'was [m] no impostor, but a 'philosopher, and truly religious.' Again, 'The [n] Christ of 'God is the saviour and enlightener of all nations, a teacher 'of piety, an example of sobriety, the captain of righteous-'ness, the author of all virtue and right knowledge of God.'

6. Christ's apostles, when they went abroad to convert the world, did not conceal his inglorious death: but related that, as well as his miracles and [o] philosophical discourses. And through the doctrine [p] of Christ, the church of God all over the world has been taught to offer thanksgivings and reasonable services, without the smoke of burnt-offerings.

h Τοιουτος δε πεφηνεν ο προς του σωτηρος ημων Ιησου Χριστου νενομοθετημενος νομος τε και βιος την παλαιοτατην και πρεσβυτεραν μωσεως ευσεβειαν ανανευμενος. κ. λ. Dem. Ev. p. 9. C. i Εβραιοι δε πρεσβυτεροι μωσεως —— ελευθερον και ανειμενον ευσεβειας κατωρθουν τροποι, βιω μεν τω κατα την φυσιν κεκοσμημενοι. Pr. Ev. l. vii. c. 6. p. 304. D. k —— και προ των εγγραφων αυτου νομων, πλειους ηδη των προπατορων ορθοις λογισμοις, ευσεβειας αρετη κατεκομηθησαν. ib. c. 7. p. 305. C.

l —— ητοι σωφρονειν ταξαμενος, και τον εαυτου βιον αναθεινας τη κατα Θεον φιλοσοφια. In Ps. p. 314. A. m —— φιλοσοφος αρα, και αληθως ευσεβης πολλου δει πλανος και γοης, ομολογοιτ' αν ο σωτηρ και κυριος ημων. Dem. Ev. l. iii. p. 1[illegible]. A. n —— σωτηρ και φωστηρ των εθνων απαντων, διδασκαλος ευσεβειας, σωφροσυνης καθηγεμων, δικαιοσυνης αρχηγος, αρετης απασης και θεογνωσιας αληθους αιτιος. In Ps. p. 12. A. B. o —— τας τε φιλοσοφους διδασκαλιας αυτου. Dem. E. l. iii. p. 137. D. p —— εν οις —— η εκκλησια του Θεου τας ευχαριστιας και τας λογικας και ακαπνους λατρειας αναφερειν τη Θεω παρειληφεν. In Ps. p. 385. A.

7. He

7. He aſſerts free-will very ſtrongly. He ſays, that [q] right reaſon is given to men with a power to chooſe and act, according to the light and inſtruction afforded them, and thereby to intitle themſelves to great recompences.

8. He ſays, 'that [r] Chriſt gave like gifts to Judas with the 'other apoſtles: that once our Saviour had good hopes of him, 'on account of the power of free-will. For Judas was not of 'ſuch a nature, as rendered his ſalvation impoſſible. Like 'the other apoſtles, he might have been inſtructed by the Son 'of God, and might have been a ſincere and good diſciple.'

9. He thinks, that [s] by the law of the Lord, ſo much commended and extolled in the book of Pſalms, may be meant the law of nature, binding all men.

10. His explication [t] of Iſa. lxiii. 1—6. deſerves to be conſidered by the curious.

11. He ſeems to ſay, that Chriſt is our propitiation, as he has taught us to propitiate for ourſelves, and expiate our ſins by repentance and new obedience, only offering reaſonable ſacrifices. Commenting upon Pſal. lxix. 31. 'In [u] like manner our Saviour ſays in the words before us, I offer not a 'ſenſible bullock, but a pure and unbloody ſacrifice, which I 'have appointed in my church, to be offered by a miniſtry that 'has neither fire nor blood; which will be more acceptable to 'God, than the bullock appointed by Moſes. Therefore it 'is ſaid, *I will magnify him with thankſgiving. This ſhall pleaſe 'the Lord more than a young bullock that has horns and hoofs.* 'And [w] indeed the high-prieſts, and the whole nation of the 'Jews would have obtained forgiveneſs, and the expiation of 'their ſins, if embracing the new and ſalutary covenant, they 'had offered ſuch a ſacrifice.'

12. He does ſometimes handſomely enumerate our Saviour's miracles [x], related in the goſpels.

[q] Τιθησι γαρ απασῃ ψυχῃ φυσικον νομον θειον αυτῃ προσπαρακειμενον συμμαχον επι των πρακτεων ο των ολων δημιουργος υπεσησατο. Δια μεν τε νομε της ευθειαν αυτῃ παραδειξας οδον· δια δε της αυτῃ διδαχθεισης αυτεξουσιε ελευθεριας την των προσηκοντων αιρεσιν επαινε και αποδοχης αξιαι αποφηνας, γερων τε και μειζονων επαθλων. κ. λ. Pr. Ev. p. 250. A. B. C. D. [r] Επεισηπερ και αυτῳ και τοις λοιποις αποστολοις των ισων μετεδιδου χαρισματων. Επεποιθει δ' επ' αυτῳ ο σωτηρ, και αξιαθας ειχεν ελπιδας επ' αυτῳ, δια το και επ' αυτῳ αυτεξουσιον. Ου γαρ τοιαυτης φυσεως ανυπαιτιος εσεσθαι Ιουδας· αλλ' οιος τε, ει θελησας, ομοιως τοις λοιποις αποστολοις μαθητευθηναι τε Υιε τε Θεε, και καλος και αξιαθος μαθητης αποτελεισθαι. In Pſ. p. 171. B. C. [s] —— εστι δ' αν νομος κυριε και ο κατα φυσιν πασιν ανθρωποις ενισπαρεις. κ. λ. In Pſ. i. p. 9. E. [t] In Iſa. p. 581, 582.

[u] In Pſ. lxviii. p. 386. B. C. Vid. & p. 385. E. [w] Ειτχον δ' αν αφεσεως και καθαρσεως των ημαρτημενων αυτοις οι αρχιερεις, και οι τε παντος εθνες, ει κεχρηντο ταυτῃ τῃ θυσιᾳ τῃ καινῃ και σωτηριε διαθηκῃ παραδεξαμενοι. ib. C.

[x] Vid. Dem. Ev. l. iii. p. 107—109.

13. Euſebius

13. Eusebius has frequent occasion in his works, to observe the vast progress of the gospel in the world, which he does in a very agreeable manner, shewing how great a reformation it had made in the world, in respect to polytheism, idolatry, human sacrifices, polygamy, incestuous marriages, and every kind of dissoluteness. He speaks of the gospel's having been carried by the [y] apostles or their successors, not only to Rome, but into Persia, Armenia, Parthia, Scythia, India, Britain. So in one place. In another [z] he mentions Persians, Scythians, Indians, Ethiopians, Moors, Spaniards, Britons. In another place he says, 'There is no [a] nation or kingdom, which does 'not in whole, or in part, acknowledge the glory of Christ.' In the third book of the Evangelical Demonstration, where he enlarges upon this subject, he says: 'When [b] I consider the 'power of this doctrine, and that great multitudes of men 'were persuaded, and numerous societies formed, by the mean 'and illiterate disciples of Jesus, and that not in obscure and 'ignorant places, but in the most celebrated cities, in Rome 'itself the queen of all other cities, in Alexandria, and An-'tioch, throughout Egypt and Lybia, Europe and Asia, and 'also in villages and country places, and in all nations; I am 'obliged, and even compelled to inquire after the cause of 'this, and to acknowledge, that they succeeded not in their 'great undertaking any otherwise, than by divine power sur-'passing all human ability, and the co-operation of him, who 'said unto them, *Go teach all nations in my name.*'

14. He seems to say, that [c] still in his time some miracles were done, but not many, nor of great notice. Yet afterwards he speaks of [d] Christians casting out dæmons in Christ's name. In another place, having spoken of the miracles related in the gospels, he adds: 'And [e] still through the doc-'trine of our Saviour Jesus Christ, men are delivered from the 'worship of dæmons, and from a blind and stupid respect for 'senseless idols, and obtain greater benefits than any bodily

[y] Dem. Ev. l. iii. p. 112. D.

[z] In Ps. p. 570. A. B. Vid. ib. D.

[a] Ου γαρ εστιν ουκ εθνος, ου βασιλεια, η μη προσκυνουσα την δοξαν του Χριστου η απο μερους. In Ps. p. 657. A.

[b] Αλλα παλιν αφορων εις την του λογου δυναμιν, ως μυρια πληθη πεπεικεν, και ως συνεστεσαν μυριανδροι εκκλησιαι προς εκεινων των ευτελεστατων και αγροικων του Ιησου μαθητων. κ. λ. Dem. Ev. l. iii. p. 138. B. C. D.

[c] —— δι' ων αυτος ο κυριος ημων εισετι και νυν οις αν κρινειεν μικρα τινα της αυτου δυναμεως παραφαινειν ειωθε. Dem. Ev. l. iii. p. 109. A.

[d] —— ο ποτε εισετι δευρο πας δαιμων και παν ακαθαρτων πνευμα — του Ιησου το ονομα φριττει. ib. p. 133. Vid. & p. 132. D.

[e] Τουτων απαντων και των αλλων παθων τε και αρρωστηματων δια της του σωτηρος ημων Ιησου Χριστου διδασκαλιας εισετι και νυν απαλλαττονται, πολυ κρειττονας η κατα σωμα ιασεως και ωφελειας αξιουμενοι. Dem. l. i. p. 301. D.

'cures.'

'cures.' Which, I think, seems to imply, that miracles were 'not then common, if they had not quite ceased.

15. He supposes, that [f] Peter and John, as well as Paul and other apostles, preached to several nations.

16. He says, all [g] the apostles suffered martyrdom; which, as [h] Montfauçon observes, cannot be shewn now.

17. In several places [i] he interprets Matt. v. 3. of worldly poverty.

18. I do not enter into the controversy, whether Eusebius was an Arian. Nevertheless, I shall transcribe the following passages, though they may seem to have some relation to it.

He speaks of the Spirit, as [k] made by the Son. Again, 'The [l] Spirit is not of the Father, as the Son, but is one of 'the things made by the Son.'

He has some ways of speaking of the Son, that are remarkable: as, that [m] he was honoured with the Father's deity. He says, 'All [n] the Father's grace was poured out upon the 'beloved: for it was the Father that spake in him.'

Again, upon Psal. lxxii. 1. 'This [o] righteousness of the 'Father is given to the king's son, of the seed of David according to the flesh; in whom, as in a temple, dwelled the 'word, and wisdom, and righteousness of God.'

Once more, referring to Isa. lxi. 1. and Luke iv. 18. 'Shewing,' says [p] he, 'that his was not a bodily anointing, 'like that of others; but that he was anointed with the spirit 'of the Father's deity, and therefore called Christ.'

The sense of these three last passages, taken from the Commentary upon the Psalms, falls in with the Nazarene, or Sabellian scheme. One might suspect, that they are not our author's own; but that he borrowed them from some other writer, and inserted them in his work: which was a frequent method with Christian commentators.

[f] Παυλος μεν ουν απο Ιερουσαλημ και [illegible] —— Πετρος δε παλιν ετερων εθνων, [illegible] Ιωαννης ωσαυτως ετερων, και των λοιπων [illegible] εκαστος παραπλησιως. In Ps. p. [illegible] D. E. [g] In Ps. p. 413. B. C.

[h] Prælim. cap. ix. n. iii. [i] Vid. in Ps. p. 386. C. D. 387. D. 404. D. E. & 412. B. [k] Ο δε Υιος μονος πατρικη [illegible] τετιμημενος ποιητικος αν ειη και δη[illegible] της των γενετων απαντων —— και [illegible] παρακλητου πνευματος υπαρξεως. De Ec. Th. l. iii. c. 6. p. 174. C.

[l] Επει μη εκ του Πατρος ομοιως τω Υιω, [illegible] γενεσιν ειληφε· ον δε τι των δια του Υιου γενομενων τυγχανει. Ibid. p. 175. A. [m] Vid. note [k].

[n] Επει δε του αγαπητου πασα η πατρικη εις αυτον εκενωθη χαρις· ην γαρ ο Πατηρ λαλων εν Υιω. In Ps. p. 188. D.

[o] Αυτη τοινυν η του Πατρος δικαιοσυνη τω Υιω του βασιλεως διδοται, τω εκ σπερματος Δαυιδ κατα σαρκα· εν ω κατωκησεν ωσπερ εν ναω ο του Θεου λογος και η σοφια και δικαιοσυνη. In Ps. lxxi. p. 404. B.

[p] Διδασκων —— το δε πνευματι της πατρικης θεοτητος κεχρισμενον, και δια τουτο Χριστον ανηγορευμενον. In Ps. p. 634. E.

19. We

19. We muſt by all means take a fine paſſage of Euſebius in his Evangelical Demonſtration; where, among many other juſt obſervations, proving the credibility of the goſpel hiſtory, againſt [q] thoſe who refuſed to believe the accounts of the wonderful works done by our Saviour, he ſays: 'The' apoſtle 'Matthew does not pretend to any honourable ſtation in the 'former part of his life; but placeth himſelf amongſt publicans, 'employed in heaping up money. This none of the other 'evangeliſts have mentioned; not his fellow-diſciple John, 'nor Luke, nor Mark. But Matthew is his own accuſer, and 'diſſembles not his former courſe of life. Obſerve then, how 'he expreſsly mentions his name in the goſpel written by him-'ſelf: *And as Jeſus paſſed forth from thence, he ſaw a man 'named Matthew, ſitting at the receipt of cuſtom: and he ſaith 'unto him, follow me. And he aroſe and followed him. And it 'came to paſs, as Jeſus ſat at meat in the houſe, behold many pub-'cans came, and ſat down with him and his diſciples,* Matt. ix. 10. And afterwards in the courſe of the narration, inſerting 'a catalogue of Chriſt's diſciples, he calls himſelf the publican. 'For thus he ſays: *Now the names of the twelve apoſtles are 'theſe; the firſt Simon, who is called Peter, and Andrew his 'brother; James the ſon of Zebedee, and John his brother; Phi-'lip and Bartholomew; Thomas and Matthew the publican,* 'Ch. x. 2, 3. Thus Matthew out [t] of abundance of modeſty, 'hides not his former courſe of life: but ingenuouſly owns 'himſelf to have been a publican, and likewiſe placeth him-'ſelf after his colleague. For whereas they were joined two 'and two, he with Thomas, Peter with Andrew, and Philip 'with Bartholomew; he puts Thomas before himſelf, giving 'the preference to his fellow-apoſtle, as his ſuperior; whilſt 'the other evangeliſts have uſed a different order. Obſerve 'therefore Luke, how he mentions Matthew; he does not 'call him a publican, nor ſubjoin him to Thomas; but know-'ing him to be his ſuperior, firſt mentions him, and then Tho-'mas, as does [u] Mark likewiſe. The words of the former are 'theſe: *And when it was day, he called unto him his diſciples, 'and of them he choſe twelve, whom alſo he named apoſtles; 'Simon, whom he named Peter, and Andrew his brother; James, 'and John; Philip, and Bartholomew; Matthew, and Thomas,* 'Luke vi. 13—15. Thus did Luke prefer Matthew, *even as 'they had delivered things unto him, who from the beginning were*

q Προς τους απειθησαντας τη των τε σωτηρος ημων περι των παραδοξων πραξεων διηγησει. Dem. Ev. l. iii. c. 5. p. 109. C.

r Ibid. p. 119. D. —— 122. A.

s Δι' υπερβολην επιεικειας. p. 120. B.

t See Mark iii. 17, 18.

'eye-

'*eye-witnesses, and ministers of the word*, Ch. i. 2. You may 'observe John to be of the same mind with Matthew; for in 'his epistles, he either nameth not himself at all, or calls him-'self only elder, no where apostle, or evangelist. In his gos-'pel, when he speaks of him *whom Jesus loved*, he does not 'mention himself by name. As for Peter, out [u] of abun-'dance of modesty, he thought not himself worthy to write a 'gospel; but [v] Mark, who was his friend and disciple, is said 'to have recorded Peter's relations of the acts of Jesus: who, 'when he comes to that part of the history, where Jesus asked, '*who men said he was*, and then, what opinion they themselves, 'his disciples, had of him? and Peter had replied, that they 'believed him to be the Christ; he does not relate any thing 'that Jesus said by way of answer to this, except that *he charged* '*them, that they should tell no man of him*, Mark viii. 27—30. 'For Mark was not present to hear what Jesus said, and Peter 'did not think fit to bear testimony to himself, by relating 'what Jesus said to him, or of him. Nevertheless, what was 'said to him is related by Matthew in this manner: *But whom* '*say ye, that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou* '*art the Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered,* '*and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona, for flesh* '*and blood has not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is* '*in heaven. And I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon* '*this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not* '*prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the* '*kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth,* '*shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on* '*earth, shall be loosed in heaven*, Matt. xvi. 13, 16——19. 'Though such things were said to Peter by Jesus, Mark has 'taken no notice of them, because, as is probable, Peter [x] did 'not relate them in his sermons. He only said, *When Jesus* '*put the question to them, Peter answered and said, Thou art the* '*Christ. And he charged them, that they should tell no man of* '*him*, Mark viii. 29, 30. About those things Peter thought 'fit to be silent; therefore Mark also has omitted them. But 'what concerned his denial [of Jesus], he [y] preached to all 'men, because upon that account he *wept bitterly*. You will 'therefore find Mark relating concerning that matter all these 'several particulars. *And as Peter was in the palace, there*

u — δι' ευλαβειας υπερβολην. p. 120. D.

v Τȣ Μαρκος γνωριμος και φοιτητης [illegible] απομνημονευσαι λεγεται τας τȣ Πετρȣ περι των πραξεων τȣ Ιησȣ διαλεξεις. Ibid.

x Οτι μηδ' ο Πετρος ταυθ', ως εικος, εν ταις αυτȣ διδασκαλιαις εξηγορευσεν. p. 121. B. C.

y —— εις παντας εκηρυξεν ανθρωπȣς. p. 121. C.

'*cometh*

' *cometh to him one of the maids of the high-prieſt. And when ſhe*
' *ſaw Peter, ſhe looked upon him, and ſaid, And thou waſt with*
' *Jeſus of Nazareth. But he denied, ſaying, I know not, neither*
' *underſtand I what thou ſayeſt: and he went out into the porch,*
' *and the cock crew. And a maid ſaw him again, and began to*
' *ſay to them that ſtood by, This is one of them. And he denied*
' *it again. And a little after they that ſtood by ſaid again to Pe-*
' *ter, Surely, thou art one of them, for thou art a Galilean. But*
' *he began to curſe and to ſwear, I know not this man, of whom*
' *ye ſpeak. And the ſecond time the cock crew,* Mark xiv. 66—72.
' Theſe things writes Mark: and [z] Peter teſtifies theſe things
' of himſelf, for all things in Mark are ſaid to be memoirs of
' Peter's diſcourſes.'

St. Matthew's modeſty in calling himſelf a publican, when the other evangeliſts did not, is taken notice of by [a] Jerom, upon ſeveral occaſions, in his works.

20. This learned Chriſtian apologiſt then proceeds to other like excellent obſervations, concerning the credibility of the evangelical hiſtory. But this may ſuffice, to ſhew the good ſenſe of the ancient Chriſtians: and that, as they diligently ſtudied the ſcriptures, they were alſo able to make judicious remarks upon them. In ſhort we may hence perceive, that the defence of the Chriſtian religion was in fit hands. They had a good cauſe; and they ſhewed it to be ſo. They had truth on their ſide; and they demonſtrated it by arguments, ſuited to convince reaſonable and ſerious men.

VII. I muſt tranſcribe ſeveral paſſages of this author concerning the canon of ſcripture: and I ſhall begin with ſuch as appear to be the moſt material.

1. The twenty-fourth chapter of the third book of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory is entitled, Of [b] the order of the Goſpels. It muſt be alleged here almoſt entire, only firſt obſerving, that in the preceding chapter Euſebius had inſerted a particular relation concerning St. John, from Clement of Alexandria. ' Let us,' ſays he, ' obſerve the writings of this apoſtle,

[z] Πέτρος δὲ ταῦτα περὶ ταύτων μαρτύρεται. Πάντα γὰρ τὰ παρὰ Μάρκῳ τε Πέτρῳ διαλεχθέντα εἶναι λέγεται ἀπομνημονεύματα. p. 122. A.

[a] Cæteri Evangeliſtæ in conjunctione nominum primum ponunt Matthæum, & poſtea Thomam. Nec publicani nomen aſcribunt, ne antiquæ converſationis recordantes ſuggillare Evangeliſtam viderentur. Ille vero, ut ſupra diximus, & poſt Thomam ſe ponit, & publicanum appellat. Hieron. ad Matt. cap. x. Tom. iv. P. i. p. 34. f.

Quod quidem & de Matthæo Evangeliſta legimus, quod ipſe Matthæus ſe dixerit publicanum: alii vero Evangeliſtæ nomen publicani tacuerint, & apoſtolicam tantum poſuerunt dignitatem: & quod in conjunctionibus Apoſtolorum, apud ſe, ſecundus, apud alios primus ſit. Id. in Iſ. cap. xxxvii. T. iii. p. 338.

[b] Περὶ τῆς τάξεως τῶν εὐαγγελίων. p. 94. A.

' which

'which [c] are not contradicted by any. And firſt of all muſt 'be mentioned, as acknowledged of all, the goſpel according 'to him, well known to all the churches under heaven. And 'that it has been juſtly placed by the ancients the fourth in 'order, and after the other three, may be made evident in 'this manner. Thoſe admirable and truly divine men, the 'apoſtles of Chriſt, eminently holy in their lives, and as to 'their minds adorned with every virtue, but *rude* [d] *in lan-* 'guage, confiding in the divine and miraculous power beſtowed 'upon them by our Saviour, neither knew, nor attempted, 'to deliver the doctrine of their maſter with the artifice and 'eloquence of words. But uſing only the demonſtration of 'the Divine Spirit working with them, and the power of 'Chriſt performing by them many miracles, they ſpread the 'knowledge of the kingdom of heaven all over the world. 'Nor were they greatly concerned about the writing of books, 'being engaged in a more excellent miniſtry, which was above 'all human power. Inſomuch that Paul, the moſt able of 'all in the furniture both of words and thoughts, has left 'nothing in writing, beſide [e] ſome very [f] ſhort [or a very few] 'epiſtles: although he was acquainted with innumerable myſ- 'teries, having been admitted to the ſight [g] and contemplation 'of things in the third heaven, and been caught up into the 'divine paradiſe, and there allowed to hear unſpeakable words. 'Nor were the reſt of our Saviour's followers unacquainted 'with theſe things, as the ſeventy diſciples, and many other, 'beſide the twelve apoſtles. Nevertheleſs of all the diſciples 'of our Lord, Matthew and John only have left us any me- 'moirs: who too, as we have been informed, were compelled 'to write by a kind of neceſſity. For Matthew having firſt 'preached to the Hebrews, when he was about to go to other 'people, delivered to them in their own language the goſpel 'according to him, by that writing ſupplying the want of 'his preſence with thoſe whom he was then leaving. And 'when Mark and Luke had publiſhed the goſpels according 'to them, it is ſaid, that John, who all this while had preached 'by word of mouth, was at length induced to write for this 'reaſon. The three firſt written goſpels being now delivered 'to all men, and to John himſelf, it is ſaid, that he approved 'them, and confirmed the truth of their narration by his own 'teſtimony:' ſaying, 'there was only wanting a written ac-

[c] ——αναλλοίφατος. [d] Την δε γλωτταν p. 94. D. [e] See to the like purpoſe Euſebius, p. 94. C. Confer. 2 Cor. xi. 6. Origen, in a paſſage formerly cited, Vol. [f] ——παντων των βραχυτατων επιστολων. ii. p. 466. [g] See 2 Cor. xii. 2, 3, 4.

'count of the things done by Christ in the former part, and 'the beginning of his preaching. And certainly that obser- 'vation is very true. For it is easy to perceive, that the other 'three evangelists have recorded only the actions of our Sa- 'viour for one year after the imprisonment of John, as they 'themselves declare at the beginning of their history. For 'after mentioning the forty days fast, and the succeeding 'temptation, Matthew shews the time of the commencement 'of his account in these words: *When*[h] *he had heard, that* 'John was cast into prison, *he departed out of Judea into Gali-* 'lee. In like manner Mark, *Now*[i] *after that John*, says he, 'was cast into prison, *Jesus came into Galilee.* And Luke, be- 'fore he begins the account of the acts of Jesus, gives a like 'hint in this manner: that[k] *Herod added yet this above all,* 'that he shut up John in prison. For these reasons, as is said, 'the apostle John was[l] intreated to relate in the gospel accord- 'ing to him, the time omitted by the former evangelists, and 'the things done by our Saviour in that space, before the im- 'prisonment of the Baptist. And they add farther, that he 'himself hints as much, saying, *This*[m] *beginning of miracles* 'did Jesus: as also, when in the history of the acts of Jesus 'he makes mention of the Baptist, as still[n] *baptizing in Enon,* 'nigh unto Salim. And it is thought, that he expressly de- 'clares as much, when he says, [o] *For John was not yet cast into* 'prison. John therefore in the gospel according to him, re- 'lates the things done by Christ, while the Baptist was not 'yet cast into prison. But the other three evangelists relate 'the things that followed the Baptist's confinement. Who- 'ever attends to these things, will not any longer think the 'evangelists disagree with each other: forasmuch as the gos- 'pel according to John contains the first actions of Christ, 'whilst the others give the history of the following time. And 'for the same reason, John has omitted the genealogy of our 'Saviour according to the flesh, it having been recorded be- 'fore by Matthew and Luke: but he begins with his[p] divi- 'nity, which had been reserved by the Holy Ghost for him, 'as[q] the more excellent person. This is as much as needs to 'be said of the gospel according to John. What was the oc- 'casion of writing the gospel according to Mark, has been 'already[r] shewn. Luke at the beginning assigns the reason

h Matt. iv. 12.
i Mark i. 14.
k Luke iii. 19, 20.
l Παρακλήθεις ἐν τέλει τινὰ φησι τὸν ἀπόστολον Ἰωάννην. p. 95. D.
m John ii. 11.
n Ib. iii. 23.
o Ib. ver. 24.
p —— Θεολογίας. p. 96. B.
q Διὰ κρείττονα. ib.
r Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. ii. c. 15. And see before in this work, Vol. ii. p. 210.

'Of

'of his writing; declaring, that whereas many others had 'rashly undertaken to give a relation of the matters which he 'most surely believed; he thought himself obliged, in order 'the better to divert us from the uncertain relations of others, 'to deliver in his gospel a certain account of those things, 'which he was well assured of, from his intimate acquaintance 'and familiarity with Paul, and his conversation with the other 'apostles. And thus much now concerning these things: at 'a more proper season, we shall endeavour to shew by quota-'tions of ancients, what has been said of the same by others. 'But farther, as to the writings of John, beside the gospel, 'the first epistle is universally acknowledged, both by those of 'the present time, and by the ancients. But the other two 'are contradicted. Concerning the Apocalypse there are to 'this very day different opinions: this controversy likewise 'will be decided in a proper time, by the testimony of the 'ancients.'

2. The title of the next chapter is, Of the Scriptures uni-versally acknowledged, and those that are not such.

'But,' says Eusebius, 'it will be proper to enumerate here 'in a summary way [t], the books of the New Testament which 'have been already mentioned. And in the first place are to 'be ranked the sacred four gospels: then the book of the Acts 'of the apostles: after that are to be reckoned the epistles of 'Paul. In the next place, that called the first epistle of John, 'and the [first] epistle of Peter, are to be esteemed [u] authentic. 'After these, is to be placed, if it be thought fit, the Reve-'lation of John, about which we shall observe the different 'opinions at a proper season. Of the controverted, but [w] yet 'well known or approved by the most [for many], are that 'called the epistle of James, and that of Jude, and the second 'of Peter, and the second and third of John; whether they 'are written by the evangelist, or another of the same name. 'Among the spurious are to be placed the Acts of Paul, and 'the book intitled the Shepherd, and the Revelation of Peter: 'and beside these, that called the Epistle of Barnabas, and the 'book named the Doctrines of the Apostles. And more-'over, as I said, the Revelation of John, if it seem meet; 'which some, as I have said, reject, others reckon among the 'books universally received. Among these [x] also some have

[t] C. 25. p. 97. [u] —— της πρώτης.—— p. 97. B. [x] —— και τας ἀντιρρήσεις μεν ἐχούσας, δεδοκιμασμένας δε παρα πολλοις. p. 97. A. [w] —— ἐν δε τοις νοθοις τιθεσθαι δεήσει, ει δοκοι, τας Παυλου πραξεις, και τον καλουμενον Ποιμενα, και την Πετρου ἀποκαλυψιν, και την φερομενην Βαρναβα ἐπιστολην, και τας καλουμενας Διδαχας των ἀποστολων. ib. C. [x] —— και ἐτι, ὡς εἰρηται, την Ἰωαννου ἀποκαλυψιν, ει δοκοι· ἡν τινες μεν, ὡς εἰρηται, ἀθετουσι· ἑτεροι δε τοις ὁμολογουμενοις συναριθμουσι. ib. C. [y] —— τουτοις δε τις και τας

'reckoned the goſpel according to the Hebrews, which the 'Hebrews who have embraced Chriſt [c] make uſe of. All 'theſe may be reckoned controverted. It was however need-'ful, that I ſhould put down a catalogue of theſe alſo; diſ-'tinguiſhing [a] the ſcriptures, which according to the eccleſi-'aſtical tradition are true, genuine, and univerſally acknow-'ledged, from thoſe others, which are not placed in the [New] 'Teſtament, but are controverted, and yet appear to have 'been known to many: that by this means we may know 'theſe from ſuch as have been publiſhed by heretics, under 'the names of apoſtles: as [b] containing the Goſpels of Peter, 'and Thomas, and Matthias, and of ſome others; and the 'Acts of Andrew and John, and other apoſtles. Which books 'none of the eccleſiaſtical writers in the ſucceſſion [of the 'apoſtles,] have vouchſafed to make any mention of in their 'writings. The ſtyle alſo of theſe books is intirely different 'from that of the apoſtles: moreover the ſentiments and doc-'trine of thoſe pieces are different from the true orthodox 'Chriſtianity. All which things plainly ſhew, that thoſe books 'are the forgeries of heretics. For all which reaſons, they are 'not ſo much as to be reckoned among the ſpurious, but are 'to be rejected, as altogether abſurd and impious.'

This is an obſcure chapter: certainly, with a little more care, Euſebius might have expreſſed himſelf in a clearer manner. However, we defer our remarks, until we have ſeen ſome more paſſages.

3. The third chapter of the ſame third book of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory is intitled, Of the Epiſtles of the Apoſtles; and is to this purpoſe:

'One epiſtle then of Peter, called his firſt, is univerſally 'received. This [c] the preſbyters [or elders] of ancient times 'have quoted in their writings, as undoubtedly genuine. But 'that called his ſecond epiſtle, we have been informed, [that 'is, by the ſame tradition of the elders:] has not been re-'ceived [d] into the [New] Teſtament. Nevertheleſs, appear-'ing to many to be uſeful, it has been carefully ſtudied with 'the other ſcriptures. But the book entitled his Acts, and 'that called the goſpel according to him, and that ſtyled his 'Preaching, and the Revelation under his name, we know

[a] —ω— καιρῶσι. C. [a] ——διακρινάσης τας τε καλα την εκκλησιαστικην παραδοσιν αληθεις και απλαστους γνησιας συγγραφας, και τας αλλας παρα ταυτας, ας ενδιαθηκους μεν, αλλα και αντιλεγομενας· ομως δε παρα πολλοις των εκκλησιαστικων γινωσκομενας. C. D.

[b] —— περιεχουσας. Ib. D.

[c] Ταυτη δε και οι παλαι πρεσβυτεροι κ. λ. p. 71. C. [d] —— ουκ ενδιαθηκον μεν εστι παρειλημμενην. p. 72. A.

[c] they

'they have not been delivered down to us in the number of 'catholic writings: forasmuch as no ecclesiastical writer of the 'ancients, or of our time, has made use of testimonies out 'of them. But in the progress of this history we shall make 'it our business to shew, together with the successions [from 'the apostles,] what ecclesiastical writers in every age have[e] 'used such writings as these which are contradicted: and what 'they have said with regard to the scriptures received into the 'New Testament, and acknowledged by all, and with regard 'to those which are not such. These then are the writings 'ascribed to Peter, of which I know of but one epistle only, 'that is genuine, and acknowledged by the presbyters of for-'mer times. Of Paul[f] there are fourteen [epistles] manifest 'and well known. But yet there are some who reject that to 'the Hebrews, urging for their opinion, that it is contradicted 'by the church of the Romans, as not being Paul's. What 'has been said of this epistle by those who were before us, I 'shall shew in due time. Nor have I understood the book 'called his Acts, to be placed among unquestioned scriptures. 'But whereas the apostle himself, in his salutations at the end 'of the epistle to the Romans, makes mention among others 'also of Hermas, who, it is said, is the author of the small 'book called the Pastor; it ought to be observed, that it is 'contradicted by some: for whose sake it cannot be placed 'among those books which are universally received. But by 'others it has been judged a most necessary book, especially 'for those who are to be instructed in the rudiments of reli-'gion. For which reason it is still, as we know, publicly[g] 'read in the churches: and I have observed it quoted by some 'very ancient writers. This[h] may suffice for an account of 'the divine scriptures, both those which are unquestioned, 'and those which are not received by all.'

This chapter too is inaccurate: nor does it answer[i] the title. Eusebius does not here speak of all the epistles of apostles, not of all such as were universally received. But we proceed to the next chapter, which perhaps may supply the defects of this.

[e] —— οποιαις κεχρηνται των αντιλεγομενων· τινα τε περι των ενδιαθηκων και ομολογουμενων γραφων, και οσα περι των μη τοιουτων αυτοις ειρηται. p. 72. B.

[f] Του δε Παυλου προδηλοι και σαφεις αι δεκατεσσαρες· οτι γε μην τινες ηθετηκασι την προς Εβραιους, προς της ρωμαιων εκκλησιας ου με Παυλου ουσαν αυτην αντιλεγεσθαι φησαντες, ου δικαιον αγνοειν. Ib. B. C.

[g] Οθεν ηδη και εν εκκλησιαις ισμεν αυτο δεδημοσιευμενον. Ib. B.

[h] Ταυτα εις παραστασιν των τε αναντιρρητων και των μη παρα πασιν ομολογουμενων θειων γραμματων, ειρησθω. Ib. D.

[i] The titles were composed by Eusebius himself, and prefixed by him to the several chapters of this work, as we now have them. So Valesius in his Annotations, p. 1.

4. The fourth chapter of the same third book of the Ecclesiastical History is entitled, Of the first succession of the Apostles. I shall transcribe at large what has here also any relation to our present design, assuring us of the genuineness of St. Luke's two books, the gospel and Acts of the apostles, St. Peter's first epistle, and some other things.

'Moreover, that Paul in the course of his preaching to the 'Gentiles, laid the foundation of the churches *from* [k] *Jerusalem* 'and round about unto *Illyricum*, is manifest both from his own 'words, and from what Luke has related in the [l] Acts. In like 'manner, in what provinces Peter preaching the gospel of 'Christ to those of the circumcision, delivered the doctrine of 'the new covenant, is evident from his own words in that 'epistle of his, which, as we have said, is universally acknow- 'ledged, and is inscribed by him to the Hebrews *scattered* 'throughout *Pontus, and Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithy-* 'nia. But how many, and who of these were genuine fol- 'lowers of the apostles, and approved of as fit for the pasto- 'ral office in the churches they had planted, is not easy to say, 'excepting such as may be collected from Paul's own words. 'For he had a vast number of fellow-labourers, and, as he 'calls them, fellow-soldiers: many of whom are secured of 'everlasting remembrance by the immortal testimony he has 'given to them in his epistles. And besides, Luke in the 'Acts has mentioned them by name among the disciples of 'the apostle. However it is said, that Timothy was the first 'bishop of the church in Ephesus, and Titus of the churches 'in Crete. And Luke, who was of Antioch, and by profes- 'sion a physician, for the most part a companion of Paul, who 'had likewise more than a slight acquaintance with the rest of 'the apostles, has left us in two books divinely inspired, evi- 'dence of the art of healing souls, which he had learned from 'them. One of these is the gospel, which he professeth to 'have written as [m] *they delivered* it to him, *who from the begin-* 'ning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word: with all 'whom, he says likewise, he had been *perfectly acquainted from* 'the very first. The other is the Acts of the apostles, which 'he composed now, not from what he had received by the 'report of others, but from what he had seen with his own 'eyes. And it is said, that Paul was wont to refer to the gos- 'pel according to him, whenever in his epistles speaking as 'it were of some gospel of his own he says: *According*[n] *to my*

[k] Rom. xv. 19. [l] See the Acts, from ch. xiii. to xxi. [m] Luke i. 2, 3.
[n] 2 Tim. ii. 8.

'gospel,

'*gelical.* Of the reſt of the followers of Paul, Creſcens[o] is
'ſaid by himſelf to have been ſent *into Gaul* [or Galatia].
'And Linus, whom he ſpeaks of in[p] his ſecond epiſtle to
'Timothy, as being with him at Rome, was appointed to the
'biſhopric of the church of Rome, next after Peter, as was
'before mentioned. And moreover Clement, who was ap-
'pointed the third biſhop of Rome, is alſo mentioned by
'Paul himſelf, as[q] his fellow-labourer and fellow-ſoldier.
'And beſide all theſe is the Areopagite, named Dionyſius:
'whom Luke in the [r] Acts relates to have become a believer
'immediately after Paul's ſpeech to the Athenians at the Areo-
'pagus: who is alſo ſaid by another Dionyſius, paſtor of the
'church of Corinth, one of the ancients, to have been the firſt
'biſhop of the church at Athens.'

VIII. Thus I have put down four chapters of our eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian almoſt entire. I think, I need not tranſcribe any more at length; but we may have occaſion to obſerve hereafter divers other particular paſſages. At preſent we make a ſtand, to review what we have ſeen.

1. Theſe paſſages are to be underſtood, chiefly, as repreſenting the opinions of Chriſtians in the time of our author.

2. It ſeems evident from what Euſebius writes, that there was not then [s] any canon of ſcripture, or catalogue of the books of the New Teſtament eſtabliſhed by any authority, which was univerſally acknowledged by Chriſtians. Our hiſtorian does not mention any ſuch thing. And beſides, this is ſo apparent from different opinions here obſerved, that I think it needleſs to inſiſt on a particular demonſtration of the truth of this remark.

3. The method which Euſebius himſelf, and others of his time, made uſe of in judging concerning the ſacred authority of any books, was to inquire after, and conſider the teſtimony of the ancients, thoſe holy and venerable Chriſtians whether biſhops or others of former times, who lived near the age of the apoſtles. This is a method, of which we have ſeen many inſtances in authors before cited, and we obſerve it alſo in theſe paſſages of Euſebius. However, as to books of doubtful authority, which had not been much quoted by the ancients, they did likewiſe examine their ſtyle and doctrine, and compare the things contained in them with the doctrine, deſign and manner of the books univerſally owned to be of divine and apoſtolical authority.

[o] 2 Tim. iv. 10. [p] ——ver. 21. [q] Philip. iv. 3. [r] Acts xvii. 34. [s] To the like purpoſe Baſnage, who deſerves to be conſulted. Hiſt. de l'Egliſe, l. viii. c. 5. n. 9, 10, 11.

4. In these passages of Eusebius are observable several sorts of books: but how many sorts may need some consideration. Valesius [t] has a learned note upon one of the forecited passages, the substance of which is: 'That there are three sorts of sacred books, such as are universally received, such as are doubted of by some, and lastly, such as are universally rejected, or plainly spurious. But,' says he, 'Eusebius, and some other ancients, use the word spurious improperly for books that are only of doubtful authority, and controverted by some: whereas by spurious ought to be intended those which are really so, as having been forged by heretics, such as are mentioned at the end of that chapter. For, to speak properly, there are but two sorts of sacred books; those universally received, and those doubted of, or contradicted by some: and the spurious ought not to be reckoned among sacred books.' So that learned writer.

In order to judge of this matter, and the better to understand Eusebius, it will be very convenient to observe another passage, not yet transcribed. 'Thus far,' says he, 'of what is come to our knowledge concerning the apostles, and the apostolical times, and [u] the sacred writings which they have left us, as also of those that are contradicted, but yet are publicly used [or read] in most churches, and of such as are altogether spurious, and far different from the apostolical doctrine.'

Here are three sorts of books expressed, with a fourth implied. For if some are altogether spurious, others may be called spurious simply.

It seems to me, that when we speak of books, and rank them according to the several opinions which men have of them, there may be five sorts: 1. Such as are universally received. 2. Such as are very generally received, and are doubted of by a few only. 3. Such as Eusebius calls controverted, or contradicted: which are received by many, or the most, but yet are doubted of by a good number of people. 4. Such as are received by a few only, or however are rejected by more than they are received. These Eusebius may call spurious. 5. There are such as are universally rejected by catholic Christians, as not having been used by any of the ancients, as books of any value, and containing things contrary to the true apostolical

[t] Annot. in libr. iii. c. 25. p. 52. 53.

[u] —— καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀναντίρρητα τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων, καὶ ὁμολογούμενα τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἐστὶ τῶν κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀνδρῶν, τὰ τε παντελῶς νόθα, καὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἀλλότρια. —— L. iii. c. 31. p. 103. B.

doctrine.

doctrine. Theſe are altogether or throughout ſpurious. If I miſtake not, four of theſe ſorts appear plainly in the ſecond paſſage cited from Euſebius: I mean all, except the ſecond ſort: and perhaps we may find, that neither has that been quite neglected by him. We ſhall now go over theſe ſeveral ſorts and diviſions.

1.) There were books of ſcripture univerſally received, and acknowledged by all the churches of Chriſt, or all catholic Chriſtians, as ſacred and divine. The books of this ſort, mentioned by Euſebius, are the four goſpels, the Acts of the apoſtles, thirteen epiſtles of Paul, one epiſtle of Peter, one epiſtle of John.

2.) There were books very generally received, and doubted of by a few only. This diviſion is not diſtinctly made, or expreſſly named by Euſebius: but, as I obſerved, it is a very reaſonable diviſion, when there is a number of books, about which there are different opinions. It may then very well happen, that there ſhall be ſome of this ſort. I think, we may not improperly place here the epiſtle to the Hebrews, and the book of the Revelation; or at leaſt the former of theſe. For at the beginning of the ſecond paſſage, Euſebius placeth the epiſtles of Paul among books univerſally received; without making there, or in any other part of that paſſage, any exception for the epiſtle to the Hebrews. In the third paſſage he ſays: 'Of Paul there are fourteen epiſtles manifeſt 'and well known. But yet there are ſome who reject that to 'the Hebrews, urging for their opinion, that it is contradicted 'by the church of the Romans, as not being St. Paul's.' Or, as we may remember, upon another occaſion our author ſaid: 'To' this very time, by ſome of the Romans, this epiſtle is 'not reckoned to be the apoſtle's.' However, it muſt be allowed, that there were ſome beſide the Romans, who did not receive this epiſtle as Paul's. So he ſaid in the words before cited: 'But yet there are ſome who reject that to the He-'brews, urging for their opinion, that it is contradicted by the 'church of Rome.' Theſe are not Romans. And doubtleſs we may obſerve ſome other paſſages of Euſebius, where the epiſtle to the Hebrews is reckoned among controverted, or contradicted books. Nevertheleſs, I think, he ſeems here inclined to give this epiſtle a place among thoſe books which were very generally received. We may therefore ſuppoſe, that it was more generally received in the churches, with which

[w] L. vi. c. 20. p. 223. A.

Euſebius

Eusebius was best acquainted, than the disputed catholic epistles.

As for the Revelation, at the end of our first passage Eusebius says: 'There are concerning that book to this very day 'different opinions.' At the beginning of our second passage he says: 'After these [universally received,] is to be placed, 'if it be thought fit, the Revelation of John, concerning 'which we shall observe the different opinions at a proper 'time. These are books received with a general consent.' But yet afterwards, in the same passage, reckoning up the books called spurious, he adds: 'And moreover, as I said, 'the Revelation of John, if it seem meet: which some, as I 'have said, reject, others reckon among the books universally 'received.'

I am not positive: I only propose it to be considered, whether, dividing books according to the several opinions of people in Eusebius's time, these two, the epistle to the Hebrews and the Revelation, may not be placed in the rank next after those universally * received.

3.) There are books which may be called controverted, or contradicted: which are received by many, or the most, but yet are doubted of by a good number of people. This is the second class, expressly mentioned in the second passage from Eusebius. For after the mention of those universally received, he adds: 'Of the controverted, but yet well known 'and approved by the most, are that called the epistle of 'James, and that of Jude, and the second of Peter, and the 'second and third of John: whether they were written by the 'evangelist, or by another of that name.'

These are the books which in that passage Eusebius calls controverted, and says, they were 'approved of by the most, 'or many.'

We may allow this to be in the general a just representation of the sentiments of Christians at that time concerning those epistles. However, there are some other passages relating to them to be observed.

In the second book of our author's Ecclesiastical History is a long chapter about the death of James, called the Just, and

* The argument above is confirmed by an observation of Mr. Robert Turner, in his Discourse of the pretended Apostolical Constitutions, p. 71. 'It is plain, Eusebius was at a loss, in what class to fix the 'Apocalypse: so that when he annexes 'it to the ἀναντίρρητα, it is with an ει 'φασιν. And he does the same, when he "joins it to the ὁμολογούμενα, adding: —— which "some reject as spurious, and others re- "ceive as confessedly sacred and canonical." If Eusebius was at a loss, in which of the classes expressly mentioned by him he should place the Revelation; it is likely, that it may belong to what I call the second class, which he has not expressly mentioned.

the

the brother of our Lord. Eusebius having exhibited two accounts of this person's death, one taken from the fifth book of the Memoirs of Hegesippus, the other from the Antiquities of Josephus, concludes the chapter with these words: 'Thus [y] 'far concerning this James, who is said to be author of the 'first of the seven epistles called catholic. But it ought to be 'observed, that it is spurious: forasmuch as there are not 'many of the ancients, who have made mention of it; as 'neither of that called Jude's, which likewise is one of the 'epistles called catholic. However, we know that these also 'are commonly used [or publicly read], in most churches, 'together with the rest.'

This passage shews us, that there were seven epistles called catholic: five of these, as we saw before, were controverted, two of which are here mentioned. Of these seven epistles, that of James was placed first in order: though there were doubts about some of them, yet in many churches all seven were joined together, and the five controverted epistles were publicly used and read with the rest.

The words concerning the epistle of James, which I have translated in this manner, 'but it ought to be observed, that 'it is spurious;' are by Valesius rendered thus, 'which some 'esteem spurious and supposititious.' And in his notes he says, that Rufinus and Christopherson have translated those words in the same manner, as representing the opinions of men concerning that epistle: which sense he owns he had followed in his version. But he says, upon farther consideration, he had altered his mind: and he thinks, that Eusebius there declares his own sentiment, and pronounceth this epistle absolutely spurious.

But I rather think, that Eusebius in those words declares the opinion of men about that epistle; and says, that it is contradicted, or rejected, by a good number of people, as was also the epistle of Jude. This appears to me the meaning of the expression: however, I have translated literally, and leave every one to judge of the words. We shall by and by distinctly consider Eusebius's own sentiments about this epistle; and then, perhaps, some things may offer for farther clearing up the meaning of this place.

As there are some other passages, in which Eusebius speaks of controverted books, they ought to be placed here.

[y] —— ὃ ἡ πρώτη τῶν ὀνομαζομένων καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν εἶναι λέγεται· ὑστέον δὲ ὡς [illegible] ὃ πολλοὶ γὰρ τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτῆς ἐμνημόνευσαν. —— ὅμως δὲ ἴσμεν καὶ ταύτας μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν πλείσταις δεδημοσιευμένας ἐκκλησίαις. l. ii. c. 23. p. 66. C.

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In one place he says, 'That [z] Clement in his Stromata takes 'testimonies out of those scriptures [a] that are contradicted; as 'the Wisdom of Solomon, the book of Jesus the son of Sirach, 'and the epistle to the Hebrews, and the epistle of Barnabas, 'and Clement, and Jude.'

And soon after he observes of the same Clement of Alexandria, 'that [b] in his Institutions, to speak briefly, he gives 'short explications [c] of all the canonical scriptures, not 'omitting those that are contradicted: I mean the epistle of 'Jude, and the other catholic epistles, and the epistle of Bar-'nabas, and the book called the Revelation of Peter.'

I scarce need to say, that by contradicted, Eusebius means books doubted of, or controverted by some, or many. But the books ranked in this class, and of which he useth that phrase, are not equally contradicted: some might be rejected by more than others were. Certainly, the Revelation of Peter, here placed among contradicted scriptures, was not received by so many as the epistle to the Hebrews, or those catholic epistles that were controverted. So far of this sort of books. We proceed,

4.) The next are those called spurious by our author: simply so, not altogether spurious. By those called spurious, I suppose to be meant such as were received by a few only, or however, were rejected by more, many more than they were received. Of these Eusebius speaks in our second passage from him after this manner: 'Among [e] the spurious are to be placed 'the Acts of Paul, and the book intitled the Shepherd, and 'the Revelation of Peter; and beside these, that called the 'epistle of Barnabas, and the book named the Doctrines of 'the Apostles: and moreover, as I said, the Revelation of 'John, if it seem meet; which some, as I have said, reject, 'others reckon among the books universally received. Among 'these also some have reckoned the Gospel according to the 'Hebrews, which the Hebrews who have embraced Christ 'make use of. All [f] these may be reckoned controverted.'

Hereby I think Eusebius intends to signify, that these books [called by him spurious], were not so generally received, as those before mentioned in that passage, and called distinctly contradicted, namely, the five disputed catholic epistles. They were received by some, but were rejected by many, by much

z See before, Vol. ii. p. 210, 211.

a —— απο των αντιλεγομενων γραφων. H. E. l. 6. c. 13. p. 214. D. b See before, Vol. ii. p. 211. c —— πασης της ενδιαθηκου γραφης. l. vi. c. 14. p. 215. C. d —— μηδε τας αντιλεγομενας παρελθων. ibid. e Εν τοις νοθοις καταλεξαχθω. κ. λ. p. 97. B.

f Ταυτα μεν παντα τας αντιλεγομενας εστω. ib. C.

the

the greater part of catholic Christians in Eusebius's time, as not having been quoted by many of the ancients, as books of authority; or, as not thinking them so excellent for the matter, as those universally received; or, as not written by the authors to whom they were ascribed; or, if really written by the persons whose names they bore, yet thinking, that the writings of those persons ought not to be reckoned canonical, or placed in the New Testament. This I take to be the case of several of the books here mentioned: the book called the Shepherd, might be allowed to be written by Hermas; and the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas, might be really his: but these pieces might not be judged fit to be received into the New Testament, the authors not being apostles. This too, I take to be one reason of placing here the Revelation of John; because many thought it not written by John the apostle, but by some other of that name: though some of those who rejected this book, might likewise have exceptions to some of the contents of it; as also to some things contained in the two other writings just mentioned.

5.) The fifth sort of books are such as were supposed to be published by heretics, under the names of apostles, which in the second passage are said to be these, 'The Gospels of Peter, 'and Thomas, and Matthias, and some others; and the Acts of 'Andrew, and John, and other apostles.' The reasons why these were rejected are assigned by Eusebius at large. He concludes, that 'they are the forgeries of heretics, and[g] that 'they are not so much as to be reckoned among the spurious; 'but are to be rejected, as altogether absurd and impious:' that is, in other words, according to what he says in another passage cited above, they are altogether spurious, and were universally rejected by catholic Christians.

Thus we have settled all these several sorts of books; four of which are, I think, plainly (c) discernible in our second passage. Whether there is any ground for a fifth division, which I have mentioned, namely, the second in order, will be considered by the attentive reader.

[g] Οὐ, [illegible] κατακτέον· ἀλλ' ὡς [illegible] παραιτητέον. p. [illegible] A.

(c) I beg leave to observe, that Mr. Turner understood our author to speak of four sorts of books. He is the only person, whom I have met with, who thought of more than three. And we are independent witnesses to this point. For this article in the chapter of Eusebius (which has long lain by me) was composed before I had any knowledge of Mr. Turner's work, in which he considers this matter. His words are: 'Eusebius's account 'of the sacred books, in that chapter, is 'somewhat confused. But he seems to 'rank them in four classes.' R. Turner's Discourse upon the pretended Apostolical Constitutions, p. 168—171.

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5. The next remark I would make is a kind of corollary from the foregoing passages and observations; that the words contradicted, controverted, and spurious, are not to be understood only of the genuineness of a work; or of a doubt and controversy, whether it was really written by the person to whom it is ascribed, and whose name it bears; but whether it has a right to be a part of the New Testament. It might be unquestionably genuine, or generally allowed to be so; and yet be contradicted, that is, rejected by some, a good number; or be spurious, generally rejected from being a part of the New Testament. This is extremely evident with regard to the epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, which in a passage cited just now, we saw placed among contradicted scriptures, though it was owned [h] by every body for a genuine work of Clement bishop of Rome, and companion of the blessed apostle Paul. The controversy therefore about that epistle was only, whether it should be reckoned a book of the New Testament. And though it be called by Eusebius only a contradicted book, there seem to have been very few on the affirmative side of the question, for admitting it into the New Testament. Insomuch that in this respect, it might be placed among the spurious, that is, those which were generally rejected. This observation ought to be applied to the epistle of Barnabas, and the Shepherd of Hermas: for whose sake it is, indeed, principally intended: but I think, I need not stay any longer to shew the justness of it with regard to them. Those writings are the genuine works of the authors whose names they bear; but with regard to any claim to be parts of the sacred scriptures of the New Testament, properly so called, they are contradicted, or rather spurious, generally rejected.

6. The character of the authors or writers of the several books of sacred scripture is observable: they are all apostles, or apostolical men. Nor are there any writings of barely apostolical men authentic, and universally acknowledged, excepting those of Mark and Luke, which are only *historical*, not doctrinal or dogmatical. All the other books, which are epistolary, or dogmatical, as the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Epistle of Clement, and the Shepherd of Hermas, as likewise the Epistle of James, and Jude, and the Revelation of John, (which some were not fully satisfied to have been written by apostles, but by an elder only, or other *person of inferior rank*

h —— τῆ Κλημεντος ομολογουμενη μια επιστολη. H. E. l. iii. c. 16. —— ανομολογουμενη παρα πασιν. ib. c. 38. p. 110. A. —— τῆ Κλημεντος ομολογουμενη χρησ- ibid. C.

to that of apostles), were controverted; contradicted, either by some, or by many, so as to deserve the appellation of spurious. This seems to shew, that it was a common and prevailing opinion among Christians in those times, that no book, doctrinal or preceptive, ought to be received as of authority, unless written by an apostle; and that the credit of men not apostles, though they were companions of apostles, was admitted no farther than as historians, or reporters of what they had seen, or of what they had heard from apostles, or eye-witnesses, and ministers of the word.

We actually see the traces of this prevailing opinion in the judgment formed of divers writings and persons. The epistle of Clement, a companion of the apostle Paul, expressly celebrated by him, which epistle too, was universally allowed to be genuine, is a contradicted book, and received by a very few, as a part of the New Testament. Nor does it appear, that any of the epistles of Ignatius or Polycarp, though they likewise were disciples of apostles, ever obtained so much credit, as to be admitted by any into the canon of scripture.

Here this sentiment appears very clearly: every body knew who were authors of those epistles; and for that very reason, few or none ever thought of placing them among sacred scriptures. If the authors of those epistles had been unknown, some might have thought them to have been written by apostles; and those epistles might have made a considerable claim to be parts of the New Testament: but now they stand clearly in the rank only of excellent ecclesiastical writings.

An apostolical man, then, was not supposed to have a right or power to deliver admonitions, exhortations, counsels, precepts, or to write of doctrines, in an authoritative manner. They may make reports, or write histories of the preaching and miracles of Christ or his apostles, which shall be received as of authority; provided they are known to be apostolical men, intimate companions, and approved fellow-labourers of apostles, as Mark and Luke were. But that is the utmost credit and authority of men of this rank, high as it was.

7. We have a fine observation of our author, concerning the employment of the apostles, and their backwardness to write, and the occasions of the few books or epistles which were written by them at last.

And it may be well supposed, that Eusebius here speaks agreeably to the information he had received from more ancient Christian writers.

[illegible] to this purpose, Iren. l. iii. c. 1.—per quos evangelium pervenit ad nos: quod quidem tunc præconaverunt, postea vero per Dei voluntatem in scripturis nobis tradiderunt. &c.

And

And I think, that according to his account, all the books of the New Testament, now commonly received among us, are occasional writings, except the book of the Revelation; the author of which, chap. i. 11. is expressly directed to *write in a book, and send it to the seven churches that are in Asia.* And he says of the apostles in general, that they were not greatly concerned about writing. And of those two apostles that wrote gospels, he says particularly, that 'they were compelled 'to write by a kind of necessity.' For by tradition of more ancient writers he had been informed, that Matthew wrote his gospel for the benefit of the Christians in Judea; that when he left them, it might supply the want of his presence. And there were traditions of several reasons of John's writing his gospel: one was, that having seen the three gospels first written, he observed, that there was still wanting a written relation of the beginning of Christ's ministry: moreover, two of the former evangelists had written the genealogy of Christ according to the flesh; but the account of Christ's divinity had been reserved for him. The occasion of Mark's writing his gospel has been also mentioned in this author's Ecclesiastical History. And he says, that Luke himself has at the beginning of his gospel assigned the reason why he wrote; which was to put into our hands a full and certain account of Christ's ministry, in the room of those uncertain and defective relations which had been written by others, and were already got abroad in the world.

This may be supposed to be, for the main part, and in the general, a true account of the occasion of writing the several gospels. Nor let any therefore be in pain, and suspect, that then there would have been danger, lest we should have had no gospels, or authentic written records concerning Christ and his doctrine: for if the apostles performed the most difficult part of their ministry, and fulfilled the command of Christ, *to go and preach to all nations*, and did discharge that work with zeal and resolution, accompanied with those miracles, which the divine power they had received from Christ enabled them to perform, there certainly would be occasion for writing both gospels and epistles. The converts which the apostles made; would many of them be desirous of written memoirs of the great and excellent things, which they had heard; and would certainly intreat apostles themselves, or their ministers and companions, to deliver to them such accounts, to help their memory.

And

And upon the apoſtles relating frequently in their ſermons, in many parts of the world, and to great numbers of people, the diſcourſes and miracles of Jeſus, and performing many other like miracles themſelves, it was very likely, that ſome ſhould be ſo moved and affected by thoſe extraordinary things, as to compoſe and publiſh relations of them, though they were not fully qualified for the work. Theſe imperfect, and not ſufficiently atteſted relations, would very naturally provoke and excite ſome one or more, well acquainted with thoſe things, to write a hiſtory of them, which might be depended upon as certain. And having ſeen ſome hiſtories of the acts of Chriſt, which, though written with a good intention, and from a good principle, were not fitted for general uſe, nor ſuited to the importance of the deſign; it was very natural for the ſame perſon, for the ſame reaſon, and with the ſame view, to undertake a ſecond work, containing a hiſtory of the acts of Chriſt's apoſtles, and of the planting and ſpreading the Chriſtian doctrine in ſeveral places, after the reſurrection of Jeſus, and his aſcenſion to heaven: in order the better to prevent the ſetting out any ſuch defective, not well atteſted relations of theſe things, as he had actually ſeen of the life of Chriſt. It was highly probable, that the deſign of this ſecond work ſhould enter into the mind of the ſame perſon who had undertaken the former, for the reaſon juſt mentioned: eſpecially conſidering, that he was more peculiarly qualified for this latter performance, as he had been himſelf an eye-witneſs of a large part of theſe things, which were to be the materials of it; and he had the honour and happineſs of being intimately acquainted with ſome of the principal perſons, whoſe words and works, journeyings, dangers and ſufferings, he was now to relate.

It was alſo very likely, that if ſome one apoſtle was by divine Providence preſerved to a great age, he ſhould come to the ſight of the memoirs of Chriſt's life firſt written. And as the former evangeliſts had been much intent upon brevity in their narrations, and confined themſelves, chiefly, to the more public parts of Chriſt's miniſtry; it was very natural for him to judge it proper to give the world a written relation of ſome things omitted by them. There might be alſo ſuch a change in the circumſtances of things, ſince the time of writing the more early goſpels, as might contribute to determine his reſolution of adding a new and fourth goſpel to thoſe already written.

Moreover, if the apoſtles of Jeſus Chriſt, and his other diſciples, and their immediate converts, preached the goſpel with

that zeal and diligence which might be reasonably expected, and formed and constituted in several parts distinct societies, or churches, of the converts they made by preaching and conference; it could not be, considering the weakness of human nature, and the condition and character of the persons of which those churches were constituted (many of whom had been lately involved in vice, and the grossest darkness and ignorance), but that some of those churches would need farther instructions, for their confirmation and establishment, or for correcting disorders they fell into, or for securing them from the seduction of selfish and artful leaders and teachers crept in among them, or endeavouring to do so. Such wants and necessities of those religious societies would excite the care and attention of the apostles by whom they had been formed. And as the apostles could not visit in person so often as they would, much less be always present with, all the churches they had planted; their tender concern and affection for their welfare, and their zeal for the principles of which they were fully persuaded, and which they had preached and instilled into the minds of men with great labour and many hazards, would oblige and induce them to write epistles to them, containing sufficient instructions about every thing relating to their case, and which the support and flourishing interest of the Christian religion required. And some apostles, in the great and uncommon zeal with which they were animated, in all probability would be induced to write epistles also to some churches or Christians formed and converted by others, and whom they had not seen; that nothing might be wanting to them, for completing their faith in the gospel, and securing their stedfastness therein, and a conversation and behaviour of life becoming it.

Finally, it was likewise probable, that some occasions should offer, which in a manner required, the writing of some epistles to particular persons, for recommending some good office of kindness to a Christian brother, and for giving directions about the officers settled, or to be appointed and settled in Christian societies, for promoting good order, and the interest of religion among them.

Eusebius says, then, that 'the apostles employing the demonstration of the divine Spirit working with them, spread the gospel over the world. Nor were they' [at the first] 'much concerned to write, being engaged in a more excellent ministry, exceeding all human power:' that is, in preaching and spreading the gospel every where. This likewise I take to be a just, and true, and fine observation. That ministry

was

was indeed 'above human power,' not only with regard to the miracles performed by them; but their preaching the doctrine of the goſpel to all the world, as they did, was alſo a divine work. To diſcourſe, diſpute, and argue with men of all characters, and thus to recommend the truths of religion, requires more and greater talents of the mind, as well as more virtue, eſpecially in the apoſtles' circumſtances, than to write for them. For in preaching the heavenly doctrine of the goſpel, contrary to rooted and general errors and prejudices and darling paſſions, before men of all ranks and characters, princes and people, philoſophers and mechanics, Jews and Gentiles, which required a different ſort of treatment; there was neceſſary not only a clear and diſtinct knowledge of the doctrine itſelf, and the ſeveral arguments by which it might be moſt fitly demonſtrated and recommended, but alſo great zeal, and courage, and preſence of mind, ſuited to ſudden occaſions and emergencies; as well as a fixed reſolution to ſuffer all manner of evil, rather than deny it, rather than not openly profeſs and teach it. This is very different from compoſing an argument in private, and at our leiſure. We write in the ſtudy free from noiſe and danger: we take the time, when we find ourſelves beſt diſpoſed for the work. If we oppoſe an abſurd opinion, and a perverſe and unreaſonable adverſary; though he be far out of ſight, or a man we never ſaw, we find a difficulty in governing our temper, and reſtraining all harſhneſs and indecency of expreſſion. And when we have finiſhed the work, if the truth we defend be unpopular and unacceptable; we ſend forth our performance with abundance of caution, perhaps without a name, and in the moſt reſerved and ſecret manner we can deviſe. But the apoſtles in preaching the goſpel, were under a neceſſity of engaging at all ſeaſons, with all ſorts of characters and tempers: and were obliged to meekneſs under provocations, and courage in the midſt of all ſorts of dangers and threatenings. For ſuch a ſervice many great talents are needful, either acquired or infuſed. And ſince the apoſtles, generally ſpeaking, had not the former in a great degree, they muſt have been favoured with the latter.

The work therefore of preaching the goſpel, in which the apoſtles were engaged, was, as Euſebius ſays, 'a moſt excellent miniſtry, and above human power:' it was likewiſe the fitteſt to be firſt performed. To have written memoirs of Chriſt's life, or treatiſes of the truth of the Chriſtian religion, before thoſe things had been preached, and before ſome conſiderable number of converts had been made, would have ſignified very

little. In that way, the gospel would not, in the course of many ages, if ever, have been spread over the world, as it was by the preaching of the apostles in a few years.

Our Saviour's command to his first apostles was: *Go [k] ye, and teach all nations, baptizing them, — teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.* Paul in like manner was chosen and appointed of Christ, to [l] *bear his name before the gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel.* And he [m] was *made a minister and witness of the things which he had seen, and of those things in which Christ should appear unto him: and he shewed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and then to the Gentiles, that they should repent, and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance.* These were Christ's own directions, and it was fit they should be first performed: and it was indeed a glorious work, by public preaching to convert men from their errors and vices, to the faith of God and Jesus Christ; and engage them to make a profession of faith in Jesus by baptism, and then to continue the profession and avowal of that faith, by worshipping God according to the rule of the gospel in religious societies of their own.

If therefore the apostles of Christ performed the work appointed them by him, (as they did with amazing success, but not with greater success than might be reasonably expected, considering all the helps, and all the arguments, he had furnished them with, both for animating them, and convincing others:) there certainly would be occasions and demands for writing such books, as the New Testament now consists of; gospels, Acts, and epistles.

And though these writings were of the utmost importance, and of absolute necessity, for preserving the Christian religion in purity in following ages: and though these writings are now of much more immediate advantage to us, than the preaching of Christ and his apostles: yet it was best not only for men of that, but likewise of all future ages, and of us in particular, in these late ages, that the doctrine of the gospel should be first preached by Christ and his apostles, and that a large number of converts should be made, before those books were written, which were to be the rule of faith and manners to Christians in all future times. By this means we now have in these books, demonstrations of the truth of the Christian religion impossible to have been afforded in any other way. Beside the most glorious example of Jesus Christ, in the course of

[k] Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. [l] Acts ix. 15. [m] —— xxvi. 16, 20.

his perſonal miniſtry, we ſee ſuch zeal, ſuch reſolution, fortitude, ſelf-denial, diſintereſtedneſs, patience, meekneſs, and ſuch extraordinary gifts in his apoſtles, as afford a rational and moſt convincing evidence of the truth of the doctrine preached by them, and which we have received from them. The ſeveral occaſions of writing the hiſtorical books, ſuch as the requeſt of believers, and the publication of imperfect memoirs of Chriſt, are proofs that the goſpel had been preached to the world, and had been received by many, notwithſtanding the diſcouraging circumſtances, which both the preaching and receiving it muſt have been attended with. The epiſtles of the apoſtles written to Chriſtian ſocieties, or to particular Chriſtians, are alſo undeniable evidences of the ſucceſs of the apoſtles' miniſtry; of the divine works, by which that miniſtry was ſupported; of the extraordinary gifts conferred by them, and received by their converts; of the ſincerity, courage, patience of the firſt diſciples and converts of the apoſtles in general; and of the eminent and ſtedfaſt virtue of many of them. Indeed, they are ſuch evidences of theſe things, as could never have appeared in any treatiſes, or ſet arguments whatever, compoſed to perſuade men to embrace the religion of Jeſus. In a word, the goſpel has been moſt effectually ſpread, the moſt complete and moſt laſting evidence of the truth of the Chriſtian religion has been afforded, and the beſt arguments to an open and ſtedfaſt profeſſion of the truth and to a virtuous converſation ſuitable to it, have been given by the apoſtles firſt preaching the goſpel to all ſorts of perſons, in almoſt every part of the world, and then compoſing and delivering ſuch writings, whether hiſtorical or epiſtolary, as were ſuited to the wants and deſires, and fitted for the eſtabliſhment and improvement of the converts they had made.

Finally, we have in this way greater ſecurity for the genuineneſs of the books of the New Teſtament, and the integrity of the copies of them, than otherwiſe we ſhould have had. They were publiſhed at the earneſt intreaties of ſome, or written and addreſſed to others, who would certainly ſet a great value on them. There were many perſons in being, who would receive them with the greateſt eſteem whenever they came to their knowledge. And as there were many who muſt needs ſhew a great regard for them, and be deſirous to have them in their hands, and make uſe of them, as helps to their memories in things they had heard with attention; we have the greater reaſon to conclude, that theſe books were ſoon tranſcribed, and many copies taken of them: which would be a great ſe-

curity againſt corrupting and interpolating them; if any, to carry on particular intereſts, had formed ſuch a deſign.

8. In theſe paſſages are alſo ſome good obſervations for harmonizing the goſpels, and for determining the duration of our Saviour's perſonal miniſtry. The reader doubtleſs remembers what our author writes of St. John's ſaying: 'that the three 'former evangeliſts had written the truth, but there was ſtill 'wanting a hiſtory of the things done by Chriſt in the firſt 'part and beginning of his miniſtry.' I need not therefore enlarge here upon this matter. It may be, however, farther obſerved, that[n] in another place of the ſame Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Euſebius ſays, our Lord's miniſtry was above three years, and not quite four years complete. But his argument there alleged for that opinion, from the number of Jewiſh high-prieſts during the period of Chriſt's preaching, is abſurd and groundleſs, as appears from Joſephus: though Euſebius endeavours to ſupport his opinion from that Jewiſh author. In the Demonſtration, he ſpeaks of our Saviour's miniſtry being three years and an half.

9. We may likewiſe obſerve, that the account which Euſebius gives of the opinion of men in his time, is agreeable to what we have ſeen in the paſſages of authors before his time. In the writings of ancient authors, whom we have conſulted, we have found more numerous quotations of the books univerſally received in Euſebius's time, than of the others, whoſe authority was diſputed and controverted.

Indeed, ſome may be hence ready to argue, that we might at firſt have ſat down contented with theſe paſſages of the biſhop of Cæſarea, repreſenting the ſenſe of Chriſtians in his time, founded upon the teſtimony of antiquity, without looking any farther. But, certainly, it is a ſatisfaction to ſee ourſelves the teſtimonies of the ancients to the ſcriptures of the New Teſtament. If we had not conſulted thoſe authors, we could not have been ſo fully perſuaded of the juſtneſs of Euſebius's account, as now we are. Nor did he expect that men ſhould rely upon his account: he does not deliver his judgment magiſterially: but having in theſe paſſages repreſented, partly his own opinion, partly the general ſentiments of other men about the books of ſcripture, or ſome of them, he adds: 'but this 'point ſhall be decided hereafter by the authority of the an-'cients.' Nor would this great man, if he were witneſs to

[n] Vid. H. E. l. i. c. 10. & Valeſ. notas. —— Dem. l. viii. p. 400. B.

out

our proceedings condemn our deſign, nor take it amiſs, that after a long interval we thought it proper to imitate himſelf, and reſumed the deſign of inquiring after and examining the teſtimonies of more ancient writers, collected and exhibited by him in the immortal work of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, or any others, that are to be found elſewhere in the original authors that remain.

I hope that we have now in a good meaſure diſcovered the true ſenſe and meaning of theſe paſſages of Euſebius; though it muſt be allowed, they are ſomewhat obſcure and confuſed: and we could have wiſhed, that he had employed a little more time in penning them, and had expreſſed himſelf with more perſpicuity and exactneſs. However, in matters of this vaſt importance honeſty is the main thing; and I think, we have no cauſe to complain of any defect of that kind in theſe paſſages of our author. If he writes without art, he writes alſo without reſerve. He acknowledges that there were different opinions upon this head. And whilſt he aſſures us there were ſome books received by all the churches under heaven, he owns there were others, about which there were diſputes: and likewiſe, that there had been forged and publiſhed goſpels and Acts under the name of divers apoſtles. Euſebius alſo deſerves commendation for the calmneſs with which he writes of theſe matters. He repreſents different opinions without hard names, or fierceneſs of temper. This is not only excellent in itſelf, and therefore agreeable; but it is ſtill farther agreeable, in that it confirms the truth and fairneſs of the account. It is true, he abſolutely rejects this laſt ſort of books, and with ſome indignation, as impious: but it was his duty to tell us what they were, and what catholic Chriſtians thought of them. They were books containing things mean and abſurd, and were deſtitute of all ancient teſtimonies to the high original they pretended to, and conſequently were manifeſt forgeries: and certainly it is impious to forge writings under the names of any men, much more of apoſtles. And we have a great deal of reaſon to be pleaſed, to find that the ancient Chriſtians were ever cautious what writings they received, as the works of apoſtles, or apoſtolical men: and that having exerciſed a judicious critique, they ſtomached ſuch compoſitions as theſe, and rejected them with abhorrence.

IX. As we have largely obſerved the repreſentation given by Euſebius, of the general ſenſe and opinion of Chriſtians in his time, concerning the ſcriptures of the New Teſtament;

we ought now to consider, what was his own sentiment concerning the books of that collection.

1. And doubtless we ought to suppose, and take for granted, that he owned for sacred and divine scripture all those books, which he assures us were then universally received as such.

2. I need not therefore make many remarks here relating to the four gospels, his testimony to them in many passages that have passed before us being clear and express: however, it may not be amiss to recollect and put down here a few particulars.

3. The evangelist Matthew he supposed to be one of Christ's twelve apostles, who had been before a publican.

4. The evangelist Mark he supposed to be a companion and disciple of Peter. It does not appear, that our great author thought the writer of the gospel to be John, surnamed Mark, often mentioned in the Acts of the apostles, and likewise by St. Paul in Coloss. iv. 10. and 2 Tim. iv. 11. But unquestionably he supposed him to be the same that is mentioned 1 Pet. v. 13.

5. As for St. Luke's character, we have seen in a passage above cited, that he supposed him to have been originally a physician of Antioch: and doubtless the same also who is mentioned by St. Paul, Coloss. iv. 14. Consequently, it is probable that he thought this evangelist to have been a gentile Christian: whether rightly, or not, we do not now enquire.

6. The fourth evangelist, John, as we have seen, he thought to be one of Christ's twelve apostles, son of Zebedee, and brother of James: and how he speaks of him and his gospel, and the occasion of it, has been seen by us in several places. When he quotes him, he not seldom calls him the [p] great and admirable evangelist John. He [q] calls him a Hebrew divine. That he gives him that title, in regard to the beginning of his gospel, appears, I think, from several [r] places: and I put in the margin [s] two other passages, where this evangelist is spoken of by Eusebius in the same character. Eusebius is the first ancient author who has given him this title: and it may be observed, that he characterises Moses in the like manner, calling him also [t] the great Hebrew divine.

p Vid. not. r. q —— τον θειον και μεγαν Ιωαννην θεολογον. Pr. Evang. l. vi. c. 18. p. 310. B.

r —— Λογος, ον θεολογος ο μεγας και πρωτος Ιωαννης ισησι. Dem. Ev. l. iv. p. 159. C. —— ωσπερ ο θαυμασιος ευαγγελιστης Ιωαννης μεχρι της καθ' ημας διδασκαλιας τα σαφεστερα της σωματικης και κατα ψυχην θεολογιας

Dem. l. vii. c. 1. p. 309. C.

s —— της θεολογου και ευαγγελιστου. De l. c. Th. l. i. p. 92. D. ο μεγας ευαγγελιστης, αμα και θεολογος. Ib. l. ii. c. 12. p. 119. C. t —— μεγας Θεολογος Μωσης, Εβραιος ων εξ Εβραιων. Prep. Ev. l. vii. c. 7. p. 303. A.

7. Before

7. Before I proceed, I would add, that we have alſo ſeen, that this very learned ancient Chriſtian Biſhop received the genealogy in St. Matthew, and that he makes no queſtion about the genuineneſs of that, or any part of the firſt two chapters of St. Matthew's goſpel, or of the firſt chapter of St. Luke's goſpel, which chapters are often quoted in his works.

8. The book of the Acts is another of thoſe books, which he aſſures us were univerſally received. It is expreſsly mentioned by Euſebius as ſuch in theſe paſſages, and aſcribed to Luke as the author, and called divinely inſpired ſcripture. He elſewhere likewiſe often quotes this book, as [u] divine ſcripture, and the [x] ſacred ſcripture of the Acts: he often quotes it by the title of the Acts, Acts of the Apoſtles, and written by St. Luke; of which [y] I put ſome examples in the margin.

9. By the epiſtles of the apoſtle Paul, ſpoken of in the long paſſages above cited, there can be no queſtion but he means thoſe we have, which are often expreſsly mentioned and quoted in the works of this writer, by the titles uſed among us, of the churches, or particular perſons, to whom they were ſent. Thirteen epiſtles therefore, which were received by all as the apoſtle Paul's, were likewiſe undoubtedly received as ſuch by Euſebius.

10. Whether he received the epiſtle to the Hebrews as St. Paul's, which in paſſages cited by us he has ſeveral times ſpoken of as one of the controverted books of ſcripture, will require ſome conſideration.

11. And here it may not be amiſs to recollect ſeveral expreſſions in thoſe paſſages, concerning the general reception of this epiſtle. I have put them together under the ſecond remark, in the ſecond [z] diviſion of the books of the New Teſtament.

12. We ought alſo to recollect what Euſebius ſaid, ſpeaking of the famous and univerſally acknowledged epiſtle of Clement of Rome, the companion of the apoſtle Paul: 'In [a] which,' ſays he, 'inſerting many ſentiments of the epiſtle to the He-'brews, and alſo uſing ſome of the very words of it, he [b] 'plainly manifeſts that epiſtle to be no modern writing. And

[u] —— ως φησιν η θεια φωνη. H. E. l. iii. c. 9. p. 97. A. [x] Διδασκαλος των πραξεων γραφη. l. ii. c. 1. p. 59. D. [y] Ο Λουκας εν ταις πραξεσι. H. E. l. i. c. 5. p. 17. D. εν ταις πραξεσι των αποστολων. l. ii. c. 22. p. 103. A. Vid. l. ii. c. 11. in. med. & paſſim. οιδη πραξεις τε Ιησε Μαθηλαι εν τη βιβλω των ιδιων πραξεων. Dem. Ev. l. iii. p. 128. B. [z] See p. 233.

[a] See before, Vol. ii. p. 26, 27.

[b] —— σαφεστατα παριστων ου μη νεον επαρχει το συγγραμμα. Οθεν εικοτως εδοξεν, αυτο τοις λοιποις εγκαλεχθηναι γραμμασι τε αποστολε. H. E. l. iii. c. 38. p. 110. A.

'hence

'hence it has not without reaſon been reckoned among the 'other writings of the apoſtle: for Paul having written to the 'Hebrews in their own language, ſome think that the evan- 'geliſt Luke, others, that this very Clement tranſlated it [into 'Greek]; which laſt is the more probable of the two, there 'being a reſemblance between the ſtyle of the epiſtle of Cle- 'ment, and that to the Hebrews; nor are the ſentiments of 'thoſe two writings very different.'

13. Euſebius does alſo not ſeldom quote this epiſtle as Paul's. Thus, in the account of a Chriſtian martyr, who told his judge, that Jeruſalem was his country: 'meaning,' ſays [c] the hiſtorian, 'that Jeruſalem of which Paul ſpeaks: *but* [d] *Jeru-* '*ſalem which is above, is free, which is the mother of us all.* 'And, ye [e] *are come unto mount Sion, and unto the city of* '*the living God, the heavenly Jeruſalem.*' In the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory he ſpeaks of 'the [f] epiſtle to the Hebrews, and 'divers other epiſtles of Paul.' He quotes this epiſtle as 'ſacred ſcripture' in the Evangelical Preparation: as [h] the apoſtle's in the Demonſtration. And in a like manner often in his books againſt [i] Marcellus, and in his Commentaries upon [k] the Pſalms, and [l] Iſaiah: from the former of which I ſhall by and by quote a remarkable paſſage.

14. Theodoret, without heſitation, poſitively ſays, that Euſebius [m] received the epiſtle to the Hebrews, as a writing of the divine Paul; and that he ſaid, all the ancients were of the ſame opinion, Which muſt be reckoned but a looſe quotation, if thereby he intends (as I apprehend he does), Euſebius's citation of Origen in his [n] Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory.

15. Once more, Euſebius is reckoned by Stephen Gobar, in Photius, among [o] thoſe many ancient writers, who count

[c] De Martyr. Pal. c. xi. p. 337.
[d] Gal. iv. 26. [e] Hebr. xii. 22.
[f] —— οποιας η τε προς εβραιους, και αλλαι πλειους τε Παυλε περιεχουσιν επιστολαι. H. E. l. ii. c. 17. p. 55. D.
[g] —— τε τε ιερε λογε σαφεστερον εισποιησας. —— Pr. Ev. l. xii. c. 19. p. 592. D.
[h] Ταυτα μεν ο αποστολος. Dem. Ev. l. v. c. 3. p. 223. D. 224. A. B.
[i] Και αρχιερεα δε αυτον ο αυτος αποστολος αποκαλει λεγων. De Ecc. Th. l. i. p. 93. B. & paſſim. [k] —— περι ης ψαλμωδης σκηνης και ο θειος αποστολος διδασκων ελεγεν· τοιουτον εχομεν αρχιερεα. —— [Heb. viii.] Comm. in Pſ. p. 175. E. ο ιερος αποστολος εν τη προς εβραιους φησιν. ib. p. 555. & paſſim. [l] Παρεστη δε προς ο αποστολος ειπων. Comm. in Iſ. p. 454. C. & paſſim. [m] Ευσεβιος εφχη πεισθηναι τω παλαιστερω —— και εις γας τε θειλεσε Παυλε την δεκατην επιστολην ομολογησε, ειναι και τες παλαιες απαντας ταυτην περι αυτης εχειν εγχωριον την δοξαν. Thdrt. Argum. in Ep. ad Heb.
[n] Vid. Euſeb. H. E. l. vi. c. 25. p. 227. D. And the paſſage is cited in this work, Vol. ii. p. 467. [o] Οι —— μεν Ευσεβιος, και πολυς αλλος διαφορα παλαιων ομιλος, ταις αλλαις συναριθμησι ταυτην επιστολαις, και φασκων αυτην εκ της εβραιδος μεταφρασαι τον αυτον Κλημεντα. Phot. Cod. 232. p. 768.

[t]is

this epiſtle among the other epiſtles of Paul, and ſay, that it was tranſlated out of Hebrew by Clement of Rome.

16. All theſe particulars are ſufficient to afford full ſatisfaction, that in the churches with which Euſebius was beſt acquainted, this epiſtle was generally received as the apoſtle Paul's, and that he was himſelf alſo much inclined to admit it as ſuch. Nevertheleſs, perhaps it may be queſtioned, whether he was fully perſuaded of it. If he had, he would ſcarce have expreſſed himſelf as he does in the place before cited, relating to the parallel paſſages of this and Clement's epiſtle; 'that he thereby clearly ſhews it to be no modern compoſition.' As the evidence of this epiſtle being Paul's did not appear equally clear with that for his other epiſtles, the perſuaſion was not equally certain, and doubts, as it ſeems, were ſometimes apt to ariſe in his mind about it.

17. In order to judge of this writer's ſentiments concerning the epiſtle of James, which, as he before informed us, was the firſt of the ſeven epiſtles called catholic, but was diſputed by many, we muſt obſerve ſeveral paſſages. But I chooſe not to inſiſt on any general [p] citations, without the name of book, or author of thoſe words, *God reſiſteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble*; becauſe, though they are found in James iv. 6. they are alſo in Prov. iii. 34. and 1 Pet. v. 5. And beſides, there are divers paſſages of Euſebius, where this epiſtle is plainly quoted.

18. In his books of Eccleſiaſtical Theology he obſerves, 'As [q] it is ſaid in another place, *Confeſs [r] your ſins one to another.*' In the Commentary upon the Pſalms, 'Since [s] the 'ſcripture [t] ſays, *Love not detraction, leſt thou be deſtroyed.* 'And *ſpeak [w] not evil, brethren, one of another, leſt ye fall into 'condemnation.*' Again, in the ſame Commentary upon the Pſalms, 'The [x] ſacred Apoſtle therefore ſays, *Is [z] any among 'you afflicted? let him pray: Is any merry? let him ſing pſalms.*'

19. Theſe are quotations of the epiſtle: we muſt alſo obſerve ſome other paſſages, beſide that before tranſcribed concerning James, called the Juſt, and the brother of our Lord, whom Euſebius ſuppoſes to be the author of this epiſtle.

[p] Vid. Euſeb. Comm. in Pſ. p. 446. D. B. [q] Prov. xx. 13. [r] Our tranſlation, more agreeably to the Hebrew and Symmachus: *Love not ſleep, leſt thou come to poverty.* [w] See James iv. 11. & v. 12. [x] Λεγει γουν ο ιερος αποστολος. Κακοπαθει τις εν υμιν; προσευχεσθω· ευθυμει τις; ψαλλαδω. in Pſ. p. 247. C. [z] James v. 13.

20. In the Ecclesiastical History, having mentioned some traditions relating to Christ's seventy disciples, he proceeds, 'And [a] any attentive person may perceive, that Christ had 'more than seventy disciples. This is evident from the testi-'mony of Paul, without searching for other proof: who says, 'that after his resurrection from the dead [b] he was *seen of Ce-'phas, then of the twelve, and after them of above five hundred 'brethren at once. Of whom some,* he says, *were fallen asleep; 'but the greater part remained at the time he wrote. After that,* 'says he, *he was seen of James.* So [c] that he also was one of 'those called disciples of the Lord, as well as one of his bre-'thren. Lastly, there being many other beside the twelve, 'who in resemblance of them were called apostles, as was also 'Paul himself, he adds, *Then he was seen of all the apostles.*'

We need not stay to consider, whether Eusebius rightly understands this text of St. Paul; it is plain, he did not think this James one of Christ's disciples, but a disciple in general, possibly one of the seventy, and also one of those called the brethren of the Lord, and an apostle in the larger and looser sense of the word.

21. In another chapter of the Ecclesiastical History, he says, that [d] 'this James, the first bishop of Jerusalem, brother of 'the Lord, son of Joseph, husband of Mary, was surnamed 'the Just by the ancients, on account of the eminence of his 'virtue.'

22. In his Evangelical Demonstration, speaking again of this James, he calls him 'the brother of our Lord:' and says, that 'the [e] people of Jerusalem called him the Just, on account 'of his transcendent virtue.'

23. But the most remarkable passage of Eusebius relating to this matter, is in his Commentary upon the seventeenth chapter of Isaiah, where he computes fourteen apostles of our Saviour; that is, beside the twelve including Matthias, two other, in all fourteen. 'Of [f] which,' says he, 'the twelve 'may be reckoned the first [or chief] apostles; and after them

a Vid. H. E. l. i. c. 12. p. 31. A. B.

b 1 Cor. xv. 5—7.

c Εις δε και ουτος των φερομενων του σωτηρος Μαθητων αλλα μην και αδελφων ην. Ειθ' ως παρα τουτους κατα μιμησιν των δωδεκα πλειστων οσων υπαρξαντων αποστολων, οιος και αυτος ο Παυλος ην, προστιθησι λεγων· Επειτα ωφθη τοις απιστολοις πασι. Ib. B.

d Τοτε δητα και Ιακωβον τον του κυριου λεγομενον αδελφον, οτι δη και ουτος του Ιωσηφ ωνομαστο παις· — τουτον δε ουν αυτον Ιακωβον, ον και δικαιον επικλην οι παλαι δι' αρετης εκαλουν προτερηματα. H. E. l. ii. c. 1. p. 38. B. C.

e —— οι οι παλαι τα Ιεροσολυμα οικουντες εκαλουν δικαιον δια τα της αρετης πλεονεκτηματα. Dem. Ev. l. iii. c. 5. p. 116. C.

f —— δεκα και τεσσαρας ποιησει τους παντας, ων δωδεκα μεν τους πρωτους αποστολους ειποις αν ειναι, ουκ ελαττω δε αυτων τον αρετην Παυλον, και αυτον οντα κλητον αποστολον, και τον Ιακωβον γεγονεναι τον αδελφον του κυριου. κ. λ. in Is. c. 17. p. 422. C. D.

'Paul,

'Paul, who was not inferior to them in virtue [or power], 'who was also called to be an apostle; and James, the brother 'of our Lord, who is said to have been appointed by our Sa-'viour himself the first bishop [5] of Jerusalem.'

Hence it appears, that Eusebius thought there were three apostles, named James; the son of Zebedee, brother of John, the son of Alpheus, and the brother of our Lord: which last James, therefore, is not in his account the son of Alpheus, but a different person, not one of the first twelve apostles, but a fourteenth with Paul.

24. Upon what we have seen in Eusebius relating to this epistle, and the author of it, we may now make the following remarks.

1.) He had a considerable respect for this epistle. This may be inferred from his quotations of it, though they are not numerous, and from his calling the author apostle, and particularly from his reckoning him one of Christ's fourteen apostles.

2.) Nevertheless, Eusebius does not make him equal to the twelve and Paul. This is evident from the last cited passage: he says, the twelve may be not unfitly styled Christ's chief apostles: and he adds, that Paul was not inferior to them; but he does not say so of James, whom he reckons the fourteenth.

3.) It is very probable, there were others about that time who had the same notion with Eusebius, about the author of this epistle. If there were, it is no wonder, that the right of this epistle to be a part of the New Testament was disputed. For since the writer was not, or was not supposed to be, one of Christ's twelve apostles, nor equal to them, (as no other beside Paul was), they would not allow this epistle to be one of the sacred books of the New Testament. This may then be very probably reckoned one reason, why this was a contradicted book.

4.) Possibly, we may now be able to judge of the meaning of those expressions concerning this epistle before quoted: 'It 'ought to be observed, that it is spurious.' It is likely, the meaning is, that it was generally rejected. I own indeed, that it cannot be proved, that Eusebius himself did esteem this epistle of equal authority with epistles written by any of the twelve apostles and Paul. Nevertheless, since the words spurious, and altogether spurious, are used by him in other places,

[5] St. Jerem. in his Commentary upon the same chapter in Isaiah, does in a manner transcribe this passage of Eusebius: but instead of James he puts Barnabas: duas olivas Paulum & Barnabam. Tom. iii. p. 176. m. With which may be compared what he writes in his book against Helvidius. T. iv. p. 137, 138.

where

where he sorts and divides books according to the opinions of men about them; I think the phrase ought to be taken in this sense in that passage also.

25. The first epistle of Peter undoubtedly was received by Eusebius. He has assured us, it was one of the unquestioned books of the New Testament, and acknowledged by all. We have likewise seen, that he supposed it to be written to Jewish Christians in the countries mentioned at the beginning.

26. As for the second of Peter, in the second passage he placeth it among the controverted books. In the third he says, 'we are informed by the tradition of the ancients, that it is 'not a part of the [New] Testament.' And afterwards, in the same passage he says again, that 'he knows but of one 'epistle of Peter that is genuine, and acknowledged by the 'presbyters of former times.' These are strong expressions: and though in these chapters he represents very much the opinions of men about these books, yet he seems here to declare also his own opinion, so far as to say, that he does not esteem it certainly for an epistle of the apostle Peter. And that he did not receive as such, may be argued from the little or no notice taken of it any where else in his works, except when he is giving an account of the opinions of ancient writers, or of those of his own time. For I do not remember, that he has quoted it himself in his Ecclesiastical History, or his Preparation, or Demonstration, or in his books against Marcellus, or in his Commentaries upon the Psalms and Isaias; in a word, in any work of his, undoubtedly genuine.

26. The first epistle of John is another unquestioned book, universally allowed to be written by the apostle of that name; and therefore also received by our author.

27. Of the second and third epistles he speaks doubtfully in the second passage, placing them among the controverted books: 'Wheher,' says he, 'they are written by the evange-'list, or another of the same name.' And that these two epistles were not received by Eusebius, appears to me very probable, forasmuch as I do not remember either of them to be quoted by him in any of the works above-mentioned.

28. There is however a passage of the Evangelical Demonstration, which may not be overlooked. It is a passage which was largely cited [h] above, upon another account. Having alledged some proofs of the integrity and modesty of Matthew in his gospel, he adds, 'You may observe John to be of the

[h] p. 222, 223.

'same

'ſame mind with Matthew: for [i] in his epiſtles, he either 'names not himſelf at all, or calls himſelf only elder, no 'where apoſtle or evangeliſt. In his goſpel, when he ſpeaks 'of him whom Jeſus loved, he does not mention himſelf by 'name.' Here Euſebius evidently refers to the three epiſtles, well known, and aſcribed by many to the apoſtle John; to the firſt, undoubtedly his, in which he names not himſelf at all; and to the other two, at the beginning of both which he calls himſelf elder: and Euſebius ſpeaks of all three as written by John the evangeliſt. But this affords no certain proof, that he was perſuaded they were all written by one and the ſame perſon. It is ſufficient foundation for the obſervation there propoſed, that they were generally, or by many ſuppoſed to be written by the apoſtle. As for himſelf, he has plainly ſhewn by what he ſays elſewhere, and by not quoting the two laſt epiſtles, that he was not fully ſatisfied they were written by the apoſtle and evangeliſt.

29. The epiſtle of Jude we have ſeveral times ſeen placed among controverted books; nor do I recollect any quotation of this epiſtle in any of Euſebius's works.

30. Concerning the book of the Revelation, we have ſeen people's notions and opinions repreſented in Euſebius: by ſome it was rejected, by others it was received. We may be apt to conclude from Euſebius's accounts, as before obſerved, that this book was very generally received, by many more, however, than it was rejected.

31. As for Euſebius's own opinion, it does not appear, that he received it as a book of the New Teſtament. Indeed it is often mentioned by him in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, as he cites the paſſages of ancient authors. 'In [k] this perſecution, '[under Domitian], it is reported, that John the apoſtle and 'evangeliſt, being yet alive, was baniſhed into the iſland Pat-'mos for the teſtimony of the word of God. And Irenæus, 'writing about the number of the name of Antichriſt, men-'tioned' in the Revelation aſcribed to John, ſpeaks of John 'in theſe very words.' Afterwards, in the ſame book of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, he quotes the Revelation in this manner: 'About [m] this time,' ſays he, 'was the hereſy, called the 'hereſy of the Nicolaitans, which continued for a ſhort time; 'of which alſo the Revelation of John makes mention.' But

[i] —— ὁ αὐτὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἐπιστολαῖς αὐτὸν οὔτε ὀνόματος προσηγορίᾳ σεμνύει, ἢ πρεσβύτερον ἑαυτὸν ἀναγράφει, οὐκ ἀπόστολον, οὐκ εὐαγγελιστὴν ἐπονομάζων. Euſeb. H. E. l. iii. c. 39. p. 120. D.

[k] H. E. l. iii. c. 18.

[l] —— ἐν τῇ Ἰωάννου λεγομένῃ ἀποκαλύψει. ib. p. 88. D.

[m] L. iii. c. 29. in.

[n] ἧς ἐν καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ἰωάννου ἀποκαλύψις μνημονεύει. ib.

he

he does not here clearly declare his own opinion for the authority of that book.

32. That he was not positive of its being written by John the apostle and evangelist, is apparent from a passage [o] quoted formerly about Papias, where he says: 'It [p] is likely, that the 'Revelation, which goes under the name of John, was seen 'by the second, if not by the first;' that is, by John the elder, if not by John the apostle.

33. Nor can I say, that Eusebius has in any of his works quoted the Revelation, in the way of proof of any doctrine. He does indeed refer to it [q] sometimes: and he quotes it in his Demonstration. But it appears to me very remarkable, that in the long Commentary upon the Psalms, and in the Commentary upon Isaiah, there is not one quotation of this book, nor, I think, any notice taken of it. In the Commentary on the Psalms there are numerous quotations out of the gospels and Acts; all Paul's epistles are quoted, except the epistle to Titus, and most of them often; the epistle of James, the first of Peter, and the first of John, are also quoted there: but not one word from the book of the Revelation. It is farther to be observed, that in the Commentaries upon the Psalms and Isaiah, he had many fair occasions for quoting this book; his argument often led him to do so, and he could not but think of it; nevertheless, not one word about it, that I remember. He seems to me, therefore, studiously to have avoided all notice of the Revelation. I suppose that every one, who reads those Commentaries, may be sensible of the truth of what I say. It is not possible to transcribe passages at length, but for the easier satisfaction of the curious, I refer to some places in the Commentary [r] upon the Psalms, and [s] Isaiah, where it is likely, he would have taken some notice of this book, if he had not purposely declined it. In his comment upon Ps. xcv. he speaks much of a *new song* to be sung to God, but still makes no reference to any place of the Revelation, though it was hard to avoid it; see Rev. v. 9. xiv. 3. xv. 3. not to add any other places of that book, which he could have made use of, if he had seen fit.

34. It may be also reckoned a confirmation of this supposition, that in the place cited not long ago concerning St. John's

[o] See Vol. ii. p. 107, 108.

[p] Εικος γαρ τον δευτερον, ει μη τις εθελοι τω πρωτω, την επ' ονοματος φερομενην Ιωαννου αποκαλυψιν τεθεικεναι. l. iii. c. 39. p. 111. D. [q] De Vit. Const. l. iii. c. 33. [r] παλα την αποκαλυψιν. In Psalm. Dem. l. viii. p. 386. D. [s] In Ps. p. 204, 204. [t] In Is. p. 455. A. B. C. 459. C. D. 460. B. 577. A. B. 579. B. C. D. 587. A. 593. A.

modesty,

modeſty, he makes no mention of this book, though he inſtanceth in the epiſtles, as well as the goſpel. I do not well ſee, how Euſebius could excuſe himſelf in omitting intirely the Revelation, if he thought it to be written by the apoſtle John.

35. It may be ſaid, that it was not to his purpoſe to ſpeak of the Revelation, in which the writer often mentions himſelf by name. To which I anſwer, that it was eaſy for Euſebius to have added: And as for the book of the Revelation, though he mentions himſelf by name, he does not call himſelf apoſtle or evangeliſt. Or he ſhould have propoſed the objection, that might be reaſonably made, if the apoſtle, whoſe modeſty he celebrates, was the author of that book. It ſeems to me, that the only good reaſon aſſignable for Euſebius's ſilence about the Revelation in that place, is, that he was not ſatisfied it was written by John the Apoſtle.

36. But whatever may be thought of this laſt obſervation, I inſiſt upon the foregoing particulars, as probable arguments, that the Revelation was not eſteemed by Euſebius a book of the higheſt authority.

37. It is not unlikely, that the learned and critical argument of Dionyſius of Alexandria was of great weight with Euſebius, and many others about that time. And our author's averſion to all the ſchemes of the Millenarians, which this book was made uſe of to ſupport, induced him to take as little notice of it as poſſible, though it was in great eſteem with many.

38. I apprehend, that from the time of Dionyſius, the credit of this book declined in the eaſt, though it was ſtill received by ſome: which gave occaſion to Jerom to ſay, it [u] was not received by the Greek Chriſtians of his age.

39. Upon the whole, this learned Chriſtian biſhop received, as ſacred ſcripture, the four goſpels, the Acts, and thirteen epiſtles of Paul; he has often quoted the epiſtle to the Hebrews as his: and it is generally ſuppoſed, that he received it as one of Paul's epiſtles. I think likewiſe, that he was well diſpoſed to that ſentiment; nevertheleſs, I ſuſpect, that he had doubts, and was not clear and poſitive on that ſide the queſtion. He received beſides, the firſt epiſtle of Peter, and firſt epiſtle of John, as undoubtedly genuine, and therefore alſo of the higheſt authority. Of all the five diſputed catholic epiſtles,

[u] Quod ſi eam [ad Hebr. Epiſtolam.] Latinorum conſuetudo non recipit inter Scripturas canonicas: nec Græcorum quidem Eccleſiæ Apocalypſin Johannis eadem libertate ſuſcipiunt. Et tamen nos utramque ſuſcipimus. Hier. ad Dardan. T. ii. p. 608. f. Ed. Bend.

he seems to be most favourable toward that of James: for he has quoted it several times, and reckons the writer to have been a disciple and brother of the Lord, and apostle in a secondary sense, and next to the twelve and Paul. The other four disputed catholic epistles are scarce ever quoted by him; and the book of the Revelation very rarely. However, he is not averse to allow, that the two latter epistles, called John's, were written by the elder of that name. In like manner he seems to allow the antiquity of the book of the Revelation; and that it was written by John the elder, if not by John the apostle. Nor does it appear, that he had any exceptions to make to the doctrine of this book, as containing any thing contrary to the catholic and ecclesiastical principles. But he was somewhat prejudiced against it, because many people, as he thought, made a wrong use of it. It is highly probable, that in the argument of Dionysius, which is largely transcribed into [w] the Ecclesiastical History, we have the sense of our author himself, as well as of that learned bishop of Alexandria.

X. I believe, this may be a proper place for us, to take notice of the contradicted books spoken of by Eusebius in the passages above cited from his Ecclesiastical History.

Several of them are now in our canon, and have been considered in the preceding section. The reader clearly discerns what books I mean: the epistle to the Hebrews, the epistle of James, the second epistle of Peter, the epistle of Jude, the second and third of John, and the Revelation. The rest mentioned by Eusebius, as 'contradicted,' or 'spurious,' or 'altogether spurious,' are these.

1. The epistle of Barnabas, placed among spurious by [x] Eusebius in our second passage from him; and in some other places [y] called by him a 'contradicted' book. Of this epistle I have spoken distinctly in the first volume of the second part of this work: I suppose it [z] to be a genuine work of the person to whom it is inscribed; nevertheless it is justly placed by Eusebius among contradicted books of scripture, or even among spurious: that is, among such books as were generally reckoned not to be a part of the New Tew Testament. That he is in the right in so doing, appears from our observations upon the several ancient Christian writers, who have made use of this epistle, but do not quote it as of the highest authority. How it is quoted by Clement of Alexandria, may be seen Vol. ii. p.

[w] See H. E. lib. vii. c. 24, 25. And the third volume of this work, p. 102—108.

[x] —— εν τοις νοθοις—η φερομενη Βαρνα-βα επιστολη. H. E. l. iii. c. 25. p. 97. C.

[y] Ib. l. vi. c. 13. p. 214. D. c. 14. p. 215. C.

[z] See Vol. ii. p. 13.

12, 232. how by Origen, may be ſeen in Vol. ii. p. 12, 497, 498. The reaſon of not placing this epiſtle in the number of books of the higheſt authority, I have ſuppoſed to be this: that the writer was not reckoned to be, properly ſpeaking, an apoſtle, as has been hinted ſeveral [a] times.

2. Clement's epiſtle to the Corinthians, undoubtedly a genuine work of the author to whom it is aſcribed: yet placed by [b] Euſebius among contradicted books, and juſtly, becauſe very few have thought it to be a part of the New Teſtament; foraſmuch as the writer was not an apoſtle. How quoted by Irenæus, may be ſeen by the reader, if he pleaſes, Vol. ii. p. 174, 175. how by Clement of Alexandria, Vol. ii. p. 233. how by Origen, Vol. ii. p. 498.

3. The Shepherd of Hermas, in our ſecond paſſage from Euſebius placed by him [c] among ſpurious books, in the third paſſage ſaid [d] to be contradicted by ſome. It is, probably, a genuine writing of Hermas, but has no right to be a part of ſacred ſcripture; as evidently appears from the ancient writers which have uſed it, and our obſervations upon them. How it is quoted by Irenæus, may be ſeen Vol. ii. p. 173, 174. how by Clement of Alexandria, Vol. ii. p. 233. how by Origen, Vol. ii. p. 500—502.

4. The goſpel according to the Hebrews, in our ſecond paſſage from [e] Euſebius placed among ſpurious books: and ſaid to be chiefly uſed by the Hebrew Chriſtians. In another place he ſays, it [f] was the only goſpel received by the Ebionites. I defer till another time ſhewing at large what it was: however, I have already declared my opinion about it in general; that [g] probably, the 'ground work of it is St. Matthew's goſpel, with 'additions of things taken out of St. Luke's, and perhaps the 'other goſpels, and of other matters handed down by oral tra-'dition.' And I have at times ſhewn, how it is quoted by ſeveral ancient writers; as Clement of Alexandria, Vol. ii. p. 234, 235. and by Origen, Vol. ii. p. 503—505.

5. Doctrines of the apoſtles, mentioned by [h] Euſebius in our ſecond paſſage from him, and placed among ſpurious books. For a farther knowledge of this book I refer to [i] Uſher and Grabe.

However, I ſhall put down here a few obſervations which offer themſelves.

[a] See Vol. ii. p. 231. note E, and p. 238—240. [b] l. vi. c. 13. p. 214. D. [c] l. iii. c. 25. p. 97. B. [d] Ιστεον δε, ὡς τινες μεν τιθασι τας ἀπολελεγμενας. l. iii. c. 3. p. 72. C. [e] l. iii. c. 25. p. 97. C. [f] H. E. l. iii. c. 27. p. 99. C. [g] See Vol. ii. p. 84. [h] ——εἰ τοις τοιουτοις —— και ταις ἀπορρητοις και λεγομεναις ὑπ' ἐκεινων. l. iii. c. 25. p. 97. C. [i] Uſher. Prolegom. in Ignat. Epiſt. cap. 7. Grabe Spic. Tom. i. p. 40. &c.

1.) This book is placed by Eusebius with spurious writings: therefore it is plain, that it was not of undoubted authority.

2.) This is the first and only mention which we have of this book in Eusebius: nor has he informed us at any time, that it was made use of by ancient writers. It is not one of the books of scripture mentioned by Irenæus; it is not in any of Origen's catalogues of sacred books: and though our author takes particular notice of Clement of Alexandria having written brief[k] notes upon all books of scripture, not omitting the contradicted, this is not named by him: which may make us suspect, that it is not a very ancient book, but composed after the time of Irenæus, and Clement, and Origen, in our author's own time, or not long before. After this we find it mentioned in Athanasius's Festal Epistle[l] among other books not canonical, and in the [m] Synopsis ascribed to him, and in some other authors; particularly in Epiphanius, if [n] Grabe be in the right. The doctrine of Peter is quoted in Rufinus's Latin translation of Origen's Principia, in [o] the preface. That may have been a part of what is called the Doctrines of the Apostles: if that passage be really Origen's, he had little respect for the book there referred to.

It is observed by Usher and Grabe, that whereas in our Greek copies of Eusebius this book is expressed in the plural number, Rufinus's [p] translation has it in the singular, as also the Festal Epistle, and the Synopsis just mentioned.

3.) That this book is not the same as the Apostolical Constitutions, is argued by the fore-mentioned learned writers from three considerations. (1.) In the Festal Epistle of Athanasius, the Doctrine of the Apostles is reckoned among those books which are proper for Catechumens; whereas the Constitutions are rather reckoned to be for bishops. (2.) The Doctrine of the Apostles was a small book [q], consisting of two hun-

[k] l. vi. c. 14. [l] —— ου κανονιζομενα μεν, τετυπωμενα δε παρα των πατερων αναγινωσκεσθαι τοις αρτι προσερχομενοις κατηχεισθαι τον της ευσεβειας λογον —— και διδαχη καλουμενη των αποστολων. Ep. Fest. Ath. T. i. p. 963. A. [m] Διδαχη αποστολων. Athan. T. ii. p. 202. A.

[n] Equidem id lubens concedo, Doctrinam Apostolorum ab Eusebio & Athanasio memoratam fuisse eandem cum Διαταξει sive Constitutione Apostolica, ab Epiphanio aliquoties laudata. Grabe Spic. T. i. p. 41.

[o] Si vero quis velit nobis proferre ex illo libello, qui Petri doctrina appellatur, ubi Salvator videtur ad discipulos dicere, 'non sum daimonium incorporeum:' primo respondendum est ei, quoniam ille liber inter libros ecclesiasticos non habetur. Et ostendendum quia neque Petri est ipsa scriptura, neque alterius cujusquam, qui spiritu Dei fuerit inspiratus. Orig. Opp. T. i. p. 49. B. C. [p] —— quamvis Rufinus in sua versione posuerit in numero singulari: doctrina quæ dicitur Apostolorum: &c. Grabe, ib. p. 40. [q] Exiguus ille 200 versiculorum numerus, quibus illa Διδαχη tum in Græco Nicephori Constantinopolitani textu, tum in Latina Anastasii Bibliothecarii interpretatione, constare ostenditur: quod Salomonis Canticorum

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dred lines or verſes, according to Nicephorus; which is leſs than the book of Canticles, containing two hundred and eighty lines: certainly this but little ſuits the huge volume of the Clementine Conſtitutions. (3.) In an ancient catalogue of canonical and apocryphhal books of ſcripture, the [r] Doctrine of the Apoſtles is mentioned as diſtinct from the Doctrine or Inſtitution of Clement.

4.) If this book is not the ſame as the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, theſe laſt are no where mentioned by our author in any of his writings: there is therefore no reaſon, why I ſhould as yet take any particular notice of them.

6. The Goſpel of Peter, placed by [s] Euſebius in our ſecond paſſage from him among books altogether ſpurious, compoſed by heretics; and in the like manner in our [t] third paſſage from him. I have ſaid enough concerning this in the chapters of [u] Serapion, and [w] Origen.

7. The Goſpel of Thomas, in our ſecond paſſage from [x] Euſebius, placed likewiſe among forgeries of heretics, altogether abſurd and impious: nor do I remember, that this goſpel is any where mentioned by Euſebius in accounts of the quotations of ancient authors, or upon any occaſion whatever. I gave ſome account of this goſpel [y] formerly.

8. The Goſpel of Matthias, likewiſe placed by our [z] author in the ſecond paſſage, among heretical forgeries, and no where elſe mentioned by him. The traditions of Matthias were before taken notice of by us in the chapter of [a] Clement of Alexandria.

9. The Preaching of Peter is placed by [b] Euſebius in the third paſſage among heretical ſcriptures. I have already given an account of this book in the chapters of [c] Clement of Alexandria, [d] Origen, and [e] Lactantius.

10. Acts of [f] Peter and [g] Paul, reckoned by our author in the ſecond, and in the third paſſage, either as heretical or ſpurious, and not generally received. Of theſe likewiſe I have had occaſion to ſpeak before in the chapters of [h] Clement of

[r] Illo minorem eam fuiſſe evincit, quem [illegible] ejuſdem ſtichi, habuiſſe ibidem legimus. Uſſer. ib. [s] Indiculus librorum canonicorum & apocryphorum, quem Anaſtaſio Nicæam Quæſtionibus ſubjectum in publica Oxonienſis Academiæ Bibliotheca invenimus: ubi διδαχαι των αποστολων & Διατάξεις Κλημεντος, ut diſtincta opera recenſentur, & in ſcriptorum apocryphorum claſſe pariter reponuntur. Uſſer. ib. [s] Euſeb. l. iii. p. 97. D. [t] ib. p. 72. A. [u] Vol. ii. p. 247. [w] Vol. ii. p. 507. [x] l. iii. p. 97. D. [y] Vol. iii. § 6. ſub fin. [z] l. iii. p. 97. D. [a] Vol. ii. p. 240, 241. [b] l. iii. p. 72. A. [c] Vol. ii. p. 236—239. [d] Vol. ii. p. 507. [e] In this vol. p. 85, 86. [f] l. iii. p. 97. B. [g] p. 72. A. C. [h] Vol. ii. p. 240.

Alexandria, and [i] Origen. Beausobre supposeth the Acts of Peter to be a work of * Leucius.

11. Acts of Andrew and John, and other apostles, in our second passage, ranked by [k] Eusebius among heretical forgeries. For these the reader is referred to several [l] places, where I have already had occasion to speak of them.

12. Revelation of Peter, in the second passage from [m] Eusebius placed among spurious, in the [n] third among heretical writings, in another place [o] among contradicted. Some account was given of this book [p] in the chapter of Clement of Alexandria. Sozomen assures us, that [q] though this book was entirely, or universally rejected by the ancients as spurious; yet in his time it was read once in the year in some churches of Palestine on a Friday, when they fasted in remembrance of our Saviour's passion. Sozomen in the [r] same place speaks of a book called Paul's Revelation, which was respected by some monks of his time: though it was altogether unknown to the ancients, and was absolutely spurious, as he shews.

13. This may suffice for an account of these books, mentioned by Eusebius: he takes little or no notice of them in any other part of his writings. What was their authority, or value, appears from the places which I have referred to, as well as from the character here given of them by our ecclesiastical historian.

XI. It has been of late a common opinion, that Eusebius thought St. Matthew wrote his gospel at about eight years after our Lord's ascension. Some found this supposition upon a passage in his Ecclesiastical History, as [s] Mill, whose words upon this occasion I place at the bottom of the page; others upon the Chronicle, as [t] Jones.

[i] Vol. iii. p. 328—330, * See Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 394. [k] p. 97. D.

[l] See Vol. iii. p. 20, 23, 25. Vol. vi. § 6. sub fin. [m] p. 97. B.

[n] p. 72. A. [o] l. vi. c. 14. in.

[p] Vol. ii. p. 240. [q] Οὕτω γοῦν τὴν καλουμένην ἀποκάλυψιν πέτρου, ὡς νόθον παντελῶς πρὸς τῶν ἀρχαίων ὁ κιμασθεῖσαν, ἐν τισιν ἐκκλησίαις τῆς παλαιστίνης εἰσέτι νῦν ἅπαξ ἑκάστου ἔτους ἀναγινώσκεται ἐνὸν γνώμεν, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ παρασκευῆς, ἣν ὑλόθως ἅπαν ὁ λαὸς νηστεύει ἐπ' ἀναμνήσει τοῦ σωτηρίου παθοῦς. Sozom. l. vii. c. 19. p. 735. C.

[r] Τὴν δὲ νῦν ὡς ἀποκάλυψιν Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου φερομένην, ἣν οὐδεὶς ἀρχαίων ἐνδὸς πλεῖστοι μοναχῶν ἐπαινοῦσιν. ibid.

[s] Licet enim Eusebius, quem secuti sunt Euthymius, Theophylactus, ac Codices fere mss. evangeliorum in ὑπογραφαῖς, evangelii hujus calci suffixis:) scriptionem eius ad annum Domini xli. h. e. ex ipsius rationibus viii. a Christi passione fixam velit: [sumit nimirum pro concesso, apostolos post notitiam ostii gentibus patefacti, statim convenisse de evangelio per orbem terrarum prædicando: ideoque & Matthæum paulo ante discessum ab Hierosolymis, hortatu fidelium istius loci, evangelicam suam historiam concinnasse. H. E. l. iii. c. 24.] Tamen Irenæus, &c. Mill. Proleg. num. 61. [t] Eusebius in his Chronicon has placed the writing of St. Matthew's gospel in the third year of Caligula: that is, eight years after Christ's ascension, or the year of Christ 41. Jones of the Canon. Vol. iii. p. 60.

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As for the argument from the Chronicle, it is of no manner of force: for there is no such thing in it. It is indeed said [u] in Pontac's edition of the Chronicle at the vulgar year of Christ xli. 'Matthew first writes his Gospel in Judea:' but the editor had those words printed in Italic, to denote, that he did not think them genuine, as being wanting in most (D), and the best manuscripts and editions: accordingly Joseph Scaliger did not insert them in his edition of Eusebius's Chronicle.

As for the Ecclesiastical History, in our first passage [w] formerly taken from him, he says, that [x] 'when Matthew was 'about to go to other people, he delivered his Gospel to the 'Hebrews in their own language.' But he does not there, or any where else, say, when Matthew left Judea.

Theophylact [y] in the eleventh century, and [z] Euthymius in the twelfth, say, that Matthew wrote in the eighth year after our Saviour's ascension. Nicephorus Callisti [a] in the fourteenth century, says, Matthew wrote about fifteen years after Christ's ascension: and the Paschal Chronicle, in the seventh century, intimates the same [b] thing. None of these writers expressly refer to more ancient authors for their opinion: but it may be reckoned probable, that they collected it from the history in the Acts, and from the fore-mentioned passage of Eusebius. They who thought, that Matthew and the other apostles left Judea soon after the conversion of Cornelius at Cæsarea, supposed his Gospel might be written in the eighth year of our Lord's ascension. They who thought, that [c] the apostles did not leave Judea to go to the Gentiles, till after the council of Jerusalem, Acts xv. supposed Matthew's Gospel to have been written in the fifteenth year of our Lord's ascension, of the vulgar account forty-nine: but neither had for their opinion the express authority of Eusebius, or any other very ancient

[u] Matthæus in Judæa evangelium primus [illegible] p. 57. (D) As Pontac's edition [illegible], I shall here put down his note upon [illegible] words: Desunt in A. F. H. M. sep[illegible] Vi. O. Pi. Fux. P. Lo. & [illegible] MSS. Fab. Mar. Fre. Nec ex alio [illegible] scriptore vetere constat, quo anno [illegible] scripserit: nisi quod ipse Euse[illegible] v. H. E. c. 8. refert verba Irenæi [illegible], Matthæum historiam evangelii [illegible] tunc, cum Petrus & Paulus [illegible] evangelizarent, quod non contigit [illegible] 44 Christi. Et juxta hanc [illegible] facile crederem ista hic fuisse [illegible] Pontac. Annot. p. 559.

[w] H. E. l. iii. c. 24. p. 95. A.

[x] See before, p. 225. [y] —— μετα οκτω ετη της Χριστου αναληψεως. Theoph. ap. Mill. N. T. p. 3. [z] Euthym. ibid. p. 4. [a] Μετα ιε ετη της Χριστου αναληψεως. Niceph. l. ii. c. 45. p. 213. B.

[b] Εκ τουτου δεικνυται, οτι και τας καθολικας αυτων οι αποστολοι τοτε γραφουσιν, προ της διασπορας αυτων —— αλλα και Ματθαιος πρωτος εκει εις Ιεροσολυμα γραφει το ευαγγελιον, ως λεγει χρυσοστομος. Οιμαι δε. Chr. Pasch. p. 233. C. [c] Certe Athanasius in tractatu de libris sacræ scripturæ, & Chrysostomus scribit Matthæum primum omnium Hierosolymis evangelium suum conscripsisse: idque anno xv. post ascensum Christi ab eo factum fuisse, tradit Nicephorus, & auctor Chronici Alexandrini. Vales. Annot. ad Euseb. l. iii. c. 24.

writer. It is well known to be very common to insert articles in Chronicles, and such like works: this article, concerning the time of Matthew's Gospel, is probably a late addition.

I am of opinion, that Mill has judiciously followed Irenæus, in placing St. Matthew's gospel about the year of Christ LX. Whose account I suppose to be favoured by Origen, and other writers of the first three centuries: but I must not now stay to allege all the reasons and arguments for that date.

XII. Eusebius affords us divers critical remarks upon the New Testament.

'Which also,' says he[d] upon Ps. lxxvii. or, as in our Bibles, lxxviii. 2. 'the scripture of the sacred[e] gospels teaches, where 'it is said: *All*[f] *these things spake Jesus unto the multitude in* 'parables. *And without a parable spake he not unto them, that* 'it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying: I 'will open my mouth in parables: I will utter things which have 'been kept secret from the foundation.* For[g] instead of, *I will* 'speak dark sayings of old, [or from the beginning], Matthew 'as being a Hebrew, uses a translation of his own, saying: *I* 'will utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation. 'Instead of which Aquila has translated: *I will pour down* 'things which have been enigmatical from the beginning. And 'Symmachus: *I will cause to spring up ancient dark sayings.*'

One might be apt to argue hence, that our learned commentator supposed Matthew to have written in the Greek language: and that being by birth a Hebrew, and well understanding the original language of the Old Testament, when he quoted texts from thence, he did not always take the Greek version of the Seventy, but translated for himself, as he saw good. So[h] Montfaucon seems to have understood Eusebius. For he says: 'Since Matthew, according to the testimony of Irenæus, Origen, and Eusebius himself [in other places], and Jerom, 'wrote his gospel in Hebrew; certainly Matthew did not use 'a Greek interpretation of his own: but expressed the Hebrew 'words in the Syro-Chaldaic tongue, such as was then in use 'among the Jews, as may be perceived in the expression Lamma 'Sabachtani, and not a few other. By which it is evident, that 'Matthew in his gospel written in Hebrew, when any texts 'occurred out of the Old Testament, expressed them in the

[d] In Ps. lxxvii. p. 463. D. E.

[e] Η των ιερων ευαγγελιων γραφη. Ib. E.

[f] Matt. xiii. 34, 35. [g] Αλλ γαρ, την φθεγξομαι προβλημαλα απ' αρχης, Εξαιος ων ο Μαλθαιος οικεια ενδοσει λεξει τοις ιδιοις. Εφ' ξουαι λεγει μαλια απο καλα-βολης· αλλ' ο μεν ακυλας· Ομβρησω αινιγματα εξ αρχης, εκδεδωκεν. Ο δε συμμαχος· Αναξω προβληματα αρχαια. Ib. E.

[h] Vid. Præfim. in Euseb. in Ps. cap. 5.

'Syro-Chaldaic language: but whether he uſed an interpreta-
'tion of his own, or took thoſe texts out of ſome verſion be-
'fore made, is not eaſily determined. But afterwards the
'Greek tranſlator (who he is, St. Jerom ſays is uncertain) uſed
'an interpretation of his own, without following the Septua-
'gint verſion.' It ſeems to me therefore, that Montfauçon underſtood Euſebius to ſay here, though contrary to what he ſuppoſes him to ſay elſewhere, that Matthew writing in Greek did not follow the Seventy, but tranſlated for himſelf out of the Hebrew tongue. And I own, that this appears to me the moſt natural meaning of our author's own words. But of this more by and by.

2. Euſebius has another like obſervation upon John, which deſerves to be taken notice of on its own account: and more eſpecially as it may ſerve to illuſtrate the preceding obſervation, and I think confirm the ſenſe in which I take it. It is in his Commentary upon Pſ. xl. 10. otherwiſe Pſ. xli. 9. 'Therefore it is [i] ſaid, *Has lift the ſole of his foot againſt me.* 'But inſtead of *ſole of the foot*, which is the expreſſion uſed 'by the Seventy, the Hebrew reading imports *heel.* And ſo 'therefore Aquila, who ſtrictly follows the Hebrew, has ren-'dered it. For which reaſon alſo the evangeliſt John, as being 'a Hebrew deſcended of Hebrews, recording the words of 'our Saviour, does not uſe the expreſſion, *ſole of the foot*, 'but *heel.*' See John xiii. 18.

3. Once more, upon Pſ. ii. 7. *This day have I begotten thee.* 'But [k] the Jew (whom I before mentioned) ſaid, that the 'proper meaning of the word is, *I brought forth*, which is alſo 'the verſion of Aquila. But the apoſtle, being ſkilled in the 'law, in the epiſtle to the Hebrews, has followed the Seventy.' See Heb. i. 5.

Here Euſebius plainly aſcribes the epiſtle to the Hebrews to St. Paul: for by 'the apoſtle,' he certainly means him; and he only of the apoſtles was learned in the law. But it may be queſtioned by ſome, whether it be herein implied, that St. Paul wrote that epiſtle in Greek; or only, that writing in the Syro-Chaldaic language, then in uſe among Jews, he uſed a word of the ſame import with that in the Greek verſion of the

[i] Διο λεγεται ὑπ' εμε πτερνισμον λαβειν ὁ ἑβραικος. Λεγει δε τον πτερνισμον, παρα τοις ἑβδομηκοντα, ἡ ἑβραικη ἀναλυσις πτερναν ἑρμηνευει. Οθεν εν δευτερᾳ τῳ ἑβραικῳ ταυτα εξηνεγκεν. Οθεν και ὁ ευαγγελιστης Ιωαννης, ὡς ων ἑβραιος ἐξ ἑβραιων, τον σωτηρος πτερνισμον, αλλα μη πτεναν ωνομασεν. In. Pſ. p. 171. D.

[k] Ὁ μεν τοιγε ἑβραιος ελεγεν κυριως ειναι την λεξεως ἑλκυσαι, ὁπερ και ακυλας ἑρμηνευκεν. Ὁ δε αποστολος νομοματθης ὑπαρχων εν τῃ προς ἑβραιους τῃ των ἑπτα χρησαμενος. Comm. in Pſ. p. 15. E.

Seventy.

Seventy. But the former ſeems to me to be by far the moſt obvious meaning of our author's expreſſions.

For farther clearing this matter, I ſhall mention theſe following propoſitions.

1.) It ſeems to me, that the moſt natural and obvious meaning of Euſebius's words in theſe paſſages, both concerning Matthew's goſpel, and the epiſtle to the Hebrews, implies a ſuppoſition, that they were written originally by the ſeveral authors in the Greek language: and if Euſebius had thought, that they were written in Hebrew, or Syriac, he would have given ſome hint of it, or have uſed ſome expreſſions, denoting that to be his opinion.

I do not ſay, that it is certain and evident from Euſebius's expreſſions, that he ſuppoſed theſe books were written in Greek: for, poſſibly, we ourſelves might upon ſome occaſion ſay, that inſtead of *I will ſpeak dark ſayings*, Matthew more cloſely imitating the Hebrew ſays: *I will utter things kept ſecret*, without implying thereby, that he wrote in Engliſh. Nevertheleſs, I think it muſt be allowed to be probable, that in one or other of theſe critical remarks upon Matthew's goſpel, and the epiſtle to the Hebrews, ſome expreſſion would have fallen from our author, denoting his opinion, that thoſe books were not written in the Greek language uſed by himſelf in his Commentaries, if he had really thought ſo. And I preſume, I may venture to appeal to any one, whether he can think, that Euſebius writing in Greek and criticiſing the Greek Epiſtle to the Hebrews, would ſay the apoſtle followed the Seventy, if he had ſuppoſed him to have written in Hebrew, or Syro-Chaldaic.

2.) It does not appear to me a clear point, that Euſebius was perſuaded, that either Matthew's goſpel, or the epiſtle to the Hebrews, was originally written in any language different from the Greek. It is true, he has mentioned ſeveral paſſages of ancient [l] writers, where it is ſaid, that the Goſpel of Matthew was written in Hebrew: and a paſſage of Clement of Alexandria, where is [m] alſo mentioned a tradition, that the epiſtle to the Hebrews was written by St. Paul in the ſame language, and that St. Luke tranſlated it into Greek: and in another place Euſebius may be reckoned by ſome to deliver his own opinion on the ſame ſide. His words are: 'For [n] Paul having 'written to the Hebrews in their own language, ſome think

[l] L. iii. c. 39. p. 113. B. l. v. c. 8. p. 170. C. c. 10. p. 175. C. l. vi. c. 25. p. 226. B. Conf. & l. iii. c. 24. p. 95. B. [m] L. vi. c. 14. m. [n] L. iii. c. 38. m.

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'that the evangeliſt Luke, others that this very Clement 'tranſlated it [into Greek]. Which laſt is the more likely, 'ſince there is a reſemblance between the ſtyle of the Epiſtle 'of Clement, and the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, as well as be-'tween the ſentiments of thoſe writings.' But to me it ſeems, that theſe expreſſions cannot be relied upon, as repreſenting Euſebius's own ſettled opinion: he may be as well underſtood even there to repreſent the more common accounts and traditions, without interpoſing his own judgment upon the point. And the critical paſſage, which we are now conſidering, may be as fairly reckoned to contain Euſebius's own opinion, as any in his works.

3.) Nor am I ſatisfied, that it was the ſettled opinion of many other learned Chriſtians of thoſe times, that the goſpel of Matthew, and the epiſtle to the Hebrews, were written in the Hebrew tongue. If they had been perſuaded of this, they would, ſome of them at leaſt, have made enquiries after the originals. We have no proof that Euſebius, or any other of the Gentile Chriſtian authors, quoted by him, or whoſe writings we have any where elſe met with, had ſeen any Hebrew copy of St. Matthew's goſpel; nor any the leaſt hint of a Hebrew copy of the epiſtle to the Hebrews to be found any where, or as uſed by any people whatever. Indeed, there was a Goſpel called according to the Hebrews, much reſembling Matthew's goſpel, and in the Hebrew language: but it appears not to have been much reſpected by Euſebius, or any of the learned Chriſtians whoſe works he was acquainted with: therefore it is manifeſt, they did not think it to be Matthew's original goſpel.

If it ſhould be ſaid, that the ancient Chriſtian writers, which we have any knowledge of, were Gentiles, and did not underſtand Hebrew; and for that reaſon they might not be inquiſitive after the Hebrew originals, ſince they had a Greek tranſlation; I anſwer, that they were not all ſtrangers to the Hebrew language. And ſuppoſing only a very ſlight acquaintance with that language, and that there were but a very few only who had that, it is very likely there would have been enquiries made after the originals of thoſe books by ſome, particularly by Origen and Euſebius, who were not abſolute ſtrangers either to the Hebrew language or learning. Even they who had none, or a very ſlight acquaintance with the Hebrew language, would have procured copies in the orginal language, and would have been at the pains to conſult ſome Hebrew Chriſtian, or even an unbelieving Jew, about the readings

readings in them, to compare them with the copies of the Greek tranſlations. Did not Origen in his Commentaries? Does not Euſebius in his Commentaries upon the Pſalms, and Iſaiah, often compare the Hebrew with the Septuagint, and other Greek tranſlations? and that, though the Septuagint verſion was in great eſteem. Why then ſhould they not have done the ſame in regard to the goſpel of Matthew, and the epiſtle to the Hebrews, if they had thought the original to be Hebrew? Beſides, if Matthew's goſpel, and the epiſtle to the Hebrews, had been indeed thought to have been originally written in Hebrew, it is highly probable, there would have been ſeveral Greek tranſlations of them; whereas we know not of any attempts of this kind, excepting only the firſt ſuppoſed tranſlation.

Before I proceed, I would put the reader in mind, that I formerly examined the queſtion, whether [o] Origen thought St. Matthew's Goſpel to have been written in Hebrew: and that, if I miſtake not, I ſhewed, that the [p] ſame great critic did not ſuppoſe the Epiſtle to the Hebrews to have been written in any other language than the Greek.

4.) To theſe obſervations I ſhall ſubjoin the ſentiments of ſome learned moderns, favouring our argument.

The very learned and laborious I. A. Fabricius was of opinion, that both [q] Matthew's goſpel, and the [r] epiſtle to the Hebrews, were written in Greek. So likewiſe thought [s] Lightfoot, whoſe judgment upon this point may be reckoned as valuable as that of moſt men: and Dr. Whitby in his Preface to the four goſpels earneſtly contends, that St. Matthew did not write in Hebrew.

I would alſo inſert here the ſentiment of Beauſobre, from his excellent preface to the epiſtle to the Hebrews.

[o] Vol. ii. p. 541—543. [p] Ib. p. 477. [q] Græcum Matthæi interpretem Jacobum alii, alii Paulum, alii Lucam, denique vel Joannem, incerta fama tradiderunt: cum Matthæum ipſum Græce ſcripſiſſe, ſit verius. Fabric. ad Hieron. cap. 3. de Vir. Ill. Vid. ejuſd. Bib. Gr. T. iii. p. 126. [r] —— Sed Græca quæ hodie habemus originarium eſſe autoris ſacri contextum argumentis non contemnendis poſt Calvinum probat laudatus Spanhemius, —— Millius —— Heideggerus —— Blondellus —— cum ex tota antiquitate ne unus poſſit proferri teſtis, qui Hebraicum viderit. Bib. Gr. T. iii. p. 160. [s] Having ſaid, that Matthew's goſpel was written in Greek, and afterwards tranſlated into Hebrew, he adds: 'The ſame is to be reſolved concerning 'the original language of the epiſtle to 'the Hebrews. The epiſtle was written to 'the Jews inhabiting Judea, to whom the 'Syriac was the mother-tongue; but yet it 'was written in Greek for the reaſons 'above named. For the ſame reaſons the 'ſame apoſtle wrote in Greek to the Romans, although in that church there were 'Romans, to whom it might ſeem more 'agreeable to have written in Latin: and 'there were Jews, to whom it might ſeem 'more proper to have written in Syriac.' Lightfoot, Vol. ii. p. 104.

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'The ancients,' ſays [t] he, 'had no other reaſon to believe, 'that St. Paul wrote in Hebrew, than that he wrote to the 'Hebrews. But that reaſon, however probable it may appear, 'is not convincing; becauſe it is certain, that the Greek 'tongue was underſtood in Judea, though it was not the vul-'gar tongue. All the writers of the New Teſtament wrote in 'Greek, though they wrote for all believers in general, whether 'Hebrews or Gentiles. Barnabas, or whoever is the author of 'the Epiſtle under his name, wrote to the Hebrews, and yet 'wrote in Greek. Works compoſed in this language were 'uſeful to more perſons, and even to a greater number of 'Jews; for they who lived in Egypt and Aſia ſpake Greek. 'In a word, they who talked of a Hebrew original, never 'ſaw it; and have ſuppoſed without proof what they imagined 'ought to have been.—Indeed almoſt all the paſſages of the 'Old Teſtament are here quoted according to the Seventy, 'not according to the Hebrew.—A man needs only to read 'the epiſtle to the Hebrews to know that it is not a verſion; 'it has altogether the air of an original: there is nothing of 'the conſtraint of a tranſlator; nor are there thoſe Hebrew 'phraſes which are ſo common in the tranſlation of the 'Seventy, and in that of Eccleſiaſticus: for which reaſon we 'may be willing to aſſent to the opinion of Origen, who judges 'upon this queſtion in a manner altogether worthy of his mo-'deration and diſcernment. "If [u] I was to ſpeak my own "opinion, I ſhould ſay, that the thoughts [or ſentiments] are "the apoſtle's, but the language and compoſition of ſome "one elſe, who commited to writing the apoſtle's ſenſe, and "as it were reduced into commentaries the things ſpoken by "his maſter." The ſtyle then is not the apoſtle's: neverthe-'leſs that hinders not but the Epiſtle may be his, as to the 'thoughts and matter.' So that learned writer, who alſo adds: 'What therefore ſeems moſt probable upon the queſtion is, 'that St. Luke, who accompanied St. Paul, and was with him 'at Rome, was his ſecretary: he wrote the epiſtle for the 'apoſtle, and according to his inſtructions; hence the diffe-'rence of ſtyle and compoſition in this and the other epiſtles 'written by St. Paul alone.'

So writes Beauſobre in the above-mentioned place. But ſince, he has ſaid that he has been much diſpoſed to [w] think,

[t] Preface ſur l'Epitre de S. Paul aux Hebreux, § xv.—xviii. [u] See that paſſage cited before, Vol. ii. p. 467.

[w] Plus je lis Philon, plus je ſoupçonne, qu' Apollos pourroit avoir écrit cette epitre. Car certainement on y trouve quan-

that

that Apollos, of Alexandria, wrote this epistle. However, if he was the author, that can make no alteration in the opinion about the original language of the epistle: Apollos, very probably, would write in Greek.

XIII. I shall observe only a various reading or two.

1. We find quoted in our author more than once those words of Matt. xiii. 35. from Psalm lxxviii. 2. in this manner: *I will utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation:* without [x] κοσμου, of *the world,* which is now in our copies. It is probable therefore, that this text so stood in the copies used by Eusebius: and indeed, *of the world,* is not necessary. Mill has not taken any notice of this.

2. It may be worth the while to observe, that in his Commentary upon the lxxxviith Psalm, Eusebius quoting Luke ii. 2. does not say, *Cyrenius governor of Syria,* but *this* [y] *was the first survey,* or enrolment, *of Cyrenius, who governed Syria.* The reader, if he thinks fit, may consult what was said [z] formerly concerning this matter, before I had observed this passage of our author. This reading is not in Mill: Eusebius's Commentary upon the Psalms was published since his time. Perhaps this ought not to be reckoned a various reading: for I do not affirm, that Eusebius had any copy of the New Testament where *governed* was written; he may here only give the sense of the text. I would add, that in his Comment upon the preceding Psalm likewise he speaks of Cyrenius, as [a] the person by whom that survey was made, and of his coming into Judea for that purpose.

3. In the Commentary upon Ps. xvi. 1. otherwise xvii. 1. 'The next words are: *Attend to my cry.* Which may be well 'used by him who is tried, and in prayer sends up supplica- 'tions to God: who presents not little and common requests, 'nor asks of God earthly and mortal things. And [b] this our 'Saviour also taught, saying: *Seek ye the great things, and the* '*little shall be added unto you.*' Compare Matt. vi. 33. Of this saying, as ascribed to our Saviour by Clement and Origen, I have spoken [c] formerly. This particular citation of it is not

tité de pensées & d'idées prises de Philon, dont apparemment Apollos avoit été disciple, étant Juif d'Alexandrie. Remarques sur le N. T. Tom. ii. p. 160.

x —— ερευξομαι κεκρυμμενα απο καταβολης. In Ps. p. 462. D. Vid. supr.

y Αυτη η απογραφη πρωτη εγενετο ηγεμονευσαντος της συριας κυρηνιου. In Ps. p. 543. C.

z See the first part of this work. Book ii. ch. 1. § 5.

a —— [illegible] επιστας τη Ιουδαια τας απογραφας [illegible]. p. 543. E.

b Τουτον γουν [illegible] σωτηρ εδιδασκει, λεγων· Αιτειτε τα [illegible] και τα μικρα προστεθησεται υμιν. In Ps. p. 56. A,

c See Vol. ii. p. 524. [illegible]

inserted

inſerted in Grabe's, or other collections of ſuch things, this Commentary of Euſebius not having been publiſhed till lately.

XIV. Though my deſign relates chiefly to ſcriptures of the New Teſtament, I cannot forbear to obſerve, (what our great author thought not proper to omit), that in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory there are three catalogues of the Books of the Old Teſtament, as received by the Jews. The firſt is that [d] of Joſephus from his books againſt Apion: The ſecond is that [e] of Melito biſhop of Sardis: The third is taken from [f] Origen's works.

XV. It will not be amiſs to put down here ſome inſtances of general diviſions of ſacred ſcripture, which are to be found in this writer.

He frequently uſes a Greek word, literally denoting [g] in the 'teſtament,' and generally, as equivalent to canonical: he uſes it, when he proceeds to put down Joſephus's [f] catalogue of the ſcriptures of the Old Teſtament. Clement of Alexandria, he ſays, wrote [h] brief Commentaries upon all the ſcriptures in-the-teſtament, not omitting thoſe that are contradicted. The title of the chapter in which he inſerts Origen's catalogue of the books of the Old and New Teſtament is: How [i] he mentions the ſcriptures in-the-teſtament. He uſes the ſame word, when he alleges [k] Irenæus's teſtimony to the New Teſtament: he elſewhere ſpeaks [l] of books acknowledged by all, and others not in-the-teſtament, but contradicted. The ſame word is uſed by Origen. In his treatiſe of Prayer he obſerves, that [m] the Jews do not receive the book of Tobit as in-the-teſtament: it is alſo in Origen's paſſage alleged [n] by our author. Epiphanius uſes a ſomewhat like phraſe, when he ſays, the Alogians were of opinion, that [o] St. John's goſpel ought not to be placed in the Teſtament, or be reckoned canonical.

Old [p] and New Teſtament is another common diviſion: as alſo [q] prophets and apoſtles: goſpels [r] and epiſtles.

[d] H. E. l. iii. c. 9. & 10. [e] —— l. iv. c. 26. [f] —— l. vi. c. 25. in. [g] Ἐκθεὶς τὸν τῶν ἐν διαθήκῃ βιβλίων ἀριθμὸν, καὶ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῶν ἐν διαθήκαις γραφῶν. L. iii. c. 9. p. 85. A. [h] —— πάσας τὰς ἐν διαθήκαις φερομένας γραφάς. —— l. iii. c. 23. in. [i] —— πῶς τῶν ἐν διαθήκῃ γραφῶν μνημονεύει. L. vi. c. 25. [k] —— τὰς περὶ τῶν ἐν διαθήκαις γραφῶν. —— παραθέσεις. —— l. v. c. 8. in. [l] —— ἀναμφιλέκτους γραφὰς, καὶ τὰς ἐν διαθήκαις παρὰ πᾶσιν, ἐκ διαθήκης μὲν, ἀντιλεγομένας δὲ. L. iii. c. 25. p. 97. D. [m] Τὴν δὲ τοῦ Τωβὶτ βίβλον αἱ ἐκκλησίαι οὐκ ἐν διαθήκαις τιθέασιν, ὡς ἡ τῶν Ἑβραίων. Orig. T. i. p. 229. F. [n] —— ἐκ δὲ τῆς γραφῆς καλὰ λέξις· Οὐκ ἀγνοήσεις ὅτι αἱ τοιαῦται τὰς ἐν διαθήκαις βίβλους, ὡς ἑβδομήκοντα παραδίδωσιν, δύο καὶ εἴκοσι. L. vi. c. 25. in. [o] Λείψει σε τὸ καλὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίσαι —— ἀναβλῆσαι εἰκὸς. H. 51. n. 18. p. 411. C. [p] —— τὸ τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης καλούμενον. L. vi. c. 25. in. —— τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης γραφάς. L. iii. c. 25. in. & paſſim. [q] —— προφήτου δ' λαὸν καὶ ἀποστολικῶν λόγων, οἷς ἐκκλησία τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον ἐποικοδόμησεν. In Pſ. p. 414. E. [r] Τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀποστολικοῖς συγγράμμασι. De Ec. Th. l. iii. p. 195. B.

XVI.

XVI. The respect, which the ancient Christians had for the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, appears in many things mentioned by this writer.

1. It is needless to insist here upon the epithets sacred and divine scripture, of which we have seen so many instances. To the like purpose are such expressions as these: the[s] sacred gospel: according[t] to the most certain testimony of the sacred gospels: the[u] divine scripture of the gospels.

2. He says, there[w] is no error or mistake in the scriptures: the prophets, according[x] to his account, spake only as the Spirit dictated: they[y] did not write their own words, but were employed by the Spirit of God.

3. In his Epistle to the church at Cæsarea, after signing the Nicene Creed, he says, that[z] the use of unscriptural phrases had been the great cause of the dissensions and disturbances, that had happened in the churches.

4. He says, the[a] first successors of the apostles, leaving their home, and performing the office of evangelists, went forth and preached the gospel to such as had not heard it; and then delivered to them the scripture of the gospels. From which passage, as well as from many others, it appears, that the gospels were then understood to be for general use.

5. Eusebius says of Origen, that[b] from his childhood he was well versed in the divine scriptures.

6. According to our author, as cited[c] formerly, the scriptures are the rule of faith, and the standard of orthodoxy. 'There are,' says he, 'beside these, treatises of many others, 'whose names we have not been able to learn: orthodox[d] 'and ecclesiastical men, as the interpretations of the divine 'scripture given by each one of them manifest.'

7. In his Oration in praise of the emperor Constantine, demonstrating the truth of the Christian religion, our author testifies the great respect that was paid to the scriptures of the

[s] Ταυτα μεν ο ιερον ευαγγελιον. Dem. Ev. p. 418. B. [t] —— κατα την αψευδεστατην των ιερων ευαγγελιων μαρτυριαν. Dem. E. p. 301. A. [u] —— η θεια γραφη των ευαγγελιων. In Ps. p. 693. E.

[w] Εργον δε θρασυν και προπετες ειναι ηγουμαι το αποφηνασθαι τολμαν την θειαν γραφην ημαρτησθαι. In Ps. p. 129. B. C. Conf. ibid. p. 66. D. [x] —— δηλων οτι οργανον ην η προφητικη γλωσσα, ετερου του χρωμενου αυτη, αγιου πνευματος. In Ps. p. 187. D. [y] Ου γαρ οικεια ῥηματα προσεφερον, τη δε θειου πνευματος βουλη διηκονουντο. Ibid. p. 462. E. [z] —— δια το απειργειν αγραφοις χρησασθαι φωναις· δι' ο σχεδον η πασα γεγονε συγχυσις τε και ακαταστασια των εκκλησιων. Ap. Socr. l. i. c. 8. p. 26. D. Thdrt. l. i. c. 12. p. 39. D. [a] —— εργον επιτελουν ευαγγελιστων, τοις ετι παμπαν ανηκοοις του της πιστεως λογου —— και την των θειων ευαγγελιων παραδιδοναι γραφην. H. E. l. iii. c. 38. p. 109. B. C. [b] —— ταις θειαις γραφαις εξετι παιδος ενησκημενος. H. E. l. vi. c. 2. p. 202. C. [c] Vol. ii. ch. 32. p. 380. [d] Ορθοδοξων μεν και εκκλησιαστικων, ως γε δε η εκαστου παραδεικνυσι της θειας γραφης ερμηνεια. L. v. c. 27.

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New Testament, and the great number of translations which had been then made of them. 'Who,' says he, 'ever delivered before-hand predictions of so many things, that were 'afterwards exactly accomplished in the event, as our Saviour 'did——to take men, originally employed in fishing, mean 'and illiterate, and constitute them lawgivers and masters of 'the universe of mankind: what and how mighty a work 'must this seem to you!' 'To engage to them by word and 'promise, and indeed *make them fishers of men*; and [c] to confer upon them so great a virtue and power, as to compose 'writing, and publish books: and that these also should obtain such esteem, as to be translated into every language, 'both of Greeks and barbarians, throughout the whole world, 'and be diligently studied by all nations, and the things contained in them be believed to be divine oracles. How evident a demonstration is this of his divinity!'

8. In the last chapter of the third book of the Evangelical Demonstration is a like argument; where he says, that [f] in a short space of time the gospel was preached throughout the whole world, for a testimony to all nations: and Greeks and barbarians had the scriptures concerning Jesus in their own letters and dialect.

9. Of reading the scriptures Eusebius speaks in this manner in his Evangelical Preparation: 'So [g] likewise the Jewish 'scriptures had before [Plato] required, that faith should precede the examination and understanding of the divine scriptures, in such expressions as these: *If* [h] *ye will not believe, ye* '*shall not understand*; [so Eusebius from the Seventy, where 'we have, *Ye shall not be established.*] Again, *I* [i] *believed*; '*therefore have I spoken.* After which same manner with us '[Christians] also, to those who are just brought over to us,

[c] Και τοσαυτην αυτοις αρετην τε και δυναμιν παρασχειν, ως και γραφας συνταξαι, και βιβλους παραδουναι· και ταυτας εις τοσουτον κρατυναι, ως καθ' ολης της οικουμενης πατριας γλωσσης βαρβαρων τε και ελληνων ωσαβαλλομενας παρα πασι τοις εθνεσι μελεσθαι, και πιστευεσθαι θεια ειναι λογια τα εν αυταις κατα βεβλημενα· οσον εις αποδειξιν ενεργειας της αυτου θεοτητος; De Laud. Const. c. 17. p. 662. C. D.

[f] Κεκηρυκτο γουν το ευαγγελιον εν βραχει χρονῳ εν ολῃ τῃ οικουμενῃ εις μαρτυριον τοις εθνεσι· και βαρβαροι και ελληνες τας περι του Ιησου γραφας πατριοις χαρακτηρσιν και πατριω φωνῃ μετεκαλουν. Dem. l. iii. p. 137. A.

[g] Ενεστως δε τα και η εβραιων προλαβουσα γραφη της των θειων γραφων συνεσεως τε και θεωριας την πιστιν προστατει, δι' ων φησιν· Εαν δε μη πιστευσητε, ου μη συνητε· Και αυθις, Επιστευσα, διο και ελαλησα. Ενθεν και παρ' ημιν τοις μεν αρτι εισαγομενοις——απλουστερον η εν ταις θειαις γραφαις αναγνωσις παραδιδοται, μετα του δειν πιστευειν ως θεου λογοις τοις εμφερομενοις παρακελευεσθαι. Τοις δε την εξιν προβεβηκοσι, και πολιοις το φρονημα, εμβαθυνειν και δοκιμαζειν τον νουν των λεγομενων επιτετραπται. Τουτους δε παισιν εβραιων δευτερωτας φιλον ην ονομαζειν, ωσπερ ερμηνευτας και εξηγητας οντας της των γραφων διανοιας. Præp. Ev. l. xii. c. 1. p. 573. D. 574. A.

[h] Is. vii. 9.

[i] Ps. cxvi. 10.

'and are as yet but weak, and as it were but infants as to their 'minds, the reading in the divine scriptures [that is, the di- 'vine scriptures themselves] is barely put into their hands, 'recommending it to them to believe the things therein con- 'tained as the words of God. But to those who are confirm- 'ed, and grown old in knowledge, it is allowed to penetrate 'farther, and search into the profoundest meaning of the 'words. Such as these the Jews call Deuterotæ, interpreters 'and expositors of the scriptures.'

It is hence apparent, that reading the scriptures was recommended even to new converts from heathenism.

10. In his Ecclesiastical History Eusebius says, 'that in his 'time it[k] was customary for Christians, particularly the recluse 'and devouter sort, to be more especially engaged in the at- 'tentive reading of the divine scriptures at the festival of our 'Saviour's passion.'

11. I shall only add one passage more from the Commentary upon the Psalms; where Eusebius speaks of the public reading and explication of the scriptures. For he says, 'that[l] in times 'of persecution, when discourses and readings of the divine 'scriptures are for the most part prohibited and hindered, and 'there are few or none found to impart spiritual food to the 'souls of men; the providence of God by an influx of the 'divine spirit nourisheth the souls of men, and causeth them 'to be taught of God: so that without the instruction of men 'they are nourished by a secret influence.'

XVII. What we have now seen in the works of this learned and laborious bishop, who flourished at about three hundred years after our Lord's ascension, is an invaluable testimony to the things concerning the Lord Jesus himself and his apostles, and to the swift and wonderful progress of the gospel, and to the scriptures of the Old and New Testament. The former were those received by the Jewish people. The number of the books of the New Testament does not appear to have been in his time settled by any authority, that was universally allowed of: but the books following were universally received, the four gospels, the Acts of the apostles, thirteen epistles of Paul, one epistle of Peter, and one epistle of John. These, I say, were universally received by Christians in our author's time, and had been all along received by the elders and churches of

[k] H. E. l. ii. c. 17. p. 57. B.

[l] —— ἐν γὰρ τοῖς καιροῖς τῶν διωγμῶν, καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς ἀναλίσκεται καὶ ἀποκρύπτεται ἐν αἰδόμενα καὶ τὰ θεόπνευστα γράμματα ἀπὸ διδασκαλίας ἀποῤῥήτῳ δυνάμει τροφὴν ψυχωφελῆ —— ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀῤῥήτου διδασκαλίας ἀποῤῥήτῳ δυνάμει τροφὴν. In Ps. 32. p. 128. A. B.

former

former times. Beſide theſe, we now generally receive alſo an epiſtle to the Hebrews, an epiſtle of James, a ſecond epiſtle of Peter, a ſecond and third of John, an epiſtle of Jude, and the Revelation. And it appears from this learned writer, that theſe books or epiſtles were then next in eſteem to thoſe beforementioned, as univerſally acknowledged; and were more generally received as of authority, than any other controverted writings. Beſide theſe, there was the Goſpel according to the Hebrews, made uſe of by the Jewiſh Chriſtians; being, probably, a tranſlation of St. Matthew's goſpel, with ſome additions; and, as it ſeems, containing little or nothing contrary to the genuine doctrine of Chriſt and his apoſtles. The book called the Doctrine, or Doctrines of the Apoſtles, we have not now a diſtinct knowledge of; but, probably, it was a ſmall book, containing the rudiments of the Chriſtian religion, and fitted for the uſe of young people, and new converts, and never eſteemed a part of ſacred ſcripture. As for the reſt, they were not very numerous, and their character is eaſily determined; for either they were uſeful eccleſiaſtical writings, as the Epiſtles of Barnabas and Clement, and the Shepherd of Hermas; which, as we have ſeen from the quotations of them in the writers of the firſt three centuries, were never received as of authority, or a part of ſacred and canonical ſcripture: or they were mean, abſurd, and fabulous compoſitions, deſpiſed and diſliked by the ſounder Chriſtians in general, both of our author's, and of former times. To the books of ſacred ſcripture the greateſt reſpect was ſhewn; they were eſteemed as of authority, and deciſive in all points of a religious nature; they were publicly read and explained in the aſſemblies of Chriſtian people; and they were open to be freely read by all ſorts of perſons in private, for their inſtruction and improvement in religious knowledge, and their edification in virtue. Finally, it may be obſerved, that this learned author makes little uſe in his works of apocryphal ſcriptures of the Old Teſtament: none at all of Chriſtian writings, forged with the names of Chriſt's apoſtles, or their companions.

CHAP. LXXIII.

Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra in Galatia.

1. I put in the margin Jerom's article [a] of Marcellus; but I do not think it needful to translate it.

2. Marcellus is spoken of by Cave, as flourishing about the year 330; but that time seems too late. It is generally supposed, that he was present at a council of Ancyra in 314, as bishop of that city. He was also at the [b] council of Nice in 325, where he signalized himself against the Arians. It is concluded from [c] Epiphanius, that Marcellus died in 372, when he had been bishop almost sixty years, and had lived almost or quite a century.

3. In the year 334, or 335, he wrote a book against Asterius and other Arians, which occasioned him a great deal of trouble. Socrates says, that [d] in opposing Asterius, Marcellus went into a contrary extreme, and embraced the opinion of Paul of Samosata, who says, that Jesus Christ is a mere man.

4. The bishops assembled at Jerusalem in 335, for dedicating the church built by Constantine, required him to renounce his opinion, and burn his book. But those bishops were hastily summoned to Constantinople; where, in the year 336, the matter was resumed. Marcellus was deposed, and Basil put in his room: but he was restored by the synod at Sardica in 347. Nevertheless, Marcellus still lay under the suspicion of heresy with many.

5. Sozomen says farther, that [e] the council of Constantinople wrote a letter to the churches of Galatia, admonishing them to reform their error, to search for the copies of Marcellus's book, and burn them.

6. That book was particularly answered by the famous Eusebius of Cæsarea, and by order [f] of the council itself. Though Marcellus was not then young, Eusebius says it [g] was the only

[a] Marcellus, Ancyranus episcopus, sub Constantino & Constantio principibus floruit. Multaque diversarum υποθεσιων scripsit volumina, & maxime adversus Arianos. Feruntur contra hunc Asterii & Apollinarii libri, Sabellianæ eum hæreseos arguentes. Sed & Hilarius in septimo adversum Arianos libro nominis ejus, quasi hæretici meminit. Porro ille defendit se non esse dogmatis cujus accusatur, sed communione Julii & Athanasii, Romanæ & Alexandrinæ urbis pontificum, se esse munitum. De V. I. c. 86.

[b] Vid. Epiph. H. 72. c. 2. p. 834. D. & Athan. Apol. contr. Arian. n. 32. p. 150. E.

[c] Epiph. H. 72. n. 1.

[d] Ψιλον γαρ ανθρωπον ——ετολμησεν ειπειν τον χριστον. Socr. l. i. c. 36. p. 72.

[e] Και ταις αυτοθι εκκλησιαις εγραψαι, αναζετησαι την Μαρκελλου βιβλον, και εξαφανισαι. Soz. l. ii. c. 33.

[f] Vid. Eus. contr. M. l. ii. p. 55. D.

[g] Contr. M. l. i. c. 1. in.

book

book he had published. It was [h] a very large work, consisting of a thousand lines or verses. Eusebius takes notice, that [i] he quoted heathen authors to illustrate the scriptures: he likewise chargeth [k] him with a vain ostentation of secular learning; whether rightly or not, we can hence conclude, that Marcellus was learned. He did likewise quote very largely the books of the Old and New Testament: and we can plainly perceive from Eusebius's quotations and arguments, and from his own letter and confession of faith delivered to Julius, bishop of Rome, about the year 241, which are preserved in * Epiphanius, that Marcellus received the same scriptures that other Christians did, and paid them a like respect.

7. Socrates [l] and Sozomen [m] seem to have supposed, that Marcellus went into the opinion of Paul of Samosata. Eusebius continually chargeth him with [n] Sabellianism. Theodoret, in [o] his Heretical Fables, speaks of Paul, Sabellius, Marcellus, and Photinus, in four distinct chapters one after another: and in his introduction to that work he reckons him [p] with Ebion and Photinus, and elsewhere with [pp] Photinus and Paul of Samosata: and he particularly says of Marcellus, that † he denied a Trinity of persons. However, there were ‡ formerly, as well as ‖ lately, different apprehensions concerning the real sentiments of Marcellus: and it must be owned, that there is a good deal of obscurity in some of his passages, cited by Eusebius: but it seems to me, that there is sufficient reason to think, he was a Sabellian or Unitarian.

8. Montfauçon persuades [q] himself, and would persuade others, that not long before his death, about the year 372,

[h] Ib. p. 2. [i] p. 14. B. C.

[k] Ib. c. 3. p. 16. D. * H. 72. n. 2, 3. p. 834——836. [l] Socr. l. i. c. 6. p. 72. Conf. l. ii. c. 19. p. 98, 99. & cap. 20. [m] Soz. l. ii. c. 33.

[n] —— πως ȣ δηλος αν γενοιτο, τον μεν Σαβελλιον υποδυομενος. Contr. Marc. l. i. p. 5. A. Αντικρυς τον Σαβελλιον ανανεȣ-[illegible]. De Ec. Th. l. ii. seu contr. Marc. l. iii. c. 1. p. 104. Ορας ιȣδαιον αντικρυς, τον [illegible] υιον τȣ θεȣ——αρνȣμενον. Ib. cap. 2. p. 105. A. [o] Hær. Fab. l. ii. c. 8, 9, 10, 11. [p] Ταυτης δε της αιρε-[illegible] μεν Εβιων, μεχρι δε Μαρκελλȣ [illegible] τας διαφορȣς επινοιας εδεξατο. Hær. Fab. Compend. T. iv. p. 188. D.

[pp] Φωτεινος γαρ και Μαρκελλος, και ο εκ [illegible] Παυλος, ανθρωπον μονον ειναι [illegible] τον κυριον ημων και θεον. Epist. 104. [illegible] p. 976. A. † Τȣτῳ αρνηθη των [illegible] τριαδα. H. F. l. ii. c. 10.

‡ Vid. Hieron. supra not. (a) p. 276. Epiphan. H. 72. Tillemont collects the opinions of several ancients about him in Marcel. d'Ancyre. Mem. T. vii. p. 510—512. à Paris. ‖ Vid. Zacagn. Pr. ad Collect. Monum. Gr. p. 42. &c. Montfauç. Diatriba de Causa Marcelli ap. Nov. Collect. Patr. T. ii. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. vi. p. 31. & 92. T. 8. p. 335. [q] Re comperta, Marcellus, ut eorum conatus & molimina interpellaret, oratores qui causam apud Athanasium suam agerent, ac sui, Ancyranæque ecclesiæ nomine fidei professionem emitterent, delegavit. Cumque legatorum formula sanam prorsus & orthodoxam fidem præferret, huic Athanasius cum aliis qui aderant episcopis adstipulatus, literas commendatitias rogantibus concessit. Diatrib. de Marcell. cap. 5. p. 63. Ap. Nov. Collection. Patr. T. ii.

Marcellus being uneaſy at the accuſations brought againſt him by St. Baſil, as well as others, ſent one of his deacons with others of his church, as a deputation to Athanaſius, carrying with them a confeſſion of faith, completely orthodox: which confeſſion Athanaſius, and other biſhops of Egypt then preſent with him, accepted of, and gave them a letter of recommendation to communion with the churches.

9. But it ſeems to me, that this ſtory is not well ſupported. Montfauçon does not well know when [r] that deputation to Athanaſius was ſent; he placeth it in the year 372, by gueſs only. St. Baſil, though he [s] correſponded with Athanaſius, and others of Egypt, knew nothing of that letter of recommendation; and in a letter written after that ſuppoſed date, in 377, reproves ſome [t] people for communicating with the followers of Marcellus. Moreover, Chryſoſtom [u] in his homilies, in the latter part of the fourth century, often argues againſt Marcellus as a heretic: not now to ſay any thing more of Socrates, and Sozomen, or Theodoret, or others, who appear not to have known any thing of this orthodox confeſſion of Marcellus, or Athanaſius's letter of communion.

It is indeed well known, and allowed, that for a while Athanaſius had a kindneſs for Marcellus; and no wonder, when Marcellus, like himſelf, was ſo hard preſſed by the Arians. But his reſpect for Marcellus ſeems to have abated afterwards: Hilary of Poictiers [x], and Sulpicius Severus [y] expreſsly ſay, that Athanaſius ſeparated himſelf from his communion. Nor do I perceive, that [z] what Epiphanius ſays, overthrows their accounts. For certain, he does not confirm, but weaken the credit of the ſtory told by Montfauçon; for he ſays nothing of it, though he had a fair occaſion to mention it, and wrote but a few years after the death of Marcellus and Athanaſius.

[r] Hæc porro legatio in annum 372, commode referatur. Diatrib. cap. 6. p. 64.

[s] Cui frequens cum Athanaſio epiſtolarum uſus erat. Montf. Diatrib ib.

[t] At Baſilius——quia ſemel conceptam de Marcelli impietate opinionem vix miſſam facere poterat, cum Diocæſarienſibus patribus non leviter expoſtulat, quod Marcellianos ad communionem, inconſultis aliis epiſcopis, admiſerint. [Vid. Baſil. Ep. 265. al. 293. T. iii. p. 410. edit. Bened.] Hæc Baſilius, vel ignorans ea, quæ Alexandriæ in gratiam Marcelli & affectatam ab Athanaſio geſta fuerant: vel, &c. Montf. Diatrib. ib. p. 66.

[u] Vid. in ep. ad Philip. hom. 6. T. xi. p. 234, 235. in ep. ad Heb. hom. 2. p. 14, 15, 16. hom. 8. p. 89. T. xii. Bened. & paſſim.

[x] Nam negata ſibi ab Athanaſio communione, ingreſſu ſeſe eccleſiæ Marcelli abſtinuit. Hilar. Fragm. 2. p. 1300.

[y] Interjecto deinde tempore, Athanaſius, cum Marcellum parum ſanæ fidei eſſe penitus comperiſſet, a communione ſuſpendit. Sulp. Sev. Hiſt. l. ii. c. 52. p. 382.

[z] Vid. H. 72. n. 4. p. 837.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXIV.

EUSTATHIUS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH.

1. SAYS Jerom, 'Euſtathius [a] of Side in Pamphylia, firſt 'governed the church at Beræa, and afterwards at Antioch. 'As he wrote much againſt the Arian doctrine, he was baniſh-'ed in the time of the emperor Conſtantine to Trajanopolis in 'Thrace, where he lies buried to this day. There are extant 'his volumes concerning the ſoul, of the Pythoneſs againſt 'Origen, and an infinite number of epiſtles, which it would 'be tedious to reckon up.'

2. Euſtathius is placed by Cave at the year 325, when the council of Nice met: but as Euſtathius was before that biſhop of Beræa, if not alſo of Antioch, and was then ſo conſiderable, as to be thought by many to be the biſhop who complimented Conſtantine in a ſhort oration at his entrance into the council; I preſume, he ought to be placed ſooner, about the year 320.

3. For a particular account of him I refer to [b] Cave, and others. I obſerve ſome few of the more material things, and briefly only.

4. By [c] means of the intrigues of Euſebius of Nicomedia, and Theognis of Nice, he was depoſed by a ſynod at Antioch, about the year 328, as a Sabellian, and otherwiſe unworthy of the paſtoral office: after which he was baniſhed. The time of his death is not certain: ſome think, he did not die before the year 360. Sozomen ſays, he had been aſſured, that [d] Euſtathius bore the hard treatment he met with very patiently.

5. Euſtathius is placed by Jerom, in his letter to Magnus, among thoſe Chriſtian writers who were remarkable for ſecular learning, as well as for their knowledge of the ſcriptures: but Socrates reckons him among thoſe obſcure perſons, who [e] had endeavoured to raiſe their own reputation by oppoſing Origen. Sozomen, however, commends [f] him for his elo-

[a] Euſtathius, genere Pamphilius, Sidetes, primum Berhææ, Syriæ, deinde Antiochiæ factus eccleſiam. Et adverſum Arianorum dogma componens multa ſub Conſtantino principe pulſus eſt in exilium Trajanopolim Thraciarum, ubi uſque hodie conditus eſt. Extant ejus volumina de Anima, de Pythonissa adverſum Origenem, & innumeræ epiſtolæ, quas enumerare longum eſt. Hier. l. v. c. 85. [b] Vid. Cav. Hiſt. Lit. Eccl. Gr. T. viii. p. 166. &c. Tillemont Mem. Ec. T. vii. Pagi Crit. in Baron. Ann. 324. n. 26. &c. 325. n. 17. 327. n. 3. 340. n. 19. [c] Vid. Socr. l. i. c. 24. Soz. l. ii. c. 19. Thdrt. l. i. c. 21. [d] Soz. l. ii. c. 19. fin.

[e] Socr. l. vi. c. 13. [f] Ανηρ τα τε αλλα καλος και αξιαθλος, και επι ευγλωττια δικαιας θαυμαζομενος, ως εν τοις φερομενοις αυτου λογοις σαφες εστι. —— Soz. l. ii. c. 19. fin.

quence, as well as piety; and ſays, that his works were in his time well eſteemed. Theodoret calls him [g] the great Euſtathius.

6. I need not give a particular account of Euſtathius's works: the inquiſitive may find ſufficient ſatisfaction in the writers before referred to. The fragments collected by [h] Fabricius deſerve to be read.

7. Euſtathius's enmity to Arianiſm [i] is well known: whether he was not a Sabellian is doubtful.

8. Euſebius of Cæſarea accuſed him [k] of Sabellianiſm ſoon after the council of Nice. Socrates's expreſſions in his account of the ſentence paſſed upon Euſtathius by the ſynod at Antioch are remarkable: 'That [l] he was depoſed, as rather adhering to the doctrine of Sabellius, than of the council of Nice.' And he preſently afterwards owns, that George of Laodicea, in his hiſtory of Euſebius of Emeſa, relates, that Euſtathius was depoſed, Cyrus of Berœa accuſing him as a Sabellian. The fragments collected by Fabricius may be thought to countenance this ſuppoſition: and there are learned moderns, who [m] think, that Euſtathius of Antioch was of the ſame opinion with Marcellus of Ancyra, and that neither of them were orthodox.

CHAP. LXXV.

Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria.

I. *His hiſtory.* II. *Select paſſages.* III. *His teſtimony to the ſcriptures, in his Feſtal Epiſtle.* IV. *In his other works:* 1. *To the Goſpels.* 2. *To the Acts.* 3. *Paul's Epiſtles.* 4. *Catholic Epiſtles.* 5. *The Revelation.* V. *Of the doctrine of the apoſtles, and the Shepherd of Hermas.* VI. *Various readings.* VII. *A Bible ſent by Athanaſius to the emperor Conſtans.* VIII. *General titles and diviſions, and reſpect for the ſcriptures.* IX. *The ſum of his teſtimony.* X. *The Synopſis of ſacred Scripture.*

[g] ——της αληθειας πρωταθλος ο μεγας Ευσταθιος. Theod. l. i. c. 21. p. 52. A.

[h] Bib. Gr. T. 8. p. 172. &c.

[i] Euſtathium noſtrum, qui primus Antiochenæ eccleſiæ epiſcopus contra Arium clariſſima tuba bellicum cecinit. Hieron. ad Evang. T. ii. p. 571. in. Vid. & Theod. l. i. c. 8. in. [k] Διαβαλλει δε ευσταθιον ως την Σαβελλιε δοξαν εισαγοντα. Socr. l. i. c. 23. f. Conf. Soz. l. ii. c. 18.

[l] Καθαιρουσιν Ευσταθιον ως τα Σαβελλιε μαλλον φρονουντα, η οπερ η εν νικαια συνοδος εθεσπισεν. Socr. l. i. c. 24. in.

[m] Pour Marcel, le fait paſſe à preſent conſtant. Il fût Sabellien. A l'egard d'Euſtathe, des Savans le defendent, d'autres l'accuſent. Pour moi, je ne croi pas, qu'on puiſſe l'excuſer. Beauſobre Hiſt. de Manich. T. i. p. 543, not. (2.) Vid. ib. p. 542. et Worm. Hiſtor. Sabellianiſmi, cap. 5. n. 19, 20.

I. Atha-

I. ATHANASIUS succeeded Alexander in the see of Alexandria in the year 326, and died in the year 373, when he had been bishop 46 years [a] complete.

There is no need that I should write the history of Athanasius, or give a particular account of his works: the nature of my design allows me now to contract, since the life of Eusebius of Cæsarea; nor shall I transcribe Jerom's chapter [b] from his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, because it is not very important. I have referred to divers learned moderns, who have bestowed laudable pains in writing at large the history of this celebrated bishop; and the reader may also consult the Testimonies or Elogies of ancient writers, prefixed to the Benedictine edition of his works. As I do not there see the name of Epiphanius, I insert here his character of Athanasius; that [c] he was the father of orthodoxy.

II. Though I do not write the life of Athanasius, I may be allowed to transcribe some remarkable passages.

1. On [d] account of the doctrine of the Trinity, he says, the heathen people of his time thought, that the Christians taught a plurality of Gods.

2. Athanasius's enmity to Arianism is well known: I formerly cited [e] a passage where he speaks of it as the worst of all heresies. He elsewhere says, the [f] devil was the father of it: nor will he by any means allow, that [g] Arians can be rightfully called Christians.

3. When he declaims against Arianism, as [i] the worst and most hateful of all heresies, he makes this its peculiarity, that whilst other heretics endeavoured to support their opinions by sophistry, these [k] men have invented a new way, and have endeavoured to carry their point by external, that is, civil authority, or the power of the magistrate. 'Whenever [l] any man 'differs from them, they have him before the governor, or 'the general: whom [m] they cannot subdue by reason and argu-

[a] Vid. Pagi Ann. 326. n. 3. 372, n. 9, 10, 11. Basnag. Ann. 373. n. 9. Cav. H. L. Athanas. Vit. a Benedictin. adornat. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. viii. [b] De V. I. cap. 87. [c] ——Αθανασιου του μακαριου, και πατρος της ορθοδοξιας. H. 69. n. 2. p. 728. B. [d] Ελληνων—— φασκοντων και νομιζοντων, δια την τριαδα, [illegible] και ημας πολλους Θεους. Or. iii. Contr. Arian. n. 15. p. 564. C.

[e] Vol. iii. p. 390. [f] ——ως ο πατηρ αυτης ο διαβολος. Contr. Arian. Or. i. n. 1. p. 405. C. [g] Αλλα και οι τουτους καλουντες χριστιανους, πολυ και λιαν πλανωνται. Ib. p. 406. A. [i] Η δε νεα και μυσαρα τουτων αιρεσις.—— Hist. Arian. ad Monach. n. 67. p. 384. B.

[k] Οι δε προσταται ταυτης ορωντες εαυτους λοιπον ασχημονουντας, και μηδεν ευλογον εχοντας, αλλην οδον επενοησαν, και δια της εξωθεν εξουσιας εκδικειν ταυτην επεχειρησαν. Ib. n. 66. p. 383. D. E. [l] Και μονον τις αυτοις αντειρηκεν, ελκεται προς τον ηγεμονα, η τον στρατελατην. Ib. p. 384. B.

[m] —— λοιπον ους μη δεδυνηται πεισαι λογοις, τουτους τη βια, και πληγαις, και

'ment,

'ment, they take upon them to convince by whippings and 'imprisonments; which is enough to shew, that their princi-'ples is any thing rather than religion: for it is the property 'of religion not to compel, but to persuade. Our Lord him-'self does not use violence, but leaveth men to the freedom 'of their own choice. Speaking to all, he says: *If* [n] *any* '*man will come after me:* and to the disciples: *Will* [o] *ye also go* '*away?*'

And on account of these violent methods in particular, he says, that [p] this sect, or heresy, had put on the devil complete.

4. Athanasius observes, that [q] Christian people never took their denomination from their own bishops, but from the Lord, in whom we believe. And though the blessed apostles are our masters, and have ministered to us the gospel of our Lord, we are not named from them. For from Christ we are, and are called Christians. But they who receive from others a new faith, are justly denominated from them, whose property they are.

III. I proceed to his testimony to the scriptures: and here I begin with transcribing at large the fragment, which we have, of [r] what is called a Festal, or Paschal Epistle.

'But [s] since we have spoken of heretics as dead persons, 'and of ourselves as having the divine scriptures for salvation: 'and I fear, lest, as Paul wrote to the Corinthians, some few 'of the weaker sort should be seduced from their simplicity 'and purity by the cunning and craftiness of some men, and 'at length be induced to make use of other books called apo-'cryphal, being deceived [t] by the similitude of their names, 'resembling the true books: I therefore intreat you to bear 'with me, if I by writing remind you of things which you 'know already, as what may be of use for the church. And 'for the vindication of my attempt, I adopt the form of the 'evangelist Luke, who himself says: Forasmuch as some have 'taken in hand to set forth writings called apocryphal, and to 'join them with the divinely inspired scriptures of which we

δεσμωτηριοις ελκειν επιχειρει, γνωριζουσα εαυτην και ουτως, ως παντα μαλλον εστιν, η θεοσεβης. Θεοσεβειας μεν γαρ ιδιον, μη αναγκαζειν, αλλα πειθειν, ωσπερ ειπαμεν. κ. λ. Ib. n. 67. p. 384. C. [n] Matt. xvi. 24. [o] John vi. 67. [p] Ω καινης αιρεσεως, ολον ενδυσαμενης τον διαβολον εν ασεβεια και πραξει. Ib. n. 66. in. p. 383. C. [q] Ουδε πωποτε γαρ λαος απο των οικειων επισκοπων εσχε την επωνυμιαν, αλλ' απο του κυριου, εις ον και την πιστιν εχομεν —— αλλ' απο του χριστου χριστιανοι και εσμεν, και ονομαζομεθα. Οι δε περι ετερων εχοντες την αρχην ης νομιζουσι πιστεως, εκεινων εικοτως εχουσι και την ονομιαν, ως αυτων γενομενοι κτημα. Contr. Arian. Or. i. n. 2. p. 406. C.

[r] Ejusdem, ex trigesima nona epistola festali, initio mutila. T. i. p. 961. D.

[s] Ibid. p. 961. E. 962, 963. A. B.

[t] —— απατωμενοι τη ομωνυμια των αληθινων βιβλιων. p. 961. E.

'are

'are fully aſſured, as they delivered them to the fathers, who 'were eye-witneſſes and miniſters of the word: it has ſeemed 'good to me alſo, with the advice of ſome true brethren, and 'having learned it from the beginning, to ſet forth in order 'theſe canonical books, which have been delivered down to 'us, and believed to be divine ſcripture: that every one who 'has been deceived, may condemn thoſe who have deceived 'him: and that he who remains uncorrupted, may have the 'ſatisfaction to be reminded of what he is perſuaded of. The 'books of the Old Teſtament, then, are all of them in num-'ber two and twenty: for ſo many are the letters of the He-'brew alphabet ſaid to be. The names and order of each one 'are thus: The firſt Geneſis, the next Exodus, then Leviticus, 'after that the Numbers, and then Deuteronomy. After that 'is Joſhua the ſon of Nun, and the Judges, and after that 'Ruth. And again, the next in order are the four books of 'the kingdoms: of theſe the firſt and ſecond are reckoned one 'book; and in like manner the third and fourth are one book. 'After them, the firſt and ſecond of the Remains [or Chroni-'cles] are in like manner accounted one book. Then the 'firſt and ſecond of Eſdras, alſo reckoned one book. After 'them the book of the Pſalms, then the Proverbs, Eccleſiaſtes, 'and the Song of Songs. Beſide theſe there is Job, and at 'length the Prophets. The twelve are reckoned one book. 'Then Iſaiah, and Jeremiah, and with him Baruch, the La-'mentations, the Epiſtle. And after them Ezekiel and Da-'niel. Thus far of the books of the Old Teſtament. Nor do 'I think it too much pains to declare thoſe of the New. They 'are theſe: The four goſpels, according to Matthew, ac-'cording to Mark, according to Luke, according to John. 'Then after them the Acts of the apoſtles, and the ſeven 'epiſtles of the apoſtles called catholic: Of James one, of 'Peter two, of John three, and after them of Jude one. 'Beſide theſe there are the fourteen epiſtles of the apoſtle 'Paul, the order of which is thus: The firſt to the Romans, 'then two to the Corinthians, after them that to the Galati-'ans, the next to the Epheſians, then to the Philippians, to 'the Coloſſians, after them two to the Theſſalonians, and the 'epiſtle to the Hebrews, then two to Timothy, to Titus one, 'the laſt to Philemon: and again, the Revelation of John.

— και ραβδῳ αινῳ, εξης εκθεσθαι ... και παραδοθεισα, πιστευ-... και δεδομ. p. 962. A.

... ταυτας πραξεις αποστολων, και επιστολας καθολικας καλουμενας των αποστο-λων επτα. Ib. C.

Προς τουτοις Παυλου αποστολου εισι επιστολαι δεκατεσσαρες. — Ib. D.

'Theſe

'These [z] are fountains of salvation, that he who thirsts may 'be satisfied with the oracles contained in them: in these alone 'the doctrine of religion is taught: let no man add to them, 'or take any thing from them. Of these our Lord spake, 'when he put the Sadducees to shame, saying: *Ye* [a] *do err, 'not knowing the scriptures.* And he exhorted the Jews: *Search* '[b] *the scriptures: for these are they which testify of me.* How- 'ever, for the sake of greater accuracy, I add as follows: 'that [c] there are other books beside these, without: not ca- 'nonical indeed, but ordained by the fathers to be read to '[or by] those who are newly come over to us, and are de- 'sirous to be instructed in the doctrine of religion. The 'Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of Sirach, and Esther, 'Judith, Tobias: the Doctrine of the Apostles, as it is called, 'and the Shepherd. So that my [d] beloved, those being ca- 'nonical, and these read, there is no mention of apocryphal 'books: but they are the invention of heretics, who wrote 'them after their own pleasure: assigning [e] to them, and add- 'ing to them, times; that producing them as ancient writ- 'ings, they may take occasion to deceive the simple.'

Upon this enumeration, or catalogue of the books of the holy scripture, we may make a few remarks: and many are not necessary.

1. Here is mention made of these sorts of books only: 'ca- 'nonical,' such as are 'read' or allowed to be read, and 'apo- 'chryphal:' by which last the writer of this epistle means books of heretics, to which they affixed a high value. Athanasius here takes no notice of 'contradicted' books, so distinctly spoken of by Eusebius of Cæsarea.

2. The reader sees, what books of the Old Testament are reckoned by this writer canonical: and how many others besides are mentioned by him, as 'out of the canon,' yet allowed to be read. And I would add here, with regard to the other works of Athanasius in general, that there the Wisdom of Solomon is often quoted, Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus, but seldom; and the books of Maccabees scarce at all; which last, as we see, are also quite omitted in this catalogue.

[z] Ταυτα πηγαι τε σωτηριε, ωστε τον διψωντα των εν τουτοις εμφορεισθαι λογιων. Εν τουτοις μονοις το της ευσεβειας διδασκαλειον ευαγγελιζεται. Μηδεις τουτοις επιβαλλετω. —— κ. λ. Ib. D.

[a] Matt. xxii. 29.

[b] John v. 39.

[c] Ως δε εστι και ετερα βιβλια τουτων εξωθεν· α κανονιζομενα μεν, τετυπωμενα δε παρα των πατερων, αναγινωσκεσθαι τοις αρτι προσερχομενοις.—P. 963. A.

[d] —— κανονιζομενων, και τουτων αναγινωσκομενων. Ibid.

[e] —— χαριζομενων δε και προσθηκας αυτοις χρονων· εν οις παλαια προφασιν εχοντες απατωσι εν τουτοις τους απλουστερους. Ib. B.

3. This may suffice for that part of the catalogue. Upon the latter part, concerning the scriptures of the New Testament, I think it incumbent on me to be more particular: and therefore I proceed as follows.

IV. The Festal Epistle, just transcribed, is generally allowed to be [f] genuine: but as some may not reckon it to be certainly so, and as such catalogues are liable to alteration, and possibly some things may have been inserted by later transcribers, to make it more agreeable to the sentiments of their own times; it will be best, for fuller satisfaction, to observe the quotations of scripture in other works of Athanasius.

1. The four gospels, as we have sufficiently seen, were always received by all catholic Christians in general: it is, therefore, quite needless to refer to any of the numerous quotations of them in the works of this writer.

We may however observe, that [g] he gives John the evangelist the title of 'the divine.' He gives likewise the same title to all the apostles in general, calling them [h] 'our Saviour's 'divines.'

2. The Acts of the apostles too were generally received: nevertheless I shall refer to one or two of the many passages of Athanasius, where this book is largely quoted by him.

'Let [i] them hear the great and blessed apostles in the Acts.' After which he quotes some of the discourses of Peter and Paul there recorded. He quotes this book as [k] written by St. Luke. Again, according [l] to the divine Acts of the apostles.

3. The Festal Epistle expressly mentions fourteen epistles of Paul. Thirteen were universally received. The [m] epistle to the Hebrews is often quoted by Athanasius as the apostle Paul's.

4. We proceed to the catholic epistles.

1.) The epistle of James is [n] quoted, as written by an apostle, as [o] written by James.

[f] Epistola Festalis, initio mutila, ut cui[illegible] est, ex numero esse videtur epis[illegible] Athanasio Festalium ab Hieronymo [illegible] lib. de Scriptoribus Ecclesi[illegible] tamen nonnulla forte occur[illegible] suspicio.——Verum nostro qui[illegible] judicio, nihil est, ut ea de causa hæ[illegible] Benedictin. Monitum. T. i. p. [illegible]

[g] [illegible] φησι και ο θεολογος ανηρ· [illegible] ο λογος.——Cont. Gent. n. 42. [illegible] C. D.

[h] Ταυτα δε και [illegible] αυτου του σωτηρος θεολογων ανδρων [illegible] δυναται εντυγχανων τοις εκεινων [illegible] De Incarn. n. 10. p. 55. D.

[i] Ακουοντες και των μεγαλων και μακαριων αποστολων εν ταις πραξεσι. κ. λ. De Sent. Dionys. n. 7. p. 247. D.

[k] Παντα μεν οσα ο κυριος ημων —— ως εγραψεν ο Λουκας, πεποιηκε τε και εδιδαξεν. Ep. Encyl. n. 1. p. 270. B.

[l] —— κατα τας θειας των αποστολων πραξεις. Ad Amun. n. i. p. 959. C.

[m] Ο μεν γαρ μακαριος Παυλος εν τη προς εβραιους φησι. De Decret. Nic. Syn. n. 18. p. 223. E. Et passim.

[n] Και ποιητης, ο αποστολος φησι νομου. De Sent. Dionys. n. 20. p. 257. E. Vid. Jac. iv. 11.

[o] Ουκ ενι δε παρα τω θεω, ως ειπεν ο Ιακωβος,

2.) The

2.) The first epistle of [p] Peter is frequently quoted.

3.) Words of the second epistle of [q] Peter are several times quoted: and sometimes expressly as [r] Peter's.

4.) The first epistle of [s] John is oftentimes quoted, and sometimes very distinctly.

5.) The second epistle of John is quoted [t] very distinctly. I have no particular reference to the third epistle.

6.) Athanasius has [u] twice the words of Jude, ver. 6.

5. The book of the Revelation is several [x] times, and largely, quoted by Athanasius.

6. Upon the whole, then, we perceive, from the other genuine and unquestioned writings of Athanasius, as well as from the Festal Epistle, that this famous bishop of Alexandria, in the fourth century, received the same books in the New Testament as canonical which we do.

V. Besides these books the Festal Epistle mentions two others, the 'Doctrine of the Apostles,' and the 'Shepherd of 'Hermas:' and they are both so mentioned, as to shew plainly, that they were not a part of the rule of faith, or books by which doctrines may be proved. They are said to be 'without,' and 'not canonical;' that is, out of the canon.

1. Of the former I have already [y] spoken sufficiently, and shall add nothing farther.

2. Of the Shepherd of Hermas too we have [z] distinctly observed the value set upon it by former writers: all that remains is to consider, what notice Athanasius takes of this book in his other works.

3. In one place it is quoted as [a] a very useful book. He quotes it again in another place, which [b] I refer to in the margin. In another place he quotes a passage of it, which [c] he supposeth the Eusebians had an eye to. Once more, he quotes

παραλλαξη, η τροπης αποστασμα. Ep. 1. ad Serap. n. 26. p. 674. D. Vid. Jac. i. 17.

[p] Και Πετρος εγραψε· Καμιζομενοι το τελος της πιστεως. [1 Pet. i. 9.] Epist. i. ad Serap. p. 653. E.

[q] Vid. Hist. Arian. ad Monach. n. 29. p. 360. D. E. Vid. & Ep. ad Amun. p. 960. A.

[r] Ο αλεσι ο Πετρος, ινα γενησθε θειας κοινωνοι φυσεως. Or. i. contr. Arian. n. 16. p. 420. E. 2 Pet. i. 4. Conf. Ep. i. ad Serap. n. 23. p. 672. C. & ad Adelph. n. 4. p. 914. A.

[s] —— Δηλοι ο Ιωαννης εν τη προτερα επιστολη λεγων ουτως. Ο ην απ' αρχης. Or. iv. contr. Arian. n. 26. p. 637. C. D. ως εγραψεν ο μακαριος Ιωαννης. κ. λ. Adv. Arian. Orat. 1. in. p. 405. A.

[t] Και, μηδε χαιρειν αυτοις τοιουτοις λεγουσιν, ινα μη τις και τας αιρεσιαρχικας αυτων κοινωνος γενομενος, ις παραγγελλει ο μακαριος Ιωαννης. Ep. Encycl. ad Ep. Æg. n. 6. p. 400. C.

[u] Ep. i. ad Serap. n. 26. p. 675. A. Ep. 2. ad Serap. n. 3. p. 685. A.

[x] Και εν τη αποκαλυψει. κ.λ. Or. i. contr. Arian. n. 11. p. 415. D. Vid. & Orat. ii. contr. Ar. n. 23. p. 491. B. C. & Or. iv. contr. Ar. n. 28. p. 639. & Ep. ii. ad Serap. n. 2. p. 684.

[y] See p. 259—261.

[z] See p. 259.

[a] Δια δε της ωφελιμωτατης βιβλου τα ποιμενος. De Incarn. n. 3. p. 49. D.

[b] De Decret. Nic. Syn. n. 4. p. 211. D.

[c] Ελογιζοντο δε και το εν τω ποιμενι γεγραφει. Ad. Afr. n. 5. p. 895. B.

it upon account of an argument of the Arians from the same passage before referred to. 'But[d] it is written in the Shepherd: (since they allege that book too, though it is not in the canon:) First of all, believe, that there is one God.—' Having answered their argument, he adds: 'And[e] why do they blame those who think rightly, for using unscriptural phrases, when they make use of unscriptural phrases to support impiety.'

4. Nothing can be plainer, than that the Shepherd of Hermas was not a book of authority with Athanasius.

VI. I shall take notice of but very few various readings in the works of this writer.

1. The Benedictines in their edition put our author's citation of Acts xx. 28. according to[f] the common reading, *Feed the church of God.* But they acknowledge in[g] a marginal note, that some manuscripts have Lord, others Christ.

2. Athanasius has a very uncommon reading at Rev. xxii. 14. which[h] I place at the bottom of the page, with a[i] remark.

VII. About the year[k] 340, Athanasius sent a copy of the Bible to the emperor Constans. He speaks of it in a letter to Constantius, whom he assures, 'that he had written to his brother but once before, and then again upon[l] occasion of sending to him the books, or volumes of the divine scriptures, which by his order he had prepared for him.'

Learned men have been divided about the meaning of the original phrase; but Montfauçon, I think, has[m] clearly shewn, that thereby we are to understand the scriptures in several volumes. As a confirmation of this sense, I transcribe[n] a part of

[d] Ε. δε τῳ ποιμενι γεγραπται· επειδη και τουτο, καιτοι μη ον εκ του κανονος, προφερουσι. De Decret. Nic. Syn. n. 18. p. 223. F.

[e] Διατι τοινυν αγραφους αυτοι λεξεις προς ασεβειαν εφευροντες, αιτιωνται τους αγραφοις λεξεσιν ευσεβουντας; Ib. p. 224. A. B.

[f] Vid. Ep. i. ad Serap. n. 6. p. 653. D.

[g] Reg. i. κυριου. At seguer. & Felckm. Χριστου.

[h] Μακαριοι οι πλατυνοντες τας στολας αυτων κ. λ. Or. iv. contr. Arian. n. 28. p. 639. C.

[i] Upon that peculiar reading my excellent friend Dr. Benson has given me this observation: 'He is ready to think, that πλυνοντες was either written by way of contraction, or blindly, do as scarce to be read at all: and that some bold or blundering transcriber changed it into πλατυνοντες. Thus the reading will agree with that ancient reading mentioned by Mill, and supported by MSS. Versions and Fathers.'

[k] Vid. Benedictin. Vit. S. Athan. p. 33.

[l] Και οτε πυκτια των θειων γραφων κελευσαντος αυτου μοι κατασκευασαι, ταυτα ποιησας απεστειλα. Ad Imp. Constant. Apol. n. 4. p. 297. D. E.

[m] — πυκτια quippe illa των θειων γραφων nihil esse aliud arbitramur, quam ipsam sacram scripturam, quæ ad faciliorem legentis usum, in plura volumina compingeretur: πυκτια quippe significant volumina. Monitum in Synops. Scripturæ ap. Ath. T. ii. p. 124.

[n] Est itaque πυκτιον liber compactus, sive volumen. —— Innumera proferre licet similia loca, queis palam fiat πυκτια των θειων γραφων nihil aliud esse, quam libros scripturarum sacrarum plura in volumina compactos, non vero synopsim sacræ scripturæ: quemadmodum πυκτιον απολλιναριου est liber Apollinarii, & πυκτιον ωριγενους φι-

his

his argument at the bottom of the page. Mill [o] concurs with that learned Benedictine.

VIII. The Festal Epistle represents distinctly the several parts of scripture, and the great respect shewn them by the author. Nevertheless, some forms of quotation, and evidences of like respect, may be also taken from the other works of Athanasius.

1. In the Festal Epistle are expressions of the highest regard for those books, which were canonical, or the rule of faith; whether of the Old or the New Testament. They are divine scriptures, oracles, fountains of salvation; in them alone the doctrine of religion is taught with absolute certainty, without any danger of being deceived and misled.

2. Quoting Paul, he calls him, the [p] blessed Paul, a man bearing or carrying Christ; and the holy servant of Christ.

3. The sacred [r] and divinely inspired scriptures are sufficient to shew us the truth.

4. Censuring the multitude of Arian synods, he says, 'The 'divine [s] scripture is sufficient above all: but if upon this 'occasion a synod be needful, let them observe the determina- 'tions of the fathers at the council of Nice.'

5. 'Let [t] these be hearkened to, the determination of the 'gospel, the preaching of the apostles, the testimonies of the 'prophets.'

6. Having quoted several passages out of the Old Testament, 'But [u] do you also,' says he, 'search the gospels, and what 'the apostles have written.'

7. 'Let [x] us inquire after the ancient tradition, and doctrine, 'and faith of the catholic church, which the Lord delivered, 'which the apostles preached, which the fathers kept: for 'on this the church is founded.'

λοκαλιας est liber Philocaliæ Origenis. Animadv. xv. in Vit. & Script. Athan. ap. Coll. Nov. Patr. p. 38, 39. [o] — sive Biblia integra, pluribus in lectoris commodum voluminibus compacta. Mill. Proleg. n. 745. [p] —— εις ον ο χριστοφορος ανηρ ο μαρκαριος Παυλος. Contr. Gent. n. 5. p. 5. F.

—— λεγοντος του χριστοφορου ανδρος. De Incarn. n. 10. p. 56. A.

[q] Ο αγιος του Χριστου διακονος Παυλος. Contr. Gent. n. 26. p. 25. A.

[r] Ανταρκεις μεν γαρ εισιν αι αγιαι και θεοπνευστοι γραφαι προς την της αληθειας απαγγελιαν. Contr. Gent. n. 1. T. i. p. 1. B. [s] Εστι μεν γαρ ικανωτερα παντων η θεια γραφη. Ει δε και συνοδου χρεια περι τουτου, εστι τα των πατερων· και τουτου γαρ ουκ ημελησαν οι εν νικαια, συνελθοντες. De Synod. n. 6. p. 720. B. [t] Προκειστω τοινυν —— και της ημετερας πιστεως ο λογος, και ευαγγελιου ο ορος, και των αποστολων το κηρυγμα, και των προφητων η μαρτυρια.—Contr. Apoll. l. ii. n. 4. p. 949. C.

[u] Ερωτησατε δε και υμεις περι των εν ευαγγελιοις, και ων εγραψαν οι αποστολοι.—— Ep. i. ad Serap. n. 6. p. 653. A.

[x] Ιδωμεν δε και —— αυτην την εξ αρχης παραδοσιν και διδασκαλιαν και πιστιν της καθολικης εκκλησιας, ην ο μεν κυριος εδωκεν, οι δε αποστολοι εκηρυξαν, και οι πατερες εφυλαξαν· εν ταυτη γαρ η εκκλησια τεθεμελιωται. Ep. i. ad Serap. n. 28. p. 676. D.

IX.

IX. This teſtimony of Athanaſius to the ſcriptures is very valuable: it appears from the Feſtal Epiſtle, and from his other works, that he received all the books of the New Teſtament that we do, and no other, as of authority. And, conſidering the time in which he lived, the acquaintance he had with the ſeveral parts of the Chriſtian church at that time, and the biſhops of it, in Egypt, and its neighbourhood, in Europe, and Aſia, and the knowledge he had of ancient Chriſtian writings; it muſt be reckoned of great uſe to ſatisfy us, that notwithſtanding the frequent quotations of other books, in the writings of divers ancient Chriſtians, they did always make a diſtinction, and did not deſign to allege as of authority, and a part of the rule of faith, any books, but thoſe which were in the higheſt ſenſe ſacred and divine.

X. It yet remains, that we take notice of [y] the Synopſis of Sacred Scripture, uſually joined with the works of Athanaſius. By ſome it has been reckoned genuine; but for the moſt part, it is ſuppoſed by learned men [z] to be falſely aſcribed to him. On this ſide of the queſtion, the late learned [a] editors of Athanaſius's works have freely declared themſelves; and certainly they muſt be good judges. One reaſon of their rejecting it is, that it is not mentioned by any ancient writer, as a work of our Athanaſius: which muſt be reckoned an argument of no ſmall weight, conſidering how large a work it is. Some aſcribe it to another Athanaſius, who flouriſhed near the end of the fifth century. Mr. Wetſtein [b] expreſſeth himſelf very poſitively: Mill is [c] inclined to the ſame opinion, without being certain; which I think is beſt, as there is no very clear evidence who is the author.

1. In this Synopſis, in the firſt place, is a liſt or catalogue of the books of the Old and New Teſtament, with their ſeveral names, and the firſt ſentence of each book. After that follow particular contents, or an abridgment of every book.

2. It ſeems to me, that there is ſome reaſon to ſuſpect this to be a patched work; not all written by the ſame author, or

[y] Synopſis Scripturæ Sacræ. Ap. Ath. T. ii. p. 123—134. [z] Nam Synopſis non eſt Athanaſii. Petav. Dogm. Th. tom. i. p. 20.

—Ab hodiernis criticis unanimi fere conſenſu Athanaſio abjudicata. Cav. H. L. [a] Tillem. for S. Athanaſe note 45. Mem. Ec. T. viii. & for S. Lucian note 1. Note 2. of T. 5.

[b] Præterea neque a nemine antiquorum ullum ejus ſimile ab Athanaſio adornatum. At certe vix potuit ab Hieronymo, aliiſque patribus, iis maxime qui ſcripturas explanarunt, & a Photio ipſo, tam inſigne opus Athanaſianum prætermitti. In Synopſ. Monit. p. 124, 125. Vid & Montfauc. Prælim. ad Nov Coll. PP. T. ii. p. 38, 39. [b] Athanaſius ſcripſit Synopſin ſacræ ſcripturæ, operibus S. Athanaſii epiſcopi inſertam. Proleg. ad N. T. edit. accurat. [c] Vid. Mill. Proleg. n. 993, 994.

at the ſame time: for after the names of the canonical books of the Old Teſtament, thoſe not in the canon are ſaid [d] to be the Wiſdom of Solomon, the Wiſdom of Jeſus the ſon of Sirach, Eſther, Judith, and Tobit. But after having given the contents of the books of each Teſtament, he mentions [e] four books of Maccabees, and other writings, as contradicted, or apocryphal: but if one and the ſame perſon had been the author of the whole, why did he not mention theſe at firſt in the proper place? I omit ſome other things, that might be mentioned in favour of the ſame ſuppoſition.

3. This Synopſis has a great agreement with the Feſtal Epiſtle: the canonical and uncanonical books of the Old Teſtament, (in the firſt inſtance, as before obſerved), are much the ſame in both. And the canonical books of the New Teſtament are mentioned in the ſame order.

4. Mill thinks, it [f] may be inferred from this Synopſis, that at this time by the Chriſtians of Alexandria the whole New Teſtament was divided into eight books: the firſt four were the four goſpels, each being reckoned a diſtinct book; the fifth was the Acts, the ſixth the ſeven catholic epiſtles, the ſeventh the fourteen epiſtles of Paul, the eighth the Revelation.

5. To be now a little more particular, for the ſake of thoſe who may expect it.

1.) The author begins his Synopſis, ſaying, 'All [g] the 'ſcripture of us Chriſtians is divinely inſpired; and it con- 'tains not an indefinite, but rather a determined number of 'canonical books: thoſe of the Old Teſtament are theſe.' Having mentioned their names, and put down the firſt ſentence in each book, he ſays: 'The [h] canonical books of the 'Old Teſtament all together, are 22, according to the num- 'ber of the Hebrew letters: but beſide theſe, there are other 'books of the ſame Old Teſtament, not canonical, but read 'only [and that eſpecially] by, or to, catechumens.' The books here mentioned are the Wiſdom of Solomon, the Wiſdom of Jeſus the ſon of Sirach, Eſther, Judith, Tobit. But preſently after he adds, 'Some [i] ſay, that Eſther is reckoned 'canonical by the Hebrews, as alſo Ruth, being joined with 'the book of the Judges. But Eſther is a diſtinct book.

[d] p. 128, 129.

[e] p. 201. D. E.

[f] Prolegm. n. 995.

[g] Πασα γραφη των χριστιανων θεοπνευστος εστιν· και αορισα ουκ, αλλα μαλλον ωρισμενα και κεκανονισμενα εχει τα βιβλια. Και εστι της μεν παλαιας διαθηκης ταυτα. Synopſ. p. 126. A.

[h] Ομου τα κανονιζομενα της παλαιας διαθηκης, βιβλια εικοσι δυο, ισαριθμα τοις γραμμασι των εβραιων. —— Εκτος δε τουτων εισι παλιν ετερα βιβλια της αυτης διαθηκης, α κανονιζομενα μεν, αναγινωσκομενα δε μονον τοις κατηχουμενοις φαινται. Ib. p. 128. D. E.

[i] p. 129. A.

'How-

'However, in this way likewise they compute the full number 'of canonical books to be two and twenty.'

2.) 'These[k] then are the canonical, and the uncanonical 'books of the Old Testament.'

3.) Then he proceeds: 'The[l] determined and canonical 'books of the New Testament are these:' where he mentions all the books of the New Testament in the same order as in the Festal Epistle, with the first sentence in each book. 'The 'last[m] is the Revelation of John the Divine, which has been 'received with the rest by the ancient holy fathers having the 'Spirit.'

4.) After which he gives somewhat largely the contents of the twenty-two canonical books of the Old Testament, ending with Daniel, from p. 131 to p. 168. Then he says, 'but 'it[n] is proper to observe the others also, which are not ca-'nonical, but only read.' Here he abridges Esther, Judith, Tobit, the Wisdom of Solomon, and the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach; from p. 168, to p. 177.

5.) Then he proceeds to the New Testament, and gives particularly the contents of each book, from p. 177 to 201. The first book with him is the gospel according to Matthew, the second book the gospel according to Mark, the third according to Luke, the fourth according to John: 'the fifth[o] 'book is the Acts of the apostles, written,' he says, 'by Luke, 'who travelled with other apostles, but more especially with 'Paul, and wrote what he knew with certainty.' The sixth book contains the seven catholic epistles, written by several; the seventh book contains Paul's fourteen epistles; the eighth is[p] the Revelation, seen by John the evangelist and divine in Patmos.

6.) After which he adds: 'There[q] are also divers other 'books, both of the Old and the New Testament, some con-'tradicted, others apocryphal. The contradicted books of 'the Old Testament, spoken of before, are the Wisdom of 'Solomon, the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach, and Esther, 'and Judith, and Tobit: with which also are reckoned four

[k] Και τα μεν της παλαιας διαθηκης βιβλια, τα τε κανονιζομενα και μη κανονιζομενα. p. 129. B.

[l] Τα δε της [illegible] παλιν ωρισμενα τε και κεκανονιζομενα βιβλια ταυτα. p. 120. B.

[m] [illegible] εστι και αποκαλυψις Ιωαννου [illegible], δεχθεισα ως οικειου, και εγκριθεισα [illegible] παλαι αγιων και πνευματοφορων [illegible]. p. 131. A.

[n] Ρητεον δε ομοιως και περι των ετερων της παλαιας βιβλων, των μη κανονιζομενων μεν, αναγινωσκομενων δε, ως προδεδηλωται. p. 168. C.

[o] Ο δε δινδυμενος ταυτας εστι Λουκας ο ευαγγελιστης, ο και τουτο το βιβλιον συγγραφων· συναπεδημει γαρ τοις αλλοις αποστολοις, και μαλιστα τω Παυλῳ, και οιονως ακριβως γραφει. p. 187. A.

[p] p. 200. A.

[q] p. 201, 202.

'books of the Maccabees, the hiſtory of the Ptolemies, the 'Pſalms and the Ode of Solomon, and Suſanna: theſe are the 'contradicted books of the Old Teſtament. The apocryphal 'books of the Old Teſtament are theſe; Enoch, the Patriarchs, 'the Prayer of Joſeph, the Teſtament of Moſes, the Aſſump-'tion of Moſes, Abraham, Eldad, and Modad, and the pſeu-'depigraphal books of Elias the Prophet, Zephaniah the Pro-'phet, Zachariah the father of John, Baruch, Ambacum, 'Ezekiel, and Daniel. The contradicted [or apocryphal] 'of the New Teſtament are theſe, The Travels [or Circuits] 'of Peter, the Travels of John, the Travels of Thomas, the 'Goſpel according to Thomas, the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, 'the Clementines, out of which thoſe things have been ſelect-'ed, which are true and divinely inſpired. And theſe are read. 'All [r] theſe are thus ſet down for the inſtruction of men; but 'they are perverſely written, and ſpurious, and to be rejected. 'And none of theſe are to be received with the reſt, or reck-'oned uſeful, eſpecially the apocryphal books of the New 'Teſtament: in particular, no other writings, called goſpels, 'are to be received, beſide thoſe four which have been de-'livered to us; even the goſpels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, 'and John.'

After all this is added * a brief account of the ſeveral Greek verſions of the Old Teſtament, as that of the Seventy, Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and ſome other, which were later.

All theſe things are referred to the reader's conſideration. It is very fit to obſerve, in what claſs the Doctrine of the Apoſtles is placed by this writer, and with what books it is numbered. I have ſpoken of it diſtinctly in the chapter of [s] Euſebius. The Clementines likewiſe have been already deſcribed [t] ſufficiently.

7.) In this work, particularly in the abridgment of the books of the New Teſtament, are ſeveral obſervations, which will not be approved by all. The author ſays, the [u] epiſtle to the Galatians was written by Paul at Rome; that [x] to the Epheſians likewiſe at Rome, before the apoſtle was perſonally acquainted with thoſe Chriſtians. The ſame is ſaid more than once by [y] Euthalius, contemporary with that Athanaſius, whom ſome ſuppoſe author of the Synopſis. This author likewiſe, as

[r] Ταῦτα πάντα ἐξέθηκαν μεν, ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ἐκτιθέασιν· παραπεφραγμένα δὲ εἰσι πάντως, καὶ νόθα, καὶ ἀποβόλιμα. Καὶ ἐδεῖ τούτων, τῶν ἀποκρύφων μάλιστα, ἐγκρίνειν, ἢ ἐπωφελεῖς, ἐξαιρέτως τῆς νέας διαθήκης—τὰ τε ἄλλα, καὶ αὐτὰ κεφάλαια τῶν αὐτοῦ εὐαγγελίων, ἐκλεγόμενα τὰ ἀληθῆ καὶ θεόπνευστα. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκτίθεται πρὸς νουθέτησιν ἀνθρώπων· παραπεφραγμένα δὲ εἰσι καὶ νόθα, καὶ ἀποβόλιμα. Καὶ ἐδεῖ τούτων, τῶν ἀποκρύφων μάλιστα, ἐγκρίνειν, ἢ ἐπωφελεῖς, ἐξαιρέτως τῆς νέας διαθήκης—τὰ τε ἄλλα, καὶ αὐτὰ κεφάλαια τῶν αὐτοῦ εὐαγγελίων, ἐκλεγόμενα τὰ ἀληθῆ καὶ θεόπνευστα. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκτίθεται πρὸς νουθέτησιν ἀνθρώπων· παραπεφραγμένα δὲ εἰσι πάντως,

many others do, ſays, that [z] St. Peter's epiſtles were written to Jewiſh Chriſtians.

8.) I add here ſome other things, which are in the latter part of this Synopſis. It is there ſaid, 'that [a] Matthew wrote 'his goſpel in Hebrew, and publiſhed it at Jeruſalem; and 'that it was tranſlated [into Greek] by James the Lord's bro-'ther according to the fleſh, who was ordained by the holy 'apoſtles the firſt biſhop of Jeruſalem: that the goſpel accord-'ing to Mark was dictated by Peter at Rome, and publiſhed 'by the bleſſed apoſtle Mark, and preached by him in Alex-'andria and Egypt, and Pentapolis, and Libya: that the goſ-'pel of Luke was dictated by the apoſtle Paul, and written 'and publiſhed by the bleſſed apoſtle and phyſician Luke: as 'alſo [b] in like manner the apoſtle Peter dictated the Acts of 'of the apoſtles, but Luke the evangeliſt wrote them: that 'the [c] goſpel according to John was dictated by the holy and 'beloved apoſtle John, when he was an exile in the iſland 'Patmos, and was publiſhed by him at Epheſus, under the 'care of Gaius his hoſt, and of the other apoſtles.'

But why were not theſe things mentioned before? They might have been as well taken notice of at the beginning of the abridgments of the ſeveral books here ſpoken of. Moreover, ſome things here ſaid ſeem contrary to what was before obſerved: every one muſt perceive, that what is here ſaid of the Acts of the Apoſtles, is quite different from what was ſaid at the beginning of the contents or abridgment of that book.

9.) Here likewiſe, I mean in the latter part of this Synopſis, are [d] the ſymbols of the four evangeliſts. Matthew's goſpel is ſuppoſed to be ſignified by the face of a man, Mark's by that of a calf, Luke's by that of a lion, and John's by that of an eagle.

10.) Thus I have now given a large account of this Synopſis, much fuller than at firſt I intended. It is a long and laboured work, for which the author is intitled to commendation, though there are in it ſome inaccuracies. This Synopſis might be compared with the Stichometry of Nicephorus, publiſhed by [e] ſeveral, and with the obſervations of [f] Euthalius

[z] p. 188. F. [a] p. 202.

[b] — Ωσπερ και τας πραξεις των αποστολων επεστρεψε μεν Πετρος ο αποστολος, συνεγραψε δε ο αυτος Λουκας. Ib. p. 202. E.

[c] Το δε καθ' Ιωαννην ευαγγελιον υπαγορευθεν τε υπ' αυτου του αγιου Ιωαννου του θεολογου και πλαπηθεν, υπο του εξοχου εν Παλμω τη νησω, και υπο του εξοδου εν Εφεσω, δια Γαιου του αγαπητου και ξενοδοχου των αποστολων, περι ου και Παυλος Ρωμαιοις γραφων φησι. Ασπαζεται υμας κ. λ. Ibid. p. 202. F. [d] p. 202. C.

[e] Vid. Coteler. ap. Patr. Apoſt. & Montfauc. Bib. Coiſlin. p. 204.

upon the books of the New Testament, of which I shall speak more distinctly hereafter.

11.) Upon the whole, I think, this writer, whoever he is, probably of Alexandria, or near it, received no books of the Old Testament, as of authority, beside those of the Jewish canon. And for the New Testament, he received all those which we now receive, and no other.

12. Finally, it deserves our particular notice, that this writer, as well as other ancient Christian writers in general, professeth the highest respect for the books of sacred scripture. For having put down the catalogue of the canonical and uncanonical books of the Old Testament, and then the canonical books of the New, he adds: 'So [g] many, even these, are the 'canonical books of the New Testament, and as it were the 'first-fruits of our faith, or anchors and fastenings: having 'been written and published by the apostles of Christ, who 'conversed with him, and were taught by him. But innu-'merable other books have been since composed by great, and 'wise, and holy men, by way of testimony to them, and for 'explaining and illustrating them, of which I need not now 'speak particularly.'

CHAP. LXXVI.

A Dialogue against the Marcionites.

1. I think it not best to overlook intirely a book, intitled, Of the right Faith in God, or a Dialogue against the Marcionites, in five parts or sections, ascribed to Adamantius, by some supposed to be the same as Origen. I formerly took some notice of it in the general account of [a] Origen's works, and may have occasion to quote it often hereafter in the history of the heretics of the two first centuries. It is fit therefore, that we should observe briefly the author's testimony to the books of the New Testament. But he is not the famous Ori-

[f] Ap. Zacagn. Monum. Vet. p. 401. &c.

[g] Τοσαυτα και τα της καινης διαθηκης βιβλια, τα γε κανονιζομενα, και της πιστεως ημων οιονει ακροθινια, η αγκυραι και ερεισματα· ως παρ' αυτων των αποστολων του Χριστου, των και συγγενομενων εκεινῳ, και υπ' αυτου μαθητευθεντων, γραφεντα και εκτεθεντα· επειτοιγε υστερον κατα την εκεινων ακολουθιαν και συμφονιαν, αλλα μυρια και αναριθμητα βιβλια εξεπονηθησαν υπο των κατα καιρους μεγαλων και σοφωτατων ποιητερων πατερων, εις μαρτυριαν των προλαβοντων και διαφωτισιν. κ. λ. p. 131. A. B.

[a] See Vol. ii. p. 455.

gen.

gen. It appears manifeſt, from expreſſions in the firſt ſection of the work, that [b] it was written in the time of a Chriſtian emperor. And from the confeſſion made near the beginning of the ſame [c] ſection by Adamantius the orthodox diſputant, it is probable, that it was not compoſed until after the council of Nice: accordingly, it is the general opinion of learned men, that [d] the author of this Dialogue is different from Origen, and that it may be placed about the year 330.

2. The author owns [e] four goſpels, and no more, written by John, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, diſciples of Chriſt.

3. He calls them all diſciples of Chriſt: for he ſays, that [f] Mark and Luke were of the number of the ſeventy or ſeventy-two diſciples.

4. Though [g] there are four evangeliſts, he ſays, there is but one goſpel.

5. Adamantius, the orthodox diſputant, receives alſo [h] the Acts of the Apoſtles.

6. In this work the four goſpels are often quoted, and moſt of St. Paul's epiſtles, particularly the [i] epiſtle to the Epheſians, by that title, and the epiſtle to [k] the Hebrews.

7. The ſecond epiſtle of Peter is here [l] quoted.

8. The words of 2 Pet. ii. 19. *Of whom a man is overcome, of the ſame is he brought in bondage*, are quoted by [m] Adamantius, not as the words of Peter, but as a ſaying or maxim of ſome wiſe man, not a Chriſtian.

[b] Vid. Dialog. p. 30. Baſil. 1674. p. 815. Bened. [c] p. 3. Baſ. p. 804. Bened. [d] Vid. Huet. Origenian. l. ii. Sect. 1. n. v. & in App. n. ix. Tillem. Origine. Art. 36. et note 13. Mem. T. iv. & Benedictinor.. Monitum ap. Origen. Opp. T. i. p. 800. Beauſob. Hiſt. Manich. T. ii. p. 84, 85. [e] Οι μαθηται τε Χριστε γεγραφηκασιν, Ιωαννης και Ματθαιος, και Μαρκος και Λουκας. Dialog. ſect. i. p. 7. Baſ. 808. B. Bened. [f] Πρωτους ουτως και μετα ταυτα οι ευαγγελισασθαι Μαρκος ων και Λουκας εκ των ο̃ ονδεις Παυλε του αποστολε ευαγγελισασθαι. Ib. p. 8. Baſ. 856. D. Bened. [g] Ευαγγελισται μεν τεσσαρες, ευαγγελιον δε εν. Ib. p. 9. Baſ. 857. Bened. [h] Προσαξον αιαγνωναι τας των αποστολων πραξεις, και τας επιστολας. κ. λ. Ib. Sect. ii. p. 58. Baſ. 828. D. Bened. [i] Εφεσιοις δε επιστελλων φησι· Μιμητοι γινεσθε, οι πολε μαλλον τα εθνη. κ. λ. [Eph. ii. 11, 12, 13.] Sect. v. p. 148. Baſ. 867. c. Bened. Εφεσιοις δε επιστελλων ο αποστολος φησιν. Hb. p. 152. Baſ. 869. A. Ben. [k] —— καλα τον αποστολον. Ο γαρ νομος σκια των μελλοντων αγαθων. [Heb. x. 1.] Sect. iv. p. 114. Baſ. 853. A. Ben. Ο μεν επριθη σαρκι, ο δε ελιθασθη, και οι λοιποι εν φονω μαχαιρας απεθανον. Sect. iv. p. 125. Baſ. 857. Ben. [l] Η δε υπο Πετρε του αποστολε γεγραμμενη καλα την σοφιαν, φησιν, την δεδομενην τω αδελφω μου Παυλω. Sect. ii. p. 58. Baſ. 828. D. Bened. Vid. 2 Pet. iii. 15. [m] Πεισει δε σε και ο εξωθεν λογος· ολι γαρ ω ητηται, τουτω και δεδουλωται. Sect. i. p. 41. Baſ. 821. A. Bened.

CHAP. LXXVII.

JUVENCUS.

1. As Jerom has an article [a] for Juvencus in his Catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, I ſhall tranſcribe it at the bottom of the page. His name at length was C. Vettius Aquilinus Juvencus: he was a native of Spain, and a man of a good family. Jerom mentions a work in four books containing the hiſtory of our Lord, as recorded in the four goſpels, and another work: the former is ſtill extant. Jerom ſays, he lived in the time of Conſtantine: which alſo appears from the concluſion of the fore-mentioned poem. Juvencus is in [b] Trithemius: who takes particular notice of the two works, mentioned by Jerom; and ſuppoſeth, that Juvencus had written others, though he had not ſeen them.

2. Jerom ſeems to have been much pleaſed with Juvencus; for he has made honourable mention of him in his letter to [c] Magnus, and placed him in his [d] Chronicle, and quoted him in his Commentary upon [e] St. Matthew. That quotation relates to the preſents made by the wiſe men to our Saviour at his nativity, and the deſign of them; and may deſerve to be compared with the verſes of Sedulius [f], another Latin poet, in the fifth century, upon the ſame ſubject.

3. Juvencus is, certainly, a good witneſs to our four goſpels, and the things contained in them; but I do not think it needful to make many extracts. I only obſerve, that Juvencus ſeems to underſtand Matt. xxviii. 17. as if the evangeliſt ſaid, ſome

[a] Juvencus, nobiliſſimi generis, Hiſpanus, preſbyter, quatuor Evangelia hexametris verſibus pene ad verbum transferens, quatuor libros compoſuit, & nonnulla eodem metro ad ſacramentorum ordinem pertinentia. Floruit ſub Conſtantino Principe. De V. I. cap. 84. [b] De Script. Eccl. c. 62. [c] Juvencus preſbyter ſub Conſtantino hiſtoriam Domini Salvatoris verſibus explicavit: nec pertimuit, Evangelii majeſtatem ſub metri leges mittere. Ad Magn. ep. 83. T. iv. p. 657. [d] Juvencus preſbyter, natione Hiſpanus, Evangelia heroicis verſibus explicat. Chr. p. 181.

[e] Pulcherrime munerum ſacramenta Juvencus preſbyter uno verſiculo comprehendit: *Thus, aurum, myrrham, regique, ferique, Deque Deo ſtruat.* Ad Matt. cap. ii. p. 9. Conf. Juvenci Hiſtoriam Evangel. p. 57. F. ap Bib. Patr. Max. T. iv.

[f] Aurea naſcenti fudernat munera Regi
Thura dedere Deo, myrrham tribuere ſepulchro.
C. Sedulii Carm. Paſch. l. ii. p. 30. ver. 95, 96. edit. Cellar. 1704.

[g] Jamque Galilæos conſcenderat arva montes
Mandatis Chriſti concurſans turba ſuorum.
Cernitur ecce ſuis proles veneranda tonantis.
Illum procumbens ſancte chorus omnis adorat.
Nec tamen in cunctis pariter ſenſus manebat
Pectoribus virtus: nam pars dubitabat eorum.
Juvenc. Hiſt. Ev. l. iv. ll. p. 77. B.

Of

of Christ's disciples *still doubted*; but [h] Grotius, and some [i] others, think, he means only, that *some had doubted before*, but were now all satisfied. Theophylact [k] well deserves to be consulted upon this text.

CHAP. LXXVIII.

JULIUS FIRMICUS MATERNUS.

1. JULIUS FIRMICUS MATERNUS, not mentioned by Jerom, or any other ancient writers that we know of, wrote a book against heathenism, still extant, inscribed to the emperors Constantius and Constans. Cave says very well, that [a] his book of the Error of profane Religions was written some time between the years 340 and 350; I therefore place him at the year 345. Julius was [b] a convert from heathenism; but it does not appear, that he had any ecclesiastical character. It is more probable, that he was a layman, and a person of quality.

2. He speaks [c] of the power which Christians had over dæmons, or the heathen deities.

3. He speaks of the great progress which the Christian religion had made, as [d] obtaining in every part of the world, and superior to Gentilism in many places.

4. He applauds the emperors [e] for having destroyed the heathen temples, and ascribes their success in war to that conduct.

[h] Vid. Grot. ad Matt. xxviii. 17.

[i] See Dr. Benson's Reasonableness of the Christian Religion, p. 53. 54.

[k] In Evangelia, p. 183.

[a] De tempore, quo scriptus sit hic liber, certi aliquid potest: nisi quod intra annum post mortem Constantini junioris, anno 339. quo interfectus est Constans, scriptus sit. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 204. Et Pagi in Baron. An. 337. n. 12. & An. 350. n. 9. [b] At ego divinarum lectionum institutione forditos homines religioso sermone [illegible]. De Error. Profan. Religion. Cap. 7. p. 168. E. ap. *Bib. PP.* T. iv. & p. 424. ex edit. Jacob. Gron. Lugd. Batav. 1709. [c] Sic [illegible] deos vestros, cum hominibus notos esse cognoverint, religiosi sermonis flagella [illegible]. Sic in corpore hominum constituta verbo Dei spiritualium flammarum igne torquentur, & qui apud vos quasi dii coluntur, apud nos religiosæ fidei medela Christi gratia humano subjacentes imperio, & tormenta repugnantes sustinent, & vicis pœnis ultricibus subjugantur. Cap. 14. p. 170. B. Bib. p. 433. Gr.

[d] Quis locus in terra est, quem non Christi possederit nomen? qua sol oritur, qua occidit, qua erigitur septentrio, qua vergit auster, totum venerandi numinis majestas implevit. Et licet adhuc in quibusdam regionibus idololatriæ morientia palpitent membra, tamen in eo res est, ut e Christianis omnibus terris pestiferum hoc malum funditus amputetur. Cap. 21. p. 172. H. Bib. PP. 445. Gron.

Modicum tantum superest, ut legibus vestris prostratus Diabolus jaceat, ut extinctæ idololatriæ pereat funesta contagio. Cap. 21. p. 173. A. Bib. p. 446. Gr.

[e] Post excidia templorum in majus Dei

5. In

5. In divers parts of his book he earneſtly excites the emperors to reſtrain the [f] idolatrous rites of heatheniſm by their edicts, to demoliſh their temples, deprive [g] them of their ornaments. For this he makes uſe of many arguments from the Old [h] and the New Teſtament: but I cannot ſay, that I admire his temper, or perceive the ſolidity of his reaſonings, upon this occaſion.

6. I proceed to his teſtimony to the ſcriptures, which is very conſiderable; but it ought not to be expected, that I ſhould be very particular in ſo late a writer.

7. He ſpeaks [i] of the Old and the New Teſtament.

8. He has quoted moſt books of the Old Teſtament, and many of them by name.

9. He has many references to the four goſpels.

10. He quotes the goſpels of [k] Luke, and [l] John by name, and many paſſages from this laſt.

11. He received [m] the book of the Revelation, which he quotes often, and largely, and with great reſpect.

12. He ſhews great [n] reſpect for the holy ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament in general.

eſtis virtute provecti. Victiſtis hoſtes, propagaſtis imperium. &c. Cap. 29. p. 176. F. Bib. p. 463. Gronov. [f] Amputanda ſunt hæc, ſacratiſſimi Imperatores, penitus atque delenda, & ſeveriſſimis edictorum veſtrorum legibus corrigenda, ne diutius Romanum Orbem præſumtionis iſtius error funeſtus commaculet, ne peſtiferæ conſuetudinis convaleſcat improbitas. Cap. 17. Bib. PP. p. 171. A. Gronov. p. 437.

[g] Tollite, tollite, ſecuri, ſacratiſſimi Imperatores, ornamenta templorum. Deos iſtos aut monetæ ignis, aut metallorum coquat flamma. Donaria univerſa ud utilitatem veſtram, dominiumque transferte. Cap. 29. p. 176. F. Bib. p. 463. Gron.

[h] Sed & vobis, ſacratiſſimi Imperatores, ad vindicandum & puniendum hoc malum neceſſitas imperatur, & hoc vobis Dei ſummi lege præcipitur, ut ſeveritas veſtra idololatriæ facinus omnifariam perſequatur.—In Deuteronomio [cap. xiii.] lex præſcripta eſt. Cap. 30. p. 179. E. Bib. PP. 467. Gr. [i] Lapis hic——Chriſtus aut fidei fundamenta ſuſtentat, aut in angulo poſitus, diuorum parietum membra æquata moderatione conjungit, id eſt, veteris & novi Teſtamenti in uſum colligit gentes. Cap. 21. p. 172. H. Bib. 446. Gr. [k] Invenimus enim in Evangelio Lucæ: *Sint lumbi veſtri præcincti.* &c. Cap. 20. p. 172. D. Bib. 443. Gr. [l] Dicit enim in Evangelio Johannis. Cap. 19. p. 171. H. Bib. p. 441. Gr. [m] Secretiora pandentur arcana. In Apocalypſi, quis ſit ſpo[n]ſus, inveniemus. Cap. 20. p. 172. C. Bib. 443. Gr.

Hæc eadem nobis ſancta revelatione monſtrantur. Invenimus enim in Apocalypſi ita eſſe præſcriptum. Cap. 25. p. 174. E. Bib. PP. p. 453. Gron. [n] In hac probatione arcana Prophetarum venera[n]da pandantur. Adſiſtat nobis ſanctorum oraculorum fides. Joel divino Spiritu mi[n]nente ſic dicit. Cap. 20. p. 172. C. Bib. p. 442. Gron.

Ait enim de hoc Eſaias, inuente Spiritu Sancto. Cap. 21. p. 172. F. Bib. 444. Gr.

Hoc a venerando Propheta ſancto Spiritu præcanitur, & ex ore prophetico vox jubentis auditur. Ait enim Spiritus Sanctus. Cap. 25. p. 174. D. Bib. 452. Gr.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXIX.

CYRIL OF JERUSALEM.

I. *His time and works.* II. *A catalogue of the books of the Old and New Teſtament.* III. *A general remark.* IV. *Obſervations relating to the goſpels.* V. *Of the Acts of the apoſtles.* VI. *St. Paul's epiſtles.* VII. *The catholic epiſtles.* VIII. *The Revelation.* IX. *General diviſions, and reſpect for the ſacred ſcriptures.*

ST. JEROM has a ſhort chapter concerning Cyril, which I put at the bottom of the [a] page. I tranſlate only what relates to his writings: 'His Catechetical diſcourſes, which he 'compoſed in his youth, are ſtill extant.'

It is computed, that [b] Cyril was born about the year 315, that he was ordained preſbyter in 344 or 345, biſhop in 350 or 351, and died in 386. For farther particulars concerning his hiſtory, and his works, I refer to other [c] authors. The Catechetical Diſcourſes mentioned by Jerom, and which alone I ſhall have occaſion to quote, were compoſed in 347 or 348, while he was yet preſbyter only.

II. I begin with citing that diſcourſe, which contains a [d] catalogue of the books of the Old and New Teſtament.

'Theſe [e] things, ſays he, we are taught by the divinely in-'ſpired ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament. For there 'is one God of both Teſtaments, who in the Old Teſtament 'foretold the Chriſt, who has been manifeſted in the New.— 'Read the divine ſcriptures, the two and twenty books of the 'Old Teſtament, which were tranſlated by the ſeventy-two 'interpreters.—Read [f] thoſe two and twenty books, and have 'nothing to do with apocryphal writings. Theſe, and theſe 'only do you carefully meditate upon, which we ſecurely or 'openly read in the church. The apoſtles and ancient biſhops,

[a] Cyrillus Hieroſolymæ epiſcopus, ſæpe pulſus eccleſia, & receptus, ad extremum ſub Theodoſio Principe octo annis inconcuſſum epiſcopatum tenuit. Exſtant ejus κατηχησεις, quas in adoleſcentia compoſuit. De V. I. cap. 112. [b] Vid. Ant. Aug. Touttée Benedictin. Diſſ. i. De Vit. Cyril. Hieroſ. [c] Vid. Toutt. ut ſupr. Cyrill. edit. Tho. Milles Oxon. Cav. Hiſt. Lit. Ellem. Mem. Ec. T. viii. [d] Cat. iv. n. 33—36. Ed. Bened. n. 20—22. edit. Milles. [e] Ταυτα δε διδασκομεθα ημας αι θεοπνευστοι γραφαι της παλαιας τε και καινης διαθηκης. Cat. iv. n. 33. in. Bened.

[f] Τους τας εικοσι δυο βιβλους αναγινωσκε. Προς δε τα απογραφα μηδεν εχε κοινον· ταυτας μονας μελετα σπουδαιως, ας εν και εκκλησια μετα παρρησιας αναγινωσκομεν. Πολυ σε φρονιμωτεροι, και ευλαβεστεροι ησαν οι αποστολοι, και οι αρχαιοι επισκοποι, οι της εκκλησιας προεδροι, οι ταυτας παραδουτες· συ ουν, τεκνον της εκκλησιας ων, μη παραχαραττε τους θεσμους. κ. λ. Ib. c. 35.

[c] governors

'governors of the church, who have delivered these to us, 'were wiser and holier than thou. As a son of the church 'therefore, transgress not those bounds: meditate upon the 'books of the Old Testament, which, as has been already 'said, are two and twenty: and if you are desirous to learn, 'fix them in your memory, as I enumerate them one by one. 'Of the law the first are the five books of Moses: Genesis, 'Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy. Then Jesus 'the son of Nun, and the book of the Judges, with Ruth, 'making the seventh. Then follow the historical books, the 'first and second of the kingdoms, which according to the 'Hebrews are one book: in like manner the third and fourth 'book. And the first and second of the Chronicles, also 'reckoned by them one book. The first and second of Esdras 'too are computed one book. The twelfth is Esther. These 'are the historical books. The books written in verse are 'five: Job, and the book of Psalms, and the Proverbs, and 'Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs, the seventeenth book. 'After these are five prophetical books, the twelve prophets, 'being one book: of Isaiah one, of Jeremiah one, with Ba- 'ruch, and the Lamentations, and the Epistle: then Ezekiel, 'and the book of Daniel, the twenty-second book of the 'Old Testament.

'The[8] books of the New Testament are the four gospels 'only; the rest are falsly inscribed, and hurtful. Receive 'likewise the Acts of the twelve apostles: as also the seven 'catholic epistles of James and Peter, John and Jude: and 'the seal of all, and the last [work] of the disciples, the 'fourteen epistles of Paul. As for any beside these, let them 'be all held (A) in the second, or no rank. And whatever 'books are not read in the churches, those neither do thou 'read in private, as thou hast heard.'

III. This is the catalogue of the sacred books of scripture, publicly read at that time in the church of Jerusalem, and the only books from whence doctrines were to be proved. I leave it to my readers to make several remarks which I omit: but it must hence appear evident to all, that no books written

8 Της δε καινης διαθηκης, τα τεσσαρα μονα ευαγγελια· τα δε λοιπα ψευδεπιγραφα και βλαβερα τυγχανει——Δεχου δε και τας πραξεις των δωδεκα αποστολων· προς τουτοις δε και τας επτα Ιακωβου, και Πετρου, Ιωαννου, και Ιουδα, καθολικας επιστολας· επιστολην δε των παντων, και τελευταιαν το τελειωτου, των Παυλου δεκατεσσαρας επιστολας. Τα δε λοιπα παντα εξω κειστω εν νοθοις. Και οσα μεν εν εκκλησιαις μη ανα γινωσκεται, ταυτα μηδε συ καλα παντων ακουσας, καθως προειρηκας. Ib. n. 36. p. 69.

(A) Reliqua vero omnia extra in fe[illegible] [ac nullo] ordine habeantur. Vetus Bo- Rediviva.

after

after the times of the apostles, or by any men who were not either apostles, or companions of apostles, were esteemed by the church of Jerusalem a part of the New Testament, or of the rule of faith.

IV. I now add some other observations concerning the latter part of the Catalogue, and the gospels in particular.

1. One thing observable is the order in which the books of the New Testament are placed: the gospels, the Acts of the apostles, the catholic epistles, and the epistles of St. Paul. In like manner in another place: 'There [h] yet remain many other 'texts, that might be alleged from the Acts of the apostles, 'the catholic epistles, and the fourteen epistles of Paul.'

2. Cyril says, that [i] St. Matthew wrote his gospel in Hebrew.

3. He had in his copies the [k] first chapter of St. Matthew's gospel.

4. He says, that [l] John the Baptist connected the Old and New Testament.

5. Moreover he was of opinion, that [m] baptism had its original from the same John.

6. There was no doxology at the end of the Lord's Prayer in Cyril's copies. The prayer in him concludes after this manner: *And* [n] *lead us not into temptation, O Lord, but deliver us from evil.* Amen.

7. He quotes [o] St. Mark's gospel expressly.

8. Quoting St. John's gospel, he gives him the title of [p] the divine.

V. The book of the Acts of the apostles [q] is often and largely quoted by Cyril in his Catechetical Discourses, and as divine scripture.

He is very clear, that [r] the epistle of the council of Jerusalem, recorded in Acts xv. was sent to all Gentile Christians in general.

[h] Λειπει γαρ ημιν πολλα δε απο της [illegible] ——λειπει δε πολλα και εκ των καθολικων, και εκ των Παυλου δεκατεσσαρων επιστολων. Cat. 17. n. 20. p. [illegible]

[i] Ματθαιος ο γραψας το ευαγγελιον, εβραιδι γλωσση τουτο εγραψε. Cat. 14. p. 212. D.

[k] Εαι τοινυν ακουσης [illegible] λεγοντος. Βιβλος γενεσεως Ιησου [illegible] Δαβιδ. Cat. 11. n. 5. in.

[l] Ιωαννης ο βαπτιστης, ο μεγιστος μεν εν [illegible], αρχηγος δε της καινης διαθηκης, [illegible] τινα συναπτων αμφοτερας. Cat. [illegible] 19. p. 146. B.

[m] Παλαιας το [illegible] καινης διαθηκης αρχη το βαπτισμα. Ιωαννης γαρ ην αρχηγος. Cat. 3. n. 6.

[n] Vid. Cat. 23. cap. 17, 18.

[o] Ο γαρ εν τριτη ωρα σταυρωθεις, ως Μαρκος φησι. Cat. 17. n. 19.

[p] Οι των αγιων ευαγγελιων ακροαται Ιωαννη τω θεολογω πεισθωμεν. Cat. 12. c. 1. in.

[q] Και μοι λαβε των λογων αποδειξιν απο της θειας γραφης· Κορνηλιος ην ανηρ δικαιος —— Cat. 3. n. iv. p. 41. C. Σιμων, ο εν ταις πραξεσι των αποστολων. —— Cat. 6. n. 14. in.

[r] Και γραφουσιν οι αποστολοι και πρεσβυτεροι πασι τοις εθνεσιν καθολικην επιστολην. Cat. 4. cap. 28. Vid. & Cat. 17. n. xxix.

VI. Cyril, as we have seen, received fourteen epistles of the apostle Paul: he mentions [s] that number of Paul's epistles several times.

VII. St. James's epistle, in his enumeration, is the first of the twelve catholic epistles. If by the author of that epistle he meant the brother of our Lord, and the first bishop of Jerusalem, he did not reckon him to be an apostle, as appears by several [t] places. Touttée particularly acknowledges as much in a [u] note.

VIII. The book of the Revelation seems not to have been received by Cyril, or the church of Jerusalem, in his time. It is not mentioned in the catalogue above transcribed: it may be supposed to be there excluded by him, and ranked among apocryphal scriptures, not expressly named. And there is another passage which countenanceth that supposition: for, speaking of Antichrist, he quotes [x] Daniel, the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew, the second chapter of the second epistle to the Thessalonians: but declines all notice of the Revelation, and perhaps reflects upon it as [y] apocryphal. I therefore transcribe below a note [z] of the Benedictine editor upon this place.

IX. 1. I put down an instance of general divisions, where at once are mentioned [a] Old and New Testament, law and

[s] Τεθαυμακα αληθως της τȣ αγιȣ πνευματος οικονομιαν· πως τας μεν των αλλων επιστολας εις ολιγον περιεγραψεν αριθμον· Παυλῳ δε τῳ προτερον διωκτῃ γραψαι δεκατεσσαρας επιστολας εχαρισατο. Cat. 10. n. 18.

Επιλειψει γαρ με διηγȣμενον ο χρονος, ει εβȣλομην λεγειν τα λειποντα περι αγιȣ πνευματος εκ τȣ Παυλȣ τεσσαρες και δεκα επιστολων. Cat. 17. n. 34. Vid. ibid. n. 20.

[t] —— εχεις δωδεκα μαρτυρας. Ει τοις δωδεκα απιστȣσι, τȣς πεντακοσιȣς δεχεσθωσαν. Επειτα ωφθη Ιακωβῳ τῳ εαυτȣ μεν αδελφῳ επισκοπῳ δε πρωτῳ της παροικιας ταυτης. Cat. 14. n. 21. p. 216. A.

—— αλλ' ηδη και τοις αποστολοις, και Ιακωβῳ τῳ ταυτης της εκκλησιας επισκοπῳ σπȣδη γεγονε. Cat. 4. n. 28. p. 66. A.

[u] Notandum, sive in hoc loco, in quo sancti Jacobi auctoritatem & dignitatem maxime extollit Cyrillus, sive Cat. 4. n. 28. solam illi episcopalem dignitatem tribui, nusquam apostolicam. Imo eum utrobique ab Apostolis secernere videtur. Touttée, not. 1. p. 216.

[x] Vid. Cat. 15. n. 12, 13, & seq.

[y] Βασιλευσει δε ο αντιχριστος τρια και ημισυ ȣτη μονα. Ουκ εξ αποκρυφων λεγομεν, αλλ' εν τȣ Δανιηλ. Φησι γαρ· Και δοθησεται εν χειρι αυτȣ εως καιρȣ, και καιρων, και ημισυ καιρȣ. Cat. 15. n. 16. p. 232. Vid. Dan. vii. 25. Et conf. Apocal. xii. 14.

[z] Visum est nonnullis Apocalypsim hic a Cyrillo notari. Quod ratione non caret. Etiam sane in apocryphorum nomine habuit, qui cum libros quos in canone non comprehendit apocryphorum nomine comprehendit. Cat. 4. num. 33. Apocalypsim praetermittit in recensione librorum Novi Testamenti, ibid. n. 36. Praeterea veteres [illegible] nes, quos in hac Catechesi sequitur, [illegible] Antichristi exponentes semper Apocalypsim Danieli conjungunt. Vide [illegible] Hippolytum — Non igitur imprudens Cyrillus, sed penitus certo consilio Apocalypsis in toto hoc argumento commemorationem praetermisit, hujusque praetermissionem rationem hoc loco allegare videtur. [illegible] not. 2. p. 232.

[a] —— [illegible] μεν εν νομῳ και προφηταις, [illegible] ευαγγελιοις και αποστολοις αλλ' εν [illegible] το αυτο πνευμα αγιον, το εν [illegible] καινη διαθηκη τας θειας λαλοσαν [illegible] Cat. 17. n. 5. p. 267. A.

prophet,

prophets, goſpel and apoſtles: where likewiſe it is ſaid, that all thoſe ſcriptures were dictated by one and the ſame Spirit.

2. I add other paſſages, expreſſing the peculiar regard which was ſhewn to the ſame ſcriptures.

3. Why [b] do you curiouſly inquire after what the Holy Spirit has not written in the ſcripture?

4. This [c] we do not ſay of our own invention, but upon the ground of the ſcriptures received [or read] in the church.

5. He [d] continually alleges the books of ſcripture in proof of what he teaches. He ſays, that [e] not any the leaſt article of faith ought to be proved by mere probable reaſon only, without the divine ſcriptures.

6. The creed, he ſays, is [f] a ſummary of the principal doctrines of religion collected out of the ſcriptures.

7. He calls his hearers [g] diſciples of the New Teſtament.

8. He recommends it to his hearers, to [h] nouriſh their ſouls, and eſtabliſh themſelves by reading the divine oracles.

9. He ſays, that [k] they of them who are ſtudious, may by frequent reading the divine ſcriptures, learn more fully what he delivered briefly only for want of more time.

CHAP. LXXX.

THE AUDIANS.

1. THEODORET placeth the Audians [a] in the time of Valens, who began his reign in 364: but Tillemont [b] thinks it beſt to follow Epiphanius, who indeed expreſsly ſays, that [c]

[b] Τι τοινυν πολυπραγμονεις α μηδε το πνευμα ειρηκεν εγραψεν εν ταις γραφαις. Cat. 11. n. 12. [c] Ταυτα δε διδασκομεν, ουκ ιδιοσολοισθουντες, αλλ' εκ των θειων εκκλησιαζομενων γραφων. Cat. 15. n. 13.

[d] Και αλλας δε πλειονας μαρτυριας εχων εκ των θειων γραφων——αρκεσθησομαι ταις ειρημεναις. Cat. 15. n. 33.

Και μοι λαβε των λογων την αποδειξιν απο της θειας γραφης. Cat. 3. n. 4. p. 41. C. [e] Δει γαρ περι των θειων και αγιων της πιστεως μυστηριων, μηδε το τυχον ειναι των θειων παραδιδοσθαι γραφων. Cat. 4. n. 17. [f] Ου γαρ ως εδοξεν ανθρωπινως συνετεθη τα της πιστεως, αλλ' εκ πασης γραφης τα κεφαλαια συλλεχθεντα μιαν αναπληροι την της πιστεως διδασκαλιαν. Cat. 5. n. xii. p. 78. [g] Καινης διαθηκης μαθηται. Cat. 1. n. 1.

[h] Θρεψον συ την ψυχην αναγνωσι θειαις. Cat. 1. n. 6. p. 19. [i] Και παντοιως την σεαυτου ψυχην ασφαλιζου πιστεως, προσευχαις,—και θειων λογιων αναγνωσμασιν. Cat. 4. n. 37. p. 70. [k] Των σπουδαιων εν υμιν εκ της πυκνοτερας των θειων γραφων αναγνωσεως ταυτα μαθησονται. Cat. 17. n. 34. [a] Hiſt. Ec. l. iv. cap. 10.

[b] Mem. Ec. T. vi. Les Audiens. p. 692.

[c] Ουτος ο Αυδιος τελων αρχηγος γενεσθαι εν χρονοις αρειω. κ. λ. H. 70. n. 1.

Audius

Audius lived at the same time with Arius; and says also, that Uranius, who succeeded Audius, was[d] dead when he wrote, about 376. I place Audius at about 350. If he was then dead, he[e] still flourished in his followers, which were somewhat numerous.

2. Audius was[f] a Syrian of Mesopotamia, much esteemed in his own country, as[g] Epiphanius acknowledges, for holiness of life, and zeal for the faith: who[h] seeing some things done in the churches, which he thought not to be right, reproved and admonished the bishops and presbyters to the face; telling them, that such things ought not to be. In particular, he reproved the rich clergy, and such of them as led a luxurious course of life. This brought upon him abundance of ill treatment, which he endured for some time, till at length he separated from the church. So Epiphanius. Theodoret's account is not very[i] different.

3. As his reproofs were offensive to the clergy, and many people began to follow him, the bishops[k] accused him to the emperor, (whether Constantine, or one of his successors, is not certain:) who banished him into Scythia: where the good man lived for some time, and where he was useful. For[l] he converted a good number of Goths to the Christian religion.

4. The Audians kept Easter on the fourteenth day of the moon, after the manner of some other churches in the East. They said, that[m] this was the ancient custom, confirmed[n] by the Apostolical Constitutions, and that the bishops of Nice had innovated in complaisance to Constantine.

5. They are said by some to have been[o] Anthropomorphites: and there are other things laid to their charge, which I do not think myself obliged to take particular notice of. Moreover

[d] Ibid. n. 15. [e] Πολλοι δε και μετα την εκεινου τελευτην γεγονασι συν αυτοις τε και μετ' αυτον του ταγματος αυτου επισκοποι, ουρανιος τις της μεσης των ποταμων. κ. λ. Ibid. n. 15. [f] Αυδαιος δε τις συρος και το γενος και την φωνην. Thdrt. ib. [g] Ην δε ο ανηρ απο της μεσης των ποταμων ορμωμενος, διαφανης τις κατα την εαυτου πατριδα, δια το ακραιφνες του βιου, και κατα θεον ζηλου, και πιστεως. Epiph. H. 70. n. 1. [h] Ος πολλακις θεωμενος τα εν ταις εκκλησιαις γενομενα, εις προσωπον επισκοπων τε και πρεσβυτερων, ελεγκτικως αντετιθει, τοις τοιουτοις λεγων· ου χρη ταυτα ουτως γενεσθαι, ουκ οφειλει ταυτα ουτως πραττεσθαι. Epiph. H. 70. n. i.

[i] Φασκουσι δε των εκκλησιαστικων απεσχοινισθαι συλλογων, επειδαν δε τινες μεν τον επαρατον εισπραττουσι τοκον, τινες δε γυναιξιν ου νομῳ γαμου συνοικουντες παρανομως βιουσιν. κ. λ. H. E. l. iv. cap. 10.

[k] Epiph. ibid. n. 14. Et Conf. Theod. ubi supra. [l] —— πολλους δε γοτθων κατηχησεν. Epiph. ibid. [m] Id. ib. n. ix. [n] n. x. [o] Vadianos, quos appellat Epiphanius, & schismaticos, non hæreticos vult videri, alii vocant Anthropomorphitas: quod rusticitati eorum tribuit Epiphanius, parcens eis, ne dicantur hæretici. Eos autem separasse se dicit, culpando episcopos divites, & pascha cum Judæis celebrando. Augustin. Hær. 1. Conf. Theodoret. H. E. l. iv. c. 10.

Epiphanius

Epiphanius does again and again say, that [p] they were orthodox upon the Trinity, and other points, and that they were only schismatics, not heretics.

6. Epiphanius does in one place say, that [q] they made use of apocryphal books, and were fond of them: but he does not expressly mention the titles of any of them.

7. The Audians are not in Philaster: it is likely he had no knowledge of them.

8. A learned modern, well acquainted with ecclesiastical antiquity, speaks [r] honourably of Audius.

CHAP. LXXXI.

HILARY OF POICTIERS.

1. ACCORDING to Cave, Hilary of Poictiers flourished about the year 354. As Jerom has placed him among his illustrious men, I transcribe [a] below a part of his chapter: where are mentioned Hilary's Commentaries upon the Psalms, the gospel of Matthew, the book of Job, and the Canticles: where likewise the character of his writings may be seen in part.

2. In his [b] Prologue to the Commentaries on the Psalms is a catalogue of the books of the Old Testament, which I need only refer to.

3. Hilary appears to have received [c] the epistle to the Hebrews, which was not universally received by the Latin Christians.

[p] Εἰσὶ δὲ κατὰ πάντα τὴν πίστιν ἔχοντες, ὡς ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία. Synops. p. 808. B. Vid. & H. 70. n. 1, 2. & Ancorat. n. 14. [q] Κέχρηνται δὲ καὶ ἀποκρύφοις πολλοῖς κατακόρως. Synops. p. 808. B.

[r] Certe offensum eorum [episcoporum] vitiis, & intolerabili malitia magnum eo tempore virum Audium, discessionem ab Ecclesia fecisse, multosque homines alioqui non malos propterea eum secutos esse, cum mores non ferrent eorum, quorum alioqui doctrinam non improbabant. Balduin. De Legib. Constantin. l. i. cap. 6.

[a] Hilarius urbis Pictavorum in Aquitania episcopus, factione Saturnini Arelatensis episcopi, de synodo Biterrensi in Phrygiam relegatus duodecim adversus Arianos confecit libros: & alium librum de Synodis, quem ad Galliarum episcopos scripsit: & in Psalmos commentarios, primum videlicet & secundum, & a quinquagesimo primo usque ad sexagesimum secundum, & a centesimo decimo octavo usque ad extremum. In quo opere imitatus Origenem, nonnulla etiam de suo addidit.——Et Commentarii in Matthæum, & tractatus in Job, quos de Græco Origenis ad sensum transtulit: et alius elegans liber contra Auxentium: & nonnullæ ad diversos Epistolæ. Aiunt quidam, scripsisse eum & in Cantica Canticorum. Sed a nobis hoc opus ignoratur. Mortuus est Pictavis, Valentiniano & Valente regnantibus. De V. I. cap. 100.

[b] Prol. in. libr. Psalm. p. 9. Paris: 1693.

[c] Maxime cum scriptum sit: *Sunt enim efficientes Spiritus, in ministerium missi propter eos, qui hæreditabunt salutem.* [Hebr. i. 14.] In Ps. cxxix. n. 7. p. 440. A.

4. The book of the Revelation was generally received by the Latins: it is several times quoted by Hilary, and [c] as John's: whom he also supposeth to be * John the apostle.

5. I need not enlarge farther in the account of this writer.

CHAP. LXXXII.

AERIUS.

1. AERIUS, [a] of Pontus, or Lesser Armenia, was [b] living when Epiphanius wrote in 376. He was a thorough [c] Arian: but the principles by which he was distinguished were such as these: He [d] denied the difference between a bishop and a presbyter, saying, they are one order, office, and dignity. He was likewise of opinion, that [e] no offerings ought to be made for the dead: forasmuch as such things tended to make men think that the practice of piety is not necessary; and that [f] if near the period of life, they could by presents or legacies, or some how or other, procure friends to pray for them after their death, they might escape the just punishment of their sins. They likewise denied the obligation of set fasts and feasts. The [g] keeping of Easter, they said, was unnecessary: for *Christ our passover had been sacrificed for us*, 1 Cor. v. 7. To

—— facturam autem per id quod Paulus ad Hebræos dixit. *Tanto melior factus angelis, quanto excellentius ab his possidet nomen.* Et rursum: *Unde, fratres sancti, vocationis cœlestis participes*, &c. De Trinit. l. iv. p. 832. Vid. Hebr. i. 4. n. 1. [d] Quod autem hæc solida lignis hujus non inutilia sint, sed salutaria gentibus, sanctus Johannes in Apocalypsi testatur. [Apoc. cap. xxii.] In Ps. i. p. 226. E.

[c] —— electus ex publicano Matthæus in Apostolum, & ex familiaritate Domini revelatione cœlestium mysteriorum dignus Johannes. De Trin. l. vi. n. 20. p. 891. D. Vel ad sepulchrum prior quoque Petro currens adeptus es? vel intra conclave angelorum, & signatorum librorum insolubiles nexus —— tam pia tibi hæc per Agnum ducem revelata doctrina est? Ibid. n. 43. p. 908. C. [a] Epiph. p. 905. B.

[b] H. 75. n. 1. p. 905. A. Vid. et Synopsi. p. 809. B. [c] Τῆ μεν πίστει ων αρειανος τελειοτατος. Synops. p. 800. Vid. & H. 75. n. 1. [d] Φασκει δε μηδε διαφορον επισκοπου πρεσβυτερου. Synops. p. 809.——μια γαρ εστι ταξις και μια, φησι, τιμη και εν αξιωμα. H. 75. n. 3. [e] Μη δειν, φησι, σφαγια υπερ των προκεκοιμημενων. p. 809. B.

[f] Τινι τω λογω μαλα δικαιον σφαζειν φησι, ονιναδια τελουσιν; Ευχεσθαι γαρ ζωσι, η απολυσιαν εποιησε, τι ωφελουσι οι τεθνηκοτες; Ει δε ολως εστιν ωφελεια της εκειθεν απολυσεως, αρα γαρ μηδεις ευσεβησει, μηδε καθαιρησεται, αλλα κερδανει φιλους δι' ων δυναται τροπω, ηδει χρημασι πεισας ηδη φιλους αξιωσας εν τη τελευτη, και εγχισθεισαι περι αυτω, ινα μη τι εχει πασχη, μηδε τα υπ' αυτου γενομενα των αμαρτηματων εκζητηθη. H. 75. n. 3. p. 907. A. B. [g] Τι εστι το πασχα οπερ σας υμιν επιτελεσαι; Ιουδαικως σαββατισμους προσαναγκης. Ου γαρ χρη, φησι, το πασχα επιτελειν. κ. λ. Ib. p. 907. A.

keep

keep Eaſter [or paſſover] now, was *to give heed to Jewiſh fables*, Tit. i. 14. and 1 Tim. i. 4. Set[h] faſts too, they ſaid, were Jewiſh ordinances. If I have a mind to faſt, I will take the time that beſt ſuits me. Not but that they would ſometimes faſt on the fourth day of the week, as others do: however, they ſaid, they did it not as bound thereto, but only of their free-will: which laſt particular is ſufficient to ſhew, that what Epiphanius alſo ſays of their chooſing to faſt on the Lord's-day is a calumny, and an unrighteous aggravation of their principle.

2. Theſe then were the ſentiments of this people: this is the inſtitution of Aërius and his followers. But how came they to differ ſo much from the reſt of the world? from moſt of the Arians, as well as the Homoüſians? A neceſſary enquiry: for all hereſy is ſuppoſed to ſpring from ſome evil root. Well, what was it? Let us attend. It is ſaid, that Aërius was a friend of Euſtathius, a man of Arian principles too: and that when Euſtathius was made biſhop of Sebaſte in Leſſer Armenia, about the year 355, Aërius was much[k] concerned that he was not biſhop likewiſe. Euſtathius endeavoured to oblige him. He ordained Aërius preſbyter, and appointed him governor of the hoſpital in the city: but Aërius was ſtill uneaſy, and therefore ſet up a new diſcipline: a ſtory that does not ſeem to me to have the appearance of probability: nor are his principles ſo unreaſonable, but that, without being under the biaſs of any prejudice, he might think them founded in ſcripture.

3. Theſe people, as we learn from Epiphanius, met with great difficulties. Aërius[l] and his followers were excluded from churches, and cities, and villages: and being obliged to wander abroad, they ſuffered great hardſhips, eſpecially in the winter and cold weather.

[h] ... Synopſ. p. 829. C.

... Obιν πας' αι- ... πολλων εν κυριακη ... και προσαββατων εθνικη. ... και τεσσαρα ... αλλ' ιδια προαιρεσει φησι. H. 75. p. 902. B. C.

[i] Πασα γαρ ... αρχης τελες η κεινου ξιας, η σπαρσεως, ταυτα ... η επιθυμιας ορεξις, η ζηλος προς τον θεον, η παροξυσμος, η τροπε- τεια. Epiph. H. 75. n. 1. p. 904, 905.

[k] Αδικα ενεφανιζετο τοις περι αυτον, τοις ξενοις χειον αυτω ενεσεισθαι, ητις εν τη πολει καθεδραι επεχειρησεν. κ. τ. Ibid. p. 905. C. ... απεκλειετο δε αυτος μετα των αυτου απο των εκκλησιων, και αστεων, και χωρων, και των αλλων πολεων. Πολλακις δε μεσα πολλω οχλω του ιδιου συνεργου, αξιονει διελθειν, σταθεις τι, και επι πολεως αυλιζομενου, εν υλαις καθαρευ- ουσαις. H. 75. n. 3. p. 906.

4. From [n] Augustine's manner of speaking we may be apt to think, that he knew of some such people at the time of writing his book of Heresies in the year 428. I have placed a large part of his article at the bottom of the page. They are also in [o] Philaster: but he does not seem to have been well informed concerning them: however, he says, there were then • many of them in Pamphylia.

5. Tillemont considers these people as [p] Calvinists. For certain, they went much upon the presbyterian plan: and they may induce us to think, that in most times there have been some who opposed growing superstition in the church, and asserted the freedom of the gospel: but being generally opposed, and with much violence, they could not increase to any great number, and in time they were reduced to nothing. We formerly saw another like instance [q] in the people of Neocæsarea, disciples of Gregory, generally called ¶Thaumaturgus.

CHAP. LXXXIII.

The Council of Laodicea.

I. *A Catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament.* II. *Remarks.*

I. The 59th and 60th, or, according to another computation, the 58th and 59th, that is, the two last canons of the council of Laodicea in Lydia, or Phrygia Pacatiana, are to this [r] purpose.

'That [b] private Psalms ought not to be read [or said] in 'the church, nor any books, not canonical, but only the ca- 'nonical books of the Old and New Testament.'

'The books of the Old Testament, which ought to be 'read, are these: 1. The [c] Genesis [generation] of the world. '2. The Exodus out of Egypt. 3. Leviticus. 4. Numbers.

n Aëriani ab Aërio quodam sunt, qui cum esset Presbyter, doluisse fertur, quod episcopus non potuit ordinari: Et in Arianorum hæresin lapsus, propria quoque dogmata addidisse nonnulla, dicens, offerri pro dormientibus non oportere: nec statuta solleminter celebranda esse jejunia, sed, cum quisque voluerit, jejunandum, ne videatur esse sub lege. Dicebat etiam Presbyterum ab Episcopo nulla differentia debere discerni. August. Hær. 53. o —— & in provincia Pamphylia quam plurimi commorantur. Ibid. p S. Basile, n. 39. Mem. T. ix. q See Vol. iii. p. 37. 39, 40. 53, 54. r Ap. Labbé Concil, T. ii. Bevereg. Cod. T. i.

b Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδὲ ἀκανόνιστα βιβλία, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ κανονικὰ τῆς καινῆς καὶ παλαιᾶς διαθήκης. Can. 59. c Γένεσις κόσμου· Ἔξοδος ἐξ αἰγύπτου.

• Deutero-

'Deuteronomy. 6. Joſhua the ſon of Nun. 7. Judges, 'with Ruth. 8. Eſther. 9. The firſt and ſecond book of the 'Kingdoms. 10. The third and fourth book of the Kingdoms. '11. The firſt and ſecond book of the Remains [or Chroni-'cles.] 12. The firſt and ſecond book of Eſdras. 13. The 'book of 150 Pſalms. 14. The Proverbs of Solomon. 15. 'The Eccleſiaſtes. 16. The Song of Songs. 17. Job. 18. 'The Twelve Prophets. 19. Iſaiah. 20. Jeremiah and Ba-'ruch, the Lamentations and the Epiſtles. 21. Ezekiel. 22. 'Daniel. The books of the New Teſtament are theſe: the 'four goſpels, according to Matthew, according to Mark, 'according to Luke, according to John: the Acts of the 'apoſtles: the ſeven catholic epiſtles: of James one, of Peter 'two, of John three, of Jude one, the fourteen epiſtles of 'Paul: to the Romans one, to the Corinthians two, to the 'Galatians one, to the Epheſians one, to the Philippians one, to 'the Coloſſians one, to the Theſſalonians two, to the Hebrews 'one, to Timothy two, to Titus one, to Philemon one.'

II. I ſhall now propoſe ſome obſervations upon this catalogue, and the council to which it is aſcribed.

1. In this catalogue are omitted, for the Old Teſtament, the books of Judith, Tobit, Wiſdom, Eccleſiaſticus, the Maccabees: and in the New the Revelation; either not reckoning it a work of John the apoſtle and evangeliſt, or not eſteeming it proper to be publicly read in the church.

2. The time of this council is not certain: ſome have placed it before the council of Nice; others [d] between the council of Antioch held in 341, and the council of Conſtantinople in 381: ſome in 365, others in [e] 363, which ſeems as likely as any.

3. Though the time of this council cannot be exactly ſettled; I think it cannot be denied, that there was a council held at Laodicea in the fourth century, which made many regulations concerning eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. This may be reckoned evident from the notice taken of it in the ſixth general council at Conſtantinople, and other councils: and from its being particularly mentioned by [f] Theodoret, who wrote within ſixty or ſeventy years after the ſuppoſed time of it.

4. The chief deſign of that council appears to have been to deliver rules of church diſcipline. Nevertheleſs, the biſhops

[d] That was the opinion of Marca. See Tillem. Mem. E. T. vi. Les Ariens Art. 109. & Pagi Ann. 314. n. 25.

[e] Pagi ubi ſupr. Baſn. Ann. 363. n. 19.

[f] Ου δε χαριν και συνελθουσα συνοδος εν λαοδικεια της φρυγιας νομω κεκωλυται το τοις αγγελοις προσευχεσθαι. Theod. in Coloſſ. cap. iii. 18. T. 3. p. 355.

there assembled may have been induced, for some reasons, to publish a catalogue of sacred books, to be publickly read in the churches. Accordingly, the last canon about scripture, is generally received as genuine, though it may not be quite so unquestioned as the other preceding canons. Some have observed, that this canon is omitted by Dionysius Exiguus, and that it is wanting[g] in some ancient manuscripts. In answer to which I would say, that perhaps the omission by Dionysius[h] may be accounted for: or it may be an accidental thing, of which no account can be easily given: and his omitting it, however it came to pass, may have been an occasion of its being wanting in some manuscripts.

5. Some are of opinion, that this council[k] consisted of Arian bishops, and that it was conducted by Theodosius bishop of Philadelphia in Lydia, a man of the Arian party: though some[k] dispute this, it may be reckoned no improbable supposition. Tillemont indeed imagines, that[l] this is a disparagement of this council not to be admitted: and that it would be melancholy to think, that a council, the canons of which have been always received by the church, should have been only a council of men enemies of the faith, and separated from the catholic communion. But Pagi[m] thinks this no just ground of offence.

6. This council has not been equally[n] esteemed by all. Possibly learned men, according to the different notions of the party they have been engaged in, have been led to disregard the last canon: some, because of its omitting the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, and others, because it has not the book of the Revelation. Basnage, in his history of the church, observes, that[o] protestants and catholics have equally disparaged this synod.

g 'I may add, that the canon of scripture, which we go by, groundeth much 'upon that enumeration subjoined to the 'last canon of the council of Laodicea, 'which yet is not found in the very ancient 'manuscripts. Gretser mentioneth one, 'and I meet with another here at home.' John Gregory's Posthuma, p. 85.

h Daillé [Use of the Fathers, p. 45, 46. Lond. 1675.] endeavours to account for that omission of Dionysius. i Pagi Ann. 314. n. 25. k Basnag. Hist. de l'Eglise, liv. viii. c. 8. n. ii. p 437.

l Les Ariens, Art. 139. m Nec mirum, Concilium ab hæreticis habitum Codicis canonum ecclesiæ universæ partem facere, cum ab ecclesia receptum fuerit, & nihil ejus moribus contrarium contineat. Pagi Ann. 314. n. 25. n Concilii Laodiceni canon ultimus, qui catalogum exhibit librorum scripturæ, apud Dionysium exiguum non invenitur. Et præterea, si vel admittatur, synodus tamen ipsa exiguæ auctoritatis est, neque censeri potest vocem ecclesiæ Græcæ illius temporis exhibere; tum quod particularis tantum fuit quorundam in Lydia episcoporum, tum quod auctor canonum prædicatur fuisse quidam Theodosius —— partibus Arianorum favens. Lampe Proleg. in Joann. l. 1. c. 7. n. 24. o As before, n. 3. p. 438.

7. Finally,

7. Finally, it ought to be obſerved, that this was a particular council only, conſiſting of thirty or forty biſhops of Lydia, and neighbouring countries. Indeed it is ſaid, that the canons of this council were received and adopted by ſome general councils in after times. Neverthleſs, perhaps it would be difficult to ſhew, that thoſe general councils received the laſt canon, and exactly approved the catalogue of ſacred books therein contained, without any addition or diminution, as we now have it.

8. I have thought it not improper to put down theſe ſeveral obſervations concerning this famous canon of the council of Laodicea, which are referred to the conſideration of the candid and attentive reader.

CHAP. LXXXIV.

EPIPHANIUS BISHOP IN CYPRUS.

I. *His hiſtory.* II. *Three catalogues of the books of the Old Teſtament.* III. *A Catalogue of the books of the New Teſtament.* IV. *His teſtimony to the ſeveral books of the New Teſtament.* V. *General Titles and diviſions, and reſpect for the ſcriptures.* VI. *Remarkable paſſages.* VII. *The ſum of his teſtimony.*

I. ST. JEROM has a ſhort chapter for [a] Epiphanius, which I put in the margin without tranſlating it.

He elſewhere ſpeaks of Epiphanius with high [b] commendations: and alſo ſays, that [c] he was a man of five languages: that is, he underſtood Greek, Syriac, Hebrew, Egyptian, and Latin in part.

Epiphanius was a native of Paleſtine: he was choſen biſhop of Conſtantia, formerly called Salamis, the metropolis of the iſland of Cyprus, in 367 or 368. He was living, and ſtill wrote, as St. Jerom aſſures us, in 392, when he compoſed his catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers. It is ſuppoſed that he

[a] Epiphanius, Cypri Salaminæ epiſcopus, ſcripſit adverſum omnes hæreſes libros, & multa alia, quæ ab eruditis propter res, a ſimplicioribus propter verba lectitantur. Supereſt uſque hodie, & in extrema jam ſenectute varia cudit opera. De. V. I. c. 114. [b] —— patrem pene omnium epiſcoporum, & antiquæ reliquias ſanctitatis & opere & ſermone deſpicias. Ad Pamm. Ep. 38. al. 61. T. iv. p. 313. m.

[c] Crimini ei dandum eſt, quare Græcam, Syriacam, & Hebræam & Ægyptiam linguam, ex parte & Latinam, noverit? Adv. Ruf. l. ii. p. 417. f. Et Papa Epiphanius πενταγλωττος. Adv. Ruf. l. iii. p. 443. in.

died in the beginning of the year 403. In[d] the year 373, or the beginning of 374, he wrote the book entitled the Ancorate; his Panarium, or large work against Heresies, he[e] seems to have begun in 374. For learned men have observed from the work itself, that his article against the Montanists was composed in 375, and that in the year 376, he was got as far as that of the Manichees, and more than half of the whole work. In 392, he[f] wrote his treatise of Weights and Measures. For a farther account of Epiphanius's life and writings I refer to[g] others.

II. In the remaining works of Epiphanius, we find the books of the Old Testament thrice enumerated, and once those of the New. I intend to give an account of all his catalogues.

1. The catalogue, which I shall first observe, is in[h] the fourth section of the books of Weights and Measures. He reckons the sacred books of the Old Testament to be in number twenty-seven, but reduced to twenty-two, the number of the letters of the Jewish alphabet. The books last mentioned are Esdras, (meaning our Ezra and Nehemiah:) and Esther. After which he adds; 'For[i] as for those two books, the Wisdom of Solomon, and the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach, — they likewise are useful, but not brought into the same number with the foregoing; and therefore are not placed in the ark of the covenant.' In the next section he observes, that[k] the epistles of Baruch were not received by the Jews, but only the Lamentations, added to the book of Jeremiah.

2. In the twenty-third section of the same work, the Jewish books are again enumerated, and put down in their Hebrew names; where the three last mentioned are the two books of Esdras and Esther.

3. A third catalogue of the books of the Old Testament is in the Panarium, and not very far from the beginning of it. This I shall now transcribe at large. 'Now[l] the Jews had

[d] Saint Epiphane. Art. ix. Tillem. Mem. E. T. x. [e] Tillem. ib. Art. xi. & Petav. Animadv. in Epiph. T. ii. p. 4.

[f] Tillem. as before, art. 13.

[g] Cav. Hist. Lib. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. vii. p. 414. &c. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. x. p. 484. &c. [h] T. ii. p. 161, 162.

[i] Αι γαρ ςιχηρεις δυο βιβλοι, η τε του σολομωντος, η παραρετος λεγομενη· και η του ιησου του υιου σιραχ, — και αυται χρησιμοι μεν εισι και ωφελιμοι, αλλ' εις αριθμον ρητων ουκ αναφερονται — διο δε ουτε εν τη της διαθηκης κιβωτῳ. De Mens. & Pond. n. iv. p. 162. [k] — και των οντων εν τῳ ιερεμια· φημι δε και των θρηνων αυτου, και των επιςολων βαρουχ, ει και ου κεινται επιςολαι παρ' εβραιοις, η μονον η των θρηνων τῳ ιερεμια συναφθεισα. Ib. n. 5. p. 163. A. [l] Εσχον δε ουτοι οι Ιουδαιοι αχρι της απο βαβυλωνος αιχμαλωσιας επανοδου, βιβλους τε και προφητας τουτους. κ. λ. H. 8. n. 6. T. i. p. 19.

'these

'theſe prophets, and books of prophets, until the return from 'the Babyloniſh captivity: the firſt Geneſis, the ſecond Exo- 'dus, the third Leviticus, the fourth Numbers, the fifth 'Deuteronomy, the ſixth the book of Joſhua the ſon of Nun, 'the ſeventh the book of the Judges, the eighth the book of 'Ruth, the ninth the book of Job, the tenth the Pſalter, the 'eleventh the Proverbs of Solomon, the twelfth the Eccleſi- 'aſtes, the thirteenth the Song of Songs, the fourteenth the 'firſt book of the Kingdoms, the fifteenth the ſecond book of 'the Kingdoms, the ſixteenth the third bok of the Kingdoms, 'the ſeventeenth the fourth book of the Kingdoms, the 'eighteenth the firſt book of the Remains, the nineteenth 'the ſecond book of the Remains, the twentieth the book of 'the twelve Prophets, the twenty-firſt Iſaiah the Prophet, the 'twenty-ſecond Jeremiah the prophet, with the Lamenta- 'tions, and his epiſtle, and the epiſtle of Baruch, the twenty- 'third Ezekiel the Prophet, the twenty-fourth Daniel the 'Prophet, the twenty-fifth the firſt book of Eſdras, the 'twenty-ſixth the ſecond book, the twenty-ſeventh Eſther. 'And theſe are the ſeven and twenty books, which were given 'by God to the Jews: though they are reckoned only two 'and twenty, according to the number of the letters of the 'Hebrew alphabet; for ten of the books that are double are 'reduced to five. There are alſo two other books among 'them, which [m] are doubted of, the Wiſdom of Sirach, and 'of Solomon, beſide [n] certain other that are apocryphal.'

III. I do not ſtay to make remarks upon theſe catalogues of the books of the Old Teſtament; the reader is able to do that of himſelf. I proceed to the catalogue of the books of the New Teſtament, which is in another article of the ſame work of this author.

'Had [o] you, Aëtius, been born of the Spirit, and been 'taught by the prophets and apoſtles, you would have read 'the ſeven and twenty books of the Old Teſtament, from the 'creation of the world to the time of Eſther, which are 'reckoned two and twenty; and alſo the four holy goſpels, 'and the fourteen epiſtles of the holy apoſtle Paul, and the 'Acts of the apoſtles, and the catholic epiſtles of James, and 'Peter, and John, and Jude, and the Revelation of John, and '[p] the Wiſdoms of Solomon and Sirach, and in a word all 'the divine ſcriptures.'

[m] Τ. αμφιλεκτ. [n] Χωρις αλλων τινων ἀποκρυφων. [o] H. 76. [p] Vid. Bin. p. 321. —— εν τε ταις σοφιαις σολομωνος τε φημι, και υιε σιραχ, και ωασαις απλως γραφαις θειαις. Ibid.

IV.

IV. I shall add divers passages of Epiphanius, concerning the several parts or books of the New Testament.

1. Matthew [q] both preached, and wrote a gospel in Hebrew. And [r] he wrote first, because [s] he had been called from the receipt of the customs, and from many sins. It was therefore fit he should shew, that *Jesus came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.* See Matt. ix. 13.

2. Matthew [t] wrote in Hebrew; and he is the only writer of the New Testament who made use of that language. However, Epiphanius had heard, that the gospel of John, and the Acts of the apostles, had been translated from Greek into Hebrew, and [u] were in the library of the Jews at Tiberias. Of this he had been assured by some Jewish believers. He says nothing here particularly of the epistle to the Hebrews; and must therefore, I think, be understood to suppose, that it was originally written in Greek, as the other books of the New Testament were, excepting only the gospel of St. Matthew.

3. Matthew wrote first, and Mark, as [x] he says, soon after, being a companion of Peter at Rome. Moreover, according to Epiphanius, Mark was one of Christ's seventy-two disciples, and likewise one of those who were offended at the words of Christ recorded John vi. 44. and then forsook him, but was afterwards recovered by Peter, and being filled with the Spirit, wrote a gospel.

4. The third gospel [y] is that of Luke. He too was one of Christ's seventy-two disciples, who took offence at the same words that Mark did. He was recovered by Paul, and was moved by the Spirit to write a gospel.

5. At length [z] John also, moved by the Spirit, wrote a gospel, after he had long declined it, through humility, when he

q Ουτος μεν ο ματθαιος εβραικοις γραμμασι γραφει το ευαγγελιον, και κηρυττει. H. 51. n. 5. p. 426. A. r Ματθαιος γαρ πρωτος ευαγγελιζεται. Ib. n. 4. p. 425. B. Vid. & n. 5. p. 425. C. D.

s —— και δικαιοτατα· Ειδει γαρ τον απο πολλων αμαρτηματων επιστρεψαντα, και απο του τελωνιου αιρεσιωτην. κ. λ. Ib. n. 5. p. 425. t Ως τα αληθη εχειν ειπειν, ουτι ματθαιος μονος εβραιστι και εβραικοις γραμμασιν ει τη καινη διαθηκη εποιησατο την του ευαγγελιου εκθεσιν τε και κηρυγμα. H. 30. n. iii. p. 127. C. u Εν τοις των ιουδαιων γαζοφυλακιοις —— ει τη τιβεριαδι. Ibid. x Ευθυς δε μετα τον ματθαιον ακολουθος γενομενος ο μαρκος τω αυτω πετρω εν ρωμη —— ομως δια πετρου αιακαμψας ευαγγελιζεσθαι καλεσθεις, επι καλω αγιω πεφορτισται. H. 51. n. 6. p. 428. A.

y Ουτι δε τριτον ευαγγελιον το κατα λουκαν· Τουτο γαρ επεβραπτε τω λογω, ουτι και αυτος απο των εβδομηκοντα δυο των διαγγελτων ην· επι τω του σωτηρος λογω, ον οι λοιποι του αγιου σταλεντες διακαμψαντες πρις τον κυριον. H. 51. n. 11. p. 433. C.

z —— διωκαζει το αγιον πνευμα, και επιτυγχανει τοις αγιοις λογοις.—— Ib. n. xiii. p. 428. a Διο υστερον διαλογιζεται το αγιον πνευμα του ιωαννην παραθεμενον εαυτον λιτασθαι, δι' ευλαβειαν και ταπεινοφροσυνην, επι τη γηραλεα αυτου ηλικια, μετα την εξηκοντουτιν της εαυτου ζωης, μητε την αγιαν απο της σαλμων επανοδον, την επ' αυτω γενομενης καιτιαρου, και μεγα ικανα ειναι το διαφυψαι αυτον απο [illegible] της αγιας διαγγελιας εκθεσθαι το ευαγγελιον. H. 51. n. xii. p. 433. D. 434. A.

W 22

was more than ninety years of age, and when he had lived many years in Asia, after his return thither from Patmos, in the time of the emperor Claudius.

6. He likewise says, that [b] John, the fourth and last in order of time, was first in respect to the sublimity of his matter.

7. Epiphanius does moreover say in several places, that [c] John's gospel was occasioned by the errors of the Ebionites, the Cerinthians, the Merinthians, and Nazarenes.

8. In his Ancorate he says, there [d] are four gospels, and in them a thousand one hundred and sixty-two sections, or chapters; which is very near the number of Eusebius's canon.

9. Again, in his large work, having observed the different characters of the four evangelists, and the beginnings of their several gospels, and that John wrote last, supplying some things omitted by the former: hence, says [e] he, it has come to pass, that we have a full account of what concerns both Christ's humanity and divinity.

10. In an argument, he in one place mentions the gospels in this order: According [f] to the gospel of Luke, and of John, and of Matthew and Mark.

11. Epiphanius ascribes the book of the Acts to [g] Luke.

12. It is needless to take notice of any quotations of Paul's epistles. That to the Hebrews is frequently cited as Paul's; and as expressly as any other of his epistles. But the reader, if he thinks fit, may observe the place where [h] our author speaks of the order of Paul's epistles, and says, that sometimes that to the Hebrews was reckoned the tenth, being placed before the epistle to Timothy, Titus and Philemon. In other copies it was the fourteenth.

13. The epistle of James is quoted by him [i] sometimes.

14. He says, that [k] Joseph had by his first wife four sons: James, called the Lord's brother, because he was brought up with him, and Simon, and Jude, and John, and two daughters, Anna and Salome. In another place he says, that [l] Joseph

[b] [illegible] γαρ κατα διαδοχην ελθων ο [illegible] πρωτος μεν ων, υστερος δε τοις [illegible] ευαγγελισαμενος, κ. λ. H. 51. n. 19. p. [illegible]. D. Et Conf. H. 69. n. 23. p. [illegible]. [c] Vid. H. 51. n. 2. p. [illegible] n. 12. p. 434. B. C. H. 69. n. 22, [illegible] [d] Τεσσαρα εισιν ευαγγελια, κε[illegible] χιλιων εκατον εξηκοντα δυο. Ancor. [illegible] p. 54. B. [e] —— ινα απο τεσ[illegible] ευαγγελιστων την πασαν κατα τε την [illegible] κατα την θεοτητα ακριβειαν κα[illegible] H. 51. n. 19. p. 442. B.

[f] Και απο τȣ κατα λȣκαν ευαγγελιȣ, και απο τȣ κατα ιωαννην, και απο τȣ κατα ματθαιον, και απο τȣ κατα μαρκον. H. 51. n. 28. p. 450. C. [g] Και ημεν εν τῳ πλοιῳ ως ογδοηκοντα ψυχαι, φησιν ο λȣκας ο συγγραψαμενος τας πραξεις των αποστολων. Ancor. n. 59. p. 61. D. [h] Vid. H. 42. p. 373. C. D. Conf. Mill. Prolegom. n. 236—238. [i] Vid. H. 31. n. 34. p. 206. B. H. 77. n. 27. p. 1021. C.

[k] Ancor. n. 60. p. 62. D.

[l] H. 51. n. 10. p. 432. D.

was married to Mary when he was about eighty years of age, having had by a former wife six children. He elsewhere also speaks largely of James, saying, that [m] he was the Lord's brother, and his apostle, and the first bishop of Jerusalem, and other things which need not now to be attended to.

15. He has several times quoted the two epistles of Peter.

16. He says, that [n] Peter was often in the countries of Pontus and Bithynia.

17. John's second epistle is quoted by [o] Epiphanius.

18. He cites very expressly [p] the catholic epistle of Jude, the apostle, brother of James, and of the Lord, written by inspiration.

19. Speaking of these seven epistles, it is common for him to use the word 'catholic.' He quotes St. John's first epistle in this manner: of [q] whom the holy John says in the catholic epistles, *It is the last time. And ye have heard, that Antichrist cometh.* See 1 John ii. 18.

20. Epiphanius received the book of the Revelation: for he says, that [r] John imparted spiritual gifts by his gospel, his epistles, and the Revelation.

21. And in the preceding chapter he had said, that [s] all John's books or writings, his gospel, and Revelation, and epistles, were harmonious.

22. He says, that [t] John prophesied, or had the Revelation, in the Isle of Patmos, in the reign of Claudius, if that be not a fault of the transcriber.

23. The book of the Revelation was not universally received in the time of Epiphanius. His account of the Alogians is, that they rejected all St. John's writings. And he says, that [u] if they had rejected the Revelation only, it might have been imagined, that they had acted upon the ground of

[m] Καταςαθεντος ευθυς ιακωβ τȣ αδελφȣ κυριȣ καλȣμενȣ, και αποςολȣ, επισκοπȣ πρωτȣ, υιȣ τȣ ιωσηφ φυσει οντος, εν ταξει δε αδελφȣ τȣ κυριȣ κληθεντος δια την συναναςροφην. H. 29. n. 3. p. 119. A. Vid. & n. 4. [n] Πετρος δε πολλακις ποντον τε και βιθυνιαν επεσκεψατο. H. 27. n. 6. p. 107. D. [o] H. 34. n. 13. p. 248. A. [p] —— ως και περι τȣτων οιμαι εκινηθη το αγιον πνευμα εν τω αποςολῳ ιȣδα, λεγω δε εν τῃ υπ' αȣτȣ γραφειση καθολικῃ επιςολῃ. κ. λ. H. 26. n. 11. p. 92. D. [q] Περι ων ειπεν ο αγιος ιωαννης εν ταις καθολικαις επιςολαις. H. 51. n. 3. p. 428. A.

[r] Εν οις και ο αγιος ιωαννης δια τȣ ευαγγελιȣ, και των επιςολων, και της αποκαλυψεως εκ τȣ αυτȣ χαρισματος τȣ αγιȣ πνευματος μεταδεδωκε. H. 51. n. 35. p. 457. C.

[s] —— τα τȣ αγιȣ αποςολȣ βιβλια, φησι δε ιωαννȣ το τε ευαγγελιον, και αποκαλυψιν, ταχα δε και επιςολας· Συναδȣσι γαρ και αυται τῳ ευαγγελιῳ, και τῃ αποκαλυψει. Ib. n. 34. p. 456. C.

[t] Αυτȣ δε προφητευσαντος εν χρονοις κλαυδιȣ καισαρος ανωτατω, οτε εις την πατμον νησον υπηρξεν. Ib. n. 33. p. 456. A. Conf. n. 12. p. 434. A. [u] Και ει μεν εδεχοντο το ευαγγελιον, την δε αποκαλυψιν απεβαλλοντο, ελεγομεν αν, μη πη αρα κατα ακριβολογιαν τοιȣτο ποιȣνται, αποκρυφον μη δεχομενοι, δια τα εν τῃ αποκαλυψει βαθεως και σκοτεινως ειρημενα. H. 51. n. 3. p. 423. B.

a nice

a nice and critical judgment; as being shy of an apocryphal and mysterious book: but to reject all John's writings, was a sign of an antichristian spirit.

24. In another place he says, the [x] Revelation was generally received, or by the most.

V. We may now take some of the many passages of this writer, testifying the great respect shewn by Christians to the sacred scriptures, together with their general titles and divisions.

1. One [y] and the same God is preached to us in the law, and the prophets, and the gospels, and the apostles, in the Old and the New Testament.

2. He particularly examines the texts alleged by the Arians from [z] the apostle, and from the gospels.

3. The [a] apostle, or rather the Holy Ghost speaking in the apostle.

4. A [b] thing never said by any of the ancients, not by any prophet, or apostle, or evangelist, or interpreter to this day.

5. Arguing against the followers of Origen, he says: The [c] prophets and apostles are more to be relied upon than you, or your master.

6. Against the Valentinians. Their [d] fables and fancies have no countenance from scripture, not from Moses, nor from any of the prophets after him, nor from our Saviour, nor from his evangelists, or apostles.

7. That, and other like passages plainly shew, what writings were of authority in the church, and that there were no other to which that honour was allowed.

8. Again: Such [e] a thing was never said by any of the prophets: not by Moses, nor by any of the prophets before or after him, nor by the evangelists or apostles.

9. If we [f] deny the authority of the divine scriptures, we are

[x] ——παρα πλειοσις η βιβλος πεπιστευται. H. 77. n. 26. p. 1031. B.

[y] Αλλ' ὁ θεος εις ημιν εν νομω, και εν προφηταις, και εν ευαγγελιοις, και εν αποστολοις, εν παλαια και καινη διαθηκη κηρυσσεται. De Fide. n. 18. p. 1101. B.

[z] ——μελα πασων ων απο τε αποστολε, και τε ευαγγελιε. H. 69. n. 72.

[a] Φησι γαρ ὁ αποστολος μαλλον δε το πνευμα το αγιον φθεγγομενον εν αυτω. H. 76. n. 9. p. 922. C. [b] Ουδενι γαρ προφητε των παλαιων τυτο ειρηται, ουδε προφητη, ουδε αποστολω, ουδε ευαγγελιστη, ε τοις εξηκοντα εως τελων των ημερων ουδε... H. 77. n. 24. p. 1018. B.

[c] Αλλ' ειδεσαι γαρ οι αποστολοι και προφηται, ηπερ υμεις και υμων διδασκαλος. Ancor. n. 63. p. 66. C. [d] ——ουδε τα γραφης ειπασης, ουδε τε μωυσεως νομε, ουδε τινος προφητε των μετα μωσεα, αλλ' ουδε τε σωτηρος, ουδε των αυτε ευαγγελιστων, αλλ' ουδε μην των αποστολων. H. 31. n. 34. p. 205. C. [e] ——ουδεποτε τοιον προφητων τυτο ειρηκοτος, ουκ αυτε μωυσεως, ου των προ αυτου ου των μετ' αυτον ουκ των ευαγγελιστων, ου των αποστολων. H. 33. n. 8. p. 223. C. [f] Εαν γαρ αρνωμεθα τας θειας γραφας, αληθεις ουκ εσμεν, και ευρισκομεθα εκπιπτοντες της αληθειας, η την παλαιαν διαθηκην εκβαλλοντες, ουκετι εσμεν της καθολικης εκκλησιας. H. 70. n. 7. p. 817. D.

fallen

fallen from truth: if we reject the Old Teſtament, we are no longer of the catholic church.

10. Let [g] theſe people, ſays he, produce any paſſage of the Old or the New Teſtament favouring their ſentiments.

11. He complains, that [h] ſome men neglecting the truth of the prophets, evangeliſts, and apoſtles, have introduced falſe and fabulous notions.

12. He profeſſeth [i] to have delivered the true faith, taken from the law, and the prophets, and the goſpels, and the apoſtles.

13. This they muſt allow, unleſs [k] they admit fables, contrary to the doctrine of the prophets, and the law, and the apoſtles, and evangeliſts.

VI. I ſhall now put down a few remarkable obſervations in this writer.

1. He ſays, that [l] when Chriſt was baptized, he was of the age of twenty-nine years and ten months. This he ſuppoſeth to be the meaning of St. Luke's words, iii. 23. *And Jeſus himſelf began to be about thirty years of age:* that is, thirty years not complete.

2. He thinks, our [m] Lord was exactly thirty years of age, when he wrought the miracle at Cana in Galilee, recorded John ii. 1—11.

3. He ſays, there [n] are two paſſovers in our Lord's miniſtry, according to St. John's goſpel; and that he ſuffered at the third paſſover, in the [o] thirty-third year of his life on earth. Therefore he did not think the *feaſt of the Jews*, mentioned John v. 1. to be paſſover.

4. In another place he ſays, there [p] were three paſſovers in our Lord's miniſtry: but he is to be underſtood in the ſame manner as above repreſented.

g Ει εχουσι μαρτυριαν —— εν παλαια και εν καινη διαθηκη. Ancor. n. 1. p. 54. B. h Την γαρ θειαν γραφων ακολουθιαν, και ευθυτητα, και ακακιας ομολογιαν, προφητικην τε, και ευαγγελικην, και αποστολικην πιστιν παρειλες, σοφιστικην τινα λεξιν, και μεθοδη παρεισηλασας. H. 77. n. 1. p. 996. B. i Και ουτω γεγραφα —— βεβαιον ομολογιαν την απο του νομου, και των προφητων, και ευαγγελιων, και αποστολων. Ancor. n. 83. p. 88. k ——εκ προφητων τε, και νομων, και αποστολων, και ευαγγελιστων παραδοσεως. H. 70. n. 2. p. 813. C. l Η γαρ τω μεν ογδοηκοντα ετεσιν ενιαυσιαι ειναι, και μηνων δεκα, ως επι το βαπτισμα ηκε, τριακοντα μεν ειναι, αλλ' ου πληρης. H. 51. n. 16. p. 439. A. Conf. n. 28. p. 450. A. m Οπερ πρωτον σημειον και πληρωμα τριακοστον ετους απο γενεσεως της εισαρκου αυτου παρουσιας. H. 51. n. 16. p. 439. C. n Ουκ δυο πασχα μεν καια την αρχην του παντος ο σωτηρ ποιειται, και τω τριτω παρεχει. H. 51. n. 30. p. 452. C.

o Ευρισκεται γαρ εν τω τριακοστω τριτω της αυτου εισαρκωσεως παρουσιας παρεχων ο μυστοδοτης. H. 51. n. 23. p. 445. B. ——εν τω τριακοστω τριτω της αυτου εισαρκου οικονομιας. Ib. n. 25. p. 448. A.

p Και εκ οιδασιν οι ιδιωται, ως ενιαυτους δυο πασχα ομολογει τα ευαγγελια, αλλα δυο μεν τρια λεγει, και αυτος δε εν αρχη του παντος ο σωτηρ, τρια πασχα των ευαγγελιστων πεπραγματευμενων. Ibid. n. 22. p. 444. B.

5. He

5. He thought that [s] the two diſciples, whom Jeſus met in the way to Emmaus, as related Luke xxiv. were Nathanael and Cleophas.

6. Epiphaninus ſays, that [r] the apoſtles did not preach themſelves, but Jeſus Chriſt, Lord. Therefore there was no ſect, or church, called after the apoſtles; for we never heard of Petrians, or Paulians, or Bartholomeans, or Thaddeans, but of Chriſtians only, as they were called at Antioch. We ſaw a like obſervation ſome while ago in [t] Athanaſius.

7. He ſays, all [u] things in the divine ſcripture are eaſy to thoſe who enquire with a pious mind.

VII. The ſum of his teſtimony will lie in a little room. His canon of the Old Teſtament was much the ſame with that of the Jews: for he acknowledges, that the book of Baruch was not received by them. The book of Wiſdom, and the book of Eccleſiaſticus, he conſiders as uſeful only, and not of authority, and therefore not admitted into the ark. Nor have the books of Maccabees, or Tobit, or Judith, any place in thoſe catalogues. The books of the New Teſtament received by him, are the ſame as thoſe which are now generally received by us. He quotes no others, as of authority, unleſs he has ſo quoted the Conſtitutions; which will be conſidered preſently. For the ſacred books of the Old and New Teſtament he has the higheſt regard. I ſcarce need to ſay, that he makes no uſe of Chriſtian apocryphal books, written in the name of apoſtles, and falſly aſcribed to them. Epiphanius's averſion for ſuch books muſt be well known to the readers of this work: it is a charge frequently brought by him againſt heretics, that [x] they made uſe of apocryphal books: and he reckons it no ſmall fault in them.

[s] H. 30. n. 6.

[r] ——Διο και ουκ εστι αιρεσις, εις ονομα αποστολων ονομαζομενη· ουδεποτε γαρ ηκουσαμεν η Πετριανων αιρεσεως, η Παυλιανων, η Βαρθολομαιτων, η Θαδδαιτων. H. 42. p. 366. D.

[t] p. 28.

[u] Παντα γαρ σαφη εστι τοις βουλομενοις ευσεβως λογισμω προσερχεσθαι τω θειω λογω. H. 76. n. 7. p. 920. A.

[x] This he imputes to Bardeſanes. See Vol. ii. ch. 28. n. 12. and to ſeveral others, as may be ſeen, Vol. iii. ch. 41. p. 20—23. Not to refer to other places.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXXV.

The Apostolical Contitutions and Canons.

I. *Epiphanius's quotations of a work called Apostolical Constitutions, with remarks upon them.* II. *The opinions of learned moderns concerning the Apostolical Constitutions now in being.* III. *An argument upon them proposed.* IV. *They are written in the name of the apostles of Christ:* V. *But are destitute of the external evidence necessary to support that claim: not being quoted by the Christian writers of the first three centuries.* VI. *They are also destitute of internal evidence:* 1. *The quotations of the books of the New Testament not suiting the apostles.* 2. *Having in them many things later than the times of the apostles:* 3. *Some things unworthy of the apostles.* 4. *Inconsistencies, and false history.* 5. *Expressions, betraying a later time than is pretended.* VII. *Consequently they are an imposture.* VIII. *The author's testimony to the books of the New Testament.* IX. *The Apostolical Canons.*

I. As a work called Apostolical Constitutions is cited by Epiphanius, and he is the first Christian writer who has quoted any book with that title, I shall here put down his (A) several citations, and sometimes with the connection.

1. In his forty-fifth heresy, that of the Severians, who were Encratites, and condemned the use of wine, he observes: 'The [a] Lord says, *I am the true Vine.* [John xv. 1.] If the 'vine had been evil, he would not have used that expression. 'Moreover the apostles, in the work called the Constitution, 'say, that the catholic church is the plantation and vineyard 'of the Lord. Yea, and the Lord himself has again in the 'gospel a parable of a vineyard.' See Luke xx. and Matt. xx.

2. In his seventieth heresy, that of the Audians, who were for keeping Easter at the same time with the Jews, he says: 'For [b] this purpose they allege the Constitution of the Apostles: 'which book, though it be with many of doubtful authority, 'is not to be rejected; for it contains the whole order of

(A) All the passages of Epiphanius, with remarks, may be seen in Grabe's Spicil. T. i. p. 46—55. as well as elsewhere.

a —— Αλλα και οι αποστολοι φασιν εν τη διαλαξει τη καλουμενη· Ου φυτεια θεου και αμπελων η καθολικη εκκλησια. Αλλα και αυτος ο κυριος παλιν εν τω ευαγγελιω φησιν περι του αμπελωνος παραβολην. &c. Epiph. H. 45. p. 390. A. B. Vid. Const. Ap. l. i. in.

b Εις τουτο δε οι αυτοι αυδιανοι παραφερουσι την των αποστολων διαλαξιν, ησαν μεν τοις πολλοις εν αφιλεκτω, αλλ' ουκ αδοκιμον· πασα γαρ η αυτη κατοικη ταξις εμφερεται, και ουδεν παρεγκεχαραγμενον της πιστεως, ουδε της εκκλησιαστικης διοικησεως, και κανονος, και συνηθειας——Οριζουσι γαρ εν τη αυτη διαλαξει οι αποστολοι, ου υμεις μη ψηφιζεσθε, αλλα ποιειτε, οταν οι αδελφοι υμων οι εκ περιτομης μετ' αυτων αμα ποιειτε—λειτουργειτε ου κ αι πλανηθωσι, μηδε υμιν μελετω. H. 70. n. 10. p. 822. A. B. 823. A.

c church-

'church-government, and has nothing in it contrary to the 'eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, or the canon, or the faith. But they 'miſunderſtand the direction concerning Eaſter, which they 'allege for the ſupport of their practice. For the apoſtles in 'the Conſtitution appoint to this purpoſe: Do not you make 'computation of the time, ſay they, but keep it together with 'your brethren who are of the circumciſion, at the ſame 'time that they do.—And though they ſhould be miſtaken, 'let not that give you any concern.' I put in the margin a part of [c] Grabe's note upon this paſſage.

3. Epiphanius afterwards [d] mentions ſeveral things, as ſayings, or ordinances of the apoſtles, and ſome of them as contrary to the above-mentioned direction, and from the ſame work, as is reckoned.

4. In the ſeventy-fifth hereſy, which is that of the Aërians, who were againſt ſet times of faſting and feaſting under the goſpel-diſpenſation; Epiphanius having quoted to them 1 Cor. v. 7. and Acts xx. 16. goes on: 'And [e] if authority is to be 'fetched from the Conſtitution of the apoſtles, it may be 'eaſily ſhewn, how they have there appointed a faſt on the 'fourth, and on the ſixth day of the week for ever [or always], 'except in Pentecoſt: and that in the ſix days of Eaſter no 'food ought to be taken, beſide bread, and ſalt, and water.'

5. In the eightieth hereſy, which is that of the Meſſalians and others: 'And [f] concerning the beard the divine word and 'doctrine in the Conſtitutions of the Apoſtles ſays, that it 'ſhould not be corrupted, that is, that the hair of the beard

[c] Contrarium plane præcipitur in iſtis, quibus modo utimur, Conſtitutionibus Clementis. l. v. c. 17.——Unde Cotelerius ad hunc locum: Recte, inquit, obſervarunt docti homines, Conſtitutionem hujus capitis diverſam eſſe a Conſtitutione, de qua Epiphanius in hæreſi Audianorum. Immo non ſolum diverſa eſt, ſed e diametro contradicit. Grab. Sp. T. i. p. 46.

[d] Εξ αυτων δε των εκεισε ειρημενων ζητων η αυθεντια ορθουται. Φασκουσι γαρ την αστρονομιαν ζητειν μεταξυ των ασυμων. Ib. n. 10. p. 823. A.

Λεγουσι γαρ οι αυτοι αποστολοι, ὁτι ὁταν τινες ευρεθωσι, υμεις νηστευοντες υπερ αυτων συνευδετε, ὁτι εν τη ημερα τοτε της τον χριστον εκτισεν. κ. λ. Ib. n. 11. p. 823. C. Vid. Conſt. l. v. c. 15.

Αυθις αυτων ακουσατε εν τη διαλεξει, ὁτι ὁ νομος ταυτα την ψυχην εν κυριακη, επικαλασθαι τη θεω. Ib. p. 823. D. Conſt. l. v. cap. 20.

——την τοτην πασχα, τουτεστι την εβδομαδα την ωρισμενην, και απ' αυτων των αποστολων εν τη διαλεξει. Ib. n. 12. p. 824. C.

[e] Ει δε και χρη το της διαλεξεως των αποστολων λεγειν, πως εκει ωριζοντο τεσσαρα και προσαββατον νηστευειν δια παυλον, χωρις πεντηκοστης· και περι των εξ ημερων τα πασχα, πως παρασγιλλουσιν, μηδεν ολως λαμβανειν, η αρτε, και αλας, και υδατος· ποιαν τε ημεραν αγειν, πως τε απολυειν εις επιφωσκουσαν κυριακην, φανερον εστι. κ. λ. H. 75. n. 6. p. 910. B. C. D. Conf. Conſt. l. v. cap. 15. 20. l. vii. c. 23. l. v. c. 13. 15. 18, 19.

[f] Και περι μεν ουν του γενειου εν ταις διαλεξεσι των αποστολων φασκει ο θειος λογος και η διδασκαλια, μη φθειρειν, τουτεστι μη τεμνειν τριχας γενειου. κ. λ. H. 80. n. 7. p. 1073. C. Vid. Conſt. l. i. cap. 3.

'should not be cut, and that men should not wear a meretri-
'cious dress, nor yet make a shew of religion.'

6. There seems also to be a reference to this book in his Exposition of the Catholic Faith. I put a part of the passage[g] at the bottom of the page; as also a remark of Grabe[h] upon it.

Upon these quotations we may now observe as follows.

1. We hence perceive, that in the time of Epiphanius there was a work called Apostolical Constitutions: and the things therein contained seem to have been written, as in those we now have, in the name of the apostles. There were likewise in that work directions concerning Easter, and Pentecost, and other set days of fasting, or feasting, as in ours.

2. Nevertheless there is reason to think, that (B) the Constitutions mentioned by Epiphanius, are not the same with those which we now have. The order concerning keeping Easter is quite different in ours from that quoted by the Audians: nor does Epiphanius say, that their quotation was false, though indeed he alleges some things, which seem contrary to the rule by which they governed themselves.

3. Epiphanius bears witness, that the Constitutions, which were in being in his time, were 'doubted of by many,' and were not generally received.

g Συναξεις δι' επιτελουμεναι ταχθεισαι εισιν απο των αποστολων τετραδι και προσαββατῳ, και κυριακῃ· τετραδι δε και εν προσαββατῳ εν νηστειᾳ εως ωρας ενατης. κ. λ. Exp. Fid. n. 22. p. 1104.

h Quod de sacris conventibus feria iv. & vi. nec non Dominica die celebrandis dicit Epiphanius, in nostris Constitutionibus non exstat. Hæque ideo ab antiqua Apostolorum Διδαχη in hoc puncto differunt. Grabe ib. p. 53.

(B) Petavius, in his notes upon Epiphanius, supposeth the Constitutions, mentioned by his author, to be different from ours. De Constitutionibus iisce dubietatem a nonnullis præfatur Epiphanius. Quo eodem nomine circumferuntur hodie in octo libros distinctæ, quæ a prioribus illis, ac nihilominus dubiis, quarum meminit Epiphanius, diversæ videntur. Etenim quinque ex illis sententiæ hoc & sequenti numero citantur, quæ in vulgatis nusquam reperiuntur: imo vero contraria quædam in iis leguntur. Nam lib. v. cap. 16. de Paschatis celebritate catholicorum dogma propalam edicitur, uti post æquinoctium instauretur. Tum ne cum Judæis agatur, & alia quædam: quæ si in antiquis illis Constitutionibus legebantur, mirum est [illegible] tam præsenti ac diserto testimonio [illegible] esse contra Audianos Epiphanium, [illegible] Judæorum more celebrandum Paschalis[illegible] ex Constitutionibus affirmabant. Apparet igitur, aliud fuisse Constitutionum [illegible] quam quibus hodie Clementis nomen [illegible] scribitur. Animadv. in H. lxx. p. [illegible] 291.

Grabe was of opinion, that the Constitutions quoted by Epiphanius were not only different from ours, but that they were the Doctrine, or Doctrines of the Apostles, mentioned by Eusebius and Athanasius, and shorter than ours. Equidem id [illegible] concedo, Doctrinam Apostolorum, [illegible] sebio & Athanasio memoratam [illegible] fuisse cum Διαταξει sive Constitutione Apostolica ab Epiphanio aliquoties [illegible] ——Sed illas, quibus modo utimur, Constitutiones Apostolicas Clementi ad scriptas, nego easdem esse cum διδαχαις seu διδασκαλιαις Apostolorum, licet in quibusdam capitibus conveniant. Spic. p. 41 ——contra quam hypothesin supra p. 41, & [illegible] evici, διδαχας, sive Constitutiones Epiphanii, diversas a nostris, nec adeo [illegible], vel in plures libros divisas fuisse. Ib. p. [illegible]

4. That

4. That expression, 'doubted of by many,' or 'of doubtful authority with many,' seems to be ambiguous. It may denote, that it was doubted, whether the book should be esteemed canonical; or else, whether it was an ecclesiastical book, and not apocryphal and heretical, and utterly to be rejected. And it may be thought, that this last is the true meaning of the expression, for these two reasons: first, when Epiphanius gives an account of the canonical books of scripture, he takes no notice of this. Secondly, when he says: 'it 'is not to be rejected, for it has nothing in it contrary to the 'discipline of the church, or the canon, or the faith;' he seems only to assert, that it was a good, ecclesiastical, or catholic writing. When therefore he says, that this book was 'doubted of by many,' he intimates, that some suspected it to be the work of some heretics: in opposition to which he says, it ought not to be rejected. For it appeared from the contents of it to be the work of some honest, orthodox, or catholic Christian. Daillé has argued[1] in a like manner.

5. It is not easy to say what respect Epiphanius himself had for this work. He quotes things from it, as ordinances of the apostles, and as the divine word and doctrine: but it is not mentioned in any of the passages, where he gives the catalogues of the books of scripture, exhibited in the preceding chapter. Moreover, the expressions of his just taken notice of, seem to imply no more, than that the book was an ecclesiastical or orthodox writing: farther, either his Constitutions were not the same as ours, or he had not much regard for them. For in our Constitutions divers early heretics are named: and they are condemned and confuted: of which passages nevertheless Epiphanius has made no use of in his history of those heretics, or in his arguments against them: which every one must be apt to think he would have done, if the Constitutions which we have, had been then in being, and had been esteemed by him as of authority.

6. Whatever was the opinion of Epiphanius, about the work quoted in the passages of his just recited, or referred to, there can be no good reason for us to suppose, it was a book of

[1] At non ideo fit, ut libros a Clemente [illegible] scriptos, [illegible] ab Apostolis instituta [illegible] quicumque in illis narrantur, [illegible] crediderit. Multis enim libris nihil [illegible] vel a fide, vel a disciplina alienum, [illegible] idcirco dixeris vel Clementinos, [illegible] Apostolicos. Omnino videtur Epiphanius [illegible] illas Apostolorum nomine tam vulgatas Diataxes boni & Catholici viri opus esse non inutile, [illegible] sincere explicatam esse Ecclesiae fidem ac disciplinam: Ut a Clemente scriptos, & ab ipsis Apostolis dictatos crediderit, nihil fane cogit. De Pseudep. Apostol. l. 1. cap. 2. p. 37.

sacred scripture; forasmuch as no such book is quoted as scripture by Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Cyprian, Eusebius, or any other Christian writer of the first three centuries.

If any should say, that Epiphanius's Constitutions are the same with the Doctrine of the Apostles, mentioned by Eusebius and Athanasius, [which has been the opinion of Grabe and some others,] I would answer: That is not certain. Supposing them to be the same, it is manifest, that the book, called the Doctrine of the Apostles, was no book of sacred scripture. It is never quoted by Eusebius, or Athanasius, in any of their writings: they have only once mentioned it, each of them, as a spurious, or useful book, when they give a catalogue of the books of the New Testament: and all other Christian writers before them are quite silent about it. In the Synopsis, ascribed to Athanasius, it is mentioned; but it is ranked with 'contradicted,' or apocryphal books.

II. Having seen the passages of Epiphanius concerning the Apostolical Constitutions of his time, and made remarks on them, I proceed to consider a work which we now have in eight books, with a like title: and I begin with alleging the judgments of divers learned moderns upon them.

1. Cotelerius says: 'It[k] is certain, that the work of the 'Apostolical Constitutions in eight books is apocryphal and 'pseudepigraphal, not composed by the apostles, nor by the 'apostolical Clement.—Although Epiphanius and Cedrenus 'have quoted the Constitutions as the divine word; neverthe-'less it is manifest, that a book cannot be esteemed the work 'of the apostles, which the earliest times of the church were 'unacquainted with, which was unknown to the fathers, or 'neglected by them, which has many marks of forgery and 'falshood; which the catholic church excludes from the canon 'of divine scripture: which, finally, has in it very many things 'contrary to truth and probability, plainly of a later date than 'the times of the apostles, and quite different from their true 'characters.'

2. Tillemont's judgment is not very different from that of Cotelerius: I therefore take it next. 'If[l] the Doctrine of the

[k] Itaque verum est, Constitutionum Apostolicarum [illegible] opus esse apocryphum, & pseudepigraphum, ab Apostolis non profectum, nec ab apostolico Clemente. ——Quamvis S. Epiphanius II. 80. 7. & Cedrenus.——[illegible] diataxibus tribuant; attamen liquido constat, ad Apostolos & Clementem non pertinere [illegible], quod prima Ecclesiæ tempora latuit, quod a [illegible] Patribus ignoratum fuit, aut neglectum: quod pluribus suspicionem movit [illegible] positionis, plurimis certitudinem dedit [illegible] tatis: quod Catholica Ecclesia a canone scripturarum divinarum excludit: quod [illegible] nique sexcenta complectitur cum veritate, cum similitudine pugnantia, recentiora [illegible] poribus apostolicis, & apostolico [illegible] remotissima. Cotel. Jud. de C[illegible] ap. Patr. Ap. T. i.

[l] Saint Cl[illegible] de Rome. Art. vii. Mem. T. ii.

'Apostles,

'Apostles, mentioned by Eusebius and Athanasius, and the 'Constitutions, are different works, as Du Pin thinks, Epi-'phanius is the first who has mentioned the Constitutions.— 'And though the last canon of the apostles ranks them with 'the canonical scriptures; and though the Ethiopians respect 'them as sacred and divine scripture; we are nevertheless 'constrained to own, that there are in them many things con-'trary to truth and probability, and far different from the 'time of the apostolical writings.'

3. For Du Pin's opinion, I refer at present to his Preliminary[n] Dissertation upon the Bible, and to what he writes in his[o] account of the Canons and Constitutions ascribed to the apostles, and then[p] of Clement of Rome.

Daillé's opinion was, that[p] the Constitutions were composed after the council of Nice, and before the end of the fifth century.

5. Mr. Robert Turner thought, the[q] Constitutions made use of by Epiphanius to be different from the present Constitutions; and concludes his work, saying: 'That[r] the eight 'books of Constitutions seem to have been made out of several 'doctrines, constitutions, canons, travels, and traditions, as-'cribed to the apostles, and out of some of the ancient Li-'turgies, and the discipline and practice of the Greek church, 'odly blended together, adulterated and changed by some 'ignorant Arian in the fifth century.'

6. Pearson was of opinion, that[s] the Apostolical Constitutions were formed out of several lesser works, called Doctrines or Constitutions, said to be written by Clement, Ignatius, Hippolytus, and others, but altered and interpolated by the author of this collection: and that the eight books of the Constitutions, as we now have them, were not composed and finished till after the time of Epiphanius. I have now placed Pearson's words somewhat at large at the bottom of the page; and I formerly[t] spoke of this opinion of his.

[n] L. ii. c. 6. § 10. [n] Biblioth. Ec. T. i. p. 14. &c. a Amsterdam.

[o] Ibid. p. 30. &c.

[p] Si tamen, ut in re obscura, conjecturas argumenta admittere libet; illud inprimis pro certo constitui posse mihi videtur, [illegible] hoc opus ante finem quinti sæculi [illegible] atque editum. De Pseudep. Ap. [illegible] c. 17. p. 393. [q] Discourse of [illegible] pretended Apostolical Constitutions, p. [illegible] [r] The same, p. 295.

[s] —— ex his diversis Didascaliis atque Constitutionibus libros octo Constitutionum Apostolicarum quas habemus confectos atque consarcinatos fuisse, asserere non dubito——Unde conjicio, octo libros Constitutionum post ævum Epiphanii ex veteribus Didascaliis atque Diataxibus, immutatis interpolatisque, factos esse. Neque enim ille numerum librorum indicat. Pearf. Vind. Ign. P. i. c. 4. p. 282, 283. Amst. 1698.

[t] See the chapter of Hippolytus, Vol. ii. p. 407.

7. Grabe's opinion was exactly the same as Pearson's. I now also put his words [u] below.

8. James Basnage thought, that [x] Pearson had hit the time of this work very well. For on the one hand, these eight books of the Apostolical Constitutions were not known in the time of Epiphanius: it might be added, nor of Jerom. On the other hand, the author of the Imperfect Work upon St. Matthew, who wrote after the time of Theodosius, quotes the eighth book: therefore we must place the composing of this large collection at the middle of the fifth century.

9. The opinion of Samuel Basnage may be seen in his [y] Annals.

10. The late learned Dr. Waterland has these expressions: 'The [z] Clementine Liturgy, though it is not thought to have 'been ever in public use, is commonly believed to be the oldest 'of any now extant: and, though as an entire collection, it 'cannot be justly set higher than the fifth century, yet it cer- 'tainly contains many things derived from earlier times.'

11. Pagi thought it sufficient to say, for shewing the Constitutions not to be Clement's, that [a] they are not mentioned among his works either by Eusebius or Jerom.

12. Le Clerc wrote a Dissertation, which he placed at the end of the second volume of his last edition of the Apostolical Fathers. He takes notice of [b] some things in the Constitutions exceedingly unsuitable to the character of the apostles of Christ. He says, they [c] well represent the ecclesiastical discipline of the fourth century; but [d] not that of earlier times. He thinks,

u Unde certissima mihi videtur sententia doctissimi Præsulis Pearsonii: qui in Vindiciis S. Ignatii asseruit, octo libros Constitutionum post ævum Epiphanii, sed ante Auctorem Operis Imperfecti in Matthæum compositos fuisse. Dictus enim Auctor primus Constitutiones Apostolicas, tanquam pluribus libris constantes, citavit.——Hic itaque cum aliquamdiu post Theodosium Imp. vixerit,——octo libri Constitutionum exeunte sæculo iv. vel ineunte v. prodiisse videntur.—— Cæterum jam suprà p. 43. admodum probabilem dixi conjecturam laudati Pearsoni—— istam, qua modo utimur, καθολικὴν διδασκαλίαν, in octo libros digestam, ex variis διδασκαλίαις antiquioribus Apostolorum, Clementis, Ignatii, conflatam, hasque maxima ex parte in illa conservatas esse. Spic. p. 284, 285.

x Histoire de l'Eglise, p. 488.

y Ann. 100. n. 8, 9. z Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist, p. 341.

a Verum harum Constitutionum auctor non est Clemens Romanus, quia Eusebius, & Hieronymus libro de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, cum de scriptis S. Clementis agunt, unam duntaxat illius ad Corinthios epistolam recensent. Legatur Eusebius, l. iii. c. 15. Pagi Ann. 100. n. 1.

b Est in iis dogma quod maxime offendit viros doctos, & quidem merito, quo Episcopus ita extollitur, ut soli Deo subjiciatur, utque Dynasta & Deus terrenus appelletur. Quod veritati atque humilitati Apostolorum prorsus adversatur. Exstat. l. ii. c. [illegible] Rursus, cap. 34. sic loquuntur personæ Apostoli de episcopis: —— Hos Principes & Reges præesse existimate, tributaque eis offerte &c. Diss. de Const. n. 6. p. [illegible]

c Cæteroquin in Constitutionibus, quales habemus, optime describitur sæculi [illegible] disciplina ecclesiastica. Ib. n. 5. [illegible]

d Est hic quoque tota disciplina ecclesiastica iv. sæculi, quam ab initio non [illegible]

they

they[e] were composed by some Arian of the fourth century: and seems to think, there[f] may be some probability in the conjecture of another learned man, that they are the work of Leontius, bishop of Tripoli in Lydia.

13. Young Barratier published a Dissertation to shew, that the Constitutions were written in the second century, and not far below the beginning of it. He supposeth, that[g] not long after the death of the apostles some person had a like design with that of Papias: he therefore collected what he could meet with of the apostle's precepts and sayings concerning Christian manners and worship. Nor did he confine himself to oral traditions: he also made use of divers books, some of them apocryphal; for which reasons many things may be here ascribed to the apostles which are not truly theirs. In some things the author may be relied upon; other things may be false and fictitious. So Barratier. I am unwilling to say, that this is a trifling hypothesis, and void of evidence: but it seems to me, that the Constitutions will be of little more use, or value, according to this opinion, than according to the opinion of those, who think them a collection made in the fourth or fifth century.

14. Mr. Whiston thinks, 'that[h] the Apostolical Constitutions are the most sacred of the canonical books of the New Testament.'

III. Such are the opinions of learned men concerning this work. I now intend to offer an argument upon it under the following heads.

[illegible] observarit Jac. Usserius, Diss. cap. [illegible] quem nemo confutavit, aut con[illegible] jucat. Ib. n. 10.

[illegible] vero Constitutiones, quales nunc [illegible], cum etiamnum arderent conten[illegible] Arianorum, ab episcopo quopiam [illegible] conscriptas fuisse clanculum ut ea[illegible] auctoritate, ad confirmandam Arianam [illegible], uteretur, & quidem ante quarti [illegible] existimo. Ib. n. 5.

[illegible] qualis erat Leontius Tripolitanus, [illegible] Lydia, episcopus: si credimus judicio [illegible], Thomæ Brunonis, quod in [illegible] volumine edidimus. Ib. n. 3.

[illegible] Apostolis defunctis, probabile [illegible] quosdam viros conatos esse omnia [illegible] facta, & scripta, colligere, & [illegible] servare. Sic Papias. Sic tot [illegible] auctores. Inde statim post [illegible] simum aliquis conatus fuerit [illegible] colligere, quæ Apostoli circa mores [illegible] Christianorum reliquerint. Et sane [illegible] ex variis collectas esse tractatibus manifestum est.——Interim nolo idcirco omnia et singula, quo in Constitutionibus leguntur, Apostolis tribuere. Multa iis supposita esse nullo negotio credo. Et sane illis temporibus tam ingens librorum apocryphorum, dubiorum, &c. numerus ortus est, ut fieri non possit, Constitutionum compilatorem, non ex iis quædam in opus suum irrepere passum esse.——In iis factis historicis, quæ nude referuntur, et non nexus causa adhibita sunt, aio Constitutiones omnem fidem mereri.——Sed alia ratio est, de conventu v. gr. omnium Apostolorum, qui modo ideo fictus est, ut iis tribuerentur Constitutiones, tanquam commune opus. Alia ratio iterum de Simonis Magi historia, quæ potuit ficta esse, quia credebatur interesse Apostolorum, ut multa prodigia iis tribuerentur, et multa hæreticis falsa affingerentur. Barrat. Disquis. Chronol. p. 282, 283. Ultrajecti. 1740. 4to.

h See the second and third volumes of Primitive Christianity revived.

1. I shall observe some passages, in which the apostles are mentioned as authors.

2. We will inquire, what right this work has to the names of the apostles: where will be considered both external and internal evidence.

3. If it should appear that their authority is made use of without reason, it will follow, that the work is an imposture.

IV. In the first place we are to observe some of the passages, in which the apostles are mentioned as authors.

1. And indeed these eight books of Constitutions are written, and the things contained in them are delivered, as in the name of the apostles of Jesus Christ.

2. They begin with this inscription, or salutation: 'The [i] 'apostles and elders to all, who from among the Gentiles 'have believed in the Lord Jesus Christ. Grace and peace 'be multiplied unto you from God Almighty, through our 'Lord Jesus Christ, in the acknowledgement of him.'

3. 'Wherefore [k] we the twelve apostles of the Lord, who 'are now together, send you these our divine Constitutions, 'concerning every ecclesiastical form, there being present with 'us also the chosen vessel, our fellow-apostle Paul, and the 'rest of the elders, and the seven deacons.'

4. That quotation is from the fourth chapter of the eighth and last book. And in the last chapter of it, again: 'Now [l] 'this we all in common charge you, that every one remain in 'the rank assigned him, without transgressing the appointed 'bounds. For they are not ours, but God's.'

5. And still lower, in the same chapter, near the conclusion of the whole work: 'As by Moses were appointed high-'priests, priests and Levites, and by our Saviour we the 'thirteen were appointed: and by the apostles I James, and 'I Clement, and others, not to name them again: and by all 'in common presbyters, deacons, sub-deacons, and readers...'

6. It appears, then, that the whole of the work, and all the ordinances in it, from beginning to end, are delivered in the name of all Christ's apostles, and as from God himself.

7. These Constitutions assume not only the names of the apostles, but also their characters and actions.

8. 'And [m] to take our own things,' say they, 'Judas our 'companion had part with us in the same ministry.'

i Οι αποςολοι και οι πρεσβυτεροι πασι τοις εξ εθνων πιςευσασι. κ. λ. Const. Proœm. in. k Αμα τοινυν υπαρχοντες ημεις οι δεκαδυο του κυριου αποςολοι τας δε τας θειας ημων εντελλομεθα διαταξεις. L. viii. c. 4. in. l Εκεινο δε κοινη πασι παραγγελλομεν. L. viii. c. 46. in. m L. ii. c. 14. p. 222. m.

9. 'I Matthew [n], one of the twelve, who speak to you in 'this doctrine, was a publican.'

10. 'So [o] the Lord was not ashamed of me Matthew, though 'before I was a publican. And he received Peter, and made 'him shepherd of his own sheep, after he had through fear 'denied him thrice. And he appointed Paul to be our fellow-'apostle, who before had been a persecutor.'

11. 'For [p] taking a towel, he girded himself; and then 'put water in a bason, and came round to us, as we sat, and 'washed all our feet, and wiped them with the towel.'

12. 'And [q] on the fifth day of the week, when we had eaten 'the passover with him,——he delivered to us the representa-'tive mysteries of his precious body and blood, Judas not be-'ing present with us.——He went out to the mount of Olives' ——and we were with him, and sang an hymn according to 'custom.'

13. 'For [r] our Lord and Master Jesus Christ sent us twelve 'to teach the nations. There [s] were with us Mary the mother 'of the Lord, and Mary Magdalene, and what follows.'

14. 'And [t] after eight days he gave me Thomas, who was 'hard of belief concerning his resurrection, full assurance, 'shewing me the print of the nails, and the wound made in 'his side by the spear.'

15. 'On the [u] day of Pentecost, at the third hour of the 'day, the Lord Jesus sent down upon us the gift of the Holy 'Ghost: and we were filled with power, and spake with new 'tongues, as the Spirit enabled us; and we preached to Jews 'and Gentiles, that Jesus is the Christ.'

16. 'For [x] we also, for Christ's sake, were often beaten by 'Caiaphas, and Alexander, and Annas; and went out rejoicing, 'that we were accounted worthy to suffer such things for our 'Saviour.' See Acts iv. 6. v. 40, 41.

17. Having mentioned divers parts of our Lord's history, they add: 'All [y] these things we testify of him, who did eat 'and drink with him, and were eye-witnesses of his wonderful 'works, of his words, and sufferings, and death, and resur-'rection from the dead, after which also we conversed with 'him forty days. And what follows.' Much more may be seen [z] elsewhere.

[n] L. ii. c. 39. [o] L. ii. c. 24. p. [p] L. iii. c. 19. p. 290. [q] L. v. c. 14. p. 317. [r] L. iii. c. [s] Ibid. infr. [t] L. v. c. 19. p. 324. [u] L. v. c. 20. p. 325. [x] L. v. c. 2. [y] L. v. c. 7. p. 309. [z] See l. v. c. 14. throughout, and l. ii. c. 55.

18.

18. That they take upon them the character of the apoſtles, appears alſo in the names of the perſons, whom they ſpeak of as their aſſiſtants and companions; all well known to have been companions of Chriſt's apoſtles, or ſome of them.

19. 'Theſe things [a] we ſend unto you by our fellow-ſervant, and moſt faithful and unanimous ſon in the Lord, Clement, 'together with Barnabas, and our moſt faithful ſon Timothy, 'and our own ſon Mark; together with whom we recommend 'to you Titus, and Luke, and Jaſon, and Soſipater.'

20. In the twelfth chapter of the eighth book is a conſtitution, or order of James, the brother of John, and ſon of Zebedee. In the thirty-third chapter of the ſame book is a conſtitution of Paul and Peter. In the thirty-fifth chapter is a conſtitution of James the brother of the Lord, and biſhop of Jeruſalem. Not to mention other things of that kind.

21. Theſe Conſtitutions therefore are not written or compoſed, or drawn up by Clement, but by the apoſtles: they are only ſent by him. Thus at the beginning of the ſixteenth chapter of the ſixth book: 'All [b] theſe things we have ſent, '[or written] to you, that ye may know what our opinion is.' And in the eighteenth chapter of the ſame book, partly cited above: 'This [c] catholic doctrine we have left to you biſhops, 'and others, for the eſtabliſhment of them that believe; and 'have ſent it to you by our faithful fellow-miniſter Clement.' He alſo ſpeaks, together with James, in a place before cited. But the whole work, and all the Conſtitutions in general are drawn up in the name of the apoſtles, or of them and their aſſiſtants; as appears from the many paſſages that have been tranſcribed.

22. Theſe Conſtitutions then, as we have ſeen, are written in the name of the apoſtles: and according to the whole tenor of the work, they are rightly termed apoſtolical.

V. Let us now inquire into the juſtneſs of this claim.

1. As the work now before us bears the title of Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, and is written in the name of the apoſtles, as we have ſufficiently ſeen; we are led to inquire, what notice has been taken of it in the genuine, uncontroverted works of ancient Chriſtian writers: and then to compare the Conſtitutions themſelves, and other things occaſionally mentioned in this work, with the generally received writings of the apoſtles, and likewiſe with the doctrines and cuſtoms of the early times

[a] L. vi. c. 18. p. 349. Ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἐπιστέλλομεν ἡμεῖς ὁ συνδιάκονος ἡμῶν καὶ πιστότατος καὶ ὁμόψυχος υἱὸς ἐν κυρίῳ Κλήμης ἅμα Βαρνάβᾳ καὶ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ πιστοτάτῳ υἱῷ Τιμοθέῳ καὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ ἡμῶν Μάρκῳ· οὗ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχομεν ἐντολὰς, ἐὰν ἔλθῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς· δέξασθε αὐτὸν ὡς ἐμέ. Τίτον δὲ καὶ Λουκᾶν καὶ Ἰάσονα καὶ Σωσίπατρον ἀδελφοὺς ἡμῶν——τοὺς δὲ τῶν καθολικῶν ἡμῶν διδασκαλιῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι παρακαλοῦμεν ὑμᾶς. p. 349.

[b] Ταῦτα καλῶς——διαπεμψάμενοι ὑμῖν τὰς τοιαύτας ἡμῶν ἐπιστολὰς, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ἅπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς γινώσκομεν. p. 349.

[c] Καθολικὴν——ἱερᾶς καὶ ἁγνῆς διδασκαλίας. p. 349.

of the church, so far as we are acquainted with them. In both these ways the Apostolical Constitutions have been largely considered by [d] Daillé, and since by [e] Mr. Robert Turner.

2. Daillé examined all the several ecclesiastical writers of the first three centuries, Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Dionysius, and Peter of Alexandria, and some others; and has shewn, as it seems to me, with great probability, that the Constitutions were unknown to all those writers. Mr. Turner has again gone over all the same authors, and some others omitted by Daillé; and he could not find in them the Apostolical Constitutions any more than Daillé. To those and other learned writers I refer. I shall, however, observe some things briefly.

3. In these [f] Constitutions is a long history of Simon Magus. Divers other heretics are particularly mentioned: Cleobius, Dositheus, the Ebionites, Cerinthus, Marc, Menander, Basilides, Saturninus, the Nicolaitans, and Hemerobaptists. The evil of heresies is shewn; the causes of them are assigned and enumerated; they are condemned and confuted. Nevertheless, no notice is taken of all this by Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, or Eusebius; no, nor by Epiphanius, as before observed: though it would have been very much to their purpose. In short, they could not have omitted it in their censures of the ancient heresies, or in their arguments against them, if they had been acquainted with it: for, certainly, the express authority of the apostles would have been of great advantage to them.

4. With regard to Clement of Alexandria, Daillé says, that [g] he quotes Clement of Rome, and Barnabas, and other Christian authors. He had also many occasions to quote the Constitutions, if he had been acquainted with them, as Daillé clearly shews: but yet he takes not any the least notice of them.

5. Another thing relating to Clement of Alexandria, well observed by [h] Mr. Turner, is; that [i] the Constitutions absolutely forbid the reading of heathen authors. Nevertheless Clement, who was himself a man of prodigious reading, and a great master of heathen learning, frequently quotes in his works all sorts of authors; and has recommended [k] the reading of heathen authors, and the study of philosophy: which he would

[d] Joannis Dallæi de Pseudepigraphis Apostolicis libri iii. Hardervici. 1653.

[e] Discourse of the pretended Apostolical Constitutions. London. 1715.

[f] Vid. lib. 6. cap. 4—11.

[g] Vid. Dall. ib. p. 268, 269.

[h] p. 93, 94.

[i] Των εθνικων βιβλιων παντων απεχου. L. i. c. 6. in.

[k] Vid. Strom. l. i.

not

not have done, if he had been acquainted with theſe Conſtitutions, and had acknowledged them to be Apoſtolical.

6. Mr. Turner adds, Clement of Alexandria was not ſingular in this. Tertullian, Origen, and a great many more, juſtify and recommend the reading of heathen compoſitions: and though St. Jerom (as we are told) was whipped for it, yet it was never ſaid to be, becauſe he had broken an apoſtolical conſtitution.

7. And ſays the ingenious [l] Mr. Brekell: The Conſtitutions prohibit the reading of heathen authors: and yet many of the ancient fathers, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, and others, recommend the reading of ſuch books; a plain proof, that they knew of no ſuch Apoſtolical Conſtitution. Beſides, if this had been a Conſtitution of the Chriſtian church, the emperor Julian would have had no occaſion to make the ſame prohibition.

8. There was [m] a diſpute in the third century between Stephen biſhop of Rome, and Cyprian biſhop of Carthage, concerning the method of receiving ſuch as came over from heretics. Cyprian and other African biſhops ſaid, the baptiſm of heretics was null and void, and therefore they who came over from them were to be baptized. Stephen, on the contrary, allowed the validity of their baptiſm; and was for receiving ſuch as came over from them with impoſition of hands only. This point is decided in [n] our Conſtitutions, agreeably to the judgment of Cyprian, and his African colleagues: yet nobody then appealed to this work, or took any notice of it. Probably therefore it was not extant at that time.

9. I ſhall mention a particular relating to Origen, not generally taken notice of. In his books againſt Celſus he ſays, that [o] James and John, Andrew and Peter, were fiſhermen, and Matthew a publican. But in what way the reſt of Chriſt's diſciples ſubſiſted, before they followed him, was not known. But the apoſtles in the Conſtitutions ſay: 'Though [p] we are 'employed in preaching the goſpel, we do not omit working. 'For ſome of us are fiſhermen, others tentmakers, others 'huſbandmen.' Certainly Origen knew nothing of this. And Cotelerius, in his notes upon the Conſtitutions ſays, We

l See Divine Oracles, p. 116.

m See Turner, as before, p. 122—130. And in this work, Vol. iii. ch. 43. n. 6. p. 69—71. and ch. 44. p. 137.

n Vid. Conſt. lib. vi. cap. 15.

o Τ.. δε λοιπ.. μαθητ.. τ.. ιχθ.., εξω πρ.. της ε αβδ.. τε Ι,σ.. περι.. ιαυλοις τας τροφας. Cont. Celſ. l. i. p. 48. Cant. p. 376. Bened. p —— γαρ εισι εξ ημων αλιεις, οι δε σκηνο.. οι δε γης εξαλλοι. L. ii. cap. 63.

q Sed tenendum omnino eſt cum Origene jam laudato, præter quatuor ſ.. memoratos, et unum Publicanum, M.. ne

are to abide by Origen. There is no certain knowledge, what occupations the reſt of the twelve followed, beſide thoſe mentioned by him.

10. That the [r] Conſtitutions were unknown to the learned Dionyſius, biſhop of Alexandria about the year 248, is apparent. Baſilides, a friend of his, wrote [s] a letter to him, deſiring his opinion upon ſome points. Dionyſius's letter [t] is ſtill extant. In anſwer to one of the queries put by Baſilides, concerning the duration of the antepaſchal faſt, he ſays, it is difficult to determine. Nevertheleſs, the point is clearly determined [u] in our Apoſtolical Conſtitutions. And of another queſtion put by Baſilides, he gives a ſolution quite contrary to our Conſtitutions: and in the concluſion of the letter, he leaves his friend to judge for himſelf as he ſees beſt. This muſt be reckoned full proof, that Dionyſius was altogether unacquainted with our Apoſtolical Conſtitutions.

11. There was a controverſy about the time of keeping Eaſter, which began [y] in the ſecond century, and laſted [z] until the ſitting of the council of Nice: yet none appealed to the Conſtitutions about it. Thoſe cited by Epiphanius determine in favour of one ſide; ours in favour of the other. But that neither of thoſe Conſtitutions was then extant, or received as Apoſtolical, is manifeſt: for if there had been an Apoſtolical Conſtitution about it, the controverſy had been ended, or rather could not have been.

12. Socrates, the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian, ſpeaking of this matter ſays: the apoſtles had left it indifferent to every body: that [a] neither Chriſt, nor his apoſtles, had appointed an annual feſtival for celebrating the memory of his paſſion. And ſpeaking of the ſeveral opinions about the duration and manner of the antepaſchal faſt, he ſays, that [b] none of them were able to allege any written order about it. Conſequently, Socrates likewiſe either knew nothing of our Conſtitutions, or did not eſteem them Apoſtolical.

13. Euſebius of Cæſarea is concerned in ſeveral things already mentioned. In his accounts of early heretics, of the

[r] ...rum, ignorati qua ex arte victum ſibi ...parent: reliqui ex duodecim, antequam ...ctrinam vocati. [s] See Turner, ...[t] See before, Vol. iii. ...[u] Ap. Labb. ...[x] Vid. l. v. c. ...[y] L. vi. c. 25, 28. [z] See before in this book, Vol. ii. ch. ... [a] Socr. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. iii. cap. 5.

[a] Ἀλλὰ τὴν περὶ τοῦ πάσχα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἑορτὰς τιμὰς τοῖς εἰδόσιν παρεδώκασιν οἱ ἀπόστολοι. Socr. l. v. c. 21. p. 283. C.

Οὔτε γὰρ περὶ τοῦ παραδείπνου ὁ σωτὴρ ... ἐπιτάξαι παρῄνεσεν. Ib. D.

[b] Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ, περὶ τούτου ἔγγραφον ... ἐπιδεῖξαι παραίτιον ἦν ἁπάντων, ὡς καὶ περὶ ... ἐπιτάξεως ... Ib. p. 286. C.

disputes

disputes about Easter, and other matters, he says nothing of the Constitutions; though they might have been very properly mentioned, if in being, and he had been acquainted with them. Consequently they were unknown to him. There is however one particular which may be distinctly mentioned. Our Constitutions say, that [c] the first bishops of Cæsarea in Palestine were Zaccheus the publican, Cornelius, and Theophilus: meaning, probably, him to whom St. Luke had addressed both his Gospel and his Acts. Nevertheless, Eusebius no where takes [d] notice of these honourable predecessors of his in the see of Cæsarea.

14. We need not particularly examine later writers: for, as Daillé says, if [e] the Constitutions were not Apostolical in the first three centuries, all the wit and industry of later ages cannot make them so. But if we should call up and examine Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, Chrysostom, the Cyrils of Jerusalem and Alexandria, Jerom and Augustine, and all the other eminent Christian writers of the fourth, and the former part of the fifth century, they would be all silent. They give no intelligence concerning the Apostolical Constitutions: they have not quoted them, or mentioned them, in any of their writings. Jerom in particular, who in his Catalogue of Illustrious Men, has distinct articles for all the writers of the New Testament, and for Clement Bishop of Rome, mentions not any work of theirs called Constitutions, or Apostolical Constitutions. Certainly this must be sufficient to satisfy us of the non-existence, or vast obscurity of the Apostolical Constitutions in the early days of Christianity.

15. The first who has mentioned them, excepting Epiphanius, and the first of all, who has mentioned them as divided into several books, is [f] the author of the Imperfect Work upon St. Matthew, probably [g] a Latin writer, and plainly an Arian, who wrote some time after the reign of Theodosius the great: how long after it cannot be determined. But there is as much reason to think, he did not write till after the end of the fifth century, as that he wrote sooner.

[c] L. vii. c. 46. in. p. 382. [d] Verum Pseudo-Clementis apocryphos libros aut non legit, aut potius lectos sprevit Eusebius Cæsariensis: alias tanta ecclesiæ suæ ornamenta nequaquam in operibus suis omissurus. Cot. in loc. [e] Nam si primis tribus Christianismi sæculis Apostolicæ non fuerunt Bovianæ istæ διατάξεις, nemo non videt nulla sequentium temporum vel auctoritate vel industria fieri eas apostolicas posse. De Pseudep. p. 321.

[f] Vid. Veterum Testimonia de Constitut. Ap. ap. Patr. Ap. T. i. [g] Vid. Montfaucon. Diatriba ad Op. Imp. in Matth. op. Chrysost. opp. T. 6. ed. Bened.

15.

16. Conſequently, the Conſtitutions are deſtitute of all external evidence, that ſhould entitle them to the character of Apoſtolical.

VI. I proceed to the internal evidence. Here I ſhall mention divers things, marks of a later age than that of the apoſtles, and unſuitable to their character: at the ſame time willingly omitting many other things, for the ſake of brevity, and ſuppoſing it not neceſſary to be more particular.

1. The manner of quoting the books of the New Teſtament in this work does not ſuit the apoſtles, as, I think, every one may perceive.

1.) 'Chriſt[h] ſays in the goſpel.' [Matt. v. 27.]

2.) 'In[i] the like manner it is written alſo in the goſpel.' [Luke vi. 28.] And preſently afterwards: 'Again[k] he ſays 'in the goſpel.' [Matt. v. 44, 45.]

3.) 'The[l] Lord often ſays in the goſpel reminding men: '*He that has ears to hear, let him hear.*'

4.) 'For[m] our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt ſays in the 'goſpels.' [Matt. v. 23, 24.]

5.) 'Concerning[n] this the Lord declared, ſaying:—And 'again he ſays to his diſciples, even to us, thus:' Where are quoted Matt. x 33, 37, 38, 39. and xvi. 22. and x. 28.

6.) Having given an account of the circumſtances of our Lord's being betrayed, and of his crucifixion and reſurrection, it is added, 'All[o] theſe things alſo are written in the goſpels.'

7.) Let[p] a biſhop be knowing, and ſtudying the Lord's 'books, that he may righly explain the ſcriptures:—that the 'interpretations of the law and the prophets may correſpond 'with the goſpel. For the Lord Jeſus ſays: *Search the ſcriptures. For theſe are they which teſtify of me.* And again: 'For *Moſes wrote of me.*' [John v. 39. 46.] Certainly, this order was not given until after St. John's goſpel was written and publiſhed, probably not until after all the 'Lord's books, or ſcriptures of the New Teſtament, had been written, and put into the hands of Chriſtians.

8. Daillé did not[q] overlook this argument.

[h] Διδάσκει ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ. L. i. c. 1. [i] Ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ γέγραπται. L. i. c. 2. [k] Ibid. [l] Ὁ κύριος πολλάκις ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ παραινῶν λέγει. — L. ii. c. 6 p. 217. f. [m] Λέγει γὰρ ὁ κύριος καὶ σωτὴρ Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις. L. ii. c. 53. p. 258. in. [n] L. v. c. 1. p. 303. [o] Ταῦτα πάντα τὰ εὐαγγέλια γέγραπται. L. v. c. 1. in fin. [p] —— πολυδίδακτος, καὶ ἐκ τῶν λόγων τῶν προφητῶν ἐπιστήμων, καὶ ἐκ τῶν κυριακῶν βιβλίων.— L. ii. cap. 5. [q] Cum ergo noſtri Apoſtolos ne iis temporibus & vixerint, & congregati fuerint, quibus Joannis Evangelium editum erat,—clarum eſt, fieri nequaquam poſſe, ut Διαταξεις Chriſti Apoſtoli vere ſint. De Pſeudep. Ap. L. i. c. 14. p. 168. Vid. & p. 169. 186.

9.) I

9.) I add no more here: but several things of a like kind will occur in a following article, concerning this writer's testimony to the scriptures. There will be seen a Constitution about the method of ordaining bishops, expressly said to be a Constitution of the Twelve, and Paul, and the seven deacons: wherein it is appointed, that the gospels should be held over the head of the bishop to be ordained, or just ordained. But how was it possible that all the apostles, and all the seven deacons, should join in such a Constitution? Did none of the apostles or deacons die before the publication of the gospels? Were all the gospels written before the death of James, son of Zebedee, and brother of John, and before the martyrdom of Stephen? None will say it. The reader is also desired to observe the first quotation in that article, and to consider whether all the apostles could join in appointing the reading of the Acts? which, certainly, were not written till after the sixtieth year of our Lord's nativity.

2. I proceed to other things later than the time of the apostles.

1.) It cannot be shewn, that the several heretics abovementioned had appeared before the end of the apostolical age. Moreover they are here said, to have [r] published wicked books in the names of the apostles: calumniating the creation of God, and marriage, the law and the prophets; which cannot be shewn to have been done before the death of the apostles.

2.) There are many things in these books, which seem to shew, that the reign of heathenism in the Roman empire was over, and that Christians enjoyed ease and prosperity.

3.) 'Nor [s] does the Lord desire, that the law of righteousness should be made manifest by us only, say the apostles here. It has also been his good pleasure, that it should appear and shine by means of the Romans: for they also have believed in the Lord, and have forsaken polytheism and unrighteousness; and they cherish the good, and punish the bad.' Cotelerius in his notes says: certainly [t] this could not be said by the apostles. And if it could be made out, that it might be truly said, at some season before there were Christian emperors, [which cannot be easily done:] it would not be very material.

[r] Και τα επ' ονοματι ημων παρα των αστεων κρατυνθεντα βιβλια μη παραδεχεσθαι. κ. λ. L. vi. c. 16. in.

Τοιαυτα και νυν εποιησαν οι δυσωνομοι, διαβαλλοντες δημιουργιαι, γαμοι, —— νομοι, προφητας. Eod. cap. sub fin.

[s] L. vi. cap. 24.

[t] Certum manifestum est, non potuisse hæc ab apostolis scribi. Sed an deduci debeant usque ad tempora imperatorum Christianorum, id vero, ut parvi momenti, ita ambiguum, obscurumque mihi videtur. Cot. in loc.

4. The

4.) The ease and prosperity of Christians appear in the description that is given of a church. 'Let[u] the building be 'oblong, pointing eastward, with vestries on each side at the 'east end, that it may be like a ship: let the bishop's throne 'be placed in the middle: on each side of him [or that] let 'the presbyters sit: let the deacons stand near in short and 'light garments: let the reader stand upon an eminence.' And what follows.

5.) In another place and book: 'When[x] this is done, let 'the deacons bring the gifts to the bishop at the altar; and 'let the presbyters stand on his right hand, and on his left, 'as disciples stand before their master: and let two deacons 'on each side the altar hold a fan made of thin membranes, 'or of the feathers of a peacock, or of fine cloth; and let 'them silently keep off the small animals that fly about, that 'they may not get into the cups. Let the high priest, there-'fore, with the priests, pray by himself, and being clothed 'with his splendid garment, and standing at the altar, let him 'make the sign of the cross with his hand upon his forehead 'before all the people.' And what follows. This is particularly said to be a Constitution of James the brother of John, and son of Zebedee. But who can think, that such state and grandeur were brought into the church in his time, who was beheaded by Herod Agrippa within ten or twelve years after our Lord's ascension? Yea, who can think, that such a method of celebrating the eucharist was introduced in the time of any of Christ's apostles?

6.) I might likewise object to the style of this, and many other passages of this work. For it cannot be shewn, that[y] the Christian writers of the apostolical age, or soon after it, called Christian Ministers, 'high priests,' or 'priests,' or 'Le-'vites:' nor that they called the communion-table 'the altar.' Moreover it is now generally allowed, that[z] in the first and second centuries, Christians had not any regular or spacious buildings to meet in.

7.) Another Constitution, shewing the church to be at ease, is this: 'When[a] you teach the people, O bishop, command

[u] L. ii. c. 57 p. 261. [x] L. viii. [illegible] p. [illegible]. [y] Ac sane germana [illegible] apostolicorum scripta, Clementis [illegible] Polycarpi, Justini, vocabula pon-[illegible] sacerdotum, Levitarum, Christiano [illegible] significando numquam usurparunt. [illegible] magis Clementinæ ætatis est voca-[illegible] θυσιαστηριον, altare, ad eucharistiæ mensam indicandam. Basnag. Ann. 100. n. xii. [z] —— ὅτι μεν των αποστολων, ὅτε η εκκλησια εκομα μεν χαρισμασι πνευματικοις, εὗρυε δε πολιτεια λαμπρα εκκλησιαστηρια ουκ ην. κ. λ. Isid. Pelus. Ep. l. ii. n. 246. At forte sic legendum: ὅτε — εὗρυε δε πολιτεια, λαμπρα εκκλησιαστηρια ουκ ην. [a] L. ii. c. 59.

'them to come to church morning and evening every day—'do you aſſemble yourſelves together every day, morning 'and evening, ſinging pſalms, and praying in the Lord's 'houſe.—But eſpecially on the ſabbath-day, and on the Lord's-'day, do you meet together more diligently.'

8.) Again: 'I [b] Paul and I Peter ordain as follows: Let 'ſlaves [or ſervants] work ſix days; but on the ſabbath-day, 'and the Lord's-day, let them have leiſure to go to church 'to be inſtructed in religion.—And in the whole great week, 'and in that which follows, let ſervants ceaſe from work; 'becauſe that is the week of Chriſt's paſſion, this of his reſur-'rection. Let them alſo reſt on the day of Chriſt's aſcenſion, 'becauſe it is the concluſion of the diſpenſation by Chriſt. 'Let them reſt on Pentecoſt, becauſe of the coming of the 'Spirit which was given to believers. Let them alſo reſt 'from labour on the feaſt of the Nativity, and on the day of 'Epiphany. Let them alſo reſt on the days of the apoſtles, 'and the day of Stephen the protomartyr, and on the days of 'other martyrs, who loved Jeſus Chriſt above their own lives.'

9.) Poſſibly ſome may (though without reaſon) pretend, or ſuſpect, that the latter part of this Conſtitution is an interpolation. I therefore now inſiſt only on the former part of it, ſo far as relates to ſervants reſting on the 'ſabbath-day, Lord's-'day, the great week, and the week following, and the day 'of Chriſt's aſcenſion, and the day of Pentecoſt.' And it ſeems to me, that neither Peter, nor Paul, nor any of the apoſtles, could deliver ſuch Conſtitutions relating to ſlaves or ſervants: ſuch rules could not be propoſed in the time of the apoſtles, and at the firſt planting of the Chriſtian religion in the world. By the Roman laws ſervants were as much the property of their maſters, as any other part of their eſtate: they could uſe them as they pleaſed; and had the power of life and death till the time of Antoninus the pious, who, by his conſtitution, reſtrained or abrogated it. For it is there ſaid: Qui ſine cauſa ſervum ſuum occiderit, non minus puniri jubetur, quam ſi ſervum alienum occiderit. Inſt. l. i. tit. 8. De his, qui ſui, vel alieni juris ſunt. Or, if we may credit Spartian, this had been done by his immediate predeceſſor Adrian. His words are theſe: Servos a dominis occidi vetuit, & juſſit damnari per judices, ſi digni eſſent, Spart. in vit. Adrian. cap. 18. But as thoſe laws were not made till after the times of the apoſtles, nothing can be more abſurd, than

[b] L. viii. c. 33.

to imagine they would lay any such injunction upon slaves, as would deprive their masters two days in seven of their labour, beside other occasional days. Nothing could have more prejudiced them against the Christian religion, than such an attempt upon their property: nor could any thing have been more cruel to slaves, many of whom must doubtless have lost their lives, had they complied with any such Constitution of the apostles: and it may be reckoned contrary to what St. Paul enjoins 1 Tim. vi. 1. *Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed.*

10.) Christian bishops are here supposed to have tribunals, or courts of judicature. They [c] are directed to hold their courts on the second day of the week, or Monday; and the deacons and presbyters are to be present: that is, as Daillé [d] observes, here is reference to a privilege allowed by Christian emperors, not till long after the death of the Apostles.

11.) The great [e] number of days distinguished and appointed either for fasts or feasts, (as we partly saw in a late quotation) shews this work of the Constitutions to be later than the times of the apostles. These appointments are contrary to the doctrine of Paul in [f] his well known epistles, and also to the well known practice of the church in the second and third centuries. The Christians had in early times some days of fasting and feasting, but they were not so numerous as those here appointed; nor were they unanimous in the manner of keeping them; nor do they seem generally to have thought them of apostolical appointment, but rather, as Jerom says, [g] counsels of wise men, or institutions answering some good ends and purposes. That all did not think them of apostolical appointment, may be reckoned very probable from the judgment of Socrates formerly taken notice of. Augustine declares: I [h] perceive, the gospel teaches us to fast; but I do not see, that in any part of the New Testament, either Christ or his apostles have appointed on what days we should fast, and on what not

[c] Τὰ δὲ δικαστήρια ὑμῶν γινέσθω δευτέρᾳ σαββάτων κ. λ. L. ii. c. 47. in.

Denique rem totam sic describunt, ut [illegible] sit, nihil aliud eos intellexisse, quam [illegible] multis post apostolos temporibus [illegible] Christianorum benignitate atque [illegible] episcopis indultum fuit. Ubi [illegible] pr. p. 319.

[e] Vid. l. v. c. 17 — [illegible] c. 33.

[f] See Rom. xiv. 6. Gal. iv. 10. Col. ii. 15, 16.

[g] Jejunia & congregationes inter dies propter eos a viris prudentibus constitutos, qui magis sæculo vacent quam Deo. Hieron. in Galat. iv. 10.

[h] Ego in evangelicis & apostolis literis, totoque instrumento, quod appellatur Testamentum Novum, animo id revolvens, video præceptum esse jejunium. Quibus autem diebus non oporteat jejunare, & quibus oporteat, præcepto Domini vel apostolorum, non inveni definitum. Ad Casul. ep. 36. al. 76. cap. xi. T. 2.

to faſt. And Tertullian repreſents the [i] catholic doctrine of his time about faſts much in the ſame manner. As for feſtivals, Origen in the third century mentions but [k] three, Lord's-days, Eaſter, and Pentecoſt. I hope I need not enlarge here; but I refer to [l] Daillé and [m] Turner, who have fully conſidered the point. And Daillé having ſummarily [n] enumerated the faſts and feaſts of the Conſtitutions, and put down their aſſertion, 'that every one is guilty of ſin, who faſts on the 'Lord's-day, or the day of Pentecoſt, or, in a word, on any 'feſtival of the Lord,' ſays very well, that the Conſtitutions, which have diſtinguiſhed almoſt every day in the year, either as a faſt or a feaſt, could not come from the apoſtles of Chriſt. Indeed the great apoſtle Paul ſays to the Coloſſians, ch. ii. 16. and in them, I ſuppoſe, to all Chriſtians in general, *Let no man judge you in meat, or drink, or in reſpect of an holiday, or of the new moon, or of the ſabbaths.* But theſe apoſtles [whether falſe apoſtles, or true, let any man determine], make no ſcruple of judging men on ſuch accounts.

12.) Before I quite leave this point, I would take ſome particular notice of the reſpect ſhewn in theſe Conſtitutions for the ſabbath, or ſeventh day of the week.

They ordain, that by [o] all Chriſtians in general, the ſabbath and the Lord's-day ſhould be kept as feſtivals: that [p] every ſabbath in the year, except one, and every Lord's-day, be kept with joy, without making them days of mourning, or faſting: that ſervants [q] ſhould ceaſe from labour, and come to

i Itaque de cætero differenter jejunandum ex arbitrio, non ex imperio diſciplinæ, pro temporibus & cauſis uniuſcujuſque. Sic & apoſtolos obſervaſſe, nullum aliud imponentes jugum certorum & in commune omnibus obeundorum jejuniorum. De Jejun. cap. 2. p. 702. A. k Εαν δε τις προς ταυτα αισθησιν τα περι των παρ' ημιν κυριακων, η παρασκευην, η τε σαββατα, η της πεντηκοστης. Conſt. Cleſ. 8. p. 758. F. Bened. l Vid. de Pſeudep. Ap. l. i. cap. x. xi. m As before, p. 242—258. n Cum hoc vero et indubitato apoſtolorum dogmate equidem non video, qui conciliari poſſint illæ tam multæ de perpetuis certorum dierum, aut jejuniis, aut non jejuniis leges. Illi enim & hebdomadam quidem antepaſchalem, & quadrageſimam, & quartam ſextamque cujuſvis hebdomadis ferias ab omnibus Chriſtianis jejunari lege in perpetuum lata præcipiunt. Altera vero ex parte tum ſabbatum, tum Dominicam diem, & omnes quinquaginta a Paſchate ad Pentecoſtem dies, adhæc ſolemnis Dominici diem, &c. —— hos, inquam omnes dies jejunio funeſtari vetuit, & quis uno ex iis jejunarit, eum debitum piaculumque commeritum pronunciat. L. v. c. xx. fin. Ενοχος γαρ αμαρτηματος εστι την κυριακην νηστευων, —— η την πεντηκοστην —— Mitto rei ipſius abſurditatem, et ineptiam. —— Hoc unum dico, nihilominus iſtos eſſe, quam Chriſti apoſtolos, qui omnem fere totius anni diem vel jejunio mœrori, vel prandii lætitiæ addicunt, accipiant. &c. Dall. de Pſeud. l. i. c. xv. p. 141, 142. o Το σαββατον αμα τη κυριακη εορταζειν. L. vii. c. 23. p. 376. p Παν μεν τοι σαββατον, απο της και πασαν κυριακην επιλεκτης συνεχειας φαινεσθαι. κ. λ. L. v. cap. 20. p. 316. Vid. & l. vii. c. 36. in. p. 376. q Σαββατον δε και κυριακην σχολαζειν εν τη εκκλησια, δια την εικασιαν της ευσεβειας. L. viii. c. 33. in. p. 414.

church

church on the sabbath, and the Lord's-day: that [r] Christians in general should assemble together for worship on every day, but especially on the sabbath, and the Lord's-day.

Concerning these particulars I would say, that the apostles of Christ never gave such instructions about keeping the sabbath. Secondly, that they are more suitable to the fourth or fifth centuries, than to the most early times of Christianity.

First, the apostles of Christ never gave such instructions about keeping the sabbath. That the apostles did not appoint the keeping of the sabbath as a feast, and forbid fasting thereon, is evident hence, that Christians in general never reckoned themselves bound by any such rule. This will appear from observations of Petavius, which [s] I place below: to which I shall add a passage from [t] a letter of St. Jerom.

That the apostles did not require servants, or other Christians, to cease from labour on the sabbath, is shewn [u] by some following observations of the learned writer just cited. He particularly takes notice, that the council of Laodicea forbids Christians to esteem the sabbath a day of rest from labour.

Secondly, these instructions about keeping the sabbath, are more suitable to the fourth or fifth century, than to the most early times of Christianity.

[r] —— μαλιστα δε εν τη ημερα τȣ σαββατα, και εν τη τȣ κυριȣ αναστασιμῳ τη [illegible], σπȣδαιοτερως απαντατε. L. ii. c. [illegible] p. 268.

[s] Non enim ubique, nec [illegible] tota ecclesia, sabbatum jejunii expers [illegible]. Etenim Romani, quod Socrates lib. [illegible] cap. xxii. scripsit, παν σαββατον νηστευουσι. Deo quo fuissime Augustinus ep. 86. & 118. [al. 36. ad Casulan. & 54. ad Ja[illegible].] Quare nulla est ab apostolis edita [illegible], qui jejunium eo die prohiberetur, [illegible] Augustinus asserit in ep. 118. ubi in re[illegible] hujusmodi negat quicquam esse 'vel [illegible] sanctæ auctoritate, vel univer[illegible] ecclesiæ traditione determinatum.' [illegible] quidem præscriptione tanquam spurius [illegible] canon ille rejicitur, qui inter apostolicos 68. numeratur: Ει τις κληρικος [illegible] ημεραν νηστευων, η το σαββατον, πλην τȣ ενος μονȣ, καθαιρεισθω· [illegible], αφοριζεσθω. Non potest hoc [illegible] apostolis communi esse decreto constitu[illegible] —— Nec melioris notæ sunt, quæ in Apost. Constit. leguntur l. vii. c. 28. [sec. [illegible]] ubi τα σαββατα, και τας κυριακας [illegible] præcipit. Quod ab apostolis toti ecclesiæ numquam esse præscriptum, sanctissimorum Patrum consensus approbavit. Petav. Animadv. in Epiphan. p. 359.

[t] De Sabbatho quod quæris, utrum jejunandum sit. — Sed ego illud breviter te admonendum puto, traditiones ecclesiasticas (præsertim quæ fidei non officiant) ita observandas, ut a majoribus traditæ sunt. —— Atque utinam omni tempore jejunare possimus, quod in Actibus apostolorum die Pentecostes & die Dominico apostolum Paulum, & cum eo credentes, fecisse legimus. Hier. ep. 52. al. 28. p. 579. in.

[u] Ad extremum, de sabbathi religionis inter pseudodiataxes apostolicas exstat Petri ac Pauli nomine edita sanctio l. viii. c. 33. 'ut eo die ac Dominico servi ab opere feriati sint.' Hoc vero nunquam ab apostolis manasse decretum apparet ex eo, quod Laodicense Concilium, can. 29. diserte vetat sabbatho otiosos esse Christianos. Οτι ȣ δει Χριστιανȣς Ιȣδαιζειν, και εν τῳ σαββατῳ σχολαζειν, αλλα εργαζεσθαι αυτȣς εν τη αυτη ημερα, την δε κυριακην προτιμωντας, ειγε δυναιτο, σχολαζειν, ως Χριστιανοι. Dominicis potius quam sabbathis, vacare jubet: & addit tamen, si illorum commodo fieri potest. Ut nondum illis temporibus ab omni opere feriatos esse penitus constitutum fuerit: uti Zonaras & Balsamo ad illum canonem adnotant. Petav. ib. p. 360.

Socrates, in the fifth century, says, that [x] Christian churches in general throughout the world met, and had the eucharist every week on the sabbath, excepting the churches of Rome and Alexandria. Sozomen, about the same time, says likewise, that [y] at Constantinople, and almost every where, except Rome and Alexandria, Christians assembled on the sabbath, as well as on the first day of the week. And in a pretended letter of St. Ignatius, composed by some [z] idle Greek, it is said: He [a] is an enemy to Christ, who fasts on the Lord's-day, or on any sabbath, except one.

But it does not appear, that the practice mentioned by Socrates and Sozomen, of assembling on the sabbath, obtained in the early days of Christianity. Nor was it universal in their time, as it would have been, in all probability, if it had been of apostolical appointment.

St. Luke informs us, Acts xx. 7. that *upon the first day of the week, when the disciples*, at Troas, *came together to break bread, Paul preached to them.* The same apostle, 1 Cor. xvi. 2. directs: *Upon the first day of the week, let every one lay by him in store:* meaning probably the same, which St. John, Rev. i. 10. calls the Lord's-day.

In like manner, in the times next following those of the New Testament, says Ignatius: 'Let [b] us no longer sabbatize, 'but keep the Lord's-day, on which our life arose.'

Justin Martyr: 'And [c] on the day called Sunday, is an assembly of all who live either in the city or the country, 'and the memoirs of the apostles, and the writings of the 'prophets are read.' He afterwards assigns their reasons [d] for meeting together on the Sunday: which are, because it is the first day, on which God dispelling darkness created the world, and our Saviour Jesus Christ rose from the dead on the same day: or in the words of a later writer, in the sixth century,

[x] Των γαρ πανταχου της οικουμενης εκκλησιων εν ημερᾳ σαββατων, κατα πασαν εβδομαδος περιοδον επιτελουσιν τα μυστηρια, οι εν Αλεξανδρειᾳ, και οι εν Ρωμη, εκ τινος αρχαιας παραδοσεως, τουτο ποιειν παρητησαντο. Socr. H. E. l. v. c. 22. p. 286. D.

[y] Αμελει οι μεν και τῳ σαββατῳ, ομοιως τῃ μια σαββατου εκκλησιαζουσιν, ως εν Κωνσταντινουπολει, και σχεδον πανταχου. Εν Ρωμη δε, και Αλεξανδρειᾳ, ουκετι. Soz. l. vii. c. 19. p. 735. B.

[z] Sed modum excedit Graculus. Cotel. in loc.

[a] Εν τις κυριακην η σαββατον νηστευει, πλην ενος σαββατου, ουτος χριστοκτονος εστιν. Ignat. adscript. Ep. ad Philip. n. 14. p. 124.

[b] —— μηκετι σαββατιζωμεν, αλλα κατα κυριακην ζωην ζωντες, εν ... ζωη ημων ανετειλεν δι' αυτου. Ignat. ad Magnes. cap. ix. p. 20.

[c] Και τη ηλιου λεγομενη ημερᾳ παντων κατα πολεις η αγρους μενοντων επι το αυτο συνελευσις γινεται κ. λ. Apol. 2. al. 1. p. 98. D. Paris. 1636.

[d] Την δε του ηλιου ημερᾳ κοινη παντες την συνελευσιν ποιουμεθα, επειδαν πρωτη εστιν ημερα, εν η ο Θεος τε σκοτος και την υλην τρεψας κοσμον εποιησε και Ιησους Χριστος ο ημετερος σωτηρ τῃ αυτῃ ημερᾳ εκ νεκρων ανεστη. Ibid. p. 99. A. B.

on

on † the firſt day of the week, that is, on the Lord's-day the foundation of the world was laid, and the creation was begun.

Dionyſius biſhop of Corinth, in his letter to the church of Rome, ſays: 'To-day [e] we celebrated the holy Lord's-day, 'when we read your epiſtle to us.'

Clement of Alexandria mentions [f] the Lord's-day.

Tertullian rejects [g] ſabbaths and new moons, as foreign to Chriſtians, and ſpeaks of the Lord's-day, and Pentecoſt, as Chriſtian ſolemnities.

Origen, in a paſſage cited not long before, mentions the Lord's-day, but ſays nothing of the ſabbath.

I might likewiſe refer to what Euſebius ſays of Conſtantine's reſpect for the [h] Lord's-day. And I ſhall place in the margin ſome obſervations [i] of Petavius, agreeing with, and confirming what is here ſaid.

So that the reſpect ſhewn for the ſabbath, and joining it with the Lord's-day, are no marks of the antiquity of the Conſtitutions, but rather otherwiſe.

13.) Several inferior officers of the church, mentioned in the Conſtitutions, were not in being in the apoſtolical times, nor immediately after them. Beſide biſhops, preſbyters, and deacons, here [k] are readers, ſingers, ſubdeacons, door-keepers, or porters, and exorciſts. Cotelerius ſays, that [l] Ignatius at

† Ἐν τῇ τοῦ τελείου τῇ κυριακῇ, ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως. Coteler. Egypt. Topogr. l. ii. p. 174. E. edit. Monfauc.

[e] Τὴν ἁγίαν τοῦ κυρίου κυριακὴν ἡμέραν διήγομεν. Ap. Euſeb. H. E. l. iv. cap. 23. p. 145. B.

[f] Οὕτως εἵλκυσεν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα διάταξιν τοῦ κυριακὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος. Str. 7. p. 744. C. D.

[g] Nobis, quibus ſabbatha extranea ſunt, [illegible] & feriæ, a Deo aliquando [illegible] ——O melior fides nationum in [illegible] quæ nullam ſolemnitatem [illegible] ſibi vindicat! Non Domi[illegible] Diem, non Pentecoſten, etiam ſi [illegible] nobiſcum communicaſſent. De [illegible] cap. 14. p. 113. C.

[h] Vid. de Vit. Conſt. l. iv. c. 18. & 23. Conf. Valeſii Annot. in l. iv. c. 18. n. 143.

[i] Denique quod Epiphanius admonet: 'triplicem illam ſynaxin 'eorum totidem ab apoſtolis eſſe traditam:' [illegible] ſcio, an ſatis certo conſtare queat, [illegible] primis eccleſiæ temporibus unus dun[illegible] Dominicus dies ad eam rem obſerva[illegible] [illegible], ut ex apoſtolo: ad Cor. cap. [illegible] colligitur. Quinetiam Juſtinus in [illegible] cum de Chriſtianorum conventibus agit, ſolius Dominicæ meminit: Τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέραν κοινῇ πάντες τὴν συνέλευσιν ποιούμεθα. Quare magis id ex privato eccleſiæ cujuſque ritu, quam ex communi apoſtolorum præſcripto derivatum exiſtimo, ut quarta ſextave feria, aut etiam ſabbatho ſynaxes conventuſque fierent. Quam in rem egregius eſt Auguſtini locus ep. 18. 'Alia vero,' inquit, 'quæ per 'loca terrarum regioneſque variantur, ſi'cuti eſt, quod alii jejunant ſabbatho, 'alii vero non: alii quotidie communi'cant corpori & ſanguini dominico—alibi 'ſabbatho tantum & Dominico: alibi tan'tum Dominico: & ſi quid aliud hujuſ'modi animadverti poteſt, totum hoc ge'nus rerum liberas habet obſervationes.' Petav. Animadv. in Epiph. p. 354. fin.

[k] Vid. l. ii. c. 25. p. 238. l. viii. c. 21—28.

[l] Aperte quidem S. Ignatius, qui initio ſecundi ſæculi ſcripſit, agnoſcit ſolummodo tres majores gradus, epiſcopatum, preſbyteratum, diaconatum. Primus vero, quod ſciam, Lectores nominavit Tertullianus. Libro de Pr. Hæreticorum cap. 41. Hypodiaconi autem, Exorciſtæ & Acolythi, non comparent ante Cyprianicas epiſtolas, & epiſtolam Cornelii Papæ,

the beginning of the second century mentions only bishops, presbyters, and deacons; readers are first mentioned by Tertullian; subdeacons, exorcists, acolyths, and door-keepers, in the letters of Cyprian and Cornelius, about the middle of the third century. In the eighth book of this work are forms of ordination for subdeacons, readers, exorcists. It is also constituted, that [n] ministers or deacons, singers, readers, door-keepers, should marry but once.

14.) The authority of Christian bishops is highly advanced in these Constitutions, in a way that does not suit the doctrine, or the character of Christ's apostles.

15.) 'Upon this [o] account therefore, O bishop, take care 'to be pure in thy actions, behaving agreeably to thy place 'and dignity, as sustaining the character of God among men: 'being set over men, priests, kings, rulers, fathers, sons, 'masters, and all who are subject to thee. Judge therefore 'with authority, as God: but receive the penitent.' That is the character which the Constitutions direct a bishop to sustain, of God among men: whereas St. Paul says, *A bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God*, Tit. i. 7. Compare 1 Cor. iv. 1, 2. and 1 Pet. iv. 10.

16.) 'For [p] it is not fit that you, O bishop, who are the 'head, should hearken to the tail, that is a seditious layman, 'to the destruction of another, but to God alone. For you 'are to govern those subject to you, and not to be governed 'by them.'

17.) 'Let [q] a layman honour a good bishop, love and fear 'him, as lord and master, as the high-priest of God, as a 'teacher of piety. For he that hears him hears Christ: and 'he that despiseth him despiseth Christ.'

18.) 'You [r] therefore, O bishops, are to your people priests 'and Levites,——who stand at the altar of the Lord our God, 'and offer to him reasonable and unbloody sacrifices, through 'Jesus the great high-priest.'

19.) 'Be [s] you [or you are] to the laity among you prophets, 'rulers, governors, and kings: mediators between God and 'his faithful people, who receive and declare his word.'

qua etiam Ostiarios adjungit. &c. Ad Const. l. ii. c. 25. not. 73.

m Vid. l. viii. c. 21, 22. 26.

n —— ἱερεῖας δὲ καὶ ψαλτῳδοὺς, καὶ πυλαύρους, καὶ ἀδὴς μοιχαμοὺς εἶναι κελεύομεν. L. vi. c. 17. p. 347.

o —— γνωρίζου τοῖς τρόποις σὺ καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν, ὡς Θεοῦ τύπος, ἐχων ἐν ἀνθρώποις τῷ παντῶν ἄρχειν ἀνθρώπων. L. ii. c. 11.

p Οὐδὲ γὰρ δίκαιον, κεφαλὴν οὖσαν σὲ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, πρὸς οὐρὰν τρέπεσθαι, τέλειν λαϊκὸν στασιώδη ἀνθρωπον, ——ἄρχειν γὰρ σε τῶν ὑπηκόων, ἀ οὐκ ἐπ' ἀλλοι ἀρχόντων. L. c. 14. p. 223.

q —— αἰδείσθω [ὁ λαϊκὸς] ἀγαθὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ἀγαπάτω, φοβείσθω ὡς δεσπότην. —— L. ii. c. 20. in.

r L. ii. c. 25. p. 237.

s —— τοῖς ἐν ὑμῖν λαϊκοῖς ἔστε προφῆται, ἄρχοντες καὶ κρίνοντες, καὶ βασιλῆς. κ. λ. Ibid.

20.)

20.) 'The [t] bishop, he is the minister of the word, the 'keeper of knowledge, the mediator between God and you in 'the several parts of divine worship. He is the teacher of 'piety: he is after God your father, who has begotten you 'again to the adoption of sons by water and the Spirit; he 'is your ruler and governor, your king and potentate: he 'is, after God, your God on earth, who ought to be honoured 'by you.——Let the bishop preside over you, as honoured 'with the authority of God, with which he rules over the 'clergy, and governs all the people.'

21.) 'These [x] do you esteem your governors and kings: 'and pay tribute to them as kings.' The apostles of Christ knew how to direct and secure a competent maintenance for Christian ministers, without using such language as this, which could not, in this case, proceed from a humble temper of mind.

22.) Soon after in the same chapter: 'By [y] how much there- 'fore the soul is more valuable than the body, so much the 'priesthood excels the kingdom:——therefore you ought to 'love the bishop as a father, fear him as king, and honour him 'as lord.'

23.) 'For [z] if he who rises up against kings is worthy of 'punishment;——how much more he who rises up against the 'priests? For by how much the priesthood is more noble than 'the royal power, as having it's concern about the soul; so 'much the greater punishment has he, who ventures [or dares] 'to oppose the priesthood, than he who opposes the royal 'power, though neither of them goes unpunished.'

24.) '——why [a] then should not you esteem the dispensers 'of the word as prophets, and reverence them as gods.'

25.) 'You [b] ought therefore, my brethren, to bring your 'sacrifices and offerings to the bishop, as to your high-priest, 'either by yourselves, or by your deacons. Nor do you bring 'those only, but likewise bring to him first-fruits, and tithes, 'and free-will offerings. For he knows who are in affliction, 'and gives to every one, as is convenient.' So then the bishop is to have the distribution of all the gifts of the laity: but he is not accountable to them; for it follows in another chapter: 'It [c] becomes you therefore to give, him to

[t] L. ii. c. 26. p. 239.

[x] Ibid.

[y] Ib. p. 245.

[z] L. vi. cap. 2. p. 330.

[a] L. ii. cap. 29.

[b] L. ii. cap. 27. p. 241. Conf. l. v. cap. 1.

[c] L. ii. c. 35. fin.

'distribute:

'distribute: for he is the administrator and dispenser of eccle-
'siastical affairs [it should have been said, and secular affairs].
'Yet [d] thou shalt not call thy bishop to an account, nor ob-
'serve his administration or distribution; how he does it, when,
'or to whom, or where; nor whether he does it well, or ill:
'for there is one, who will call him to an account, even the
'Lord God, who put the administration into his hands, and
'honoured him with the priesthood.' Were ever such in-
structions given, before or since? And can any man think, that
the apostles of Christ would be at the pains to write instructions
to cover or countenance mal-administration?

26.) Having spoken of bishops, presbyters, deacons, readers,
singers, and door-keepers, it is immediately added: 'Let [e]
'the laity therefore shew due honour and respect in their pre-
'sents to each order. Nor [f] let them easily [or upon all oc-
'casions] give trouble to the governor; but let them signify
'their desires by the ministers, that is, the deacons, with
'whom they may be more free. For neither may we have
'access to Almighty God, but through Christ: in like man-
'ner let the laity make known their desires to the bishop by a
'deacon, and do as he directs.' Very fine, truly! for our
Constitution-bishop is an eastern prince, who may not be seen
or spoken to by mean people.

3. Several things in the Constitutions appear to be unworthy
of the apostles of Christ.

1.) I am unwilling to insist upon the direction relating to
the beard, though it be joined with other things of a like kind,
as we have [g] in our present Constitutions, forbidding the wear-
ing of fine stockings and shoes, and combing and curling the
hair. However, two or three things I shall mention, and leave
them to be considered by others.

2.) Concerning receiving persons to baptism: 'Let [h] a con-
'cubine, who is servant to an unbeliever, and confines herself
'to her master alone, be received: but if she be incontinent
'with others, let her be rejected.' Few [i] will think, that St.
Paul would deliver this Constitution, as he is here represented
to do.

[d] Ου μεν τοι λοιτιστευσεις σου τον επισκοποι, ουδε παρατηρησεις την οικονομιαν αυτου, πως επιτελει, η ποτε, η τισιν, η που, η ει καλως, η φαυλως, η δεοντως. κ. λ. Ib.

[e] L. ii. cap. 28.

[f] Μη ραδιως δε ενοχλειτωσαν τω αρχοντι, αλλα δια των υπηρετων α βουλονται σημαινετωσαν, τουτεστι δια των διακονων, προς ους πλεον [illegible] αζεσθωσαν. Ibid.

[g] Vid. Con[illegible] i. c. 3.

[h] Παλλακη τινος απιστου [illegible], εκεινῳ μονῳ σχολαζουσα, προσδεχεσθω. L. viii. c. 32. p. 413.

[i] Hæc scilicet Paulus decrevit? Has ille leges tulit? &c. Dal. de Pseud. l. i. c. 8. p. 108.

5.)

3.) The Conſtitution concerning married pregnant women[l] I take to be contrary to the order of nature, and the appointment of Providence. God joined one man and one woman in marriage; and deſigned it for mutual comfort, as well as for the preſervation of the ſpecies. For certain, Lactantius[l], the moſt learned Latin Chriſtian of his time, knew nothing of this Conſtitution. And though he was a great admirer of purity, and all virtue, he has argued againſt the reſtraint here enjoined. This one Conſtitution, if ſtrictly inforced, would render the goſpel a heavier yoke than all the ordinances of the law of Moſes. And wherever ſuch an appointment ſhould be reckoned a part of any religious inſtitution, there would be frequent occaſions for diſpenſations: and the rule would prove detrimental to the intereſts of religion and virtue, without benefit to any, but thoſe who could get the diſpenſing power into their hands.

4.) Once more; 'Concerning[m] biſhops, we have heard from 'our Lord, that a perſon, appointed paſtor or biſhop in any 'pariſh ſhould be unblameable, and not under fifty years of 'age.—But in a ſmall pariſh, if one advanced in years cannot 'be found, let a younger perſon who is of good character be 'admitted. For Solomon at twelve years of age was king of 'Iſrael, and Joſiah at eight years of age reigned righteouſly, 'and Joaſh began to reign at ſeven years of age.' This is tying and looſing, ſaying and unſaying, all at once; that is, it is ſaying nothing at all. This therefore appears to me unworthy of the apoſtles; for I cannot think, that they would ſay and unſay, all in a breath.

If any ſhould underſtand this otherwiſe, and ſay, this Conſtitution requires, that no man be ordained biſhop in a city, or large pariſh, under fifty years of age; it is obvious to anſwer, that it is an[mm] abſurd appointment, and therefore unworthy of the apoſtles. Nor do we know, that the Chriſtians of the firſt three centuries acted by this rule: nor, finally, is there any ſuch canon among thoſe which are called apoſtolical.

[illegible] L. vi. c. 28. p. 357. f. Nec ob aliam cauſam Deus, cum [illegible] fuſcepto fœtu, maribus [illegible] voluiſſet, ſolam omnium mulierum [illegible] viri fecit: ſcilicet, ne, fe[illegible]pregnantibus, libido cogeret viros [illegible] appetere, corpore facto caſtitatis glo[illegible] teherent. Inſt. l. vi. cap. 23. p. 628.

m —— τον ποιμενα τον καθισταμενον επισκοπον εις τας εκκλησιας εν πασῃ παροικιᾳ —— μη ελαττον ἑξηκοντα. Ει δε και εν παροικιᾳ μικρᾳ. —— κ. λ. L. ii. cap. 1.

mm This is particularly mentioned by Du Pin p. 17. as one of the abſurdities found in the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions.

4. Incon-

4. Inconsistencies are a disparagement to any writings: this work is not free from them.

1.) These Constitutions mention the martyrdoms of Stephen, and James the son of Zebedee, which are well known from the Acts; as also, that Stephen was stoned before Paul's conversion. And [n] yet all the twelve apostles, and Paul, and the seven deacons, are said to join together in these Constitutions. The inconsistence is manifest to every body: I need not say any thing to make it evident.

2.) In the eighth chapter of the fifth book the apostles ordain, that martyrs be honoured, and particularly James and Stephen. And yet in the twelfth chapter of the sixth book, giving an account of the council of Jerusalem, the history of which we have in Acts xv. on occasion of the controversy concerning the method of receiving the Gentiles, it is said, 'that '[o] all the twelve apostles were then gathered together at Jeru'salem, with James the Lord's brother.' Here, I think, is an inconsistence with what had been before said of the death of James, son of Zebedee: moreover here is also certainly a mistake, or false history; for the apostle James, just mentioned, had been beheaded by order of Herod Agrippa, before the meeting of the said council.

3.) At the end of that twelfth chapter, having inserted the epistle to the church of Antioch, and other churches, it is said by the apostles: 'This [p] letter we sent to them; but we our'selves stayed some time at Jerusalem, consulting together 'about the public good, and the well ordering of all things.' Then in the thirteenth chapter: 'But [q] after a long time we 'visited the brethren, confirming them in the word, and ex'horting them to be upon their guard against heretics.' Then at the beginning of ch. xiv. 'On [r] whose account we now 'being all met together, Peter and Andrew, James and John, 'sons of Zebedee, Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas and 'Matthew, James the son of Alpheus, and Lebbeus surnamed 'Thaddeus, and Simon the Canaanite, and Matthias chosen 'in the room of Judas, and James the Lord's brother, 'and Paul, the chosen vessel and master of the Gentiles: we 'being all gathered together have written to you this catholic 'doctrine.' Surely I need not harangue to shew the absurdity

n L. viii. c. 4. Conf. l. ii. c. 55.

o Ημεις οι δοιδεκα συνελθοντες εις Ιερουσαλημ. κ. λ. L. vi. c. 12. p. 341. m.

p Την μεν ουν επιστολην εξω τεστιλαμεν· αυτοι δε εν ικαναις ημεραις εν Ιεροσολυμοις επεμειναμεν, αμα συζητουντες προς το κοινωφελες εις διορθωσιν. p. 342. sub fin.

q Μετα δε χρονον ικανον επισ[illegible] τους αδελφους. κ. λ.

r Δ[illegible] ημεις νυν επι το αυτο γενομενοι, [illegible] υμιν την καθολικην ταυτην διδασκαλιαν. p. 343.

of

of this. How could James, brother of John, and ſon of Zebedee, who had been beheaded before the above-mentioned council, be preſent at another, not held until a good while after it? Such things almoſt render the writer's abilities doubtful: and may make us queſtion, whether he was not rather ignorant than learned, as ſome indeed have thought.

5. The ſtyle, or manner of expreſſion, ſeems ſometimes to betray a later time than is pretended.

1.) 'Now concerning the biſhops, which were [or have been] 'ordained in our life-time, we let you know that they are theſe: 'James, biſhop of Jeruſalem, brother of our Lord; upon whoſe 'death the ſecond was Simeon the ſon of Cleophas; after him 'Judas the ſon of James.' And what follows. To ſpeak of things done by the apoſtles in their life-time, is rather the ſtyle of an hiſtorian after their death, than of the apoſtles themſelves. Nor is it eaſy to conceive, that any number of apoſtles ſhould be living to ordain a ſucceſſor to Simeon; who, according to [t] Euſebius's hiſtory, died in the 120th year of his age: and according to Euſebius's, or Jerom's [u] Chronicle, in the reign of Trajan, and the year of our Lord's nativity 107, or thereabout.

2.) To the like purpoſe in another place: 'You [x] are not 'ignorant of the things done by us. Doubtleſs you know the 'biſhops nominated by us, and the preſbyters and deacons 'appointed by prayer and impoſition of hands.'

3.) 'For [y] as we paſſed through the nations, and confirmed 'the churches, ſome we cured with healing words——but 'thoſe who were incurable we caſt out from the flock.——— 'Theſe things we did in every city, every where throughout 'the whole world.' This is not written by the apoſtles, but by ſome hiſtorian after their time.

4.) Again, 'For [z] by the laying on of our hands, the Holy 'Ghoſt was given to believers.' But if the apoſtles had ſpoke, they would have ſaid: 'The Holy Ghoſt is given by us.' The expreſſion in the Conſtitutions ſhews, they were written at a time when ſpiritual gifts were no longer beſtowed by the apoſtles.

5.) Speaking of heretics: 'All [a] theſe had one and the ſame 'deſign.' Afterwards, 'Others [b] ſaid; and [c] others taught.'

[t] Πως δε τους ὑφ' ἡμων χειροτονηθεντας ἐπι τῳ ζωῃ τα πραγματα. κ. λ. L. vi. c. 46. in. [u] H. E. l. iii. c. 32. p. 64. C. [x] p. 165. [y] L. viii. c. 46. p. 422. in. [z] L. vi. c. 18. p. 319. [z] Και γαρ δια της επιθεσεως των χειρων εδιδοτο πιστευσασι αγιον το πνευμα. L. ii. c. 41. p. 250. [a] Τουτοις δε πασιν—σκοπος ἡν εις. L. vi. c. 10. in. [b] Ετεροι δε εξ αιτιων ελεγον. Ib. [c] Αλλοι δε—εδιδασκον. Ibid.

Here

Here the writer betrays himſelf: this is the ſtyle of an hiſtorian who writes of things paſt; not of one who relates things then doing, or gives an account of perſons then in being. I put in the margin a remark of [d] Daillé upon ſome of the expreſſions juſt cited.

VII. All theſe things muſt be more than ſufficient to ſatisfy us, that the Conſtitutions, in eight books, are not a work of the apoſtles: and ſince they bear their name, without reaſon, we are unavoidably conſtrained to own, they are an impoſture. The nature of ſuch a crime is well known, and I need not aggravate it. The character [e] of a writer of this kind may be better taken from Abp. Uſher, than from me. But I think, that any man may juſtly recommend to the contrivers and patrons of ſuch works, the ſerious conſideration of thoſe words of Solomon, Prov. xxx. 6. *Add thou not unto his words, leſt he reprove thee, and thou be found a liar.*

The exact time of the work cannot be determined: but as divers learned men have delivered their conjectures, I may take the liberty to ſay, I incline to their opinion, who think it was compoſed in the latter part of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century. The author, probably, was a biſhop of a proud and haughty ſpirit, who was fond of church-power, and loved pomp and ceremony in religious worſhip. Many learned moderns think he was an Arian; but I do not concern myſelf about that; the paſſages which have been ſuppoſed to favour Arianiſm, make a very ſmall, or no part of the preceding collections: I have no reaſon, therefore, to bring that point into the concluſion. But I preſume, that none ever ſuſpected the author to be a Homoüſian.

VIII. Whoever was the author of this work, it is fit we ſhould obſerve his teſtimony to the ſcriptures: for as the work is of ſome length, we may expect to ſee therein, in ſome meaſure, the ſentiments and practice of the Chriſtians of his time concerning them.

1. 'And [f] the reader ſtanding upon an eminence, in the 'middle of the church; let him read the books of Moſes, and 'of Joſhua the ſon of Nun, the Judges, the Kingdoms, and 'the Chronicles, and thoſe [g] concerning the return [from the 'captivity], and beſide theſe the book of Job, and Solomon,

[d] Nimirum iis temporibus vixit impoſtor, quibus utrique illi hæretici apud Chriſtianos eſſe deſierant. De Pſeudep. Ap. l. i. c. 6. p. 96. [e] Ita enim bipedum nequiſſimus, qui Clementis perſonam quinto poſt exceſſum ipſius ſeculo. induit, &c. D[illé]. [f] L[egat]. Ignat. cap. vi. fin. [g] Ka[i τ]ὰ 57. p. 661. 662. ἐπανόδου. Ib.

'and the ſixteen prophets. And when there have been two 'readings, [or when two readings are over] let another ſing '[or read in a chanting manner] the hymns of David[h]; and 'let the people repeat the concluſions in a chanting voice. 'Afterwards let our Acts be read, and the epiſtles of Paul, 'our fellow-worker, which he ſent to the churches under 'the conduct of the Holy Spirit. And afterwards let a dea-'con, or a preſbyter, read the goſpels, which I Matthew, and 'I John, delivered to you, and thoſe which the fellow-workers 'of Paul, Mark, and Luke received and left to you. After 'this let one of the preſbyters exhort the people, and laſt of 'all the biſhop.'

Many remarks might be made here; but the moſt important are obvious, and cannot well be overlooked by any. The author received four goſpels, and no more; alſo the Acts of the apoſtles, and St. Paul's epiſtles. Why the epiſtles of James, Peter, Jude, and John, are omitted, may not be eaſy to ſay; but that he received others, beſide thoſe here mentioned, will appear preſently. As Mark is here conſidered as a fellow-labourer of the apoſtle Paul, it is likely, the writer means Mark, nephew to Barnabas, often mentioned in the Acts, and in ſeveral of St. Paul's epiſtles, Col. iv. 10. 2 Tim. iv. 11. Philem. 24.

2. In the above paſſage, the names of all the evangeliſts, writers of the four goſpels, are expreſsly named. The Acts of the apoſtles likewiſe is in this work aſcribed to [i] St. Luke.

3. All St. Paul's epiſtles are here quoted, and moſt of them ſeveral times, particularly that to the Hebrews.

4. The writer received other epiſtles of apoſtles, beſide thoſe of Paul, as appears from thoſe words, 'And [k] after the reading 'of the law, and the prophets, and our epiſtles, and the Acts 'of the apoſtles.' That direction is given in the name of the twelve [l] apoſtles.

5. There are ſuppoſed to be four or five quotations or references to the epiſtle of [m] St. James; but they are not all clear.

6. It ſhould be here obſerved by us, that this writer did not eſteem James, brother of the Lord, and biſhop of Jeruſalem, one of the twelve apoſtles. He is diſtinguiſhed from them in ſeveral places [n] of this work.

[h] Και μετα δυο τας γενεσεων αναγινωσκεσθω, και τις τας τε Δαβιδ ψαλλεσθω υμνους, και τα αντιφωνα επιψαλλεσθω. Ibid.

[i] Ως τα Λουκας. Ων πρωτος ο [illegible] και διδασκειν. [Act. i. 1.] L. ii. c. 6. p. 917. in.

[k] Και μετα το αναγνωσθηναι τον νομον, και των προφητων, και των επιστολων ημων, και των πραξεων, και των ευαγγελιων. L. viii. c. 5. p. 992.

[l] Vid. ib. c. 4. in.

[m] Vid. l. ii. c. 8. & c. 58. p. 966. l. vii. c. 5. l. viii. c. 2.

[n] Vid. l. ii. c. 55. l. vi. cap. 12. in. & c. 14. l. viii. c. 46.

7. There

7. There are several plain quotations of the first epistle of Peter. I put in the margin [o] one or two: I transcribe one here for the sake of its singularity. 'You [p] therefore are the holy 'and sacred church of God, *written* [or inrolled] *in heaven*, '*a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people*, a bride 'adorned for the Lord God.' Here is a reference to Heb. xii. 23. and 1 Pet. ii 9. Whether there be in the last words a reference to the Revelation, deserves to be considered; he may refer to [q] Rev. xxi. 2. Or, perhaps he has no text of scripture at all in his eye.

8. There are no [r] clear references to the second epistle of Peter.

9. There are not in the Constitutions any quotations of the three epistles of St. John, or of the epistle of St. Jude.

10. Some may wonder, that when there are so many quotations of St. Paul's epistles, and of most other books of the New Testament, there should be so few quotations of the catholic epistles. But that wonder may be abated, when we consider how little notice is taken of the catholic epistles, in comparison with Paul's, by divers learned Christian writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, who lived in the east.

St. Chrysostom, of the fourth century, has left homilies, or commentaries, upon the gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, the Acts of the apostles, and St. Paul's fourteen epistles, but none upon the catholic epistles. And there are in his homilies and commentaries, few quotations of the catholic epistles, in comparison of St. Paul's. In the index of scriptures, at the end of the tenth tome of his works, of the Benedictine edition, a large volume of 730 pages, containing homilies upon the first and second to the Corinthians, and commentaries upon the epistle to the Galatians, there is not one text from the catholic epistles, though there are quotations of the four gospels, the Acts, and all Paul's epistles, except that to Philemon: and of most of them several, or many quotations. In the index at the end of the eleventh tome is but one text of the first epistle of St. Peter, and one of the first epistle of St. John: whereas all St. Paul's epistles, without exception, are there quoted, and most of them often. In the index at the end of the twelfth tome there is not one text from the catholic epistles, though there are quotations of all the preceding books, or

[o] Lib. iii. c. 15. sub fin. l. vii. c. 2. l. v. c. 16. p. 321. l. vi. c. 29. [p] Και υμεις ουν εστε αγια του θεου ιερα εκκλησια αποτεγραμμενη εν ουρανῳ, βασιλειον ιεραλευμα, εθνος αγιον, λαος εις περιποιησιν, νυμφη κεκαλλωπισμενη κυριῳ τῳ θεῳ. L. [illegible] c. 25. p. 238. m. [q] —— [illegible] νυμφην κεκοσμημενην τῳ [illegible] Apoc. cap. xxi. 2. [r] Vid. l. [illegible]

epistles

epiſtles of the New Teſtament, and ſeveral quotations of moſt of them. Thoſe indexes, indeed, may not be complete; I believe, they are not; though, I think, they are exacter than ſuch things generally are. However, undoubtedly texts are not omitted deſignedly. The Benedictine editors of St. Chryſoſtom's works, were as willing to collect the quotations of the catholic epiſtles, as of any other books of the New Teſtament.

Theodoret, in the fifth century, who has queſtions, or commentaries, upon all, or moſt of the books of the Old Teſtament, and commentaries upon St. Paul's fourteen epiſtles, has none upon the catholic epiſtles. Nor does he in his works quote the catholic epiſtles oftener than St. Chryſoſtom has done. It is not needful to mention more particulars of this kind.

11. If the Revelation is not quoted here, that affords no argument, that the Conſtitutions were compoſed before the publiſhing of that book. If the Conſtitutions were drawn up in the latter part of the fourth, or in the fifth century, there would be little reaſon to expect in them any quotation of the Revelation; becauſe at that time it was received by few Greek writers, or Chriſtians who lived in the eaſtern part of the Roman empire.

12. There can be no queſtion made, but the writer of the Conſtitutions received all thoſe books of the New Teſtament, which were all along generally received by Chriſtians. Whether he received thoſe catholic epiſtles, which were at ſome times doubted of, we cannot ſay certainly; but it appears to me ſomewhat probable, that he received all thoſe books of the New Teſtament, which are commonly received now by us, except the Revelation: concerning which, it is likely, he was of the ſame opinion with many other Greek writers of the time above-mentioned, by whom it was not received.

13. This [s] author had the hiſtory of the woman taken in adultery, which we now have in St. John's goſpel, chap. viii. at the beginning.

14. The common titles and diviſions of the books of ſcripture occur here frequently: the [t] Law, the Prophets, and the Goſpel; the [u] Law, the Prophets, the Pſalms, and the Goſpel, and the like.

15. The reſpect of the writer, and of Chriſtians in his time, for the ſacred ſcripture, is manifeſt from many paſſages above tranſcribed, where they are quoted, and where the public reading of them in the aſſemblies of Chriſtians is ſpoken of.

[s] Vid. l. ii. c. 55. p. 236. [t] L. ii. c. 39. p. 249. [u] L. v. c. 19. p. 323.

16. Chriſtians in general are exhorted to private reading the ſcriptures in this manner: 'Sitting [x] at home, read the Law, 'the Kingdoms, the Prophets, ſing the hymns of David; and 'with care peruſe the goſpel, which is the completion of them.' More to the like purpoſe follows there in the next chapter.

17. When a biſhop is ordained, it is appointed by all the apoſtles met together, 'that [y] the divine goſpels be held open 'over his head by the deacons.'

IX. Concerning the Canons, the judgment of Cotelerius is, that [z] they cannot be aſcribed to the apoſtles, or Clement, becauſe they are not received with other books of ſcripture, are not quoted by the writers of the firſt ages, and contain in them many things not agreeable to the apoſtolical times.

1. I do not think myſelf obliged to enlarge here: they who are curious may conſult [a] Beveridge, [b] Daillé, [c] Turner, [d] Sam. Baſnage, and alſo James Baſnage: which laſt ſays, that ſome of them are ancient, others not older than the ſeventh century. Not now particularly to mention any more authors.

2. The 85th canon contains a catalogue of the books of the Old and New Teſtament: I take only the latter part of it. 'But 'our ſacred books, that is, of the New Teſtament, are the four 'goſpels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, John; fourteen epiſtles 'of Paul; two epiſtles of Peter; three of John; one of James, 'one of Jude; two epiſtles of Clement; and [f] the Conſti- 'tutions inſcribed to you biſhops, by me Clement, in eight 'books; which ought not to be divulged before all, becauſe 'of the myſtical things in them; and the Acts of us the 'apoſtles.'

3. Upon this canon I need not ſay any thing more, than that it is not ancient, or drawn up till after the end of the third century; which I think will appear from the following obſervations.

x L. i. c. 3. Vid. et cap. 6.

y ——των δε διακονων τα ωτα επι ταις των χειροθετουμενων κεφαλαις ανεπιθεμενα καθεζεσθαι. L. viii. c. 4. p. 391.

z Decreta illa Apoſtolis et Clementi tribui non debere evincit, quod cum aliis ſacræ ſcripturæ voluminibus non legantur, quod a primorum ſeculorum ſcriptoribus non laudentur, quodque multa contineant nondum temporibus apoſtolicis recepta. Cotel. Jud. de Canon. Ap. ap. Patr. Ap. T. i. a Codex Canon. Illuſtrat.

b De Pſeudep. Ap. p. 581—593.

c As before, p. 279. &c. d Canonum, qui Apoſtolici uſurpantur, non Clementem Rom. non Alexandrinum, ſed Anonymum quinto ſeculo collectorem [illegible] exiſtimamus. Qui corraſis complex[illegible] nodorum decretis, ſeculis ſecundo, [illegible] quarto labentibus congregatarum, [illegible] confecit ſuum. Ann. 300. n. 14. [illegible] 15—17. e On peut apoſter[illegible] cueil les canones de Apôtres dont [illegible] uns ſont aſſez anciens, et les autr[illegible] fait qu'au ſeptiéme ſiecle. Hiſt. [illegible] l. ix. c. 7. n. 5. f Και αι δια [illegible] υμιν τοις επισκοποις δι' εμου τ[illegible] αυλω βιβλιοις προστεφωνημεναι, ας [illegible] δημοσιευειν επι πασιν, δια τα [illegible] μυστικα· και αι πραξεις ημων τ[illegible] λων. Can. 85.

1.) The epistle to the Hebrews was rejected, or doubted of by many in the first three centuries, and also in the fourth century: but if this canon had been then in being, and acknowledged as apostolical, that epistle would have been received by all.

2.) Several of the catholic epistles, that of James, the second of Peter, the second and third of John, and that of Jude, were rejected, or doubted of by many in the early times of Christianity: whereas they would have been received by all if this canon had been in being, and had been acknowledged to be apostolical. Mill[g] has already argued in this manner, and, I think, invincibly.

3.) The Revelation was received by many in the second, and third, and following centuries; which it would not have been, if there had been a canon composed by the apostles, or Clement their companion, in which all other books of scripture were distinctly enumerated, and that omitted.

Baronius has very good observations, in my opinion, upon this 85th, or last canon of the apostles. How[h] could so many of the Latin and Greek writers, says he, receive the Revelation, which was wanting in an apostolical canon? And how could there have been such different opinions about the epistle to the Hebrews, and several of the catholic epistles, if they had been made canonical by an apostolical decree.

4.) The first epistle of Clement was reckoned canonical by a very few, if any of the writers of the first three centuries: therefore this pretended apostolical canon, which placeth it among books of sacred scripture, was not in being.

5.) The second epistle, called Clement's, was not[i] esteemed his in the third century: and that it is not a genuine work of his, has been clearly[k] shewn.

6.) The Constitutions are never reckoned among canonical books of scripture by any writers of the first three centuries.

7.) Finally, the silence here enjoined with regard to the

[g] Unde constat, canonem 85. ex his qui Apostolici dicuntur, in quo epistola Jacobi, cæteræ ne supra memoratæ inter canonicas recensentur, haud genuinum esse, neque [illegible] exstitisse.——Certe, si Canon [illegible] ab initio exstitisset, ecclesiæ ab Apostolis fundatæ epistolas isto Canone approbatas nequaquam repudiassent, aut in [illegible] vocassent. Proleg. n. 201.

[h] Rursum vero, quod ad novissimum [illegible] canonem spectat, qua libri canonici [illegible]. Ecquis unquam antiquorum Latinorum atque Græcorum adnumerare inter canonicos libros præsumsisset Apocalypsim, quam scisset in Apostolorum canone prætermissam, qui vel saltem [illegible] aliquam ejusmodi silentii non adduxisset?——Vel quid quod cum de his frequens inter Patres oborta sit controversia, nemo penitus reperiatur, qui ejusmodi canonis vel saltem obiter meminerit. Ann. 102. n. 15, 16.

[i] Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. iii. c. 38. et Hieron. de V. I. cap. 15.

[k] See vol. ii. p. 26—29.

Constitutions, because of the 'mystical things' contained in them, is another argument, that this canon was not drawn up in the early days of Christianity. For the Disciplina arcani, or Doctrine of Arcanism, has no countenance from the authentic books of the New Testament: and was also unknown to Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Minucius Felix, and other primitive Christian writers; who declare freely, and without reserve, before all the world, the principles of their religion, and their method of worship; as has been often observed by learned men of late times. And, I pray, why is this reserve enjoined, with regard to the Constitutions only? Are there no 'mysteries' in any other books here mentioned? And are there not in the Constitutions many directions given to the laity, and to all men in general? Are they not at the beginning inscribed to 'all who from among the Gentiles have believed in Jesus Christ?' There must have been some particular reason for this caution. And possibly this may be as probable a reason as any; that the composer of this canon, who was either the author, or at least a great favourer of the Constitutions, being conscious of their novelty, inserted this caution with a view to evade, or weaken, the argument against their genuineness and authority, taken from the silence of antiquity about them. I place at the bottom of the page an[1] observation of Abp. Usher to the like purpose.

Upon the whole, I think, these observations demonstrate the late date of this canon, and that it had not a being in the first three centuries, or for some time after. Consequently, it deserves not the regard of Christians now, who are willing to be determined by evidence.

1 Ita enim bipedum nequissimus, qui Clementis personam (quinto post excessum ipsius seculo) induit, Constitutionibus a seipso interpolatis, et in aliam pene speciem transformatis canonicam auctoritatem conciliare conatus est: ea tamen ad mysterium iniquitatis suæ celandum cautione adhibita, ut eas nullo modo divulgandas —— [illegible] peret. Ex quibus et Albaspinæus [Obs. [illegible] 1. c. 13.] recte observavit, Constitut[illegible] hasce primis seculis factas non est [illegible] primi seculi Christiani sua lubentis [illegible] ria, ut vel ex Justino constat, [illegible] Usser. Proleg. seu Diss. Ignat. cap. [illegible]

THE

THE

CREDIBILITY

OF THE

GOSPEL HISTORY;

PART II.

[VOL. IX. FIRST PUBLISHED IN MDCCLIII.]

PREFACE.

SOME, it is likely, will take notice, that there are in this volume ſeveral writers prior in time to ſome in the preceding volume. The reaſon is this, I was deſirous that Ephrem the Syrian ſhould be in the former volume; and the chapter was completed as far as could be from the Greek edition of his works at Oxford, and the firſt two volumes of the edition begun at Rome; but being informed, that the remaining volumes of the Roman edition might be expected in a ſhort time, I determined to wait for them: nor did they come to my hands till ſeveral months after the publication of the eighth volume. Ephrem being laid aſide, I took Epiphanius: the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions naturally followed, which being a long chapter, ſome others were excluded. Moreover, concerning divers of the articles in this volume which precede St. Baſil, I was for a while in ſuſpenſe, whether they ſhould be inſerted in this work at all: but at length I have judged it beſt, to omit very few, or no writers, who flouriſhed in the fourth century, and are in St. Jerom's Catalogue. This is the whole occaſion of the tranſgreſſion in the order of time: which, I preſume, needeth not to be reckoned a thing of much conſequence.

CHAP. LXXXVI.

RHETICIUS, BISHOP OF AUTUN.

'RHETICIUS[a], or RETICIUS, bishop of Autun,' says Jerom, 'was a man of great note in Gaul, in the time of the emperor 'Constantine. There are extant his Commentaries upon the 'Canticles, and another large work against the Novatians. 'Nor have I met with any other writings of his.'

2. Rheticius was mentioned by us[b] formerly, in the history of the Donatists. He[c] was one of the Gallican bishops appointed by Constantine to hear Cæcilian and them, in a council at Rome in 313. He was also present at the council of Arles, relating to the same cause, in 314.

3. Rheticius's Commentary upon the Canticles is mentioned by Jerom in some of his letters. I shall place a part of what he says[d] below. He owns, that[e] there was somewhat agreeable in the style; but says, the work was of little use for assisting men to understand the sacred author. He mentions some trifling thoughts: and blames Rheticius for not having first consulted Origen, and other interpreters, before he attempted to write a commentary himself.

4. Rheticius is mentioned by Augustine in his writings against the Pelagians. He speaks[f] of him, as a man of great

[a] Rheticius Æduorum, id est, Augustodunensis Episcopus, sub Constantino celeberrimæ famæ habitus est in Galliis. Leguntur ejus Commentarii in Cantica Canticorum, et aliud grande volumen adversus Novatianum. Nec præter hæc quicquam ejus operum reperi. De V. I cap 82.

[b] See p. 96. [c] Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. x. c. 5. p. 39. et Optat. l. i. c. 13.

[d] Ob hoc et ego obsecro, et tu ut petas plurimum quæso, ut tibi beati Rheticii Augustodunensis Episcopi Commentarios ad describendum largiatur, in quibus Canticum Canticorum sublimi ore disseruit. Ad Florent. ep. 4. al. 6. T. iv. p. 6. in.

[e] Nuper quum Rheticii Augustodunensis Episcopi, qui quondam a Constantino Imperatore sub Silvestro Episcopo ob causam Montensium missus est Romam, Commentarios in Canticum Canticorum perlegissem, —— vehementer miratus sum, virum eloquentem, præter ineptias sensuum cæterorum, Tharsis urbem putasse Tarsum, in qua Paulus Apostolus natus sit.——Innumerabilia sunt, quæ in illius mihi Commentariis sordere visa sunt. Est quidem [illegible] compositus, et Gallicano cothurno [illegible] Sed quid ad interpretem, cujus [illegible] est, non quo ipse disertus apparet, [illegible] quo eum qui lecturus est, sic facias [illegible] gere, quomodo ipse intellexit qui [illegible] Rogo, non habuerat Origenis volum[illegible] non interpretes cæteros? non certe [illegible] necessarios Hebræorum, ut aut [illegible] ret, aut legeret, quid sibi vellent quæ [illegible] rabat? Sed tam male videtur existim[illegible] cæteris, ut nemo possit de ejus [illegible] judicare. Frustra ergo a me ejusdem [illegible] Commentarios postulas, quam mihi in [illegible] displiceant multo plura, quam [illegible] &c. Ad Marcell. Ep. 133. al. [illegible] inter criticas. T. ii. p. 662. 624.

[f] Rheticium ab Augustoduno Episcopum magnæ auctoritatis in ecclesia tempore [illegible] copatus sui, gesta illa ecclesiastica [illegible] indicant, quando in urbe Roma, Melchiade apostolicæ sedis Episcopo præsidente, cum aliis judex interfuit, Donatumque [illegible] vit, qui prior auctor Donatistarum [illegible] tis fuit, & Cæcilianum Episcopum [illegible]

repute

repute in his time, and has twice quoted a paſſage of his concerning baptiſm, as favouring the doctrine of original ſin. But it does not appear, whence that paſſage is taken; whether from one of the books mentioned by Jerom, or from ſome other work, or from the debates in one of the councils above taken notice of.

5. I have thought it beſt to give ſome account of this eminent biſhop and commentator, who flouriſhed at the beginning of the fourth century, though his writings are not now exſtant. And I refer my readers [g] to ſome learned moderns, whom they may conſult, if they think fit.

CHAP. LXXXVII.

TRIPHYLLIUS.

1. TRIPHYLLIUS [a] biſhop of a city in Cyprus about the year 340, and afterwards, was a man of great repute for eloquence in the time of the emperor Conſtantius, as we learn from Jerom, whoſe article I place at length [b] below. He aſſures us, that Triphyllius wrote a Commentary upon the Canticles, which he had read, and divers other works, which he had not met with. Triphyllius is likewiſe placed by Jerom among [c] other eminent Chriſtian writers in his letter to Magnus.

Carthaginenſis abſolvit. Is cum de baptiſmo egerit, ita locutus eſt: 'Hanc igitur principalem eſſe in Eccleſia indulgentiam, [illegible] præteriit, in qua antiqui criminis omne pondus exponimus, et ignorantiæ noſtræ facinora priſca delemus, [illegible] et veterem hominem cum ingenitis [illegible] exuimus.' Audis 'antiqui criminis pondus.' Audis 'priſca facinora.' Audis 'cum ſceleribus ingenitis hominem veterem.' Et audes adverſus hæc ruinoſam conſtruere novitatem? Contr. Julian. Pelagian. l. i. cap. iii. n. 7. T. 10. P. i.

Si vis agnoſcere vetuſtatem, ex qua parvuli Chriſtiana gratia renovantur, audi fideliter quod ait homo Dei Rheticius ab Augustoduno Epiſcopus, qui cum Melchiade Romano Epiſcopo quondam judex fuit, Donatumque damnavit hæreticum. Hic enim, cum de Chriſtiano baptiſmate loqueretur, 'Hanc igitur,' inquit, 'principalem eſſe in Eccleſia indulgentiam.'—Audiſne, non poſtea perpetrata, ſed etiam 'ingenita ſcelera veteris hominis?' Numquid Manichæus fuit iſte Rheticius? Op. Imperf. l. i. cap. cv. T. 10. P. 2.

[g] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 173. Fabr. ad Hieron. de V. I. cap. 82. Du Pin Bib. T. ii. p. 26. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. vi. Les Donatiſtes. Art. 12.

[a] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 206. Fabr. Bib. Ec. ad Hieron. de V. I. cap. 92.

[b] Triphyllius, Cypri Ledrenſis, ſive Leucotheon, epiſcopus, eloquentiſſimus ſuæ ætatis, et ſub rege Conſtantio celeberrimus fuit. Legi ejus in Cantica Canticorum commentarios. At multa alia compoſuiſſe fertur, quæ in noſtras manus minime pervenerunt. De Vir. Ill. cap. 92.

[c] Exſtat et—libri—et Triphyllii Cyprii. Ep. 83. T. iv. p. 656.

2. Suidas in his Lexicon [d] ſays: 'Triphyllius, a biſhop, 'and diſciple of Spyridion of Cyprus, who wrought many 'miracles, wrote an account of our holy father Spyridion.' It is not unlikely, that this may be one of the many works of Triphyllius which Jerom had not met with.

3. Sozomen relates divers things of Spyridion, or Spyridon, which are not very eaſy to be credited. One ſtory however may be true enough; it is to this purpoſe. There [e] being upon ſome occaſion a ſynod of the biſhops of Cyprus, Spyridion and Triphyllius were preſent. Triphyllius had ſtudied the Roman laws at Berytus for conſiderable time, and was in repute likewiſe for his ſkill in other parts of learning. At an aſſembly for divine worſhip, Triphyllius was called upon to preach; and when he alleged that text [Mark ii. 9.] *Ariſe, take up thy bed*, or couch, *and walk:* inſtead of the popular word in the evangeliſt, he made uſe of another Greek word, reckoned more elegant: at which Spyridion being much offended, roſe up from his ſeat, and before all the people ſaid aloud, 'Are you better 'than he who ſaid 'couch,' that you are aſhamed to uſe his 'expreſſions?'

4. If this be true, we have an argument of the virtue, particularly of the humility of Triphyllius, in that work of his where he celebrated Spyridion and his miracles. The public reproof which he had received, produced no laſting reſentment in his mind; he ſtill honoured his maſter: he was therefore both a learned, and a good man, though, as it ſeems, too credulous.

5. Rufinus [f] ſuppoſes, Spyridion to have been preſent at the council of Nice: and tells divers ſtrange ſtories of him, which Socrates [g] tranſcribed into his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. They who deſire to know more of Spyridion, may conſult [h] Tillemont.

[d] V. Τριφυλλιος. Τριφυλλιον τον λεγομενον επισκοπον Κυπρου αγιον αλλως τε ελλογιμον, και δια νομων ασκησιν πολλην χρησιν εν τη Βηρυτιων πολει διαλαμψαντα. Συνελθοντος δε επιλαμπεως, επιβαπεις τριφυλλιος διδαξαι το πληθος, επει το ρητον εκεινο παραλειπειν εις μεσον εθηκε, το αρον σε τον κραββατον, και περιπατει. σκιμποδα αντι του κραββατου μεταβαλων το ονομα ειπε. Και ο σπυριδων αγανακτησας, ω συτε, εφη, αμεινων τε κραββατου εγενου, ει τοις αυτω λεξεσι εταττο χρησθαι; τουτο ειπων, απεστρεψε τον τραχηλον, και τω ετερω ωμω ωρθιος ... l. i. c. 11. p. 416, 417. [e] Exc ... numero (et ſi quid adhuc eminentius ... dicitur etiam Spiridion Cypriu ... vir unus ex ordine Prophetarum: qu ... etiam nos eorum qui eum viderunt ... tione comperimus. &c. Ruſin. H. E ... cap 5. [g] Socr. l. i. c. 12.

[h] Mem. Ec. T. vii.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXXVIII.

FORTUNATIANUS.

1. As JEROM has a chapter for Fortunatianus, I tranſcribe it [a] below. He was born in Africa, but was biſhop of Aquileia in Italy. In the reign of Conſtantius he wrote ſhort commentaries or notes upon the goſpels in a homely ſtyle. Fortunatianus is placed by Cave [b] at the year 340.

2. Though Jerom there ſpeaks of Fortunatianus's commentaries as brief and ruſtic, he did not intirely neglect them. In a letter to Paul of Concordia, ſtill extant, he intreats him [c] to ſend him thoſe commentaries: and in the preface to his own commentary upon St. Matthew, he acknowledges, that [d] he had read what Fortunatianus had written upon that goſpel.

CHAP. LXXXIX.

PHOTINUS.

I. *His hiſtory.* II. *Principles.* III. *Writings.* IV. *Character.* V. *Scriptures received by him.* VI. *His ſect ſubſiſted for ſome time.*

I. 'PHOTINUS of Galatia,' ſays [a] Jerom, 'diſciple of 'Marcellus, and biſhop of Sirmium, endeavoured to revive 'the hereſy of Ebion. Being afterwards baniſhed by the em-'peror Valentinian, he wrote many volumes; among which, the 'chief are his books againſt the Gentiles, and to Valentinian.'

Photinus was a native of Galatia, as Jerom intimates, and probably of Ancyra, the chief city. The ſame is intimated

[a] Fortunatianus, natione Afer, Aquileienſis Epiſcopus; imperante Conſtantio, in Evangelia, titulis ordinatis, brevi et ruſtico ſermone ſcripſit commentarios. Et in hoc habetur deteſtabilis, quod Liberium Romanæ Urbis Epiſcopum, pro fide ad exilium pergentem, primus ſollicitavit ac fregit, et ad ſubſcriptionem hæreſeos compulit. De V. I. cap. 97. Vid. Fabr. in h. l. et conf. Tillemont. Mem. T. vi. Les Ariens. art. 51. et 69. [b] H. L. T. i. p. 206.

[c] Et ne putes modica eſſe quæ deprecor—ſcilicet Commentarios Fortunatiani—Ad Paul. Concord. ep. 10. al. 21. T. iv. p. 17. in. [d] Legiſſe me fateor in Matthæum—et Latinorum, Hilarii, Victorini, Fortunatiani opuſcula. Prolog. in Matt. T. iv.

[a] Photinus de Gallogræcia, Marcelli diſcipulus, Sirmii Epiſcopus ordinatus, Hebionis hæreſim inſtaurare conatus eſt. Poſtea a Valentiniano Principe pulſus Eccleſia plura ſcripſit volumina: in quibus vel præcipua ſunt contra Gentes, et ad Valentinianum libri. De Vir. Ill. cap. 107.

by [b] others. Jerom here, and [c] Sulpicius Severus, and [d] others, call him disciple of Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, of whom we have †‡ spoken formerly. He [e] is also said to have been deacon to Marcellus.

The time when Photinus was ordained bishop of Sirmium, is not exactly known; nor when he first began to publish his peculiar principles, whether in 341, or 343: but he was first condemned by the Arians or Eusebians [f] in a synod held at Antioch in 344, or 345. He was afterwards condemned in several councils. But it was not easy to remove him, because [g] of the affection which the people of Sirmium had for him, who would not part with him. In the end he was condemned and deposed in a council at Sirmium, held in 351, as is now generally supposed: after which he was banished. There being some difficulties about the time of the just mentioned council, and other councils relating to Photinus, which for the sake of brevity I do not choose to concern myself with; I refer to several learned [h] moderns, who have written his history, in which there are divers intricacies.

Jerom says, that Photinus was banished by Valentinian; which creates a difficulty: for the council of Sirmium, by which Photinus was deposed, and after which he was banished, was held in the time of Constantius, who died in 361, whereas Valentinian did not begin to reign before 364. Some [i] therefore have thought, that what Jerom says here is a slip of memory, or mistake through haste, putting Valentinian for Constantius. Others [k] account for it in this manner; Photinus,

[b] —— γενος της μικρας Γαλατιας. Socr. l. ii. c. 18. p. 96. D.

Οι απο Μαρκελλου και φωτεινου αγκυρογαλατων. Ap. eund. cap. 19. p. 99. B.

[c] Et tamen hoc ipsum Marcellum gravabat, quia Photinus auditor ejus fuisse in adolescentia videbatur. Sulp. Sev. Hist. Socr. l. ii. c. 36.

[d] —— Μαρκελλου τε του καθηρημενου μαθητης, ακολουθων τω διδασκαλω, κ. λ. Socr. l. c. 18. p. 96. D.

†‡ See p. 276.

[e] Photinus Sirmiensis Episcopus fuit a Marcello imbutus. Nam et Diaconus sub eo aliquamdiu fuit. Hilar. Fragment. ii. n. 19. p. 1275.

[f] Vid. Athanas. de Synod. n. vi. vii. et conf. Socrat. l. ii. cap. 18, 19.

[g] Verum inter hæc Sirmium convenitur Photinus hæreticus comprehensus, olim reus pronuntiatus, et a communione jampridem unitatis abscissus, nec tum quidem per factionem populi potuit amoveri. Hilar. Fragm. ii. n. 21. p. 1299. Vid. et n. 22.

[h] Vid. Cav. H. L. Ann. 344. T. [illegible] 209. and Life of St. Athanasius, n. [illegible] 127——129. in Lives of the Fathers of the fourth century. Du Pin. Bib. T. [illegible] p. 112 Tillem. Mem. T. vi. Le Arians Art. 37. 41. 44. 46, 47. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 314. et seq. T. xi. p. [illegible] not. Petav. Diss. de Photin. [illegible] ap. Labb. Concil. T. ii. p. 279. &c. et Animadvers. in Epiphan. H. 73. p. [illegible] &c. Tho. Ittigii Historia Photini in App. ad librum de Hæresiarchis. Diss. M. L. rogue de Photino hæretico, ejusque multiplici damnatione. Baron. Ann. 357. n. [illegible] et seqq. Pagi Ann. 344. 345. 347. n. [illegible] viii. xv. 349. n. vi. vii. 351. n. x. xi. et seqq. Basnag. Ann. 345. n. v. 349. n. [illegible] 351. n. vi. viii. Athanas. Vit. a Benedict. adornat ad Ann. Chr. 343. 347. 349. [illegible]

[i] Vid. Petav. Animadv. ad Epiph. H. 71. p. 304.

[k] Vid. Fabr. ad Hier. de V. I. cap. 107. et ad Philastr. cap. 65.

they

they ſuppoſe, muſt have been reſtored by the edict of Julian, together with other biſhops baniſhed in the reign of Conſtantius; and Photinus was baniſhed a ſecond time, in the time of Valentinian, if Jerom is not miſtaken. And indeed, there is in Facundus [l] a letter of Julian to Photinus, if it be genuine; and it is very complaiſant.

It is concluded from Jerom's [m] Chronicle, that Photinus died in 375 or 376. He ſeems to have been living, when [n] Epiphanius wrote the article of his hereſy in 375. Optatus [o] who wrote about 368, may be underſtood to ſpeak of him as then living.

Whenever that council of Sirmium was held, by which Photinus was depoſed and baniſhed, there [p] was a conference held concerning his doctrine, at his requeſt. The principal diſputant on the other ſide was Baſil, the Arian biſhop of Ancyra, who had been put in the room of Marcellus: and it is ſaid, that Baſil triumphed in the argument. The diſputation was taken down by notaries appointed for that purpoſe; and there were ſeveral copies made of it, one to be ſent to the emperor Conſtantius, another for the ſynod, and a third for the courtiers that were preſent, and before whom the conference was held by the emperor's order. But there is nothing of it remaining: if it had been ſtill extant, in all probability it would have appeared curious to ſome in our times.

Socrates ſays, that [q] after Photinus had been depoſed, the biſhops offered to reſtore him, if he would recant: but he refuſed. Sozomen [r] ſpeaks to the like purpoſe. And perhaps Philaſter refers to this, in a place to be taken notice of by and by; where he ſays, that Photinus refuſed to ſubſcribe the creed which the ſynod had compoſed.

Germinius, an Arian, often mentioned by Athanaſius, and the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, was ſucceſſor of Photinus.

II. Accounts of Photinus's principles may be ſeen in many authors, particularly in the Symbol of the Euſebian Council at Antioch, where he was firſt condemned. They [s] join him

[l] Vid. Facund. l. iv. cap. 2. p. 59.

[m] Col. p. 187. [n] Vid. H. 71. n. 1. Indic. Hæreſ. p. 808.

[o] Dicam eſt hoc de Photino præſentis temporis hæretico, qui Filium Dei auſus eſt dicere, tantummodo hominem fuiſſe, non Deum. Optat. l. iv. c. 5.

[p] Vid. Epiph. H. 71. n. 1. p. 829. Sozom. l. iv. cap. 29. et 30. Sozom. l. iv. c. 6. [q] Τοιαῦτα τον Φωτεινον και μεγα ἐπιφρονησαντα και συνιστραφαι συμπεισθεν ἐπειρωντο, ἐπαγγειλαμενοι ἀποδωσειν αὐτῳ την ἐπισκοπην, ἐαν ἐκ μεταιοσιας αιρεσεως μεν το παρευρεθεν αὐτῳ δογμα, συνθηναι δε τῃ αὐτων γνωμῃ. Socr. l. ii. c. 30. p. 125. D. [r] Soz. l. iv. c. 6. p. 543, 544. [s] Τοιαῦται δε εισιν αι ἀπο Μαρκελλε, και Φωτεινου των ἀσεβεσταλαλιαι, αι την προαιωνιον ὑπαρξιν του Χριστου, και την Θεοτητα, και τον ἀιδιον αὐτου βασιλειαν ἀμοιρους ἀνθρωπους ἀθεσιν, ἐπι πλειστον τε συνιστασθαι δοκειν τῃ μοναρχιᾳ.

and

and Marcellus together, as denying the divinity and eternal pre-exiſtence of the Son, and the perſonality of the Word, under a pretence of maintaining the divine Unity.

Philaſter ſays little more of Photinus, than [t] that he held the ſame opinion with Paul of Samoſata, and that he would not renounce it: for which reaſon he was depoſed, and excluded from the church of Sirmium, by the biſhops who had convicted him.

Epiphanius, in his Summary, ſays, that Photinus was of the ſame opinion with Paul of Samoſata; though in ſome reſpects he expreſſed himſelf differently. But both agreed, that [u] Chriſt began to exiſt when he was born of Mary. In like manner, in his fuller account: that [x] he was not from eternity, but he was born of Mary, and the Holy Ghoſt came upon him: that [y] he was born of the Holy Ghoſt and Mary, and on that account was the Son of God.

Socrates ſays, that [z] Photinus, biſhop of Sirmium, native of Galatia, following his maſter Marcellus who had been depoſed, maintained, that Chriſt was a mere man: and that the biſhops aſſembled at Sirmium depoſed him, having found that he held the doctrine of Sabellius of Lybia, and Paul of Samoſata.

Sozomen's account is, that [a] Photinus taught, there is one God Almighty, who by his own word made all things: that he did not allow the eternal generation and ſubſiſtence of the Son, but ſaid that the Chriſt began to be, when he was born of Mary. He [b] was depoſed as holding the doctrine of Sabellius, and Paul of Samoſata.

Theodoret does little more than ſay, that [c] Photinus held the ſame doctrine with Sabellius, except that he ſet it forth in a ſomewhat different manner; and that he was confuted by

Ισμεν γαρ αυτον ημεις ουχ' απλως λογον προφορικον, η ενδιαθετον του Θεου, αλλα ζωντα Θεον λογον καθ' εαυτον υπαρχοντα, και Υιον Θεου και Χριστον. κ λ. Apud Athanaſ. De Synod. p. 740. n. vi. Vid. et n. vii. Et apud Socrat. H. E. l. ii. c. 19. p. 99.

[t] Photinus doctrinam ejus ſecutus in omnibus ſimiliter prædicabat. Inque hoc mendacio perſeverans, projectus eſt de eccleſia Sirmienſium civitatis, a ſanctis Epiſcopis ſuperatus. Philaſt. cap. 63. p. 128. ed. Fabric.

[u] —— Και αυτον και απο μαριας και δευτερον του Χριστον διαβεβαιουσθαι. Indic. p. 808.

[x] Φασκει δε ουτος, απαρχης τον Χριστον μη ειναι, απο δε μαριας και δευτερον αυτον υπαρχειν, εξοδε, φησι, το πνευμα το αγιον επηλθεν επ' αυτον, και εξεννηθη εκ πνευματος αγιου. H. 71. n. 1. p. 829. A. B.

[y] —— γεγενησθαι Χριστος εκ πνευματος αγιου και απο μαριας. Ib. n. ii. p. 830.

[z] —— ακολουθησας τω διδασκαλω, ψιλον ανθρωπον τον Χριστον εδογματισε. κ. λ. Socr. l. ii. c. 18. p. 96. D.

[a] Ελεγεν δε ως Θεος μεν εστι παντοκρατωρ εις, ο τω ιδιω λογω τα παντα δημιουργησας· την δε προ αιωνων γενεσιν τε και υποστασιν του Υιου ου προσιετο· αλλ' εκ Μαριας γενεσθαι τον Χριστον εισηγειτο. Soz. l. iv. c. 6. p. 542. A.

[b] Ibid. D.

[c] Ο δε Φωτεινος μιαν εισηγειται τριαδα και τον υιον και αγιον πνευμα ειρηκως· ταυτα ενεμασι την των Σαβελλιου δογματων διαιτιαν. κ. λ. Hær. Fab. l. ii. c. 11. in.

Diodorus

Diodorus of Tarsus in Cilicia. To which [d] there may be reckoned to be a reference in the letter ascribed to the emperor Julian, as preserved in Facundus.

Photinus is in Augustine's [e] book of Heresies; but I do not think it needful to transcribe him. However, in other places also he mentions the Photinians, and shews their sentiment. They said, that [f] Christ was a man, and a great prophet, and excelled all men, the best and most knowing, in wisdom and holiness; but he was not God. They said, that [g] the Father only is God, and Christ a man: and they denied the personality of the Spirit.

Sulpicius Severus was quoted before. I transcribe another passage [h] in the margin.

Vincent's account is as well expressed as most; I put it below [i] at length. 'Photinus holds the unity of God after the 'Jewish manner. He allows not of any Trinity of persons. 'He says, that Christ was a man born of Mary. He denies 'the personality of the Word and the Spirit. There is only 'one God the Father, and Jesus Christ, whom we ought to 'serve.'

Marius Mercator supposes Photinus to have taught, that [k] Jesus was born of Joseph and Mary, after the manner of other men. But that is contrary to what is said by others, particularly by Epiphanius, who represents him to have taught, that Christ was born of the Holy Ghost and Mary. St. Ambrose likewise, not yet quoted, represents the doctrine of Photinus to be, that [l] Christ did not exist, till he was born of the Virgin:

[d] Julianus etenim, perfidus Imperator, sic Photino hæresiarchæ adversus Diodorum scribit: Tu quidem, O Photine, [illegible] videris, et proximus salvari, [illegible], nequaquam in utero inducens [illegible] credidisti Deum —— Diodorus autem Nazaræi magus —— acutus apparuit [illegible] religionis agrestis. Ap. Facund. [illegible] p. 59. [e] Cap. 45.

[f] Quam multi dicunt, homo fuit magnus? Quam multi dicunt, Propheta fuit? Quam multi antichristi, ut Photinus, homo [illegible] plus nihil habuit: sed omnes homines [illegible] excellentia sapientiæ et justitiæ superavit. Serm. 246. n. 4. T. v.

[g] Photiniani quoque Patrem solum esse [illegible] Deum, Filium vero nonnisi hominem [illegible] omnino esse tertiam personam [illegible] Sanctum. Serm. 71. cap. iii. n. v. [illegible] Vid. et ep. 185. c. xi. n. 48. T. ii.

[h] Photinus vero novam hæresim jam ante [illegible], a Sabellio quidem in unione dissentiens, sed initium Christi a Maria prædicabat. Sulpic. Hist. Sacr. l. ii. c. 37.

[i] Photini ergo secta hæc est. Dicit Deum singulum esse ac solitarium, et more Judaico confitendum. Trinitatis plenitudinem negat, neque ullam Dei Verbi, aut ullam Spiritus Sancti putat esse personam. Christum vero hominem tantummodo solitarium adserit, cui principium adscribit ex Maria. Et hoc omnimodo dogmatizat, solam nos personam Dei Patris, et solum Christum hominem colere debere. Hæc ergo Photinus. Vincent. Lirin. Common. cap. 17.

[k] Photinus autem insanissimo Nestorio parem sententiam tonuit, Verbum Dei quidem non negans esse in substantia: Sed hoc extrinsecus in isto, qui ex Maria, more communi conjugum, natus est, Jesu inhabitasse peculiariter. &c. Diss. de xii. Anath. n. xvii. T. ii. p. 128. [l] Neque, ut Photinus, initium Filii ex Virgine disputemus. Ambr. de Fide. l. i. c. 1.

as

as does [m] Hilary. The Eusebians also in the council of Antioch, suppose [n] that to be the opinion both of Marcellus and Photinus.

Perhaps, because Photinus was said by some, to have revived the principle of Ebion, Marius Mercatus concluded Photinus to have held the opinion which he ascribes to him. But it is not certain, that all called Ebionites were of that opinion. And they who said, Photinus aimed to revive the heresy of Ebion, might mean no more, than that he was an Unitarian, after the manner of the Jews.

III. We come now to his works. Jerom says, Photinus wrote many volumes. But none of them are now extant. Nor do I recollect any references elsewhere to those mentioned by Jerom, his book against the Gentiles, and to Valentinian. But Socrates [o] speaks of a work written by him after his banishment, against all heresies, and in support of his own opinion. And in like manner Sozomen, that [p] after his banishment Photinus did not desist from maintaining his own sentiments; but published books, both in Greek and Latin, in which he endeavoured to shew the falshood of all other opinions, beside his own.

Rufinus, at the beginning of his Exposition of the Creed, refers to something written upon it by [q] Photinus: but perhaps he does not intend any distinct work.

IV. The character of Photinus being in divers ancient authors, we are led to take some notice of it.

Epiphanius says, he [r] had a fluent way of speaking, and in that respect was wonderfully qualified to impose upon unwary people. Sozomen, that [s] he was naturally eloquent, and fitted to persuade men, and that he gained many to his opinions.

[m] Hæc quia Photinus, adversus quem tum conventum erat, negabat, inserta fidei fuerunt: ne quis auderet, non ante Dei Filium quam virginis filium prædicere. &c. Hil. de Synod. n. 50. p. 1181. C. D.

—— quæ [hæresis] initium Dei Filii ex partu Virginis mentiebatur. Ibid. n. 61. p. 1185. E.

[n] Χριστον δε αυτον και Υιον του Θεου —— μη ειναι προ αιωνων θελοντας· αλλ' εκτοτε Χριστον αυτον γεγονεναι και Υιον του Θεου, εξ ου την ημετεραν εκ της παρθενου σαρκα ανειληφε, προ τετρακοσιων ολων ετων. Ap. Socrat. l. ii. c. 19. p. 99. A.

[o] Εγραφε δι κατα πασων αιρεσεων, το οικειον μονον δογμα παρατιθεμενος. Socr. l. ii. c. 30. p. 126. D.

[p] —— λογους τε τη ρωμαιων και ελληνων φωνη συγγραφων εξεδιδου, δι' ων επειρατο, πλην της αυτου τας των αλλων δοξας ψευδεις αποφαινων. Soz. l. iv. c. 6. fin. p. 544.

[q] Et quidem comperi nonnullos illustrium tractatorum aliqua de his pie et breviter edidisse: Photinum vero hæreticum scio eatenus conscripsisse, non ut rationum dictorum auctoribus explanaret, sed ut simpliciter et fideliter dicta ad argumentum sui dogmatis traheret. Rufin. in Symb. init.

[r] Γεγονε ουτος ο Φωτεινος λαλος τον τροπον και ωξυμμενος την γλωτταν· πολλους δε ευναμενος απαταν τη του λογου προφορα, και ετοιμολογια. H. 71. n. 1. p. 829. B.

[s] Φυσεως δε εχων ευ λεγειν, και πειθειν ικανος, πολλους εις την ομοιον αυτω δοξαν επηγαγετο. Soz. l. iv. c. 6. p. 542. B.

Vincent

Vincent of Lerins says, that [t] Photinus entered upon the bishopric of Sirmium with universal applause; and that he was a man of ready wit, extensive learning, and charming eloquence, and therefore was a great temptation. He spoke and wrote properly and elegantly both in Greek and Latin, of which his remaining works are a proof, there being some in each language. Socrates likewise speaks [u] of his skill in the Latin, as well as the Greek tongue, as did Sozomen before quoted.

V. There is no reason to doubt, that Photinus received the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as other Christians did, there being no complaints made against him upon that head.

From Hilary of Poictiers we know, that †‡ Photinus argued from 1 Tim. ii. 5. Epiphanius says, he boasted [x] of being able to support his doctrine by innumerable texts of scripture. He particularly takes notice of his alleging [y] 1 Cor. xv. 47. That Photinus received [z] the beginning of St. John's gospel, and allowed the eternity of the Word, though thereby he did not understand the Son of God, is also manifest from Epiphanius.

VI. Though Photinus was deposed and banished, his doctrine was not extinguished: he still had admirers and followers. It is very likely, that the books published by him after his banishment would affect some, especially considering that he was a good writer, as well as a good speaker. The bishops of the council of Aquileia, held in 381, in a synodical epistle to the emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, say, that [a]

[t] —— eos commemoremus, qui multis profectibus, multaque industria præditi, non parvæ tentationi catholicis exstiterunt. Velut apud Pannonias majorum memoria Photinus Ecclesiam Sirmitanam tentasse memoratur: ubi cum magno omnium favore in Sacerdotium fuisset ascitus, & aliquamdiu tanquam catholicus administraret.——Nam erat et ingenii viribus valens, et doctrina opibus excellens, et eloquio prepotens: quippe qui utroque sermone copiose et graviter disputaret et scriberet. Quod monumentis librorum suorum manifestatur: quos idem partim Græco, partim Latino sermone composuit. Commenit. c. p. 16.

[u] Εν φυσῃ τε διαλεγων τȣ λοιπȣ, λοιον συνεγραψεν αμφοτεραις γλωσσαις, επεν μηδε της ρωμαικης ην αμοιρος. Socr. l. xxx. p. 126. B.

†‡ Hoc si tenemus, deleamus in Apostolo quod dictum est, *Mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Jesus*, quia ad auctoritatem hæresis suæ Photinus hoc utitur. De Synod. n. 85. p. 1198. E.

[x] —— και μετα καυχησεως περι της υποθεσεως εκατον μαρτυριας φερειν ο γενναδας επηγγειλατο. H. 71. n. i. p. 729. D.

[y] Φασκων, οτι και ο αποστολος ειρηκον· ο πρωτος ανθρωπος εκ γης χοικος, και ο δευτερος απ' ȣρανȣ. Ib. n. ii. p. 830. D.

[z] Και αυτος φημι, ειναι τον λογον απαρχης, αλλ' ȣχ' Υιον Θεȣ γεγεννημενον. κ. λ. Ib. n. iv. in. p. 31. D.

—— Αλλα, φησι, ωσπερ δια λογȣ ο ανθρωπος πραττει ο βȣλεται, ȣτως πατηρ δια τȣ οντος εν αυτῳ λογȣ εποιησε τα παντα. κ. λ. Ib. p. 832. A. Conf. n. ii. p. 830.

[a] Photinianos quoque, quos et superiori lege censuistis nullos facere debere conventus, et eam quæ de Sacerdotum Concilio data est congregando removistis; petimus, ut quoniam in Sirmiensi oppido adhuc conventus tentare cognovimus, clementiâ vestrâ interdicta etiam nunc coitione, reverentiam primum Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, deinde etiam legibus vestris deferri debeatis. Ap. Ambros. ep. x. n. 12. T. ii. p. 809.

whereas the Photinians ſtill met together at Sirmium, even contrary to a law already made, they intreat farther care to be taken about it. In the law of the emperor Gratian, in 378, giving leave to all manner of ſects to hold aſſemblies, there [b] is an exception of the Eunomians, Photinians, and Manichees. When St. Jerom in his Chronicle ſays, at [c] this time dies Photinus, from whom the Photinians are called; it is ſuppoſed, that there were then ſome men of that denomination. Auguſtine [d] often mentions them in diſcourſes to the people, which he would not have done, if there were no ſuch men. Gennadius of Marſeilles ſpeaks of a Spaniſh biſhop, named Audentius, placed by Cave [e] at 360, who [f] wrote a book againſt the Photinians. From the account which Gennadius gives of that work, it appears, that the Photinians were ſuppoſed to have believed our Saviour's nativity of a virgin. We learn from him likewiſe, that they were ſometimes called Bonoſians, or Bonoſiacs: ſuppoſed to be ſo named from Bonoſus, who [g] lived in the latter part of the fourth, and the beginning of the fifth century, the place of whoſe biſhopric is not certainly known. Which Bonoſus ſeems to have been of opinion, that Mary [h] had other children after the birth of Jeſus.

CHAP. XC.

Eusebius, Biſhop of Vercelli.

1. Eusebius, born in Sardinia, biſhop of Verceil, or Vercelli, in Italy, is placed by Cave, as flouriſhing about the

[b] —— μεθ' ὃς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἶρξεν Εὐνομιανὰς, καὶ Φωτινιανὰς, καὶ Μανιχαίους. Socr. l. v. c. 2. p. 260. Conf. Soz. l. vii. c. 1. p. 725. [c] Photinus in Galatia moritur. A quo Photinianorum dogma inductum. Chr. p. 187. [d] Vos inſtruximus, quantam meminiſtis, et meminiſſe debetis, contra hæreticos Photinianos, qui ſolum hominem ſine Deo eſſe decernunt: contra Manichæos, qui ſolum ſine homine Deum. In Johan. cap. x. Tr. 47. n. 9. Tom. 3. P. 2. Vid. et in Johan. cap. vi. Tr. 26. n. 5. In Joh. c. xvi. Tr. 96. n. 3. Serm. 252. n. 4. Tom. v. In 1 ep. Joh. cap. iv. Serm. 183. cap. v. n. 8. et alibi. [e] H. L. T. i. p. 224. [f] Audentius, epiſcopus Hiſpanus, ſcripſit adverſus Manichæos, Sabellianos, et Arianos, maxime quoque ſpeciali intentione contra Photinianos, qui nunc vocantur Bonoſiani, librum, quem prætitulavit 'De Fide adversus hæreticos:' In quo oſtendit æqualitatem Filii Dei coæternalem Patri fuiſſe, nec initium Deitatis tunc a Deo Patre acceptiſſe, cum de Maria virgine homo, Deo fabricante, conceptus, et natus eſt. Gennad. de V. I. cap. 14. [g] Of Bonoſus ſee Tillemont Mem. Ec. T. x. S. Ambroiſe. Art. 68. et 70. and notes 44. et 45. and Mr. Bower's Hiſtory of the Popes, or Biſhops of Rome. Vol. I. p. 263. [h] Vid. Ambroſ. de Inſtit. Virg. c. 5. T. ii. p. 357. ed. Bened. et ejuſd. Epiſt. Ibid. p. 1008, 1009.

year

year 354. He died in the time of Valentinian and Valens, in [a] the year 370, or soon after. As he is in Jerom's Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers [b] I place the chapter below.

2. In the reign of Constantius, after the council of Milan in 355, he was banished to Scythopolis in Syria, and afterwards removed to Cappadocia, and, as it seems, once [c] more to the Upper Thebais. His and his friends sufferings are mentioned by [d] many writers. When Julian came to be emperor, they [e] had all leave to return home, in 362.

3. He translated the Commentary of his name-sake of Cæsarea upon the Psalms out of Greek into Latin. It is the only work of his, mentioned by Jerom in the fore-cited chapter. It is not unlikely, that in the place of his exile he learned Greek: for Jerom intimates, that the translation was made during that period, and published by him after his return home. This translation is mentioned by Jerom in [f] two of his letters, beside what he says of it in his Catalogue: and in one of those places he says, (if he may be relied upon,) that this bishop of Vercelli left out in his translation some heretical expressions of the original. That translation is now intirely lost, as is observed by Montfauçon [g], in his Preliminaries to Eusebius's Commentary upon the Psalms published by him in Greek and Latin.

a Vid. Hierom. Chr. p. 186.

b Eusebius natione Sardus, et ex Lectore Urbis Romanæ Vercellensis Episcopus, ob confessionem fidei a Constantio Principe Scythopolim, & inde in Cappadociam relegatus, sub Juliano Imperatore ad ecclesiam reversus, edidit Commentarios Eusebii Cæsariensis, quos de Græco in Latinum verterat. Mortuus est Valentiniano & Valente regnantibus. De V. I. cap. 96.

c Vid. Socr. l. iii. c. 5. Soz. l. v. cap. 12 in. Thdt. l. iii. c. 4. Ruf. l. i. c. 27.

d Interea Mediolanum convenitur, ubi tum aderat Imperator. Eadem illa contentio simul invicem relaxabat. Tum Eusebius Vercellensium, et Lucifer a Caralis Sardiniæ, Episcopi relegati. Sulp. Sev. H. E. l. ii. cap. 39. al. 55.

Eusebius Vercellensis Episcopus, et Lucifer et Dionysius Caralitanæ et Mediolanensis ecclesiæ Episcopi — distantibus inter se ab Arianis, & a Constantio damnati exiliis. Hieron. Chr. p. 184.

Vid. Athanas. ad Imp. Constant. Apol. p. 312. Apol. De fuga sua. p. 322. B. C. Ad Monach. seu Solitar. p. 300.

e Omnes Episcopi, qui de propriis sedibus fuerant exterminati, per indulgentiam novi Principis ad ecclesias redeunt. Tunc triumphatorem suum Athanasium Ægyptus excepit. Tunc Hilarium de prælio revertentem Galliarum Ecclesia complexa est. Tunc ad reditum Eusebii lugubres vestes Italia mutavit. Hieron. advers. Lucif. T. iv. p. 301. in.

Sed mortuo Constantio, patrono hæreticorum, Julianus solus tenuit imperium, cujus præcepto omnes Episcopi Catholici de exiliis relaxantur. Faustin. et Marcell. lib. Pr. ap. Bib. PP. T. v. p. 656. B.

f Apud Latinos autem Hilarius Pictaviensis, et Eusebius Vercellensis Episcopus, Originem et Eusebium transtulerunt. Ad S. Augustin. ep. 74. al. 89. T. iv. p. 627.

Sit in culpa ejusdem confessionis Vercellensis Eusebius, qui omnium Psalmorum Commentarios hæretici hominis vertit in nostrum eloquium: licet hæretica prætermittens, optima quæque transtulit. Ad Vigil. ep. 36. al. 75. T. 4. p. 276.

g Hæc porro Eusebii interpretatio jam diu interiit. Nec memini me uspiam ejus vel codicem, vel fragmenta memorata deprehendisse. Prælim. in Euseb. Comm. in Ps. cap. 2. n. iii.

4. However, there are still extant some letters, or fragments of letters, supposed to be his. For a particular account of which, and some other things, I refer to divers learned[i] moderns.

5. There is a manuscript in the cathedral church of Vercelli, kept there with great respect, and said to have been written by our Eusebius. It is mentioned by[j] Montfaucon in his Diarium Italicum. But though he describes its condition, as worn out by time, or much injured by accidents, he does not tell us what it contains. Cave in his article of Eusebius has endeavoured to supply this defect, by adding from Mabillon, that it[k] contains the gospels of Matthew and Mark. Nevertheless, there seems reason to think, that it has the four gospels. I have not yet seen the Evangeliarium Quadruplex Latinæ Versionis antiquæ, seu Veteris Italicæ, published by Joseph Blanchini at Rome, in 1749, in which he has inserted the whole of this manuscript. But according to the accounts given of that work by two[l] journalists, the manuscript of Vercelli has the four gospels. And they observe particularly, that is remarkable for two various readings in St. John's gospel: one of which is an addition at chap. v. 6. the other is an omission, there being wanting the whole history of the woman spoken of chap. viii. 1—11. and the last verse of the preceding chapter.

[h] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. Fabric. ad Hieron. de V. I. Tillem. Mem. T. vii Du Pin Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 235. [i] Ecclesiam inde Cathedralem adiimus, in cujus ærario reliquiæ insignes —— Codicem ibidem inspeximus in charta membranacea tenuissima exaratum. Aiebantque ipsa S. Eusebii manu, qui seculo quarto floruit, descriptum, versionemque ex Græco in Latinum ab eodem adornatam. Nonnulla hinc et inde legi, comperique, versionem esse a Vulgata nostra toto cœlo discrepantem. Codex multis in partibus labefactatus putrefactusque est. Quod casu plus quam vetustate evenisse dictitabant. Narrabantque divitem flumine demersum, indeque erutum fuisse.—Alium item librum eodem in sacrario repositum aiebant usui fuisse S. Eusebio Vercellensi. Sed xi. tantum seculi esse arbitror. Montf. Diar. Ital. c. 28. p. 444, 445.

[k] Idem fere antea observaverat Cl. Mabillonius [It. Ital. T. i. p. 9.] qui subdit, Codicem Evangelia S S. Matthæi et Marci continere, membranam situ fere esse corruptam. &c. Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 216.

[l] See Bibliotheque Raisonée. T. 45. P. 2. Art. x. and the Universal Librarian. Vol. i. P. i. p. 1. &c.

CHAP.

CHAP. XCI.

LUCIFER, BISHOP OF CAGLIARI IN SARDINIA.

I. *His history, and testimony to the scriptures.* II. *The request of his followers, Faustinus and Marcellinus.* III. *A book of Faustinus concerning the Trinity.*

I. LUCIFER [a] bishop of Cagliari, or Carali (as the ancients always write it,) in Sardinia, well known in his time, and a sufferer with the fore-mentioned Eusebius in the reign of Constantius, has [b] a place in Jerom's Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers: whose chapter therefore I transcribe below.

He seems to have been removed several times. Faustinus and Marcellinus say [c] four times. The last place of his banishment was Thebais, where [d] he was with the fore-mentioned Eusebius at the time of the death of Constantius. He is supposed to have died [e] in 370.

Athanasius, for a while at least, had a great regard [f] for him, and he wrote to him [g] two letters. In the first of which he desires him to send his writings: and by his order they were translated out of Latin into Greek. Faustinus and Marcellinus express themselves, as [h] if they had been translated by Athanasius himself.

Lucifer was always a man of a vehement temper, as appears from his books, written in the time of Constantius, and during his banishment; the titles [i] of which I place below. And after

[a] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. Basnag. Ann. 362. n. xx. et alibi. Fabr. ad Hieron. de V. I. cap. 95. et Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 402. Du Pin Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 99. Tillem. Mem. T. vii.

[b] Lucifer Caralitanus Episcopus, cum Pancratio et Hilario, Romanæ Ecclesiæ clericis, ad Constantium Imperatorem a Liberio Episcopo pro fide legatus missus, cum nollet sub nomine Athanasii Nicenam damnare fidem, in Palæstinam relegatus, miræ constantiæ et preparati animi ad martyrium, contra Constantium scripsit librum, eique legendum misit. At non multo post sub Juliano Principe reversus Caralis Valentiano regnante obiit. De V. I. cap. 95.

[c] —— non solum in Sardinia, sed in ipsis quoque quatuor exiliis. Lib. Prec. ap. Bib. P P. T. v. p. 658. F.

Et post aliquot annos beatus Lucifer de quarto exilio Romam, pergens, ingressus est Neapolim Campaniæ. Ib. p. 656. H.

[d] Vid. Socr. H. E. l. iii. cap. 5. Soz. l. v. c. 12. in. Theodoret. l. iii. c. 4.

[e] Vid. Hieron. Chr. p. 186.

[f] Vid. Athan. Apol. de fuga sua. p. 322. C. Histor. Arian. ad Monach. p. 363, 364.

[g] Ap. Athan. Opp. p. 565, 566.

[h] Quos quidem libros —— suspexit et Athanasius, ut veri vindices, atque in Græcum stilum transtulit, ne tantum boni Græca lingua non haberet. &c. Faustin. et Marcell. lib. pr. p. 658. B.

[i] Ad Constantinum Imp. pro Athanasio. Libri duo. De Regibus Apostaticis. Lib. i. De non conveniendo cum hæreticis. Lib. i. De eo quod moriendum est pro Dei Filio. Lib. i. De non parcendo in Deum delinquentibus. Lib. i. Ad Florentium epistola brevis. Ap. Bib. P P. T. iv. p. 181—250.

his liberty, in the time of Julian, contrary to the sentiment of the catholic bishops in general, he went into [k] a rigid principle, refusing, though [l] it had been determined in a synod at Alexandria in 362, to receive those bishops who in the reign of Constantius had in any measure complied with the Arians, or to communicate with those who received them, upon the acknowledgment of their fault. Jérom [m] at once represents his principle, and speaks tenderly of Lucifer himself: as [n] does also Sulpicius Severus.

Lucifer [o] and his followers, as it seems, were willing to receive the laity who came over from the Arians, upon renouncing their error; but they would not consent that bishops, who had complied with the Arians, should be received as such. They might, upon returning to the catholics, be received as laymen, but they were not any more to officiate in the church.

This occasioned a schism; which, however, never [p] spread very far. Rufinus [q] speaks of it as very small, and Theodoret as [r] extinct in his time. And yet in the year 384, or thereabout, they obtained a [s] rescript from Theodosius, to secure them from persecution, since they made no innovations in the faith. However, they were for some time in several parts of

[k] Vid. Hieron. adv. Luciferian. T. iv. Augustin. De Hær. cap. 81. T. viii.

[l] Pergit interea Eusebius Alexandriam, ibique confessorum concilio congregato — quo pacto post hæreticorum procellas, et perfidiæ turbines, tranquillitas revocaretur Ecclesiæ—discutiunt. Aliis videbatur fidei calore ferventibus, nullum debere ultra in sacerdotium recipi, qui se utcunque hæreticæ communionis contagione maculasset. Sed alii dicebant, melius esse — et ideo sibi rectum videri, ut tantum perfidiæ auctoribus amputatis reliquis sacerdotibus daretur optio, si forte velint, abjurato errore perfidiæ, ad fidem patrum statutaque converti, nec negare aditum redeuntibus, quin potius de eorum conversione gaudere. Rufin. Hist. Ec. l. i. cap. 28. Conf. Socr. l. iii. c. 9. Soz. l. v. c. 13. Theod. l. iii. c. 5.

[m] Sed ut dicere cœperamus, post reditum confessorum, in Alexandria postea synodo constitutum est, ut exceptis auctoribus hæreseos, quos error excusare non poterat, pœnitentes Ecclesiæ sociarentur. Assensus est huic sententiæ Occidens——Ventum est ad asperrimum locum, in quo adversum voluntatem et propositum meum cogor beato Lucifero secus quidquam, quam et illius meritum, et mea humanitas poscit, existimare. Sed quid faciam? Veritas os referat — In tali articulo Ecclesiæ, in tanta rabie luporum, segregatis paucis [illegible] reliquum gregem deseruit. Adv. [illegible] T. iv. p. 302.

[n] Cæterum [illegible] tum Antiochiæ, longe diversâ sententia fuit. Nam in tantum eos, qui Arianis fuerunt, condemnavit, ut se etiam ab eorum communione secreverit, qui eos sub satisfactione vel pœnitentiâ recepissent. [illegible], an perperam constituerit, dicere non [illegible]. S. Sever. H. S. l. ii. c. 48. al. 60.

[o] Orthod. Expone mihi, quare [illegible] cum venientem ab Arianis recipias, [illegible] copum non recipias? Lucifer. Recipio laicum, qui errasse se confitetur. Et Dominus mavult pœnitentiam peccatoris quam mortem. Orth. Recipe ergo et Episcopum, qui et errasse se confitetur — Lucifer. Si errare se confitetur, cur Episcopus perseverat? Deponat sacerdotium, concedo veniam pœnitenti. Hieron. adv. Lucifer. T. iv. p. 290.

[p] Si Ecclesiam non habet Christus, aut si in Sardinia tantum habet, nimium pauper est. Hieron. adv. Lucifer. T. iv. p. 298.

[q] Rufin. H. E. l. i. cap. 30.

[r] Απεσβη δε και τουτο το δογμα, [illegible] ρεδοθη τη λυθη. Theod. H. E. l. iii. c. [illegible] p. 128. D.

[s] Ap. Bib. PP. T. [illegible] p. 662.

the

the [t] world; and the authors of the aforeſaid requeſt complain particularly, that at Rome, where [u] they had a biſhop named Aurelius, Pope [x] Damaſus diſturbed their aſſemblies, and did all he could to hinder their worſhip, whether by day or by night.

Lucifer's works have not yet been publiſhed with all the advantage that might be wiſhed. Cotelerius [y] once intended a more exact edition of them, as thinking they both wanted and deſerved it. I ſhall obſerve a few things in them, and likewiſe in the requeſt or petition of the preſbyters Fauſtinus and Marcellinus, his admirers and followers, drawn up in 383, or 384.

Lucifer's writings conſiſt very much of paſſages of the Old and the New Teſtament, cited one after another, which he quotes with [z] marks of the greateſt reſpect. Particularly, he has largely quoted the book of the Acts; he has likewiſe largely quoted the [a] epiſtle to the Hebrews, the [b] ſecond epiſtle of John, and the [c] epiſtle of Jude.

Lucifer has quoted almoſt the whole of the epiſtle of St. Jude. Undoubtedly he uſed the ancient Latin verſion; and there are in him two readings, which deſerve our notice.

Jude, ver. 4, *Denying* [d] *the only Lord God, and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.* He omits the word *God*, ſaying, *the only Lord:* as do [e] many Greek manuſcripts.

Jude, ver. 7. *and going after ſtrange fleſh, are ſet forth an example.* He reads thus: *and* [f] *going after the fleſh have been ſet forth an example by aſhes.*

[t] Sed hæc fraus, hæc atrocitas, adverſus fidem in Hiſpania, et apud Treviros, et Romæ agitur, et in diverſis Italiæ regionibus. F. et M. Libr. Prec. p. 658. G.

[u] Ibid. p. 657. G. H.

[x] Eodem tempore gravis adverſus nos perſecutio inhorruerat, infeſtante Damaſo egregio Archiepiſcopo, ita ut fidelibus ſacerdotibus per dies ſacros plebis cœtus ad deprecandum Chriſto Deo convocare libere non liceret. Sed quia pro conditione rerum quolibet tempore, vel clam ſalutis noſtræ ſacramenta facienda ſunt, idem ſanctus Preſbyter Macarius dat vigilias in quadam domo convocare fraternitatem, ut vel noctu divinis lectionibus fidem plebs ſancta roboret —— Denique tendunt inſidias clerici Damaſi, & ubi cognoverunt, quod ſacras vigilias celebraret cum plebe Preſbyter Marcellus, irruunt cum officialibus in illam domum, &c. Ibid. p. 658. A.

[y] Vid. Coteler. Annot. ad Conſtit. Apoſt. l. ii. c. 7.

[z] Quod ita eſſe, Dominus in ſacris Evangeliis manifeſtat dicens. De non conveniendo cum hæreticis. Ap. Bib. P P. T. iv. p. 226. E.

[a] Beatus Apoſtolus Paulus dicit ad Hebræos: *Et Moyſes quidem fidelis erat in tota domo ejus tanquam famulus.* &c. [ad Hebr. cap. iii. et iv.] Ibid. p. 424. E. F. G.

[b] Idcirco etenim etiam Apoſtolus in hac dicit ſecunda epiſtola: *omnis qui recedit, et non manet in doctrina Chriſti, Deum non habet. Qui autem manet in doctrina ejus, ille et Patrem et Filium habet.* Ib. p. 226. F. Vid. et ib. B.

[c] Cum exhortetur Judas, gloriolus Apoſtolus, frater Jacobi Apoſtoli—*Judas Jeſu Chriſti ſervus, frater autem Jacobi.* &c. [Jud. ver. 1—8. ver. 10—13. 18. 20.] Ibid. p. 227. C—E.

[d] —— et qui eſt dominator noſter, et dominus Jeſus Chriſtus, eum negantes. —Ib. p. 227. D.

[e] Vid. Mill. in loc.

[f] —— cum adulterium feciſſent, et car-

Both these readings are mightily confirmed by 2 Pet. ii. 6. 10. For at ver. 10. the expression is, *But chiefly them that walk after the flesh:* without the word *strange.* And at ver. 6. *And turning the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah into ashes.* Upon these readings should be consulted Mr. Beausobre's notes upon Jude ver. 4. 7. and a Latin letter in the third volume of Mr. La Roche's Literary Journal, p. 192, 193.

II. Faustinus and Marcellinus, in their request to the emperors Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius, say, that [f] one thing for which Lucifer was eminent, was the study of the sacred scriptures: that [h] Athanasius commended his writings for the many passages therein collected out of the prophetical, evangelical, and apostolical scriptures. They continually speak with [i] the highest veneration for the writings of the prophets, evangelists, and apostles: and [k] they blame those who teach, or practise any thing contrary to their authority. The epistle to the Hebrews [l] is quoted here very respectfully. Finally, they complain that [m] they were called Luciferians. They say, that Christ is their master, and his doctrine they follow: they ought therefore to be called by no other than the sacred name of Christians, as they hold nothing but what Christ taught by his apostles.

III. Beside that request, there [n] is a book ascribed to Faustinus, Concerning the Trinity, against the Arians, in seven chapters, addressed to the empress Flaccilla, first wife of Theodosius, who died in 385.

I now transcribe below [o] a chapter of Gennadius, giving an

nem secutæ essent, cinis [cineris] propositæ sunt exemplum, ignis æterni pœnam sustinentes. Ibid. f Sed et Apostolicus vir Lucifer de Sardinia Caralitanæ urbis Episcopus, ob hoc, quod bene esset agnitus per contemtum sæculi, per studium sacrarum literarum, per vitæ puritatem — A Romana ecclesia missus est legatus ad Constantium. Lib. Prec. ap. Bib. PP. T. v. p. 654. C.

h Idem Athanasius eosdem libros prædicat, ut Prophetarum, et Evangelistarum, atque Apostolorum doctrinis, et pia confessione contextos. Ib. p. 658. E.

i —— illam fidem sine dolo vindicant, quæ apud Nicæam Evangelica atque Apostolica ratione conscripta est. p. 653. F.

Si quidem, dicentibus Divinis Scripturis, doctrina dæmoniorum hæresis est. p. 654. F.

k —— evertentes illa forte statuta, quæ prius adversus eos Prophetica atque Apostolica auctoritate decreverant. p. 656. C. Vid. et p. 658. F.

Annon Scripturæ Divinæ impugnantur, quando cum Episcopis, Filii Dei [illegible] ribus, pax Ecclesiæ copulatur? p. 656. B.

l Credite, religiosissimi Imperatores, [illegible] tum Heraclidem unum esse de illo numero sanctorum, de quibus refert Scriptura Divina, dicens: *Circuierunt in melotis et caprinis pellibus.*—[Hebr. xi. 37, 38.] p. 658. C.

m Nam et hoc ipsum necessarium est, ut falsi cognomenti discutiamus invidiam, qua nos jactant esse Luciferianos —— Sed nos Christus magister est, cujus doctrinam sequimur, atque ideo cognomenti illius [illegible] appellatione censemur: ut non aliud [illegible] dici debeamus, quam Christiani, cui [illegible] aliud sequimur, quam quod Christus per Apostolos docuit. p. 858. D.

n De Trinitate, seu de Fide, adv. Arian. Ap. Bib. PP. T. v. p. 637—651.

o Faustinus Presbyter scripsit ad perfugium Flaccillæ Reginæ adversum Arianos et Macedonianos libros septem: his eos maxime

account

account of Faustinus and Marcellinus. And I shall observe a few things in this book of Faustinus.

The writer expresseth [p] the highest respect for the divine scriptures, from which alone all doctrines of religion ought to be proved. Here are quoted [q] the Acts of the apostles, the epistle [r] to the Hebrews, and [s] the Revelation of the apostle John. Moreover Jerom, in his book against the Luciferians, quotes [t] the Revelation by way of proof very freely; which shews, that it was received by them.

CHAP. XCII.

GREGORY, BISHOP OF ELVIRA.

1. As he is in Jerom's Catalogue, I add here Gregory, bishop of Illiberis or Elvira in the province of Bætica in Spain. Jerom [a] says, that Gregory was still living in 392, when he wrote his Catalogue; but was of a great age. He had written several treatises in a plain style, and a good book concerning the faith, esteemed more polite than his other works.

2. Gregory is placed by [b] Cave, as flourishing about the year 370; but Tillemont [c], from a story told in the Request of Faustinus and Marcellinus, concludes, he was bishop before the year 357. And indeed, if their authority may be relied upon, I should think him to have been bishop in 355; I therefore place him next after Eusebius of Vercelli, and Lucifer. Du Pin [d] says, he flourished from 357, to the end of that age.

[illegible] scripturarum testimoniis arguens [illegible], quibus illi pravo sensu abu[illegible] [illegible]. Scripsit et librum, [illegible] et Arcadio Imperatori[illegible] [illegible] suorum, cum Marcel[illegible] Presbytero, obtulit. Ex quo [illegible] Luciferiano schismati consensisse, [illegible] Pictaviensem, et Damasum [illegible], Episcopos in eodem libro [illegible], quasi male consuluerint Ecclesiæ, [illegible] prævaricatores Episcopos in commu[illegible] sacerdotium recepissent. Quod [illegible] displicuit, recipere Episco[illegible] in Ariminensi Concilio Arianis [illegible], quo modo Novatianis [illegible] pœnitentes. Gennad. De V. I. [illegible]

[p] Inspice potius divinos libros, et de divina fide divinis utere sermonibus. De Trinit. adv. Arian. cap. 1. ib. p. 639. G.

[q] Cap. v. p. 647. H.

[r] Cap. ii. p. 645. A. et passim.

[s] Sed et Apostolus Johannes in Apocalypsi hæc dicit. Cap. iii. p. 645.

[t] Contr. Lucifer. T. iv. p. 290. f. et 304. infr. m.

[a] Gregorius Bæticus, Iliberi Episcopus, usque ad extremam senectutem diversos mediocri sermone tractatus composuit, et de Fide elegantem librum. Qui hodieque superesse dicitur. De V. L. cap. 105.

[b] H. L. T. i. p. 235.

[c] Lucifer de Cagliari. Art. viii. Mem. T. vii.

[d] Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 106.

3. It is very probable, that this Gregory was a Luciferian. In the fore-cited Requeſt he is ſpoken of as [e] a man of remarkable firmneſs: he [f] alone of thoſe who would not comply with the Arians in the time of Conſtantius was not baniſhed. Again, he [g] is ſpoken of as an admirable man: and he is honourably mentioned in [h] the Reſcript of Theodoſius. Moreover, in [i] Jerom's Chronicle he is joined with others, who never complied with the Arians.

4. Whether the book concerning the faith, mentioned by Jerom, be now extant, is ſomewhat doubtful. There is a tract with a like title, called [k] Gregory Nazianzen's 49th Oration, and uſually joined alſo [l] with the works of St. Ambroſe; which [m] Queſnell thinks to be the work of Gregory of Illiberis: others [n] ſay, it is not his. It is however the work of ſome ancient writer. Concerning this point ſeveral moderns may [o] be conſulted.

5. I ſcarce need make any extracts out of this treatiſe. I only obſerve, that the ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament are here quoted with great reſpect. The [p] book of the Acts is here quoted; and here occurs the phraſe, which we have ſometimes obſerved formerly, of [q] the Lord's ſcriptures; meaning thereby, more particularly, the ſcriptures of the New Teſtament.

CHAP. XCIII.

PHŒBADIUS, BISHOP OF AGEN.

1. SAYS Jerom, in his Catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers: 'Phœbadius [a] biſhop of Agen in Gaul, has publiſhed a book

[e] Vid. Libr. Pr. p. 654. H. et 655. A.

[f] Inde eſt, quod ſolus Gregorius ex numero vindicantium integram fidem, nec in fugam verſus, nec paſſus exilium, cum unuſquiſque timeret de illo ulterius vindicare. Ibid. p. 655. E.

[g] Jam quantus vir Lucifer fuerit, cum illum admiretur et Gregorius, qui apud cunctos admirabilis eſt. p. 658. F. Vid. et p. 657. E. [h] Ibid. p. 661. D.

[i] Lucifer Caralitanus Epiſcopus moritur, qui cum Gregorio Epiſcopo Hiſpaniarum, et Philone Libyæ, nunquam ſe Arianæ miſcuit pravitati. Chr. p. 186.

[k] Ap. Greg. Naz. Opp. T. i. p. 726—736. [l] De Fide Orthodoxa contra Arianos. In Append. Opp. S. Ambroſ. T. ii. p. 346—358. ed. Bened.

[m] Vid. Diſſ. xiv. in S. Leon. M. epp. § vii. [n] Vid. Benedictin. Monitum. p. 346. [o] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 235. in Greg. Bæt. Fabr. ad Hieron. de V. I. cap. 105. et Bib. Lat. T. ii. p. 435. Tillem. Mem. T. vii. Lucif. de Cagl. Art 8.

[p] Et Spiritum ſicut ignem eſſe, Apoſtolorum Acta declarant. Apud Greg. Naz. T. i. p. 735. in. [q] Sed ego probo, Deum de Deo——in Scripturis Domini continere. Ibid. p. 730. fin.

[a] Phœbadius, Agenni Galliarum Epiſcopus, edidit contra Arianos librum. Dicuntur et ejus alia eſſe opuſcula, quæ nondum vidi. Vivit uſque hodie decrepita ſenectute. De V. I. cap. 108.

[e] againſt

'against the Arians. He is said to have written some other 'small pieces, which I have not yet seen. He is still living, 'at a great age.'

2. There is honourable mention made of Phœbadius by Sulpicius Severus [b] in his Sacred History. The book against the Arians is still [c] extant. The author is placed by Cave [d] at the year 359, the supposed time of writing that work.

3. I need say nothing more of it, than that the author quotes very frequently the generally received books of scripture. There is supposed to be a reference to [e] the epistle to the Hebrews, but it is not clear: a reference to [f] the Revelation may be reckoned undoubted.

4. Throughout the whole work Phœbadius shews great respect for the holy scriptures. The [g] bishops of the Nicene council, he says, first consulted the sacred volumes, and then declared their faith. He himself [h] professes a strong resolution, not to forsake the doctrine taught by the prophets, the gospels, and the apostles.

CHAP. XCIV.

CAIUS MARIUS VICTORINUS AFER.

1. 'CAIUS MARIUS VICTORINUS [a], born in Africa,' says Jerom [b], in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, 'taught 'rhetoric at Rome, in the time of the emperor Constantius. 'And in his old age embracing the Christian religion, he wrote 'some books against the Arians, which are so obscure, that

[b] L. ii. cap. 44. al. 59.

[c] Phœbadii Episcopi liber contra Arianos. Ap. Bib. P P. T. iv. p. 300—305.

[d] Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 217. Conf. Fabr. ad Hieron. de V. I. c. 108. et Bib. Lat. T. iii. p. 420. Du Pin Bib. T. ii. p. 107. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. vi. Les Ariens art. 72.

[e] Vid. p. 304. F. Bib. P P. 74. T. iv.

[f] Quod Johannes in Filio recognoscens: *Qui est*, inquit, *et qui erat, et qui venturus est, Omnipotens.* Ibid. p. 303. D.

[g] Quid egistis, o beatæ memoriæ viri, qui ex omnibus orbis partibus Nicæam congregati, et sacris voluminibus pertractatis, perfectam fidei catholicæ regulam circumspecto sermone fecistis. Ib. p. 301. C.

[h] Hoc credimus, hoc tenemus, quia hoc accepimus a Prophetis. Hoc nobis Evangelia locuta sunt, hoc Apostoli tradiderunt, hoc Martyres passione confessi sunt. Ib. p. 305. B.

[a] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 228. Fabr. ad Hieron. de V. I. c. 101. et Bib. Lat. T. iii. p. 421. et seqq. Du Pin Bib. T. ii. p. 100. Tillem. Mem. T. x. dans S. Simplicien.

[b] Victorinus, natione Afer, Romæ sub Constantio Principe Rhetoricam docuit. Et in extrema senectute Christi se tradens fidei scripsit adversus Arium libros more dialectico valde obscuros, qui nisi ab eruditis non intelliguntur, et commentarios in Apostolum. De V. I. c. 101.

'they

'they are understood by the learned only. He likewise wrote 'Commentaries upon the apostle Paul's epistles.'

2. Victorinus is mentioned by Jerom several times elsewhere. In [c] his Chronicle he says, that Victorinus had taught rhetoric at Rome with so much reputation, that he had the honour of a public statue, set up in Trajan's forum. In [d] the preface to his Commentary upon the epistle to the Galatians, Jerom again speaks of the above-mentioned Commentary upon the apostle Paul; and he represents Victorinus as a very indifferent interpreter of scripture.

3. Some have thought, that Jerom studied rhetoric under Victorinus; but as Jerom says nothing of it, though he had a fair occasion, when he mentions Victorinus in his Chronicle; it is more probable, that [e] he never was his scholar.

4. I choose to place at the bottom of the page a part of what Augustine writes concerning this illustrious convert: That [f] after having long been an idolater, and taught rhetoric at Rome with great applause, and had his statue erected in the Roman forum, he in his old age embraced, and made open profession of the Christian religion, at a time when the greatest part of the Roman nobility were heathens. He particularly observes, that by reading the scriptures Victorinus had been convinced of the truth of the Christian religion. He moreover says, that [g] when the emperor Julian published his edict,

[c] Victorinus Rhetor, et Donatus Grammaticus, Præceptor meus, Romæ insignes habentur. E quibus Victorinus etiam statuam in Foro Trajani meruit. Chr. p. 184.

[d] Non quod ignorem Caium Marium Victorinum, qui Romæ pueros rhetoricam docuit, edidisse commentarios in Apostolum: sed quod occupatus ille eruditione secularium literarum Scripturas omnino sanctas ignoraverit: Et nemo potest, quamvis eloquens, de eo bene disputare quod nesciat. Pr. in Galat. T. iv. p. 222. [e] Vid. Fabr. not. (c) ad Hieron. de V. I. c. 101.

[f] Ubi autem commemoravi legisse me quosdam libros Platonicorum, quos Victorinus quondam Rhetor urbis Romæ, quem Christianum defunctum esse audieram, in Latinam linguam transtulisset, gratulatus est mihi. [Simplicianus.]——Deinde, ut me exhortaretur ad humilitatem Christi.—— Victorinum ipsum recordatus est, quem Romæ cum esset familiarissime noverat. Deque illo mihi narravit quod non silebo. ——Quemadmodum ille doctissimus senex, et omnium liberalium doctrinarum peritissimus: quippe Philosophorum tam multa legerat, et dijudicaverat, et dilucidaverat: doctor tot nobilium Senatorum, qui [illegible] ob insigne præclari magisterii, cui [illegible] hujus mundi eximium putant, [illegible] Romano Foro meruerat et acceperat [illegible] ad illam ætatem venerator idolorum [illegible] eorumque sacrilegorum particeps, [illegible] tunc tota fere Romana Nobilitas [illegible] inspirabat populo jam et omnigenum [illegible] deorum monstra,——quæ ille senex Victorinus tot annos ore terricrepo defendit, [illegible] non erubuerit esse puer Christi tui.——Legebat, sicut ait Simplicianus, [illegible] turam, omnesque Christianas literas [illegible] gabat studiosissime et perscrutabatur. [illegible] cebat Simpliciano, non palam, sed [illegible] et familiarius: Noveris me esse [illegible] num. &c. Aug. Confess. l. viii. c. [illegible] 1. et 2. T. i. [g] Postea quæ [illegible] et illud addidit, quod Imperatoris [illegible] temporibus lege data prohibiti sunt Christiani docere literaturam, et oratores: [illegible] legem ille amplexus loquacem [illegible] ferere maluit, quam verbum [illegible] linguas infantium facis disertas. Ib. [illegible] n. 10.

forbidding

forbidding Chriſtians to teach grammar, and rhetoric, and other branches of polite literature, Victorinus ſhut up his ſchool, rather than purchaſe a liberty of teaching by compliances unbecoming a Chriſtian. All which Auguſtine had been informed of by Simplician, biſhop of Milan, who was well acquainted with Victorinus, and had often ſeen him at Rome, and was a principal inſtrument of perſuading him to an open profeſſion of the Chriſtian religion if not of his converſion.

5. The books againſt the Arians, mentioned by Jerom, are ſtill [h] extant. Beſide which, we have alſo a letter or treatiſe againſt the Manichees, and ſome other ſmall tracts, written in the ſame ſtyle, and generally reckoned works of Victorinus. And his Commentaries upon St. Paul's epiſtles, upon ſome of them at leaſt, are ſuppoſed to be ſtill in being, in manuſcript, in ſome libraries; but they have not been yet publiſhed.

6. I ſhall now obſerve a few things, chiefly taken out of the books againſt the Arians, which, as we now have them, are four in number.

7. Moſt of the books of the New Teſtament are here frequently quoted, particularly the [i] Acts of the apoſtles, the [k] epiſtle to the Hebrews, and [l] the Revelation.

8. He ſeveral times quotes [m] the epiſtle to the Epheſians, with that title.

9. He ſays, that [n] Paul in all his epiſtles, does nothing elſe but bear teſtimony to Chriſt; and that to him alone Chriſt appeared after his aſcenſion.

10. He ſays, that [o] the Holy Ghoſt may be not unfitly ſtyled the mother of Jeſus. He has divers [p] other expreſſions relating to the doctrine of the Trinity, which are not agreeable to the apprehenſions of learned divines of late times. Nor, indeed,

[h] Apud Bib. P P. T. iv. p. 253. &c.

[i] In libro Actis Apoſtolorum et ipſe [illegible] et Lucas qui ſcripſit de iis. Adv. Ar. l. iii. p. 265. B.

[k] Item apud Paulum ad Hebræos de [illegible]. Adv. Ar. l. ii. p. 272. G. &

[l] Item in Apocalypſi ipſe [illegible] *mortis et inferi.* l. iii. [illegible]. C.

[m] Paulus ad Epheſios. [illegible]. II. Item ipſe ad Epheſios. [illegible]. C.

[n] Paulus tamen [illegible] epiſtolis ſuis quid aliud agit, [illegible] Chriſto teſtimonium dicit? Et poſt [illegible] Chriſti ſolus Chriſtum vidit, et [illegible]. L. iii. p. 280. A.

[o] Natus eſt Filius, Λόγος qui ſit, hoc eſt vita virtute patria, generante intelligentia, hoc eſt quod eſſe omnium quæ ſunt veluti æternum fontem. Non fallatur ergo, ſi quis ſubintellexerit Sanctum Spiritum matrem eſſe Jeſu. L. i. p. 270. B.

[p] Pater ergo, Filius, Spiritus Sanctus, Deus, Λόγος παράκλητος, unum ſunt, quod ſubſtantialitas, vitalitas, beatitudo, ſilentium: Sed apud ſe loquens ſilentium, verbum, verbi verbum. Quid etiam eſt voluntas Patris, niſi ſilens Verbum? Hoc ergo modo cum Verbum Pater ſit, et Filius Verbum, id eſt, ſonans Verbum atque operans. L. iii. p. 278. A.

is he very intelligible; but he ſeems to ſay, that the Word ſilent is the Father, or, the will of the Father; and the Word ſpeaking, or operating, is the Son. Which may induce ſome to recollect what was ſaid formerly [q] of Sabellianiſm, in the chapter of Dionyſius biſhop of Alexandria.

CHAP. XCV.

Apollinarius, Biſhop of Laodicea.

I. *His time and hiſtory.* II. *His works, particularly his Commentaries on the ſcripture, and his writings in the defence of the Chriſtian religion.* III. *His peculiar opinions in the latter part of his life.* IV. *His writings relating to thoſe opinions.* V. *Scriptures received by him.* VI. *His character.*

I. Says Jerom, in his Catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers: 'Apollinarius [a] biſhop of Laodicea in Syria, ſon of a preſbyter 'of the ſame name, in his younger days employed himſelf 'chiefly in grammatical ſtudies. Afterwards he publiſhed 'innumerable volumes upon the holy ſcriptures, and died in 'the time of the emperor Theodoſius. His thirty books againſt 'Porphyry are ſtill extant, and are eſteemed the moſt valuable 'of all his works.'

Apollinarius is placed by Cave [b] as flouriſhing about the year 370; but [c] Tillemont thinks, he was biſhop of Laodicea in 362, at the lateſt. For certain, I think, he may be reckoned to have flouriſhed in the time of the emperor Julian, and afterwards.

It has been queſtioned, whether Apollinarius ever was biſhop; but [d] Tillemont, [e] Baſnage, and [f] ſome others, are clear, that he obtained that dignity in the church: as is ſaid by Jerom in the chapter juſt tranſcribed, and alſo [g] in his Chronicle, and by [h] Rufinus in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. He died in the reign of Theodoſius, as Jerom ſaid juſt now; and probably,

[q] See Vol. iii. p. 76.

[a] Apollinarius Laodicenus Syriæ Epiſcopus, patre Preſbytero, magis Grammaticis in adoleſcentia operam dedit. Et poſtea in ſanctas Scripturas innumerabilia ſcribens ſub Theodoſio Imperatore obiit. Exſtant ejus adverſus Porphyrium triginta libri, qui inter cætera ejus opera vel maxime probantur. De V. I. cap. 104.

[b] H. L. T. i. p. 250. [c] In Apollinariſtes. Art. v. Mem. T. vii.

[d] Ubi ſupra. [e] Ann. 364. n. v.

[f] Vid. Cav. ubi ſupr. Du Pin B. Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 125, and 127.

[g] Chr. p. 186. [h] Ruf. H. E. l. ii. cap. 20.

not long after the beginning of it, in 382, or soon after. For Epiphanius in 376 or 377, calls him [i] an old man, and a venerable old man: and Suidas says [k], that he lived in the time of Constantius, and Julian the apostate, to the reign of Theodosius the great, being contemporary with Basil and Gregory, those admirable men of Cappadocia, with whom also he was acquainted.

Apollinarius the father, as we learn from [l] Socrates, was an Alexandrian. From thence he went to Berytus, where he taught Greek learning: after that he removed to Laodicea, and married, still continuing to teach grammar. Here likewise he was made presbyter, and his son reader; who, as we suppose, was at length ordained bishop of that city. And moreover, it is observed [m] by ecclesiastical writers, that the elder Apollinarius and his son were both intimate with Epiphanius, an heathen sophist at Laodicea; and [n] the son studied under him. Suidas adds, that [o] he was acquainted with Libanius.

II. As Jerom in the chapter already transcribed says, that Apollinarius, bishop of Laodicea, published many volumes upon the scriptures, and in another place reckons him among those who [p] had left monuments of their diligence in studying the scriptures; I am led, agreeably to my design, to give an account of his works. Moreover, we perceive, that [q] Jerom, when young, often heard Apollinarius preach at Antioch; and he seems to have been then well pleased with his explications of the scriptures, though he did not approve of every thing said by him. His Apology for the Christian religion against Porphyry affords another reason, why I should give a more distinct account of this author's works, than I do of most others of so late an age.

1. The emperor Julian [r] in the year 362, published an edict, forbidding the Christians to teach the Greek learning, or read

[i] Ο [illegible] και σεμνοπρεπης. κ. λ. H. [illegible] n. ii. p. 996. —— τον γεροντα. [illegible] n. xxvi. p. 1031.

[k] —— γεγονως εν ημεραις Κωνσταντιου και Ιουλιανου του παραβατου, και εως της αρχης Θεοδοσιου του μεγαλου, συγχρονος βασιλειου και Γρηγοριου, των εκ Καππαδοκιας θαυμαζομενων. Εγενετο δε γνωριμος αμφοτερων, και λιβανιου, και αλλων τινων. Suid. V. Απολλιναριος.

[l] Socr. l. ii. cap. 46.

[m] Socr. ibid. Sozom. l. vi. cap. 25.

[n] Διδασκαλῳ δε αυτῳ χρωμενος Απολιναριος, ὁτι γαρ νεος ην. Soz. ib. p. 672. A.

[o] See before note k.

[p] Quod e contrario de Theodoro, Acacio, Apollinario possumus dicere. Et tamen omnes in explanationibus Scripturarum sudoris sui nobis memoriam reliquerunt. Ad Minerv. et Alex. ep. 152. Vid. T. iv. P. i. p. 220.

[q] Dum essem juvenis, miro discendi ferebar ardore — Apollinarium Laodicenum audivi Antiochiæ frequenter, et colui. Et quum me in sanctis scripturis erudiret, numquam illius contentiosum dogma suscepi. Ep. 40. al. 64. Ad Pamm. et Ocean. T. iv. P. 2. p. 342.

[r] Vid. Pagi. Ann. 362. n. xxxix.

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their authors. At [s] this time, says Socrates, the two Apollinarii before-mentioned were very useful to the Christians: the elder wrote a grammar in a Christian form, and put the books of Moses into heroic verse, and all the other books of the Old Testament into various kinds of metre, used by the Greek poets. The [t] younger, who was an excellent writer, put the gospels and the apostolical doctrine, into dialogues, after the manner of Plato.

2. Sozomen, without ascribing any works to the father, says of Apollinarius of Syria, that [u] employing his extensive learning and happy genius suitably to the occasion, for supplying to Christians the want of Homer, he wrote the Jewish Antiquities to the reign of Saul, in four and twenty books, giving to each book the name of a Greek letter, as Homer had done. He also wrote comedies in imitation of Menander, tragedies in imitation of Euripides, and lyric poems after the manner of Pindar, still taking his subjects from the sacred scriptures. To these works, as well as to some other, Jerom may be supposed to refer, when he says in his Chronicle; at [w] this time Apollinarius bishop of Loadicea, composes many writings relating to our religion. Among the poems of Gregory Nazianzen [x] is a tragedy, intitled Χριστος πασχων, Christ suffering: which [y] some suppose to have been written by Apollinarius. Others [z] think that opinion to be without foundation, and that it is neither Gregory's, nor Apollinarius's.

3. Beside these, we can trace out from ancient writers, particularly from Jerom, commentaries of Apollinarius upon most parts of scripture.

4. He wrote, as we learn from Jerom, a [a] Commentary upon the whole book of Psalms: I place the whole passage below, though it contains more than we now immediately want. But it will be acceptable to some of my readers, Jerom there mentioning together six antient Greek writers, who had commented upon the whole book of Psalms, beside what had been done by others, who had explained some psalms only.

[s] Socr. l. iii. c. 16. [t] Ο δε νεωτερος Απολιναριος, ευ προς το λεγειν παρεσκευασμενος, τα ευαγγελια, και τα αποστολικα δογματα, εν τοπω δια λογων εξεθετο, καθα και πλατων παρ' ελλησιν. κ. λ. Ib. p. 187. [u] Soz. l. v. c. 18. p. 623.

[w] Apollinarius Laodicenus Episcopus multimodo religionis nostræ scripta componit. Chr p. 186. [x] Ap. Gregor. Naz. Opp. T. ii. p. 253—298.

[y] Basnag. Ann. 390. n. x. Cav. H. L. p. 248. De Greg. Naz. [z] S. Greg. Naz. art. 110. Tillem. Mem. T. ix.

[a] —— et maxime in explanatione Psalmorum, quos apud Græcos interpretati sunt multis voluminibus, primus Origenes, secundus Eusebius Cæsariensis, tertius Eusebius Heracleotes, quartus Asterius Sophopolitanus, quintus Apollinarius Laodicenus, sextus Didymus Alexandrinus. Scriptum et diversorum in paucos psalmos opusculum. Sed nunc de integro Psalmorum corpore dicimus. Ad Augustin. ep. 74. [illegible] T. iv. P. 2. p. 627. in.

5. There

5. There is still extant [b] a Paraphrase of the Psalms, in hexameter verse, generally ascribed to our Apollinarius, and generally well esteemed, and the only intire work of his remaining: and I suppose it may be different from the commentary just mentioned in Jerom.

6. In his Commentary upon the book of Ecclesiastes, Jerom several times [c] mentions explications that had been given by Apollinarius.

7. In the preface to his Commentaries upon Isaiah, Jerom gives a character of Apollinarius's commentaries, representing them [d] to be exceeding short, quite passing over some things, and touching only upon others.

8. In the preface to his Commentaries upon the book of Daniel, Jerom says, that [e] Apollinarius, in the 26th book of his work against Porphyry, which was a very long book, considered the objections which Porphyry had made to the book of Daniel. Here likewise Jerom says, that [f] Eusebius of Cæsarea, and Apollinarius, and divers others of the Greek catholic writers, rejected the stories of Susanna, Bell and the Dragon, as not extant in Hebrew; and therefore Eusebius and Apollinarius in their answers to Porphyry insisted, that they were not obliged to take notice of his objections against Daniel, founded upon a supposition, that they were a part of his book, when indeed they were of no authority, nor a part of sacred scripture.

9. It seems probable, that beside what Apollinarius wrote in favour of Daniel's prophecies in his work against Porphyry, he also wrote a commentary upon that prophet. For Jerom [g]

[b] Psalmorum Davidicorum Metaphrasis. De qua Vid. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. vii. p. 666, 667. Exstat Græce et Latine in Bib. Patr. Morell. Par. 1644. T. xiv. p. 162—[illegible]. Et alibi.

[c] Laodicenus Interpres res magnas brevi sermone exprimere contendens, more sibi [illegible] etiam hic loquutus est. In Ec. cap. [illegible] T. 2. p. 741. Vid. et in cap. xii. 5. [illegible] p. 785. in.

[d] Apollinarius [illegible] ore suo sic exponit omnia, ut uni[illegible] transcurrat, et punctis quibusdam at[illegible] intervallis, immo compendiis grandis [illegible] spatia prætervolet: ut non tam Com[illegible] quam Indices capitulorum nos [illegible]. Pr. in Is. T. iii. p. 6.

[e] Cui solertissime responderunt Eusebius [illegible], —— Apollinarius quoque uno [illegible] libro, hoc est vicesimo-sexto, —— Pr. in Dan. T. iii. p. 1071.

[f] Cui et Eusebius et Apollinarius pari sententia responderunt: Susannæ, Belisque ac Draconis fabulas non contineri in Hebraico.—Unde et nos ante annos plurimos, quum verteremus Danielem, has visiones obelo prænotavimus, significantes eos in Hebraico non haberi. Et miror quosdam μεμψιμοίρους indignari mihi, quasi ego decurtaverim librum: quum et Origenes, et Eusebius, et Apollinarius, aliique ecclesiastici viri et doctores Græciæ, has, ut dixi, visiones non haberi apud Hebræos fateantur: nec se debere respondere Pophyrio pro his quæ nullam Scripturæ sanctæ auctoritatem præbeant. Pr. in Dan. T. iii. p. 1074.

[g] Apollinarius autem Laodicenus, omni præteritorum temporum se liberans quæstione, vota extendit in futurum, & periculose de incertis profert sententiam. Quæ si forte hi qui post nos victuri sunt statuto tempore completa non viderint, aliam solutionem quærere compellentur, & magis-

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makes remarks upon his explication of Dan. ix. 27. and quotes a long passage from him. From whence (if I may observe it by the way) it appears, that Apollinarius computed our Lord's ministry to have lasted somewhat more than two years, there being in it, according to St. John's gospel, three passovers, as he says.

10. In the preface to his Commentaries upon Hosea, Jerom says, that [h] Apollinarius in his younger days, wrote short commentaries upon all the prophets; that afterwards he was desired by his friends to write more fully upon Hosea. But still even in this latter work, Jerom finds the fault of too great brevity.

11. Some learned men have been of opinion, that Apollinarius published a new Greek translation of the books of the Old Testament, composed out of the several Greek versions that had been made before. This supposition is chiefly built upon two passages of Jerom, which [i] I transcribe below. But it seems to me, that Humphry Hody has shewn, that [k] nothing more is intended, than that in his commentaries upon the scriptures, and his explications of them, Apollinarius without good judgment, mingled all the former translations of the Old Testament. Nevertheless Fabricius, either not attending to what Hody has said, or not being convinced by it, in his enumeration of the works of our author, reckons [l] this for one,

trum erroris arguere. Dicit ergo, ut verbum verbo interpreter, ne calumniam videar facere non dicenti.——Tricessimo enim, juxta Evangelistam Lucam, anno ætatis suæ cœpit in carne Dominus evangelium prædicare: et juxta Johannem Evangelistam per tria paschata duos postea implevit annos. In Dan. ix. T. iii. p. 1114.

h —— Apud Græcos reperi Apollinarium Laodicenum, qui quum in adolescentia sua breves et in hunc et in alios Prophetas commentariolos reliquisset, tangens magis sensus quam explicans, rogatus est postea, ut in Osee plenius scriberet. Qui liber venit in nostras manus. Sed et ipse nimia brevitate ad perfectam intelligentiam lectorem ducere non potest. Præf. in Osee. T. iii. p. 1235.

i Origines in omnibus libris suis post septuaginta Interpretes, Judæorum translationes explanat et edisserit. Eusebius quoque et Didymus idem faciunt. Prætermitto Apollinarium, qui bono quidem studio, sed non secundum scientiam, de omnium translationibus in unum vestimentum pannos assuere [illegible] est, et consequentiam Scripturarum [illegible] regula veritatis, sed ex suo judicio [illegible] Adv. Ruf. l. ii. T. iv. p. 433.

Cujus [Symmachi] interpretationem Laodicenus sequutus nec Judæis placere [illegible] nec Christianis: dum et ab Hebræis [illegible] est, et sequi Septuaginta Interpretes [illegible] natur. In Eccles. xii. 5. T. ii. p. [illegible]

k Apollinarium, Apollinarii F. Ep[illegible] pum Laodiceæ editionem quandam [illegible] Bibliorum ex Interpretum omnium Versionibus conflatam elaborasse existimant eruditi.—Sed falluntur omnes. Loquitur enim Hieronymus non de ulla Bibliorum editione ab Apollinario confecta, sed de illius tantum Scripturarum explanationibus, in quibus sine ullo judicio translationes [illegible] commiscuerat, secutusque fuerat. [illegible] de Bib. Text. Origen. l. iv. c. 3. p. [illegible] Conf. l. iii. p. 318.

l Versio Græca librorum V. T. contexta ex variis interpretationibus, præcipue Symmachi. Bib. Gr. T. vii. p. 664.

A Greek

A Greek Translation of the Books of the Old Testament: and refers to [m] R. Simon, as of the same opinion.

12. Here I would take a part of Suidas's article concerning Apollinarius. He says, he [n] put the whole Jewish scripture into heroic verse; he also wrote epistles, and many commentaries upon the sacred scriptures. After which, Suidas quotes a long passage of Philostorgius, which is also briefly taken notice of by Photius, in his extracts [o] out of Philostorgius's Ecclesiastical History. Comparing Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, and Apollinarius, and speaking of them all as eminent writers in their way, he observes to the advantage of Apollinarius, that [p] his style was best for a commentator of scripture, and that he understood Hebrew.

13. There is however a passage of Jerom, where he is supposed to refer to [q] Apollinarius; which may occasion a doubt, whether he had any, or at least a thorough knowledge of the Hebrew. And [r] as it has some respect to the point just now spoken of, his making a new Greek version of the Old Testament, I have transcribed it at large.

We now proceed,

14. In the [s] preface to his Commentary upon St. Matthew, Jerom speaks of a commentary of Apollinarius upon that gospel; and he refers to it [t] in his own comment.

15. Apollinarius [u] is mentioned by him together with others, who had explained the first epistle to the Corinthians.

16. He wrote also upon [x] the whole, or a part of the epistle to the Galatians.

17. His Commentary [y] upon the epistle to the Ephesians is mentioned by Jerom several times.

[m] Hist. Cr. du V. T. l. ii. ch. 10. p. 242.

[n] Οὗτος ἔγραψε —— καὶ δι' ἡρωων επων πασαν την εβραιων γραφην. Εγραψε δε και επιστολας, και αλλα πολλα εις την γραφην ὑπομνηματα. Suid. V. Ἀπολλιναριος.

[o] Philost. H. E. l. viii. c. 11.

[p] Οὗτος γαρ δη και της εβραιδος διαλεκτου επαιειν οιος τε ην. κ. λ. Ap. Suid. ib.

[q] Vid. Hod. ubi supra. p. 631.

[r] Primum enim magnorum sumtuum est et infinitæ difficultatis, exemplaria posse habere omnia: deinde etiam qui habuerint, et Hebræi sermonis ignari sunt, magis errabant, ignorantes quis e multis verius dixerit. Quod etiam sapientissimo cuidam nuper apud Græcos accidit, ut interdum Scripturæ sensum relinquens uniuscujusque interpretis sequeretur errorem. Prol. in libr. Ezr. ex Hebr. convers. T. i. p. 1107. Et Conf. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. p. 427. infr. m.

[s] Legisse me fateor —— Apollinarisque Laodiceni, ac Didymi Alexandrini. Pr. in Matt. T. iv. P. i. p. 3.

[t] Vid. in Matt. ib. p. 115. f.

[u] Origenes, —— Eusebius Cæsariensis, Didymus, Apollinarius, latissime hanc epistolam interpretati sunt. Ad Pamm. ep. 31. al. 52. T. iv. p. 243. f.

[x] Prætermitto Didymum videntem meum, et Laodicenum, de Ecclesia nuper egressum, qui et ipsi nonnullos super hac re commentariolos reliquerunt. Pr. in Gal. T. iv. P. i. p. 222. Conf. ad August. ep. 74. al. 89. T. iv. P. ii. p. 619.

[y] Ego enim in Commentariis ad Ephesios sic Origenem, et Didymum, et Apollinarium sequutus sum, —— ut fidei meæ non amitterem veritatem. Adv. Ruf. l. i. T. iv. p. 365.

18. He alſo wrote [z] upon the whole, or a part of the firſt epiſtle to the Theſſalonians.

19. In the chapter of the Catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, tranſcribed above, Jerom mentions and commends our author's work againſt Porphyry; as he does alſo in [a] ſeveral other places. This work is particularly mentioned by Suidas: and we took ſome notice of it [b] formerly.

20. Sozomen, ſpeaking of the works of Apollinarius, ſays: There [c] is alſo a valuable work of his, addreſſed to the emperor himſelf and the Greek philoſophers, intitled Of the Truth; in which, by reaſon alone, without alleging the divine ſcriptures, he ſhewed, that they did not think rightly of the Deity. And it was ſaid, that upon occaſion of this book, Julian wrote a letter to ſome Chriſtian biſhops to this purpoſe: 'I have read, 'underſtood, and condemned.' To which he received this anſwer, 'You have read, but you did not underſtand; if you 'had underſtood, you would not have condemned.' Some aſcribe † this work to Baſil of Cappadocia: but however that be, ſays Sozomen, the writer deſerves to be admired both for his courage and learning.

Whether this be the ſame as the work againſt Porphyry, or different from it, is not clear. Fabricius [d] thinks it to be a different work, and written before the other. He imagines, that Apollinarius, provoked at Julian's remark, was induced after this ſhort performance to write the large work againſt Porphyry.

21. Beſide all theſe, Apollinarius wrote divers books againſt thoſe called heretics.

In epiſtolam Pauli ad Epheſios tria Origenes ſcripſit volumina. Didymus quoque et Apollinarius propria opuſcula edidere. Quos ego, vel transferens vel imitans, quid in prologo ejuſdem operis ſcripſerim, ſubjiciam. &c. Adv. Ruf. ib. p. 373. Conf. Pr. in ep. ad Eph. T. iv. P. i. p. 322. f.

[z] Ad Minerv. et Alex. de eo quod omnes quidem dormiemus. &c. Vid. T. iv. P. i. p. 216. et conf. ib. p. 211. et 220.

[a] Apollinarius contra Porphyrium egregia ſcripſit volumina. Ad Pamm. et Ocean. ep. 41. al. 65. T. iv. P. ii. p. 345. Vid. ib. p. 342. Vid. et Pro. libr. adv. Jovinian. Apol. ep. 30. al. ep. 50. p. 236. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. T. iv. p. 433. in. Ad Magn. ep. 43. p. 655. Pr. Comm. in Dan. T. iii.

[b] See Vol. iv. p. 205.

[c] Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παρ' ἑλλησι φιλοσόφους ἔστιν αὐτῷ λόγος, οὐ ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας ἐπιξηφὲν· ἐν ᾧ καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τῶν τῆς ἱερᾶς λόγου μαρτυριῶν [illegible] ὁ πεδιλοληθείας τὸν θεὸν [illegible] φρονεῖν. Τὰ δὲ γραφὴν ἐπιλαζόμενος [illegible] τοῦτο τοῦδε διαπρεπῶς ἐπεδείκνυτο [illegible] Ἀναξίως, εἶπεν, καὶ κακῶς ἔχει —— [illegible] καὶ παιδεύσεως τῆς [illegible]. Soz. l. v. c. 18. p. 624.

† Others underſtand Sozomen differently, after this manner: that ſome abſtract ſaying or anſwer to Baſil. Hanc notionem Baſilio M. non Apollinari plene tribuiſſe, Sozomen. narrat. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. vii. p. 662.

[d] Videtur [illegible] inde Apollinaris permotus eſſe, ut [illegible] brevem illum libellum editum, [illegible] inde opere libros, quorum [illegible] apud Ethnicos auctoritas, Tyrii Philoſophi Porphyrii adverſus Chriſtianos [illegible] Ægre enim aſſentior viris doctis, [illegible] XXX contra Porphyrium [illegible] fundunt. Bib. Gr. T. vii. [illegible]

Vincen-

Vincent of Lerins [c] ſuppoſeth him to have written againſt many hereſies. Who at the ſame time mentions and commends his noble work againſt Porphyry. Epiphanius [f] mentions Apollinarius together with others who had written againſt the Manichees. Philoſtorgius [g] ſays, he wrote againſt Eunomius. By Theophilus biſhop of Alexandria, who flouriſhed about the year 385, he is ſaid to [h] have written againſt the Arians, Eunomians, and other heretics.

III. There are ſome other works of Apollinarius ſpoken of by ancient writers, which I may take ſome notice of by and by. But I would firſt of all give an account of the wrong opinions, which he is ſaid to have advanced in the latter part of his life: this I could willingly have declined, if it had not been a neceſſary part of his hiſtory. Of theſe errors, accounts may be ſeen in many [i] ancient, and [k] modern writers, to whom I refer; ſome of which, eſpecially the ancient, I ſhall quote.

1. Epiphanius, who ſpeaks of Apollinarius with great reſpect, and ſays, that he had been long highly eſteemed by Athanaſius, and all the catholics in general, repreſents his opinion in this manner: that [l] when the Son of God became incarnate, he took a human body, and animal or ſenſitive ſoul, but not mind, or an intelligent ſoul, and thereby denied him to have taken upon him perfect man. The [m] doctrine con-

[c] Quem multas ille hæreſes multis vocibus oppreſſerit, quot inimicos fidei ſubverterit errores, indicio eſt opus illud ... non minus librorum nobiliſſimum ... maximum, quo infames Porphyrii calumnias magna probationum mole confudit. Common. adv. Hær. cap. 19. [f] Hær. ... [g] Hiſt. Ec. l. viii. c. 12. Cæſarius Apollinaris diſcipuli ea quæ ... ſta eccleſiaſticas regulas eſt locutus, ... præter alia ejus ſcripta defendere. Licet ... in adverſus Arianos, et Eunomianos ... ſcripſerit, et Origenem, alioſque hæreticos ... diſputatione ſubverterit. &c. Theoph. ... Paſch. i. ap. Hieron. T. iv. P. ii. p. 694. [h] Athanaſ. Ep. ad Epiſtet. T. i. p. 901. &c. [et ep. Epiphan. H. 77. n. iii.—xiii. ... &c.] Contr. Apollin. l. i. et ii. ... — 915. Greg. Naz. Ep. ad ... Or. 36. T. i. p. 721. Ep. i. ... Or. 51. et 52. p. ... — 740. Greg. Nyſſ. Antirrhet. adv. ... Vincent. Lirin. Monum. Vet. p. ... — 386. Basil. Ep. 129. al. 69. T. ... p. 231. al. 382. p. 223. et ... — Epiph. H. 77. Socrat. l. ii. c. ... Sozom. l. vi. cap. 25. Theodoret. H. E. l. v. cap. 3, 4. Hær. Fab. l. iv. c. 8. et 9. l. v. cap. xi. Ruſin. H. E. l. ii. c. 20. Aug. de Hær. cap. 55. Leont. Byzant. adv. fraudes Apollinariſtarum. ap. B. P. P. Lugdun. T. ix. p. 707.

[k] Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 250. and Lives of the Fathers (in Engliſh,) in the Life of Greg. Naz. § v. p. 312. Pearſon upon the Creed Art. v. p. 237. &c. Lond. 1676. Mr. Bower's Hiſtory of the Popes, Vol. i. p. 209—211. S. Baſnag. Ann. 364. n. xi. xii. Fr. Spanhem. T. i. p. 890.

[l] Εἰσὶ γὰρ τινες —— παραλαβόντες τὸν λόγον ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιφανείας, καὶ λέγοντες, ὅτι σῶμα ἔλαβε ὁ Χριστὸς ἐλθὼν ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν καὶ ψυχὴν, νοῦν δὲ οὐχ ἔλαβεν, τοῦτον τέλειον ἄνθρωπον. H. 77. n. i. p. 996. Vid. et n. ii. [m] Ἄλλοι δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν τὴν γραφὴν ἐρμηνεύουσι, ὅτι ἐν τῇ σαρκώσει χιλιοπλασίονα τὰ τῶν ἐπιλεμμίων τοῦ ἀδὰμ, ἐμπεπλεκόμενα, ὀπτασίας καὶ ὄνειρα, καὶ ὕπνους, καὶ ἄλλα φυσικὰ πάθη, καὶ σταλάγματα τῆς ἱδρῶτος τῆς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, γάμου τε καὶ τεκνοποιΐας, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μεταχθέντα, ὅτις ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου ἀδὰμ ἕως τῆς ἐκπυρώσεως, ὡς δὲ τινες ἐκδέχονται, τῶν ἁγίων αὐτῶν ἐγερθέντων. H. 77. n. xxvi. p. 1031.

cerning the thousand years to be spent on this earth by raised saints and martyrs, appeared to Epiphanius so absurd, that he could not believe it of him, though he had been assured of it by several.

2. Basil speaks, as if Apollinarius had in some of his writings endeavoured [n] to revive the Sabellian doctrine concerning the Deity. In another letter [o] he mentions some obscure expressions concerning the Trinity, which perhaps were not his; and are not, I think, delivered by Basil, as certainly known to be his. His [p] opinion concerning the person of Christ, or his incarnation, Basil says, had occasioned great disturbances. That letter is supposed to have been written in 377, or thereabout. The doctrine of Apollinarius concerning the Millennium, as represented by [q] Basil in the same letter, is a very crude notion; and yet is agreeable to that which Epiphanius had been informed of; and is also much the same with what Jerom not seldom ascribes to [r] our people, meaning catholics. I have put down below several of his passages, to be added to some others, transcribed [s] formerly. Well might Basil and Jerom call it a Jewish doctrine, and they who held it Judaizers, if indeed they expected that good men should be raised up again to spend a thousand years in the land of Judea, and that the law of Moses should again be set up with circumcision, sacrifices at the temple in Jerusalem, and other usages of that institution.

3. Gregory Nazianzen in his letter to Nectarius of Constantinople represents Apollinarius to teach in his writings, that

[n] Ουχι οι περι τον Θεον λογοι πλησιες παρ' εκεινοις εισιν ασεβων δογματων της παλαιας αιρεσεως του μαιανδριου ; Σαβελλιανισμον δε αυτον επεισαγουσι τοις πιστευουσιν. Basil. ep. 263. al. 293. T. iii. p. 367. D.

[o] Vid. ep. 129. al. 80. T. iii. p. 210. Conf. ep. 263. p. 367. D. E.

[p] Εθνα και τα περι σαρκωσεως τεταραχε ενιους τη αιτιαι . . . . . λογοι των αιτιων . . . . . της ασεβειας δυο ? ονοι γεγραφασιν. ep. 263. al. 293. p. 367. A.

[q] Ει δε αιτιαν και το περι αναστασεως μελλειν εσεσθαι χρονον χιλιετηριδος ποιειται τις Ιουδαικος . . . . . ? ? ?

Christ [t] brought his body from heaven: this he argued from John iii. 13. 1 Cor. xv. 47. Next, that this man from heaven was not endowed with mind, but that the only begotten of the Father supplied the place of mind, being joined to an animal sensitive soul, and a body: and that he likewise taught, that God the Word, or the only begotten, suffered in his Deity. In another place [u] Gregory takes notice of Apollinarius's notion concerning the Millennium: but undoubtedly, the particulars just mentioned were the most offensive. However, Gregory does also charge him with teaching, that [x] there are degrees in the Trinity.

4. Theodoret, in his Heretical Fables, says, that [y] in some of his writings Apollinarius made no innovations in the doctrine of the Trinity, but appeared to agree with us, teaching one substance of the Deity, and three persons. But in some of his writings he speaks of degrees in the Trinity, saying, that the Spirit is great, the Son greater, the Father greatest of all. In other writings, he confounds the properties of the Divine Persons, and for that reason has been charged with Sabellianism. Moreover, he says, that when God the Word took flesh, he took a body and soul, not a rational, but an irrational soul, which some call sensitive and animal: and the Divine nature supplied the place of a soul. In another place Theodoret expresseth himself after this manner: Arius [z] and Eunomius said, that Christ had an human body, and that the Divinity was in the place of a soul. Apollinarius said, that Christ had an animated [or living] body, but not a reasonable soul: for the mind was superfluous, where God the Word was present. Again in his Ecclesiastical History also, Theodoret speaks distinctly of Apollinarius's several opinions, and there slightly mentions also [a] his opinion concerning the divine promises, or the retributions to be hereafter given to good men.

[t] Nyss. Or. 36. p. 552.

[u] Nyss. Or. 2. al. Or. 52. p. [illegible] —— [illegible] x Ad Ecdon. ep. 1. [illegible] p. 714. C. D.

[illegible] —— [illegible] —— [illegible] —— [

5. Jerom sometimes speaks of Apollinarius's opinions concerning the incarnation, or [b] his defective notion of the person of Christ, not allowing him to be perfect man; and [c] the Millennarian doctrine. He also speaks of an opinion of his [d] concerning the soul: which, however, was not reckoned a part of his heresy.

6. I put below what [e] Rufinus, and [f] Vincent of Lerins say of Apollinarius's doctrine concerning the incarnation.

7. I transcribe below [g] at length Augustine's article of the Apollinarists. He speaks of them in several other places; from one of which we perceive, that [h] they argued in favour of their doctrine concerning the incarnation from John i. 14. I transcribe in the margin [i] a passage or two more, to be observed by my readers at leisure. And I refer also to [k] other places of Augustine, where he treats somewhat largely of the opinions of these people.

[b] —— dimidiatam Christi introduxit œconomiam. Ad Pamm. ep. 11. al. 65. T. iv. p. 342. [c] Hic [Papias] dicitur, mille annorum Judaicam edidisse διοτέρωσιν, quem secuti sunt Irenæus, et Apollinarius, et cæteri, qui post resurrectionem aiunt in carne cum sanctis Dominum regnaturum. De Papia. cap. 18. V. I. Vid. et Proœm. in Is. Comm. l. xviii. T. 3. p. 478. et in Ezech. c. 36. p. [illegible] m.

[d] —— an certe ex traduce: ut Tertullianus, Apollinarius, et maxima pars Occidentalium. Ad Marcell. et Anaps. ep. 78. al. 82. T. iv. p. 642.

[e] —— asserens solum corpus, non etiam animam a Domino in dispensatione susceptam——Post——ait, eum quidem habuisse animam, sed non ex ea quæ rationabilis est, sed ex ea solum quæ vivificabat corpus: ad supplementum vero rationabilis partis, ipsum Verbum Dei fuisse perhibebat. Ruf. H. E. l. ii. c. 20. [f] Apollinaris vero in unitatem quidem Trinitatis quasi consentire se jactat, et hoc ipsum plena fidei sanctitate. Sed in Domini incarnatione aperta professione blasphemat. Dicit enim, in ipsa Salvatoris nostri carne aut animam humanam penitus non fuisse, aut certe talem fuisse, cui mens et ratio non esset. Sed et ipsam Domini carnem non de sanctæ virgini, Mariæ carne susceptam, sed de cœlo in virginem descendisse dicebat: eamque nutabundus semper et dubius modo coæternam Deo Verbo, modo de Verbi Divinitate factam prædicabat. Vincent. Lirin. Comm. cap. 17. [g] Apollinaristas Apollinaris instituit, qui de anima Christi a Catholicis dissenserunt, dicentes, sicut Ariani, Deum Christum carnem sine anima sucepisse. In qua quæstione testimoniis evangelicis victi, mentem, quæ rationalis est anima hominis defuisse animæ Christi, sed pro hac ipsum Verbum [illegible] fuisse dixerunt. De ipsa vero ejus carne sic a recta fide dissensisse prohibentur, ut dicerent, carnem illam et Verbum [illegible] ejusdemque substantiæ: consentiosissime asseverantes, Verbum carnem factum, hoc est, Verbi aliquid in carnem fuisse conversum atque mutatum, non autem carnem de Mariæ carne fuisse susceptam. De Hær. cap. 55. T. viii. [h] —— quemadmodum argumentantur Apollinaristæ, vel quicumque sunt alii, adversus animam Domini: quam propterea negant, quia [illegible] tum legunt, *Verbum caro factum est*. [illegible] enim et anima, inquiunt, ibi est, debuit dici: Verbum homo factum est. De Anima et ejus Origine. l. i. c. 18. p. 3[illegible]

[i] Nec ita hominem, [dicimus Christum] ut aliquid minus habeat quod ad [illegible] certum est pertinere naturam, [illegible] sive in ipsa anima mentem rationalem [illegible] carnem, non de femina sumptam, [illegible] de Verbo in carnem converso atque [illegible] Quæ omnia tria falsa et vana, hæreticorum Apollinaristarum tres partes varias [illegible] fasque fecerunt. De Dono Perseverantiæ cap. 24. T. x. P. i.

Fuerunt enim quidam hæretici, et [illegible] sunt ab Ecclesia, qui putarent, non [illegible] mentem rationalem corpus Christi, [illegible] quasi animam belluinam. In Joan. Evang. Tr. 23. n. 6. T. iii. Ps. 2. Vid. ib. Tr. 47. n. 9. [k] Vid. Enarr. in Ps. [illegible] 2. in Ps. 85. n. 4. T. iv.

8. So-

8. Socrates intirely agrees with Rufinus, whom probably he copied, in the account of their doctrine concerning the incarnation: but he adds, the [l] Apollinarians said; in this only did they differ from the catholics, for they believed a consubstantial Trinity. Vincent also, transcribed not long ago, has somewhat to the like purpose. And it must be owned to be in favour of Apollinarius in this respect, that [m] Philostorgius, a learned Arian, reckons Apollinarius, together with Basil and Gregory Nazianzen, one of the best defenders of the homoüsian doctrine. And that he and his followers still professed to retain the Nicene faith, may be inferred from [n] Athanasius's arguments with them. And Leontius of Byzantium, who was no friend to Apollinarius, allows [o] him to be orthodox upon the Trinity; and imputes to him only an erroneous doctrine concerning the incarnation: for though Gregory and some others charge him with advancing degrees in the Trinity, he did not use the word *created* of the Son or the Spirit. Concerning this point, may be seen a note of the Benedictine editors [p] of St. Ambrose's works.

9. S. Basnage [q] allows the truth of what is generally said of Apollinarius, that he supposed the Word to supply in the man Jesus the place of a rational soul: and as what he says may illustrate the point, I have transcribed him somewhat largely in the margin. But he thinks, that the opinions ascribed to Apollinarius by Gregory Nazianzen, in the letter to Nectarius before quoted, written about the year 385, not to have been held by him; as that our Saviour brought his body from hea-

[l] Περὶ τούτου μόνου δὴ λέγουσι διαφέρεσθαι, [illegible] τὴν προσωνομίαν ἐχοντ[illegible] τὸν γὰρ τριάδα ὁμοούσιον εἶναι φασι. Socr. l. ii. c. 46. p. 161. B.

[m] Vid. Suid. V. Απολλιναριος.

[n] Ep. ad Epictet. p. 903. E. p. 904. A. B. et alibi.

[o] Ὁ δὲ Απολλιναριος [illegible] τὴν ὀρθολογίαν ου φαίνεται ἁμαρτα[illegible] [illegible] καὶ τοῦτον οἱ Γρεγόριοι [illegible] ἁμαρτάνοντα· Κτίσμα μὲν γὰρ, [illegible] ὑποβάσιν δὲ μικρὰν λέγει τοῦ [illegible] τοῦ Πνεύματος, πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα· [illegible] τὴν οἰκονομίαν φανερῶς διεβάλλετο. [illegible] γὰρ τὸ σῶμα, ὁ ἐνεδύσατο ὁ Θεὸς [illegible] ψυχὴν μὲν ἔχειν, νοῦν δὲ οὐδαμῶς· [illegible] ψυχὴν, οὕτως ἐλέγεν ἔχειν. De Sectis. Act. iv. Ap. B. P P. Morell. [illegible] p. 507. et Latine ap. B. P P. Lugd. T. ix. p. 666.

[p] Ad Ambr. de Incarnat. Domini Sacram. c. ii. T. ii. p. 705.

[q] [illegible] luculentissime demonstrat ipse Apollinaris, epistola Episcopis Diocaesareae scripta, quam ob oblivione Leontius vindicavit. Confitemur, non ad hominem sanctum venisse Verbum Dei, quod erat in Prophetis, sed ipsum Verbum carnem factum esse, non assumpta mente humana, mente mutabili, quae turpibus cogitationibus captiva ducitur, sed divina mente immutabili et coelesti. Leont. adv. Fraudes Apollinarist. ap. Bib. P P. Lugdun. T. ix. p. 712. Mentem itaque, non animam, a Christo abjudicabat.——Ex fontibus porro Platonis videtur errorem deduxisse suum. Quod et asserit Nemesius de Nat. Hom. cap. i. Quidam, e quibus est Plotinus, aliud esse animam, et aliud mentem statuentes, ex tribus constare volunt hominem, e corpore, anima, et mente. Hos secutus est Apollinaris Laodiceae Episcopus. His enim jactis fundamentis sententiae suae, reliqua dogmati suo consentanea superstruxit. S. Basn. Ann. 364. n. xii. p. 6.

ven, and that his Divinity suffered. Though Gregory quotes, as a voucher, a work of Apollinarius himself; he says, it[r] could not be his, but rather a work of one of his disciples. He moreover argues, that Theodoret in his Heretical Fables does not ascribe the opinion of the descent of Christ's body from heaven to Apollinarius, but to some of his followers.

10. To which I would answer, that there appears not any good reason to deny the genuineness of the book alleged by Gregory Nazianzen. To do so is an arbitrary proceeding: for what account can be given of Gregory's mistaking the author? Secondly, Theodoret in his work of Heretical Fables does, indeed, make two chapters, one of Apollinarius, another of the Polemians and others his disciples. And in this last chapter he says, that[s] some of these were of opinion, that the Lord's body came down from heaven. Nevertheless, in his Ecclesiastical History, Theodoret speaking of Apollinarius says: Sometimes[t] he said, that our Lord took flesh, or his body, of the holy virgin: at other times, that his flesh came down from heaven, together with God the Word. Sometimes he said, that the Word was made flesh, without taking any thing from us. Which diversity of sentiments is hinted also in the just cited chapter of the Heretical Fables. Yea he there expressly says, that[u] those of his followers, who said, that the Lord's body came down from heaven, supported themselves by his writings. Thirdly, all the sentiments ascribed to Apollinarius by Gregory, in his letter to Nectarius, appear in other authors of the same time, who wrote against him. That[x] the body of Christ came down from heaven; that[y] his flesh and Divinity were homoüsian; that[z] his Deity suffered; are all opinions of Apollinarius, or his disciples, taken notice of by Athanasius in his books against the Apollinarists in 372, or thereabout. The same things are observable in the letter of Athanasius to Epictetus bishop of Corinth, written about the year 371, particularly those offensive notions, that the

[r] Librum tamen Apollinaristæ potius, quam Apollinaris ipsius esse existimamus. ——Librum ea impia continentem subditum esse existimamus. Ib. p. 7. a.

[s] Και αλλοι δε τινες εκ της Απολιναριου συναγωγης, εκ των ουρανων εφασαν κατεληλυθεναι του κυριου σωμα. Διαφορα δε ευροντες εν τοις εκεινου συγγραμμασι δογματα, οι μεν τουτοις, οι δε εκεινοις ηρεσθησαν. H. F. l. iv. cap. 9.

[t] Ποτε μεν γαρ συνωμολογει και αυτος εκ της αγιας παρθενου προσειληφθηναι την σαρκα· ποτε δε ουρανοθεν ταυτην τω Θεω Λογω συγκατεληλυθεναι φησιν· αλλοτε δε αυτον γεγενησθαι σαρκα, ουδεν εξ ημων ειληφοτα. H. E. l. v. c. 3. p. 200. D.

[u] See note [s].

[x] Πως υμεις παλιν λεγετε εξ ουρανου το σωμα; Athanas. contr. Apollinarist. l. i. n. 7. T. i. p. 927. B.

[y] Και γαρ και ομοουσιον την σαρκα της θεοτητος λεγειν επιχειρειτε. Ib. p. 929. B. Vid. et E.

[z] Ματαιοι ουν οι τη θεοτητι αυτου παθος προσαγοντες.—l. ii. p. 955. C.

body

body of Jesus was [a] consubstantial and [b] coëternal with his Deity. The like things are taken notice of by Epiphanius [c] in his article concerning them, written in 377. As Apollinarius was then living, it seems to me to make little difference, whether they were his notions, or his disciples. I might refer likewise to Gregory Nyssen's long work against them published by Zacagni, where all the same sentiments are disputed: as [d] the mortality of the Deity in Christ, the [e] pre-existence of his body, and [f] its being brought down from heaven, as well [g] as the Word's supplying the place of a rational soul in Christ. And Gregory Nyssen supposeth all along, that he argued with Apollinarius himself, as he had expressed his notions in his own work. Indeed some of these things are very strange; which may make us doubt, whether Apollinarius be not misrepresented, and whether some of the opinions ascribed to him are not consequences which he did not own: but I apprehend, that they are as much his, as his disciples.

II. The principal doctrine, by which Apollinarius and his followers were distinguished, was, that Christ had no rational soul, and that the Word supplied the office of it. With respect to that opinion, Epiphanius [h] gave them the denomination of Dimœritæ, and so intitled his article concerning them: denoting persons, who maimed the person of Christ, and made him consist of two parts only, animated flesh, and Divinity: whereas the catholics supposed him to have an human soul, or mind, and a human body, with the Word.

IV. I now proceed to observe some of his works, which have not yet been taken notice of.

[a] Πῶς οὖν ἡμῖν ἀρεσκόμενοι, ὁμοουσίους εἶπεν ἡμῖν τὰς σάρκας τὰς τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀνθρώπου; Ad Epict. p. 902. B.

Πῶς οὖν ἐπιστάμενοι εἶπεν, ὁ αὐτὸς, ὁμοουσίους ἡμῖν τὰς σάρκας τὰς τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀνθρώπου; ἢ πῶς τοῦτο καλῶς ἐστι ἀρξασθαι. Ib. p. 903. E.

——— οὔτε ὅτι μέρος τι εἶναι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ σύμπαντα ἄνθρωπον γεγενῆσθαι, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος συνεστῶτα. p. 902. D.

[b] Vid. II. 77. n. ii. p. 997, 998.

[c] Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ κεῖται τῆς λυμεῶφείας ὁ ἀρχηγὸς τοῦ ὀλέθρου, τὸ ξυνὸν τῆς μοναδικῆς ἀσεβείας. Gr. Nyss. adv. Apoll. Zacagn. Monum. Vet. p. 132.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦτο κεῖται τῆς μισοθείας ἀρχηγὸς τοῦτο πάλιν καὶ ἡ ζωή. Ib. Ind. Inst. Vid. et p. 133, 134.

[d] p. 150, 151. et alibi.

[e] Ib. p. 205.

[f] Ib. p. 220. &c. et alibi.

[g] Dimœritarum porro nomine Apollinaristas infectatur Epiphanius Hær. 77. Cujus appellationis causam aperit Gregorius Nazianz. cum ait Orat. 46. p. 722. corpus et animam esse in Christo τὸ τρίμοιρον, tertiam partem. Apollinaristæ quippe aiebant, in Christo partem unam hominis, sive scilicet, seu mentem, a Verbo suppleri, solumque Verbum junctum corpori et animæ, [nempe sensitivæ ut distitabant illi] totum constituere Christum. Quamobrem, cum ex Catholicorum sententia tribus constaret Christus, Verbo scilicet, mente humana, et corpore animato, qui unam ex illis demerent partem, mentem scilicet, a duabus aliis διμοιρίται audiebant. Nam δίμοιρος Græcis est duæ tertiæ partes. &c. Benedictin. in ep. ad Epictet. Admon. ap. Athan. p. 900.

1. Basil,

1. Basil, in a letter written in 376, mentions [j] a book concerning the Holy Spirit, which he had not seen. Whether this book regarded any of his peculiar notions, I cannot certainly say. Here Basil says, he had heard, that Apollinarius was become the most voluminous of writers: but he had seen few of his works. In another letter, written in 377, he says, that [k] Apollinarius, being endowed with a great facility of writing, had filled the whole world with his books, neglecting the advice of Solomon in Ecc. xii. 12.

2. When Basil [l] gives an account of Apollinarius's doctrine concerning the incarnation, he may be supposed to refer to some writing of his. When Gregory Nazianzen speaks of the same matter, he appears [m] to have had a volume of Apollinarius before him, though he does not mention the title. Gregory Nyssen [n] expressly names the book confuted by him.

3. When Basil gives an account of Apollinarius's notion concerning the Millennium, he seems also to refer [o] to some book: whether he means the work against Dionysius bishop of Alexandria, mentioned by [p] Jerom, I cannot say.

4. Apollinarius wrote verse easily, and agreeably: and [q] accordingly composed short psalms and hymns, fitted for festivals, and for all seasons, and upon a great variety of subjects, all tending to the praise and glory of God. The men sung them at their work, and at their entertainments; the women sung them at the spindle: and some were sung by his followers in their religious assemblies, in the room of those which were generally used. So says Sozomen in his Ecclesiastical History. Gregory Nazianzen, referring to these poems, speaks, as [r] if they had a new Psalter, but dissonant from that of David; and

[j] Ου μην περι του Πνευματος του αγιου η αγνοια; αγιοι οιδα βιβλιον, η απηγγελε προδιεξαμενος. Αλλα πολυφωνοτατον μεν αυτον ακουω παντων συγγραφεων γεγενησθαι. κ. λ. Ep. 244. al. 82. T. iii. p. 378.

[k] Ep. 263. al. 74. p. 404. [l] Ep. 263. p. 407. A. Vid. supra p. 388. note p.

[m] —— ει μοι πωλειται εν χερσι του Απολλιναριου, εν ω τα καθεστηκοτα παντων αιρεσιαρχων κακιαν περιερχεται, Or. 46. p. 722. A. [n] Ως δ' αν μη δοκοιη λοιδορια το λεγομενον ειναι, ενα των παρ' αυτου περιφερομενων βιβλων προσθησομεν, α η επιγραφη εστιν αυτου· Αποδειξις, φησι, περι της θειας σαρκωσεως της καθ' ομοιωσιν ανθρωπου. Gr. Nyss. Antirrhet. adv. Apol. ap. Zacagn. p. 125, 126. [o] Ep. 263. p. 406. Vid. supr. p. 388. not. q.

[p] Cui duobus voluminibus respondit Apollinarius, quem non solum suæ sectæ homines, sed et nostrorum in hac parte detaxat plurima sequitur multitudo. Com. in. Il. T. iii. p. 478. M.

[q] —— παρα τας τεσσαρακοντα ψαλμωδας, ευμελεσι τισι μελεσιν εκτεινας αυτον Απολλιναριος συγγραμματα —— τε παρα τας αυλους και τας τελετας, και εν γαμοις παρα τας ιστους τα αυτου ειδον λαοι. Σπουδας γαρ και αιτιους και ειδους και των αλλων, προς τον εκαστου καιρον εμελλον αυτοις εστησοντο, ψαλλα εις τα καθεστηκοτα. Soz. l. vi. c. 25. p. 671. B. C.

[r] Ει δε τι μικρον λειπει, και τουτο αναπληρωσει, και ταυτα ημιν ο Δαυιδ, και ουκ αλλοθεν χαριν, η τριτην διαθηκην ημιν ψαλμωδησομεν, και ημεις ψαλμωδησομεν, και γραψομεν, και αδησομεν. Greg. Nazianz. Carmen. Theodon. ep. 1. p. 745. B. C.

as if his writings were made by his followers a third Testament, or a part of sacred scripture: in which he may be supposed to aggravate more than a little.

5. There is a collection of small poems [s], fifty-three in number, called Homerici Centones de Christo. The subjects are taken out of the Old and New Testament, chiefly the latter: They are such as these, our Saviour's conception and birth, the presents brought by the Magi, the slaughter of the infants at Bethlehem, John the Baptist, the wedding at Cana, the woman of Samaria, the raising of Lazarus from the dead, and several other of our Saviour's miracles, our Lord's crucifixion, burial, resurrection, and ascension. But these are not generally ascribed to Apollinarius.

6. I hope, I have now given a sufficient account of the works and opinions of Apollinarius; not thinking it needful to enter farther into the history of his followers, or the sentences of condemnation pronounced by councils upon him, or them. They who desire a more particular account of those things may consult the writings of the learned moderns formerly [t] referred to.

V. It is almost needless to observe, that Apollinarius received all the scriptures of the Old and New Testament which we do, without adding to them any other, so far as we know. His firm belief of the Christian religion, appears in the books written in the defence of it, and in the various compositions designed for the benefit of Christians in the troublesome time of Julian's reign. His respect for the scriptures is manifest to all, from his numerous commentaries upon them, which have been particularly taken notice of in this chapter.

VI. I never intended to draw the character of Apollinarius. Shall I, nevertheless, present the reader with that given by Tillemont? but without adopting it. 'He seems,' says [u] that laborious writer, 'to have preserved always the outside of a 'holy and exemplary life; of which nevertheless Gregory of 'Nyssa seems not to have been fully persuaded. But he also 'maintained to the end his impiety, and died in his heresy. 'So [x] that we cannot admit the hope of any other lot for him, 'but the condemnation of hell. Such has been the unhappy 'condition of this great man, who had received so extraordi-'nary talents of nature, and so great gifts of grace, who had

[s] Ap. Bib. PP. Morell. T. xiv. p. 95 [illegible]

[t] See p. 387. note [k].

[u] Il semble avoir toujours conservé l'extérieur d'une vie sainte et exemplaire. Les Apollinaristes. Art. 13. Mem. T. vii.

[x] De sorte qu'on ne peut esperer d'autre sort pour luy que la condemnation d'enfer. Ibid.

'com-

'combated with so much courage, and so much glory, for 'the true faith against the enemies of it. But because he 'trusted in his own wisdom, because he would solve those dif-'ficulties, which human reason cannot clear up, because he 'gave way to the desires of a vain curiosity; all the advantages 'which he had, became unprofitable to him, and he has de-'served to be regarded by all the church, as a schismatic and 'a heretic.'

It must be owned, that the notions advanced by him in the latter part of his life have greatly diminished his credit: but yet, I would hope, they need not be understood to have obli-terated the merit of his past services for the Christian religion. And I believe, that all my readers in general may concur in a wish, that we still had his confutation of Porphyry, which has been highly commended by learned Christians of different sen-timents in former times.

Du Pin [y] having mentioned Apollinarius's Paraphrase of the Psalms, adds: 'All the other works of this author are lost, 'except some fragments. His error, in all probability, occa-'sioned this loss: the catholics had such a dread of the books 'of heretics, that they have not preserved so much as those 'which had no relation to their heresy, and which might have 'been useful to the church: for which reason we have scarce 'any books of heretics left. And the Eutychians were obliged 'to put out the works of Apollinarius with the names of ca-'tholic authors."

If that be so, we must acknowledge, that the catholics were to blame; it is like rooting up tares and good corn all toge-ther. And we may hence receive this instruction; to be upon our guard, that we admit not too great an aversion for men on account of difference of sentiment, in things of a speculative nature; lest by violence in opposing error, we should obstruct the progress of knowledge, and the cause of truth, which we are desirous to serve.

I have written the name of this author Apollinarius. I shall here transcribe a note of [z] Du Pin, as it may serve for my jus-tification with those, who are but little acquainted with such things. 'The [z] Greeks,' says he, always call him Απολιναριος. 'St. Basil alone writes his name with two λλ. ll. St. Jerom 'calls him Apollinarius. The generality of the Latin writers 'give him the name of Apollinaris, as more soft.' I have

[y] Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 127.

[z] Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 127. note [illegible]

chosen

chosen to follow the Greeks, and Jerom, in the termination of his name: unless I might have dropped the harsh ending, and written his name Apollinaire, as the French do. I shall only add, that in L. Kuster's edition of Suidas, a Greek author, the name is written with a double l. His name is written in the like manner, in [zz] the Paschal Chronicle.

CHAP. XCVI.

DAMASUS, BISHOP OF ROME.

1. DAMASUS, though not without a warm contest with Ursinus, or Ursicinus, his competitor, succeeded Liberius, bishop of Rome, who died in September 366. The disturbances in the city, occasioned by that competition, are taken notice of by Jerom in his [a] Chronicle, and by Ammianus Marcellinus [b] a heathen author, as well as by [c] our Ecclesiastical Historians. Socrates says, 'there [d] was at that time a great 'disturbance among the citizens of Rome. Nor was it owing 'to a contention about any doctrine of the faith, or about any 'heresy, but only who should have the episcopal chair.' Damasus sat in that see above eighteen years, and died in 384, being then almost eighty years of age.

2. Damasus is in Jerom's Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers: and I transcribe the article [e] below. What he says of him is chiefly this: That he had a good talent for poetry, and wrote several small pieces in verse. In another place he says, that [f]

[a] [illegible] C. Paris. 1688.

[b] Romanæ Ecclesiæ tricesimus quintus [illegible] Episcopus Damasus. Et non [illegible] mationis temporis intervallum Ursinus [illegible] Episcopus constitutus Sicinianos cum suis invasit. Quo Damasiana [illegible] populo confluente, crudelissima inter [illegible] diversi sexus perpetrata. Chr. p. 183.

[b] Damasus et Ursinus supra [illegible] modum ad rapiendam episcopatum [illegible] cientes fessis studiis asperrimae [illegible] certabant, ad usque mortis vulnerumque [illegible] adjumentis utriusque progressa——Et in concertatione superabat [illegible] parte quæ ei favebat insolente. [illegible] in basilica Sicinini, ubi ritus [illegible] habebat conventiculum, uno die centum [illegible] septem reperta cadavera peremptorum: efferatamque plebem ægre postea delenitam. Ammian. l. xxvii. c. 3.

[c] Vid. Socr. l. iv. c. 29. Soz. l. vi. c. 29. Ruf. l. ii. c. 10. Faustin. et Marcellin. Lib. Pr. in Fragm. ap. Bib. P P. T. V. p. 652.

[d] Ἐγκατασχόν εν πρὸς ἑαυτὲς, ὐ διὰ τινα πίστιν ἡ αἵρεσιν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ὀρθοδόξου τῆς ἐπισκοπικὴ θρόνου ἐξαρίσεως γενομένου. l. iv. c. 29.

[e] Damasus Romanæ Urbis Episcopus elegans in versibus componendis ingenium habuit, multaque et brevia metro edidit, et prope octogenarius sub Theodosio Principe mortuus est. De V. I. cap. 103.

[f] Legas—beati Cypriani volumen egregium, et Papæ Damasi super hac re, versu prosaque compositæ. Ad Eustochium. ep. 18. al. 22. T. iv. p. 37. m.

Damasus

Damaſus had written in praiſe of virginity, both in proſe a verſe. There[g] are ſtill extant ſeveral ſmall poems, which a aſcribed to him, but not allowed by all to be genuine, whi have been publiſhed, together with his epiſtles, and a hiſtor of his life, and numerous teſtimonies to him, collected o of ancient and later writers.

3. Damaſus had a great regard for Jerom, on account o his learning and knowledge of the ſcriptures. Jerom[h] whil in the Eaſt wrote to Damaſus, aſking his advice concernin his own conduct. When[i] Jerom came to Rome in 382, Da maſus employed him as his ſecretary, to write letters for hi upon eccleſiaſtical affairs, in anſwer to councils or biſhops i foreign parts. Here[k] Jerom ſtayed three years, that is, til ſome time after the death of Damaſus, and returned into th Eaſt in 385.

4. At the deſire of Damaſus, Jerom[l] corrected the editio of the Latin verſion of the New Teſtament, or of the goſpel at leaſt. At his requeſt it is alſo ſaid[m] that Jerom reviſed th Latin verſion of the Pſalms, which had been made from th Greek of the Seventy: and it is certain, that[n] this was don by him when at Rome. Damaſus[o] put Jerom upon tranſlatin Dydimus's Treatiſe upon the Spirit out of Greek into Lati but it was not finiſhed until after his death.

5. Damaſus often wrote to Jerom letters containing queſtion concerning difficult texts of ſcripture. To him is addreſſe Jerom's explication of the viſion of the Seraphim in the ſix chapter of Iſaiah. In a letter[q] ſtill extant, Damaſus deſir

g S. Damaſi Papæ Opera quæ exſtant, et Vita ex Cod. mſs. cum notis M. S. Sarazanii. Romæ 1638. Paris. 1672. et ap. Bib. P P. Max. T. xxvii. p. 55—97. Vid. et Baron. Ann. 384. n. xxxxi. &c.

h Vid. Hieron. ep. 14. al. 17. T. iv. P. 2. p. 19. ep. 16. al. 58. p. 22.

i Ante annos plurimos, quum in chartis eccleſiaſticis juvarem Damaſum Romanæ Urbis Epiſcopum, et Orientis atque Occidentis ſynodicis conſultationibus reſponderem. Ad Agerach. ep. 91. T. iv. p. 744. f.

k Pene certe triennium cum eis vixi. Ad Aſell. ep. 28. al. 94. T. iv. p. 66. in.

l Vid. Hieron. ep. 142. ſeu Præf. in. iv. Evangelia. T. i. p. 1426. edit. Bened.

m Vid. Baron. Ann. 382. n. 27. et Tillem. S. Damaſe. art. 13. Mem. T. 8.

n Pſalterium Romæ dudum poſitus emendaram, et juxta Septuaginta Interpretes, licet cunctim, magna illud ex parte correxeram. Pr. in libr. Pſalm. T. i. p. 1

Pſalterium quoque, quod certe e tiſſimum juxta ſeptuaginta Interpret labore dudum Roma ſuſcepit, rat Hebraicum vertens, præfatione Adv. Ruf. l. ii. T. 4. p. 429.

o Cum in Babylone verſarer, et ratæ meretricis eſſem colonus, et ritum viverem, volui garrire Spiritu Sancto, et captum opuſcul dem Urbis Pontifici dedicare.— mi Pauliniane frater, quia ſupra tifex Damaſus, qui me ad hoc op impulerat, jam dormit in Chriſto.— in libr. Didym. de Sp. S. T. i. p. 494.

p Ep. 142. T. iii. p. 515. ed. Ben

q Commentaria quum legerem Græ Latinoque ſermone in Evangeliorum pretatione a noſtris, id eſt, orthodox olim ac nuper ſcripta de eo quæ

Jerom

Jerom to give him a clear explication of the word Hosanna found in the New Testament, he having met with very different interpretations of it in the Greek and Latin Commentaries of catholic writers, which he had read. This occasioned Jerom to write a letter [r] upon that subject, which we still have. At his request likewise Jerom explained the parable of the Prodigal Son. I shall transcribe below [s] a part of Damasus's letter, which is inserted in Jerom's answer: whereby it appears, that there were then two common interpretations of that parable: some by the elder and younger sons understanding the Jewish people and the Gentiles, others righteous men and sinners.

6. These [t] three epistles or discourses upon the Seraphim, Hosanna, and the Prodigal Son, are mentioned by Jerom in the last chapter of his Catalogue, where he enumerates his own works. To his discourse upon the Hebrew word Hosanna, he refers likewise in [u] his Commentary upon St. Matthew, and to that upon the Seraphim in [w] a letter, written about the year 398 or 399.

7. There is also still extant another letter of Damasus, written in the last year of his life: in which he says, there [x] could be no higher entertainment, than to confer together upon the holy scriptures: and he desires, that he may propound questions, whilst Jerom makes answers. Here he proposes several difficult texts to Jerom, which [y] he afterwards explained. In the same letter Damasus passeth that judgment upon Lactantius, which was formerly [z] taken notice of.

[r] [illegible] Filio David [Matt. xxi. 9.], non [illegible] diversa, sed etiam contraria sibi proferunt. Dilectionis tuæ est, ut ardenti et [illegible] ingenio —quid se habeant [illegible] Hebræos vivo sensu scribas. Ep. 144. ap. Hieron. T. iv. P. i. p. 145.

[s] Ep. 145. ib. p. 145. &c.

[t] Ais: 'Quis est iste in Evangelio Pater, qui duobus filiis substantiam dividit? Qui [illegible] filii? Qui major, quive minor?—— Addis insuper: Scio multos in hac lectione diversa dixisse: et fratrem majorem Judæum, minorem existimasse Gentilem populum. Sed quæro, quomodo Judaico populo possit aptari: *Ecce tot annis servivi [illegible] et nunquam mandatum tuum præterii.*——Si autem, ut ais, de justo et peccatore voluerimus esse parabolam, justo non potuit convenire, ut de salute [illegible] et maxime fratris, contristetur.' Ad Damas. ep. 146. Vid. T. iv. P. i. p. 149.

[u] De Seraphim, et Osanna, et de frugi et luxurioso filiis. De V. I. cap. ult.

[w] In Matth. T. iv. P. i. p. 95, 96.

[x] In lectione Isaiæ, in qua duo Seraphim clamantia describuntur.——Habetur liber in manibus, ante viginti annos editus. Ad Pamm. et Ocean. ep. 41. al. 65. T. iv. P. ii. p. 243. in.

[y] Neque vero ullam puto digniorem disputationis nostræ confabulationem fore, quam si de Scripturis sermocinemur inter nos: id est, ut ego interrogem, tu respondeas. Qua vita nihil puto in hac luce jucundius, quo animæ pabulo mella omnia superantur. &c. Ep. 124. Vid. T. ii. p. 561

[z] See Vol. iv. p. 30, 32.

8. Finally,

8. Finally, Jerom [a] calls Damasus a great man, and says, he was well acquainted with the scriptures.

9. For a fuller history of Damasus, and his works, I refer to [b] several.

CHAP. XCVII.

BASIL, BISHOP OF CÆSAREA IN CAPPADOCIA.

I. *His time, and works.* II. *Books of scripture received by him.* III. *A passage relating to the epistle to the Ephesians considered.* IV. *Respect for the scriptures.*

I. As St. Basil is in Jerom's Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, and the chapter is not long, I place it entire at the bottom of the [a] page.

It is generally supposed, that Basil, commonly called the great, was born in Cappadocia in the year 328 or 329. And according to [b] the different apprehensions of learned men, he was ordained bishop of Cæsarea, the capital city of his native country in 369, or 370, or 371, and died in the very beginning of 378, or 379, or 380, having been bishop eight years, and somewhat more.

Many writings have been ascribed to Basil without ground. For which reasons divers learned moderns [c] have taken commendable pains in distinguishing the spurious from the genuine. In which service none, I think, have excelled Julian Garner, the Benedictine editor of St. Basil's works. I wish, however, that he had been able to reduce his observations into less compass.

II. I know of no reason to doubt, that Basil received all the books of the New Testament that we do; but I cannot say, that he has quoted them all. He has quoted all St. Paul's epistles, particularly that to the Hebrews, as his. He does not much quote the catholic epistles: however, he has several

[a] Dum adhuc viveret sanctæ memoriæ Damasus, librum contra Helvidium de beata Mariæ virginitate perpetua scripsimus. Num vir egregius, et eruditus in Scripturis, et virgo, et Ecclesiæ virginis doctor, aliquid in illo sermone reprehendit? Ad Pamm. ep. 30. al. 50. T. iv. P. 2. p. 240. f.

[b] Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 230. and his Life of Damasus, in the Appendix to the Lives of the primitive Fathers. Vol. ii. p. 30. Du Pin Bib. T. ii. p. 151. Tillem. Mem. T. viii. Pagi ann. 384. n. ii. iii. and Mr. Bower's History of the Bishops of Rome. Vol. i. p. 179—233.

[a] Basilius Cæsareæ Cappadociæ, quæ prius Mazaca vocabatur, Episcopus, egregios contra Eunomium elaboravit libros, et de Spiritu Sancto volumen, et in Hexameron homilias novem, et [illegible] breves variosque tractatus. Mortuus est imperante Gratiano. De V. I. cap. 116.

[b] Vid. Cav. H. L. Pagi Ann. [illegible] 370. ix. x. xxiii. 378. ii. Basnag. [illegible] n. vi. &c. 380. n. viii. ix. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 60. Du Pin. T. ii. p. 151. Tillem. Mem. T. ix.

[c] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. [illegible] &c. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. ix. Du Pin. Bib. T. ii. p. 154. &c.

times

times quoted the firſt epiſtle of St. Peter, and the firſt epiſtle of St. John. The ſecond epiſtle of St. Peter is once quoted in the fifth book againſt Eunomius, not allowed by all to be genuine. The epiſtle of St. James is very ſeldom quoted, the epiſtle of St. Jude, and the firſt and ſecond epiſtle of St. John not at all, that I remember. Though there be very little notice taken of the book of the Revelation in his writings, I preſume, it cannot be ſaid to have been rejected by him: for in his ſecond book againſt Eunomius, having before quoted St. John's goſpel, i. 1. he adds: 'And [e] the ſame evangeliſt 'in another book ſays: *Which is*, and *Which was, even the 'Almighty.*' [Rev. i. 8.] The ſame text is alſo [f] quoted in the fourth book againſt Eunomius. But that book is not univerſally allowed to be genuine, ſome thinking, that Baſil wrote no more than three books againſt Eunomius. I would add, that [g] Baſil is named by Arethas among thoſe who received the book of the Revelation as inſpired ſcripture.

III. In St. Baſil's ſecond book againſt Eunomius is a very ſingular paſſage to this purpoſe. 'And [h] writing to the Epheſians, as truly united to him *who is*, through knowledge, 'he called them in a peculiar ſenſe *ſuch who are*, ſaying: *To 'the ſaints who are, and* [or even] *the faithful in Chriſt Jeſus.* 'For ſo thoſe before us have tranſmitted it, and we have found 'it in ancient copies.'

It is well known, that there is a queſtion agitated of late among the learned, concerning the perſons, to whom the epiſtle, called to the Epheſians, was written. But I do not now concern myſelf about that queſtion: I am at preſent only deſirous to ſettle, as far as I am able, the meaning of this paſſage of Baſil; in which he has been ſuppoſed by ſome to ſay, that he had ſeen copies, in which the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, *at Epheſus*, were wanting. So particularly Dr. [i] Mill. But Mr. Lenfant in his remarks [k] upon Mill's New Teſtament, ſoon after its publication at Oxford, argues, that Baſil does not ſay, thoſe words, *at Epheſus*, were wanting in any copies. Ludolph Kuſter in

[e] Adv. Eunom. l. v. in. T. i. p. 296. D. ——— καὶ ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς ἐν ἑτέρῳ ——— ὁ ὢν, καὶ ὁ ἦν, καὶ ὁ παντοκράτωρ. Adv. Eunom. l. ii. T. i. p. [illegible] f Καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει· ——— ὁ ὢν, καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος. Adv. Eunom. l. v. p. 282. A. g Vid. Arethæ p. 670. ad calcem Commentar. Græcor. T. ii. h Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γράφων, ὡς γνήσιον κοινωνοὺς ——— ἁγίους εἶναι πιστεύειν, εἶτα ἀπὸ διαζεύγματος· Τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσι, καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. Οὕτω γὰρ καὶ οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν παρέδοσαν, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς τοῦτο ἀδιάφορα εὕρομεν. Adv. Eunom. l. ii. p. 254. E.

i Ἐν Ἐφέσῳ.] Omittit Baſil. l. ii. adv. Eunomium, fide patrum, quod dicit, ac veterum exemplarium. Mill. ad Eph. i. 1. Vid. et ejuſdem Prolegom. n. 89.

k Bib. Choiſie. T. xii. p. 301. &c.

the preface to his edition of Mill's New Testament, justifies Mill, and condemns Lenfant. But this learned author soon replied in a Latin[l] letter, vindicating the interpretation he had given of St. Basil. Mr. Wolff[m], who approved Mr. Lenfant's opinion, has given a very good account of his argument, with some additional observations of his own in support of it. And I must own, it seems to me likewise, that Mr. Lenfant's interpretation is the truest.

Says that ingenious writer, 'The[n] various reading consists 'in the emphatical particle τοις, and not εν εφεσῳ, as may ap- 'pear from these several considerations: 1. St. Basil moves 'not the question, whether that epistle be written to the Ephe- 'sians or others. 2. At the beginning of the passage, he sup- 'poseth that it was written to the Ephesians, without saying 'that there was any contest about it. 3. The design of Basil 'is to shew, that the Ephesians are justly and properly called 'οντες *such who are*, because of their union with him *who is*. '4. The word ιδιαζοντως, *peculiarly*, must relate to the emphatical 'article τοις, which is necessary to answer to ο ων, *him who is*, 'and which, according to Mill's own account, is wanting in 'one MS. at least. This is the point: Τοις was wanting in 'the common copies in the time of St. Basil, but he had read 'it in ancient MSS. and he avails himself of it, to authorize 'his speculation. It is true, that in his quotation he does not 'put the words *at Ephesus*, because that was not the thing in 'contest, and he had mentioned it before, and he had no oc- 'casion to mention it again. Moreover, he might be disposed 'to omit those words, *at Ephesus*, the[o] more to favour his 'speculation upon τοις ουσι, *such who are*, taken in an absolute 'sense. 5. St. Jerom, who refutes this speculation of St. 'Basil, makes it turn upon the particle τοις, and mentions not 'any various reading upon the place.'

Let me inlarge a little farther, and agreeably, as I apprehend, to Lenfant's mind, though without transcribing him.

The passage of Jerom, just referred to, which is usually alleged, as illustrating the passage of Basil, in my opinion greatly favours Lenfant. Jerom[p] in his comment upon the

[l] Bib. Choisie. T. xxi. p. 96. &c.

[m] Vid. Prolegom. in ep. ad Ephes. et in cap i. p. 10—13. ap. Cur. Philol. T. iv.

[n] See, as before, Bib. Ch. T. xvi. p. 301 &c.

[o] Omisit potius eas, quod ex altera parte satis ipsi erat, articulum τοις ex antiquis exemplaribus tanquam necessarium vindicare. Ex altera vero intelligebat, expositionem suam pro nulla facile habitura, si voces ε. Εφεσῳ voci ουσι subjecta legerentur. Wolf. Curæ. T. iv. p. 12. m.

[p] *Sanctis omnibus qui sunt Ephesi.*] Quamquam curiosius quam necesse est, putent eo quod Moysi dictum sit: *Hæc dices filiis Israel: Qui est, misit me* [Exod. iii. 14.] etiam eos qui Ephesi sunt sancti et fideles

epistle

epiſtle to the Epheſians mentions Baſil's ſpeculation, or forced interpretation, which we have ſeen and rejects it. Not a few learned men think, that [q] Jerom has a particular reference to Baſil; but I ſee no ground for that ſuppoſition. He might perhaps find that obſervation [r] in Origen, or Apollinarius, or Didymus, whoſe commentaries upon the epiſtle to the Epheſians he mentions in his preface, or in ſome others. In Baſil this interpretation is produced as an argument againſt the Arians; but nothing of that kind appears in Jerom's account of it: however, Jerom's paſſage, as I ſaid, favours Lenfant's opinion, that Baſil does not ſay, thoſe words *at Epheſus*, were wanting in his copies: becauſe Jerom, mentioning the ſame interpretation, takes no notice of any various reading. On the contrary, he again and again ſuppoſeth the common reading. And he ſays, that ſome thought *the ſaints and faithful at Epheſus were ſaid to be ſuch as are.* But others, he ſays, without ſtopping at the expreſſion, *ſuch who are*, or without laying a ſtreſs upon that expreſſion, underſtood the inſcription in a plain manner, and continued ſenſe, *to the ſaints and faithful who are at Epheſus.*

One thing more to be obſerved here, and not omitted by Lenfant [s] in his ſecond letter upon this ſubject, is, that for two hundred years laſt paſt, and more, many manuſcripts of the New Teſtament have been diſcovered, and the various readings have been diligently collected; but as yet there has not been one copy found to ſupport Baſil's account; ſuppoſing him to ſay, that the words ἐν ἐφέσῳ were wanting in his time, in the ancient copies, and that it had been ſo tranſmitted by thoſe of former times: nor is there any verſion, to confirm that ſuppoſition. In a word, it appears to be incredible, that ſuch a various reading, ſuppoſing it to have been in many copies in St. Baſil's time, ſhould have been totally loſt. To which might be added, that there would have been notice taken of it by many remaining ancient writers, beſide Baſil.

If it ſhould be ſaid, that there are ſcarce any copies, that bear witneſs to our ſuppoſed various reading: I think, it may be fitly anſwered, that our various reading is a trifling thing;

[illegible] verbulo nuncupatos. Ut quo- [illegible] ſanctificati, a juſto juſti, a la- [illegible] ſpecies: ut ab eo quod eſt, hi qui [illegible] dicuntur, et juxta eundem Apoſto- [illegible] Deum eſſe qui non erant, ut [illegible] ſint. —— Alii vero [illegible] non ſanctos, ſed qui [illegible] ſanctos eſſe ſunt, ſcripturæ au- [illegible] Benedictin. Ad-

not. ad Baſil. loc. T. i. p. 231. not. t.

[r] Demque Baſilium non omnino de arti- culo τοῦ ante ὄντας cogitaſſe, ut ſuam poſte- rioris vocis interpretationem tutiorem poſſet, quam vere fabricet, ex Hieronymi expoſitionem illam, ut apud Patrum, ſive Origenem, Apollinarium et Didymum legerit, aperte non videtur. —— Wolf. Curæ [illegible]

[s] See Bibl. Ch. T. [illegible]

but a various reading in the words εν εφεσῳ, is very remarkable, and must have appeared in some remaining copies, if there had been many such in Basil's time.

I should not forget to observe, that [t] elsewhere also Basil quotes this epistle with the title of the epistle to the Ephesians, without hesitation.

Upon the whole, it seems to me, that there is no reason to understand St. Basil to say, that εν εφεσῳ, *at Ephesus*, was wanting in any copies in his time.

And I imagine, that there were two ways in use among those, who fancied the forced interpretation, which we have seen in Basil. Some understood it thus, *To the saints who are, even the faithful in Christ Jesus at Ephesus:* others after this manner, *To the saints and faithful in Christ Jesus at Ephesus, who are.* The former seems to have been Basil's method, and the latter that of the persons mentioned by Jerom.

IV. I now proceed. St. Basil bears witness to the respect, which was all along paid by Christians to the sacred scriptures.

1. Upon Ps. lx. otherwise lix. 'If [u] any should say, this 'psalm was written to us, he would not say amiss: for the 'divine oracles are ours, and they are proposed to the church 'of God in every assembly, as gifts sent from God, containing 'nourishment for the soul, afforded by the Spirit.'

2. In a homily, containing an exhortation to baptism, having [x] quoted a text of Isaiah, of the Psalms, the Acts, and St. Matthew, he says, 'For all these were in to-day's reading.'

3. The usefulness of the divine scriptures is shewn by him in a homily upon the first Psalm: 'All [y] scripture given by 'inspiration of God, is profitable, and for that end was written 'by the Spirit, that [z] as in a common treasury of medicines 'for souls, all men might find what is proper for the healing 'of their several maladies. The prophets teach some things, 'the historical books other things, the law others: and the 'Proverbs have instructions for regulating our manners. The 'book of Psalms contains whatever is useful in all the rest.'

4. In a letter to Gregory Nazianzen: 'The [a] best way to 'know our duty is to meditate on the divinely inspired scrip- 'tures: here are instructions concerning our conduct; and

[t] Γραφων ο αποστολος προς Εφεσιους φησιν· Αληθευοντες δε εν αγαπη, κ. λ. [cap. iv. 15.] De Sp. Sto. cap. v. n. 9. T. iii. p. 8. A.

[u] Hom. in Ps. lix. T. i. p. 190. E.

[x] Σε δε, δια προφητων διδασκει μεσος —— δια ψαλμων ενθυμιζει —— δι' αποστολων εις ζηλωσιν —— τα δε των κυριου πρα- [illegible] καταλλαγης, τα δε [illegible] in bapt. T. ii. p. 113. B, C.

[y] In Ps. i. T. i. p. 90. A, B.

[z] — [illegible]

[a] Ad Gregor. Ep. ii. al. i. T. [illegible] 73.

'exam-

'examples of good men recorded therein, are as it were living 'patterns, ſet before us for our imitation. And whatever 'malady any man labours under, if he acquaints himſelf 'with the ſcriptures, he will there find a medicine ſuited to 'his caſe.'

5. In a letter to a woman of condition, who was a widow, and had ſought to him for counſel, he ſays, 'If [b] you attend 'to the conſolations of the divine ſcriptures, you will neither 'need my advice, nor the advice of any other, the directions 'of the Holy Ghoſt being ſufficient to lead you into a right 'conduct.'

6. To another widow of quality he writes: 'And [c] by you 'I ſalute your good daughter, and I exhort her to live in the 'meditation of the oracles of the Lord, that by their excellent 'inſtitution her mind may be nouriſhed, and improve more 'than her body does according to the courſe of nature.'

According to Baſil therefore, the ſcriptures might be profitably read by all ſorts of people.

7. I might add other paſſages, where he ſays, all [d] things are to be proved by the ſcriptures. And [e] whatever appears agreeable to the divinely inſpired ſcriptures, let that be received by us as true. He likewiſe ſays, that [f] hearers well acquainted with the ſcriptures, ought to examine what is ſaid by their teachers; and to embrace what is agreeable to the ſcriptures, and to reject what is otherwiſe. If any ſhould ſay, that Baſil ſpeaks only of ſuch as are 'well acquainted 'with the ſcriptures;' I think it may be juſtly anſwered, that Baſil's rule is general. All ought to be well acquainted with the ſcriptures, and may be ſo, if they will but ſeriouſly endeavour it.

[b] Ep. 284. al. 281. p. 404. D. E.

[c] Ep. 296. al. 285. T. iii. p. 434. B.

[d] Ὁτι παντα ῥηματα, η πραξεις πιστευεσθαι [illegible] των θεοπνευστων γραφων. κ. λ. Reg. fuſ. 26. T. ii. p. 256. B. C.

[e] Ὁτι ὁ θεοπνευστος ημιν διδασκαλια, ταυτα και τας εις αυτα πιστεις τα δικαια ειναι προς τας θειας λογους, επι τελους παντως τας αληθειας η ψευδος. Ep. 189. al. 80. T. iii. p. 277. E. Vid. et Moral. Reg. 80. c. 22.

[f] Οὐ δει των ακροατων τας επιπωδουμενας γραφας, δοκιμαζειν τα παρα των διδασκαλων λεγομενα· και τα μεν συμφωνα ταις γραφαις δεχεσθαι, τα δε αλλοτρια αποβαλλειν. κ. λ. Moral. Reg. 72. cap. 1.

CHAP. XCVIII.

GREGORY NAZIANZEN.

I. *His time.* II. *A catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament, with remarks.* III. *General titles and division of scripture.* IV. *Select passages.*

THOUGH Jerom's chapter concerning Gregory Nazianzen be somewhat long, I cannot forbear to transcribe [a] the greatest part of it: but I shall not translate it. In the general, I observe, that Jerom celebrates Gregory's eloquence, and calls him his master, whom he had heard interpreting the scriptures: of which he likewise speaks [b] elsewhere. He also mentions several of his works; and says, he had died about three years before. For fuller accounts of Gregory's life and works, I refer to [c] several.

It is, I think, generally allowed, that Gregory flourished about the year 370, and afterwards. But learned men are not agreed about the time of his birth, and the age at which he died. Cave says he was born about the time of the Nicene council, and died in 389, and about the 65th year of his age. With whom Basnage [d] agrees, supposing, that Gregory might be born in 326. But Suidas expressly says, that [e] Gregory

[a] Gregorius, primum Sasimorum, deinde Nazianzenus Episcopus, vir eloquentissimus, præceptor meus, quo Scripturas explanante didici, ad triginta millia versuum omnia opera sua composuit. E quibus illa sunt: De morte fratris Cæsarii. Περὶ φιλοπτωχίας. Laudes Maccabæorum. Laudes Cypriani. Laudes Athanasii—et liber, hexametro versu, Virginitatis et Nuptiarum contra se differentium. Adversum Eunomium liber unus. De Spiritu Sancto liber unus. Contra Julianum Imperatorem libri duo. Sequutus est autem Polemonem dicendi charactere. Vivoque se Episcopum in loco suo ordinans, ruri vitam monachi exercuit. Decessitque ante hoc ferme triennium sub Theodosio Principe. De V. I. cap. 117.

[b] —— sine caussa Gregorium Nazianzenum et Didymum in Scripturis sanctis catechistas habui. Ad Domnion. ep. 32. al. 51. T. iv. p. 245. in.

Numquid in illa epistola Gregorium virum eloquentissimum non potui nominare? Quis apud Latinos par sui est? Quo ego magistro glorior et exulto. Adv. Rufin. p. 363. m.

Præceptor quondam meus Gregorius Nazianzenus, rogatus a me ut exponeret quid sibi vellet in Luca Sabbathum [illegible], id est, secundoprimum, [illegible] lusit: Docebo te, inquiens, super [illegible] in ecclesia, in qua mihi omni populo [illegible]mante, cogeris invitus scire quod [illegible] &c. Ad Nepotian. ep. 34. al. 2. p. [illegible]

Et præceptor meus Gregorius Nazianzenus virginitatem et nuptias differens Græcis versibus explicavit. Adv. Jovin. [illegible] p. 157.

[c] Cav. H. L. P. i. p. 246. Du Pin Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 201. &c. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. ix. Basnag. Ann. 373. xvi.—xix. et alibi. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. vii. p. 507. &c.

[d] Ann. 373. [illegible]

[e] Ελασας δε περι τα [illegible] επεκεινα, Θεοδοσιου τριτον και [illegible] ἀγαθος, καταλυει τον βιον. Suid. V. [illegible]

died

died in the 13th of the emperor Theodosius, [or the year of our Lord 391], when he was above 90 years of age. This has induced Pagi to argue, and with some appearance of truth, that [f] Gregory was born in 301, and died in 391: nor does Jerom, as he thinks, contradict, but confirm this account, when he says, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, that Gregory had died three years before. For he says, that Jerom did not publish that work till the 15th year of Theodosius, the year of our Lord 393; and, understanding those three years to be incomplete on both sides, Gregory died, according to him, in 391. This opinion has been embraced by [g] I. A. Fabricius; and in his notes upon the 117th chapter of Jerom's fore-cited work, seems to suppose [h] it the general opinion of learned men at present. And indeed I observe, that [i] the late Mr. Le Clerc readily followed Pagi therein. But all do not: S. Basnage [k] argues strongly against Pagi, and supposeth that he confutes him. Tillemont [l], after weighing arguments on both sides, still inclines to the other opinion, as most probable, and thinks, that Gregory was born in 329, or thereabout.

Indeed, the opinion of Pagi is attended with several great difficulties: first, he is obliged to allow, that [m] Gregory was thirty years at Athens, and did not leave it before the 55th or 56th year of his age; which is very strange. Secondly, the intimate friendship of Gregory and Basil, seems to imply their being of near the same age: it is, I think, generally allowed, that [n] Basil was born in 328 or 329, or thereabout; if Gregory was a little older than Basil, and survived him some years, that will make little difference. Thirdly, Jerom mentions the time of Gregory's death; if he had reached to the age of ninety years, that being a remarkable circumstance, he could not have avoided mentioning that also. Fourthly, if Gregory had been ninety years of age when he died, it would have been taken notice of by many writers before Suidas.

II. Among the poems of Gregory Nazianzen, there is one, which contains a catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament, and is to this purpose:

'Meditate [o] and discourse much on the word of God.... 'But as there are many falsly ascribed writings, tending to

[f] Vid. Ann. 354. xi.—xiii. 389. n. v. [g] Bib. Gr. T. vii. p. 3. [h] Cum Hieronymus A. 392. hos libros scripserit, putavit is Nazianzenum exstinctum A. 389. Sed viri docti [illegible] Suidæ, qui aut obiisse anno [illegible] Magni, hoc est, Christi [illegible]. Ad Heron cap. 117. ap. Bib. Ecc. [i] Bibl. univ. T. 18. p. 2, 3. [k] Ann. 373. n. xvi. et 392. n. ix. [l] S. Greg. de Naz. art. i. viii. et note iv. Mem. T. ix. [m] Ann. 354. n. xii. [n] See S. Basile. Du Pin. T. ii. p. 154. and S. Basile art. i. et note 1. Tillem. Mem. ix. [o] Carm. 33. T. ii. p. 98.

'deceive, accept, my friend, this certain number. There 'are twelve historical books of the most ancient Hebrew wisdom: the first Genesis, then Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, 'Deuteronomy; the next Joshua, the Judges, Ruth the eighth, 'the ninth and tenth the Acts of the Kings, and then the Remains, and Esdras the last. Then the five books in verse, 'the first Job, next David, then the three books of Solomon, 'Ecclesiastes, the Song, and the Proverbs. The prophetic 'books are five: the twelve prophets are one book, Hosea, 'Amos, Micah, Joel, Jonah, Obadiah, Nahum, Habakkuk, 'Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi; all these make 'one book: the second is Isaiah, then Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and 'Daniel. Which [p] make twenty-two books, according to the 'number of the Hebrew letters. The [q] books of the New 'Testament are as follows: Matthew wrote for the Hebrews, 'Mark for the Italians, Luke for the Greeks, for all that 'great herald John, enlightened with the heavenly mysteries. 'Next the Acts of the apostles; fourteen epistles of Paul; 'seven catholic epistles, which are these, one of James, two 'of Peter, three of John, one of Jude, which is the seventh. 'If [r] there are any besides, they are not among the genuine.'

1. I scarce need to make remarks upon any parts of this catalogue. The reader is able to do it of himself.

2. The number of the books of the Old Testament is exactly according to the Hebrews: but the book of Esther is not particularly mentioned. The catalogue of the books of the New Testament contains all those, which are now commonly received, except the book of the Revelation. And there is no notice taken of any later books as having the least title to make a part of the Christian canon.

3. I would not deny, that Gregory supposed Matthew to have written his gospel in Hebrew; though his manner of expression does not necessarily imply it: for he says, that Mark 'wrote for the Italians;' and yet, undoubtedly, he allowed him to have written in Greek: he seems therefore only to intimate, that Matthew published his gospel in Judea, Mark [illegible] in Italy, and Luke his in Achaia, or Greece. There [s] is another passage of Gregory, in which he speaks of the places

[p] Αρχαιας μεν εθηκα δυω και εικοσι βιβλους.

[q] Ματθαιος μεν εγραψεν εβραιοις θαυματα Χριστου.
Μαρκος δ' Ιταλιη, Λουκας Αχαιαδι.
Παστ' δ' Ιωαννης κηρυξ μιτας ουρανοφοιτης.

[r] Ει τι δε τουτων εκτος, ουκ εν γνησιοις.

[s] Εστω Πετρου η Ιουδαια, τι Παυλ[illegible] προς τα εθνη, Λουκα προς Αχαιαν, [illegible] προς ηπειρον, Ιωαννη προς εφεσον, [illegible] προς Ιταλιαν.—Orat. 25. [illegible] 438. A. B.

where

where several of Christ's apostles preached, that will countenance this supposition.

4. Whether Gregory Nazianzen received the book of the Revelation, is doubted: if this poem be his, as is generally supposed, it may be argued, that he did not receive it. Baronius [t] gives him up, and reckons him with Basil, Nyssen, and other Greeks, whom he supposes not to have received it. Andrew of Cæsarea, in his Commentary upon the book of the Revelation, names Gregory among others, by whom it was received: as does Arethas likewise. But James Basnage thinks [u] this poem to be of greater value for shewing Gregory's opinion, than the testimony of Andrew: nevertheless, I think, Andrew's testimony ought not to be quite neglected. Moreover, we find the Revelation twice quoted in [x] Gregory's remaining works.

5. I do not intend to translate or transcribe any more of Gregory's poems; but it may not be amiss to put down here the titles of some of [y] them: Of the twelve apostles; Of Christ's genealogy [as in Matthew and Luke]; The miracles of Christ according to Matthew; Christ's parables and similitudes according to Matthew; Christ's miracles according to John;

[t] Quod vero idem auctor [Hieronymus] [illegible] suis temporibus Græcorum ecclesias non recipere Joannis Apocalypsin. —— Certe inter Græcos scriptores ecclesiasticos, eosdemque Catholicos, qui Hieronymi ætate vixere, Epiphanius —— non hæc veritati adstipulatur, sed non ab aliis quam hæreticis Alogis tradit impugnatam esse Joannis Apocalypsim. Cæterum nequaquam putandum, Hieronymum ea temere [illegible], aut Græcorum ecclesias calumniatum esse. Sed ea in re visus est habuisse respectum ad sanctum Basilium, Amphilochium, Gregorium Nazianzenum, atque Nyssenum, qui visi sunt ab ea interdum abstinuisse. Nam ipse Gregorius Nazianzenus, dum texuit catalogum librorum canonicorum, nullam penitus de Apocalysi Joannis habuit mentionem, sicut nec Concilium Laodicenum —— Et Amphilochius, æqualis [illegible] Gregorii, in carmine ad Seleucum, quo texit catalogum canonicorum [illegible], hæc in fine habet.

Ad Apocalypsim Joannis aliqui
Inviserunt. Rursus, sed longe plurimi
Adulterinam dicunt.

Baron. Ann. 97. n. vi.

[u] Gregoire de Nazianze, qui dressa dans [illegible] un canon des Ecritures, passoit [illegible] sous silence: ce qu'il n'auroit [illegible], s'il avoit reçuë dans le canon des Ecritures. Sixte de Sienne [Bib. Sacr. l. viii. c. x.] et plusieurs autres, éblouïs par l'authorité d'André de Cæsarée, comptent toujours Gregoire de Nazianze entre les defenseurs de l'Apocalypse. Mais il est inutile de chercher son sentiment dans les ecrits d' autrui, puisque son ouvrage est entre les mains de tout le monde, par lequel on peut juger plus sûrement. Et puisque Gregoire finit son canon des Ecritures à la lettre de S. Jude, et qu'il declare, que tous les livres, dont il ne parle point, sont suspects et douteux, il faut qu' il ait mis l'Apocalypse, dont il ne parle pas, au rang des livres, qui n'avoient point de caracteres sensibiles de leur divinité. Bilius attribuë à Gregoire de Nazianze des vers iambes, qui sont plutôt d'Amphilochius, evëque d'Icone. Car il n' y a point d' apparence, que Gregoire eut fait deux fois le canon des Ecritures dans ses vers. Ja. Basn. Hist. de l'Egl. l. viii. ch. 7. p. 435.

[x] Προς δε τους εφεσωτας αγγελους· Πειθομαι γαρ αλλους αλλης προσταλειν εκκλησιας, ως Ιωαννης διδασκει με δια της αποκωλυψεως. Or. 32. T. i. p. 516. C.

Και ο ων, και ο ην, και ο ερχομενος, και ο παντοκρατωρ. [Apoc. cap. i. 8.] Or. 35. p. 573. D.

[y] Carm. xxxvi.—xlv. T. ii. p. 99—105.

Christ's

Christ's miracles according to Luke; Christ's parables according to Luke; Christ's miracles according to Mark; The parables of the four Evangelists.

III. General titles and divisions of books of scripture, in Gregory, are such as these: The [a] Law, Prophets, Christ. We are [b] taught by reason, the Law, Prophets and Apostles. The Law [c] and Grace, Prophets, Apostles, and Evangelists. Prophetical [d] and apostolical books.

IV. I shall observe a few select passages.

1. He [e] calls Christ the first martyr.

2. He has a criticism [f] upon Acts ii. 8. It seems, that some questioned, whether the miracle of the gift of tongues was in the speaker or the hearers.

3. The [g] apostle says [Eph. ii. 3.] *And we were by nature children of wrath*; not meaning, as Gregory says, on account of our nature, but that sinners are really liable to wrath. So Judas was *the son of perdition*, on account of those evil actions which bring perdition upon men.

4. Gregory [h] quotes 1 John v. 7. without the heavenly witnesses, mentioning only these three witnesses, *the Spirit, water, and blood.*

5. The Christians [i] he says, when in power, did not persecute the heathens, as the heathens had persecuted them. In another place he says, that [k] religion ought to be free, and that the Christian law compels none, and that violence is not suited to promote the true interest of religion.

6. Nevertheless, Gregory seems not to have understood the genuine principles of reasonable and Christian moderation toward men of different sentiments; for in a letter written to Nectarius bishop of Constantinople, in the year 385, or soon after, he speaks of it as [l] the greatest calamity to the church,

[a] Παραβολαι των τεσσαρων ευαγγελιστων. Carm. xlv. p. 103—105. [a] Or. 1. p. 11. C. [b] Or. 18. p. 276. A. [c] Or. 3. p. 76. B. C. [d] Αι προφητικαι δε και αποστολικαι βιβλοι μονα ανελιττεσθων. Or. 4. p. 127. A.

[e] —— αυλων των Χριστου παθημασιων, τω πρωτω μαρτυρος επι τον γαυρον ανελθοντος. Or. 18. p. 276. A. [f] Or. 4. p. 715. D. [g] Και ημει φυσει τεκνα οργης, ως και λοιποι· αλλ' ου κατα φυσιν λεγων· αλλ' ου κατ' αληθειαν υποπτευοντες οργης τυγχανουσιν οι αμαρτανοντες. Και περι του Ιουδα γεγραπται, ου υιος απωλειας: Απωλειας δε υιον αυτον ειπε, τω τα της απωλειας πεπραχεναι. Or. 47. T. i. p. 724. C. [h] Τι δαι ο Ιωαννης; τρεις ειναι τους μαρτυρουντας λεγει ου ταυτα θαλασσαις, το πνευμα, το υδωρ, το αιμα· αρα λειπειν φαινεται; Or. 36. p. 591. D. [i] Or. 3. p. 95. B. C. [k] Ετσι μη προς βιαν αγειν, τα ημετερα νομιζομεν αναγκαιως, αλλ' εκουσιως——τον ου τυραννουμενον, ου τυραννειν· ουδε γαρ, ως τυραννουμενοι, τα της ευσεβειας μυστηρια. Or. 8. p. 148. D. 149. A.

[l] Το δε παντων χαλεπωτατον ου ταυτα συμφορας, η των αποκηρυττειν παρρησια, ως εκ οικειας πατριδος ουσιδης φοβουμενους εαυτους τω συνομιλειν ημιν εξουσιαι. Ad Nect. Ep. 46. T. i. p. 721. D.

that

that the Apollinarists (whose errors were purely speculative), were permitted to assemble together, as freely as the catholics. To [m] suffer this, and let them teach and preach their doctrines freely, he says, is equivalent to an approbation of their errors, and a condemnation of the truth. And [n] he earnestly desires Nectarius to admonish the emperor [Theodosius], and let him know, that all he had hitherto done for the churches would avail nothing, if this evil were suffered. A large part of this letter is inserted by Sozomen [o] in his Ecclesiastical History.

7. Gregory [p] asserts the doctrine of free-will.

8. He speaks, as if [q] many miracles were then wrought by the reliques of martyrs.

9. Gregory in several places [r] speaks with great freedom of the synods of bishops. As those places have been often taken notice of by learned men, I have thought it best to refer to them.

CHAP. XCIX.

AMPHILOCHIUS, BISHOP OF ICONIUM.

I. *His history, and works.* II. *A catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament.* III. *A Law of Theodosius against Heretics, procured by him, with Remarks.*

I. AMPHILOCHIUS bishop of Iconium, the chief city of Lycaonia, is [a] in Jerom's Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers: where, however, he mentions but one book of his, concerning the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, not now extant.

Amphilochius was a native of Cappadocia. The exact time of his being constituted bishop of Iconium is not [b] known:

[m] —το λαβειν αυτους εξουσιαν συναξεως, ουδεν [illegible], η αληθεστερους του καθ' ημας δογματος [illegible]. Ει γαρ ως ευσεβουντες εκεινοι [illegible] ως φρονουσι, και κηρυττειν εν παρρησιᾳ το καθ' εαυτους επιτρεπονται δογμα, δηλον ὁτι κατεγνωσται ο της εκκλησιας λογος, ως της αληθειας παρ' αυτοις ουσης. Ib. p. 722. D.

[n] —— και διδαξατω τον [illegible] βασιλεα, ὁτι ουδεν κερδος εσται [illegible] της αυτου περι τας εκκλησιας σπουδης, [illegible] επικαθαιρεσι της υγιαι[illegible] πιστεως δια της παρρησιας αυτων κατισχυνει. Ibid. p. 723. A.

[o] L. vi. cap. 26.

[p] Or. 1. p. 9. A.

[q] Or. 3. p. 77. A. Vid. et Or. 1. p. 35. B.

[r] Vid. Ep. 55. et Carm. x. Conf. Ep. 65. 71, 72.

[a] Amphilochius, Iconii Episcopus, nuper mihi librum legit de Spiritu Sancto, quod Deus est, et quod adorandus, quodque omnipotens sit. De V. I. cap. 133.

[b] Quo anno Iconiensi Ecclesiæ sit, 371, vel 375, non satis liquet. S. Basnag. Ann. 394. n. ix.

Cave

Cave [c] says in 370, or somewhat later: Tillemont [d] about the year 374. He [e] was alive in 394; and it is supposed, that he died not long after.

His [f] eminence is collected from the several letters written to him by Basil, from the character given of him by [g] Theodoret, and others. And Jerom in his letter to Magnus joins [h] him with Basil, Gregory, and others, who were equally skilful in secular learning, and the sacred scriptures.

Accounts of his works may be seen in divers writers, referred to at the bottom of the pages of this chapter; but very few of his works [i] remain: I take particular notice of but one only.

II. It is an iambic poem of considerable length, addressed to Seleucus, in which is inserted a catalogue of the books of the Old and the New Testament. It has been ascribed by many to Amphilochius; but some learned men are of opinion, that it was written by Gregory Nazianzen: they say, the style is his; and that we have no knowledge, that Amphilochius ever wrote verse. Cave [k] and [l] Du Pin therefore say, it is Gregory's. On the other hand, Combefis [m] and [n] Tillemont still maintain the right of Amphilochius, to whom it is ascribed in manuscript copies, and by some ancient authors: moreover, they observe several differences in this catalogue from the preceding. Bishop Beveridge [o] puts down both these poems distinctly, calling one, that of Gregory the divine, and the other,

[c] Circa annum 370, vel forsan paulo serius, Iconii, Lycaoniæ metropolis Episcopus constituitur. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 251.

[d] S. Amphiloque Art. iii. Mem. T. ix.

[e] Vid. Tillem. ubi supr. Art. vi. et Pagi Ann. 394. n. vii. [f] See Tillem. as above. Art. i. [g] H. E. l. iv. c. 30. l. v. c. 8. et 16. Socrat. l. v. cap. 8. Sozom. l. vii. c. 6. et 9. [h] —— Cappadocumque Basilii, Gregorii, Amphilochii. Qui omnes in tantum Philosophorum doctrinis atque sententiis suos infarciunt libros: ut nescias, quid in illis primum admirari debeas, eruditionem seculi, an scientiam Scripturarum. Ep. 83. al. 84.

[i] Præter fragmenta quædam Veterum monumentis disseminata, unum forte Amphilochii genuinum opus super est, Epistola Synodica, quam Cotelerius edidit. [Ap. Monum. Gr. T. ii. p. 99—104.] Basnag. Ann. 394. n. ix. Conf. Cav. H. L.

Il suffit de dire, que tout ce que nous avons aujourdhui d'entier de ce Saint, est la lettre aux Evêques Macedoniens——et un poëme qu'il adressa à Seleuque neveu de Sainte Olympiade. &c. Tillem. Mem. T. ix. St. Amphiloque, art. vi.

[k] Ad Seleucum Iambi Gregorio Naz. a Billio adjudicati, nec invita quidem veritate. Cav. H. L. in Amphiloch.

[l] Le poëme à Seleucus, quoiqu'en dise le Pere Combefis, est du stile de saint Gregoire, et il y a bien de l'apparence, qu'il a été composé par ce Pere sous le nom d'Amphiloque. Du Pin Bib. T. i. p. 234.

[m] —— Sunt nihilominus hæc levia, quam ut fidem codicum vindicantium Amphilochio nostro elevent. Primum enim, minus quadrant hic posita de libris canonicis, cum iis quæ habet Theologus carmine de iisdem p. 98. ed. Par. ubi absolute pronuntiat de Pauli epistolis, et septem Catholicis, nulla mentione libri Esther, aut Apocalypsis.——Etiam Balsamon habet ut Amphilochii p. 1080. ed. Paris. passimque Damascenus in elementis in codice Emmeretiss. Rupifucaldii. Combef. not. ad Amphil. p. 254. [n] See Mem. Ecc. T. ix. S. Greg. de Naz. § 110. Amphiloque § 6. et note 6. [o] Synodicon T. ii. p. 178, 179.

that

that of Amphilochius from his iambics to Seleucus: and some others are of [p] the same opinion. Whether it belongs to one, or the other, it is a different performance from the forgoing, and therefore deserves to be put down here.

'The author of this poem recommends [q] the reading of the 'scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as fitted to teach 'men virtue, and the right worship of God. Then [r] he cautions his friend against spurious, and falsly ascribed writings, 'even though they have in them some appearance of truth. 'After [s] which he enumerates the divinely inspired books, and 'in the first place those of the Old Testament, which are 'these: The Pentateuch, containing first Genesis, then Exodus, 'Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy. Then Joshua, and the 'Judges, and Ruth, four books of the Kingdoms, two of 'the Remains, the first and second of Esdras. After them 'five books in verse, Job, the book of Psalms, three books 'of Solomon, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of 'Songs. To these add the Twelve Prophets, Hosea, Amos, 'Micah, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi. After whom are the 'four Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel. To these 'some add Esther. The books of the New Testament to be 'received by you are these: Four Evangelists only, Matthew, 'then Mark, the third Luke, and John [t] the fourth in time, 'but first in the sublimity of his doctrine. Next [u] receive a 'second book of Luke, the book of the Acts of all the Apostles. Then fourteen epistles of the apostle Paul, one to the 'Romans, two to the Corinthians, to the Galatians, to the 'Ephesians, to the Philippians, to the Colossians, two to the 'Thessalonians, two to Timothy, and to Titus and Philemon, 'to each one, and one to the Hebrews. But [x] some say, the 'epistle to the Hebrews is spurious; not speaking rightly, for 'it is a genuine work. Then the catholic epistles: Of which 'some receive seven, others three only: one of James, one of 'Peter, one of John: whilst others receive three of John, and

[p] See the opinions of Baronius and Bassage in the preceding chapter note [t] and [u]. And see Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. vii. p. 503, 504. [q] Amphil. ad Seleuc. p. 126. ed. Combef. Paris. 1644. et ap. Greg. Naz. T. ii. p. 194, 195.

[r] Ἰσθι γάρ, ὅσα σοι τοῦ θεοπνεύστου λόγου
Βιβλοι ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐρίτιμα, καὶ γνώμης,
Ὑπόπτως ἔχει, καὶ ἀνθρώπου λόγε.
p. 130. Gr. 194.

[s] Τοῖσιν χάρις σοι τῶν θεοπνεύστων ἔφυ
Βιβλων ἑκάστη.——Ib.

[t] —— ἀριθμῷ τῷ. Ἰωάννην χρεών
Τέτρατον· ἀλλὰ πρῶτον ὑψει δεξάμεν.
p. 132.

[u] Δεύτερον δ' βιβλον Λουκᾶ, καὶ τὴν διήγησιν,
Τὴν τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς πράξεων ἀποστόλων.
Ib.

[x] Τινὲς δὲ φασι τὴν πρὸς ἑβραίους νοθον·
Οὐκ ὀρθῶς· γνησία γὰρ ἡ χάρις. ib.

'two of Peter, and Jude's, the seventh. The[y] Revelation 'of John is approved by some; but many [or the most] say 'it is spurious. Let this be the most certain canon of the 'divinely inspired scriptures.'

I shall make but one remark upon this poem, and what has been transcribed from it: That it affords a new proof of the care and caution of the ancient Christians concerning books received as a part of sacred scripture, and the rule of their faith.

III. As very little of Amphilochius remains, I have no select passages to present the reader with at the end of this chapter. I shall therefore put down here a story told by[z] Theodoret; which is also in[a] Sozomen and[b] Nicephorus, with only some variations. Amphilochius, as Theodoret says, presented a petition to Theodosius, desiring him to prohibit Arian assemblies, without obtaining it. He therefore thought of a method to gain his point. And being in the palace with other bishops, he paid his respects to Theodosius, as usual, taking little or no notice of Arcadius, who stood by, and had been lately declared Augustus. The emperor supposing the omission might have proceeded from forgetfulness, called to Amphilochius, and put him in mind to salute his son also: Amphilochius answered, he had paid respect to him, and that was enough. The emperor displeased with that answer said, a slight put upon his son was an indignity to himself. Whereupon Amphilochius replied; You see, Sir, that you cannot endure a slight to be put upon your son, and are angry with those who are guilty of it: persuade yourself, then, that the God of the whole world is offended with those who blaspheme his only begotten Son, and hates them as ungrateful to their Saviour and benefactor. The emperor perceiving the bishop's design, soon after this forbade the assemblies of heretics. Intending, it is likely, a law of[c] Theodosius still extant, dated July 25, of the year 383, prohibiting all heretics, particularly Eunomians, Arians, and Macedonians, to hold any assemblies of worship in public places, or private houses.

This affair has been taken notice of by several[d] moderns; and seems to be rightly placed in the year 383, it happening after that Arcadius had been declared Augustus, and joined

[y] Την δ' αποκαλυψιν την Ιωαννου παλιν
Τινες μεν εγκρινουσι, και πλειους δε γε
Νοθον λεγουσιν: Ουτος αψευδεστατος
Κανων ων ειη των θεοπνευστων γραφων.
p. 1[illegible]4.

[z] L. v. c. 16. p. 218.

[a] Soz. l. vii. c. 6.

[b] Nic. l. xii. c. 9.

[c] Cod. Theod. 16. Tit. 5. L. xi.

[d] See Cave's Lives of the Primitive Fathers. Vol. ii. in Gregory Naz. sect. vii. p. 327, 328. H. L. T. i. p. 251. Basnag. Ann. 383. n. vii. Tillem. Les Ariens. art. 139. Mem. Tom. vi.

with

with his father in the empire; which was done in the beginning of that year.

Amphilochius ſhewed his diſlike of heretics ſeveral ways. He wrote a book againſt the Maſſalians, mentioned by [e] Theodoret; and another work, intitled [f] Of Pſeudepigraphal books compoſed by heretics; both which are loſt: if they had been extant, I ſuppoſe they would have given me more ſatisfaction than the law of Theodoſius, which affords not any argument. Indeed, I do not think, that Amphilochius is to be commended for procuring that law; I rather think that he therein acted contrary to the doctrine taught by our Saviour, which inculcates mutual equity and forbearance, and to many apoſtolical precepts, requiring biſhops, and all Chriſtians in general, *to be gentle, ſhewing all meekneſs unto all men: to be gentle unto all men, in meekneſs inſtructing thoſe that oppoſe themſelves, if peradventure God will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth.* The catholics had ſuffered many hardſhips in the late reign of Valens: afterwards, in the reigns of Gratian and Theodoſius they came into power. If they had more truth on their ſide, than the Arians, I wiſh, they had alſo excelled in moderation and equity; which are ſhining virtues, highly becoming weak and fallible creatures one toward another, perfectly conſiſtent with a zeal for truth, and better ſuited to promote its intereſts, than force and violence.

CHAP. C.

GREGORY, BISHOP OF NYSSA IN CAPPADOCIA.

I. *His time and hiſtory.* II. *His teſtimony to the ſcriptures.* III. *Select paſſages.*

1. GREGORY, younger brother of Baſil, was ordained biſhop of Nyſſa in Cappadocia in the [a] latter part of the year 370, or in [b] 371, or [c] the beginning of 372. Being a zealous homoüſian, he [d] felt the heavy hands of the Arian adminiſtration un-

[a] Her. Feb. l. iv. cap. xi.
[b] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. ii. p. 253. et Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 305.
[c] Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 211.
[d] Vid. Basnag. Annal. Vit. S. Basil. c. xix.
[e] Vid. Pagi Ann. 369. n. xvii. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 144. Tillem. Gr. Not. art. iii.
[f] Vid. Cav. ib. p. 211. in. Tillem. Mem. T. ix. S. Greg. de Nyſſe. art. iv.

der

der Valens: and ſome time after his ordination was obliged to live in exile, in an unſettled condition, till upon the death of Valens, he and others were reſtored to their ſees by an edict of Gratian in 378. He [e] is in Jerom's Catalogue; I place the chapter, which is ſhort, below. He was alive [f] in 394; the year of his death is not certainly known. I formerly [g] made large extracts out of our Gregory's oration upon the life of Gregory Thaumaturgus, to which the reader is referred: I now proceed to take his teſtimony to the ſcriptures of the Old and the New Teſtament.

II. 1. He ſpeaks [h] of the five diviſions of the book of Pſalms.

2. He takes notice of [i] the ancient verſions of the Old Teſtament, of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, beſide that of the Seventy: in [k] one place he conſults the Hebrew.

3. 'A [l] greater than Solomon made uſe of him as an inſtrument, and by him ſpeaks to us firſt in the Proverbs, then in the Eccleſiaſtes, and after that in the philoſophy of the Canticles now before us.' So ſpeaks Gregory in the firſt of his fifteen homilies upon the book of Canticles: who has alſo a preface to that book, and eight homilies upon the book of Eccleſiaſtes; and he here plainly ſhews us, what were generally eſteemed by underſtanding Chriſtians the genuine writings of Solomon.

4. I need not take any notice of quotations of the goſpels. He gives [m] the title of the great John to the evangeliſt, quoting the beginning of his firſt epiſtle, ſoon after he had quoted the beginning of his goſpel.

5. The book of the Acts is very often quoted by him, and aſcribed to [n] Luke. Moreover he ſays, that [o] Luke was as much a phyſician of ſouls, as of the body: from whence we can conclude, that he took the evangeliſt to be the ſame who is mentioned Col. iv. 14.

6. Gregory [p] quotes the epiſtle to the Epheſians with that title.

e Gregorius Nyſſenus Epiſcopus, frater Baſilii Cæſarienſis, ante paucos annos mihi et Gregorio Nazianzeno contra Eunomium legit libros, qui et multa alia ſcripſiſſe et ſcribere dicitur. De V. I. cap. 128.

f Vid. Pagi Ann. 394. n. vi.

g Vol. iii. p. 27—33.

h In Pſalm. Tr. 1. cap. iv. T. i. p. 28. D.

i In Hexaëm T. i. p. 7. B. p. 13. B. C.

k In Cant. hom. 9. T. i. p. 610. C.

l Οὗτος ἑρμηνεὺς τῶν σολομωνείων τούτων χρημάτων δι' ἐκείνου ἡμῖν διαλέγεται, πρῶτον ἐν παροιμίαις, εἶτα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησιαστῇ, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ προκειμένῃ τῶν ἀσμάτων φιλοσοφίᾳ. κ. λ. In Cant. hom. 1. T. i. p. 475. D.

m Ὅτις ὁ καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἰωάννης σεσοφικεν. In Cant. hom. 13. T. i. p. 664. C.

n Ἡ φασὶν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ βιβλίου τῶν πράξεων ὁ Λουκᾶς. κ. λ. In Chriſt. Reſurr. Or. 2. T. iii. p. 415. C.

o Ὁ τοιοῦτος Λουκᾶς ὁ ἰατρὸς τῆς ψυχῆς ἢ τοῦ σώματος ὤφθη, ἵνα ψιλὸς τὸν γνῶσιν ἔχῃ. De Pœnit. in Luc. vii. 36. &c. T. ii. p. 165. D.

p Σαφέστερον δὲ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς ἐφεσίοις. Orat. in 1 Cor. xv. 28. T. ii. p. 13. C. Vid. et Catechet. Or. cap. 32. T. iii. p. 94. A. In Chriſt. Reſ. Or. i. T. 3. p. 396. C. et alibi.

7. He

7. He often expreſsly quotes the epiſtle to the Hebrews, and as [g] Paul's.

8. Gregory ſeldom quotes the book of the Revelation: yea, I think he ſometimes declines to quote it, when there are fair occaſions for ſo doing: however, he [r] has expreſsly quoted it in one of his orations; and though he there calls it apocryphal, perhaps he needs not be ſuppoſed to intend to detract from it, for he calls it the evangeliſt John's.

9. There is a paſſage [s] in Gregory's book againſt Apollinarius, publiſhed by Laurence Zacagni, where it may be queſtioned, whether Gregory refers to Rev. i. 8. or [t] John viii. 25. according to a very uncommon reading indeed, but which ſeems to be that followed by the author of the Gothic verſion. For clearing this I put below [u] a part of the note of the learned Latin tranſlator upon the place.

10. Titles and diviſions, and marks of reſpect for the ſcriptures, are ſuch as theſe: the [x] ſacred writers of the goſpels; the [y] divine goſpels; apoſtles [z] and prophets; one [a] and the ſame God ſpeaks in the prophets, and in the New Teſtament; Paul [b] the herald or preacher of grace, the chief conductor of the church's marriage, and the mouth of Chriſt. I refer to [c] another place very honourable to that apoſtle. He ſays, it [d] is one of the Lord's commands, that we ſhould ſtudy the ſcriptures. See John v. 39. He reckons it to the advantage of Ephrem the Syrian, that [e] from early age he had been inſtructed in the ſacred ſcriptures. I omit many other like things, not needful to be tranſcribed. He proves [f] what he advances

[g] Διὰ τοῦ Παύλου ἐπιστέλλων τε καὶ τὸν Ἑβραίων διδάσκων. De Occurs. Dom. T. iii. p. 446. D.

Διὰ τοῦ πλέον οἱ τῶν προφήτων καὶ ἀποστόλων κηρύγματα. In Natal. Chr. T. iii. p. 340. A.

[r] Δεῦτε οἱ——καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ ζῆσαι τε καὶ βασιλεύσαι τὸν τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως καὶ τὸν καινὸν διαθήκης ἐπαλλήλως. De Oc. Dom. T. iii. p. 460. B. [b] Ὁ ζῶν τῆς γραφῆς, ὁ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ στόμα. Vit. S. Ephr. T. iii. p. 505. C.

[c] In 1 Cor. xv. 28. T. ii. p. 6. B.

[d] Καὶ τοῦ τὰς θεοπνεύστους παραγγέλλοντος γράφας ἐρευνᾶν, τὸ ἐν χρείαις τοῦ ῥαδίου. In Eccles. hom. i. T. i. p. 374. C.

[e] Ὁ γραφεὶς μοι ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας, καὶ ἀσκηθεὶς ἐν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπηρετεῖσθαι, πεπιστευκὼς δὲ τοῖς τῆς χάριτος ὑπισχνουμένοις. κ. λ. De Vit. S. Ephr. T. iii. p. 508. C.

[f] Καὶ μυρίας ἐστὶ παθεῖν τὴν τῆς ἁγίας γραφῆς παρεκβαίνειν ἐάσας. In Hexaem. T. i. 14. D. Conf ib. p. 28. D.

by texts of ſcripture. Again, 'Where [g] did Apollinarius 'learn, that the Spirit became incarnate? What ſcripture ſays 'this? We have not learned any ſuch thing from the goſpels: 'but that the Word became fleſh, as the great apoſtle ſays.'

III. I ſhall now take ſome ſelect paſſages, partly relating to the ſcriptures, partly to other matters.

1. There [h] are five orations of Gregory upon the Lord's prayer, but no notice taken of any doxology at the end.

2. Gregory ſays, that [i] in the moſt exact copies, St. Mark's goſpel concluded with thoſe words ch. xvi. 8. *For they were afraid.* But in ſome copies it was added, *Now when Jeſus was riſen early the firſt day of the week, he appeared firſt to Mary Magdalene*; and what follows: In which, he ſays, there ſeemed to be ſome things different from the accounts given of our Lord's reſurrection by the other evangeliſts. He therefore reconciles them, and compares together all the four evangeliſts, Matthew, John, Luke, and Mark. Which ſhews, there were no other authentic hiſtories of Chriſt, except theſe four; and that there were no other, for which the church had any regard.

Mill ſays, that [k] Gregory Nyſſen is the firſt, who has taken any notice of this various reading at the concluſion of St. Mark's goſpel.

3. He ſays, there [l] are three Maries mentioned as ſtanding at the foot of the croſs of Jeſus, Mary our Lord's mother, Mary wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene. John xix. 25. For Mary mother of James, or mother of James and Joſes, as mentioned by the other evangeliſts, he cannot but think to be the ſame with our Lord's mother; James and Joſes he ſuppoſes to be children of Joſeph, whom he had by a former marriage. He moreover ſays, that [m] James called *the leſs* in Mark xv. 40. was not an apoſtle, being different from James the ſon of Alpheus, who was one of the twelve apoſtles.

4. 'That [n] we might be ſatisfied Chriſt had a real body, 'and was not a man in appearance, the ſcriptures have re- 'corded without reſerve every thing peculiar to our nature, 'his eating, and drinking, and ſleeping, wearineſs, refreſh-

[g] Τις γραφη ταυτα λεγει.——Ουχ ειδες παρα των ευαγγελιων κηρυσσουσιν. Ουχ ειδες παρα της μεγαλης τε αποστολε φωνης ταυτα διδαχθησει· αλλ' ὁτι μεν ὁ λογος σαρξ εγενετο. κ. λ. Adv. Apoll. cap. 12. ubi ſup. p. 148.

[h] T. i. p. 712—761.

[i] Εν μεν τοις ακριβεσιτοις αντιγραφοις το κατα Μαρκον ευαγγελιον, μεχρι του εφοβουντο γαρ, εχει το τελος. Εν δε τισι προσκειται και ταυτα. κ. λ. In Chr. Reſ. Or. ii. T. iii. p. 411. B.

[k] E codicibus iſtius ævi memorat primus jam (quod ſciam) Gregorius Nyſſenus nullos, in quibus Evangelium Marci finitum erat ad capitis xvi. ver. 8. verba iſta, εφοβουντο γαρ. Prolegom. n. 812.

[l] Vid. ibid. p. 412. C. D. 413. A.

[m] Ib. p. 413. B. C.

[n] Ep. ad Euſtath. &c. T. iii. p. 658. C. D.

'ment by food, growing in bodily ſtature, and in wiſdom. 'But he had no ſickneſs, nor decays, as he had no ſin.'

5. He[o] ſpeaks of the advantage, which redounds to us from Thomas's ſlowneſs to believe: we have thereby fuller aſſurance, he ſays, that Chriſt roſe with the ſame body that had died.

6. Gregory[p] obſerves ſome things in St. John's goſpel, as proofs of the reality of our Lord's reſurrection, and that the body was not ſtolen out of the ſepulchre. 'Says John, *Then* 'took they the body of Jeſus, and wound it in linen clothes, ch. 'xix. 40. Which linen clothes were not taken away, but *were* 'ſeen lying by John and Peter, ch. xx. 5, 6. But how ſhould 'thieves have had time to pull off the linen bandages [or 'wrappers], which being ſpicy would cling to the body, and 'could not be pulled off but in ſome time, by perſons who 'had leiſure? Moreover, ſays[q] he, how ſhould thieves have 'leiſure and aſſurance, to put *the napkin that was about his* 'head, *not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a* 'place by itſelf, ver. 7. Here are no ſigns of the horror or 'hurry of thieves.' Perhaps ſuch obſervations as theſe may ſatisfy ſome people, that the ancient Chriſtians had a ſmall ſhare of good ſenſe.

7. There is a letter of Gregory to a friend concerning thoſe who go to Jeruſalem, or other places near it. 'Some' there 'are,' he ſays, 'who think it a branch of piety to go to Jeru- 'ſalem, to ſee the places which the Lord had honoured with 'his preſence, when in the body. But[r] here, firſt, it may be 'well to look to the rule: and if the Lord has not command- 'ed it, nor among the beatitudes pronounced them bleſſed 'that go to Jeruſalem, it may be let alone. He mentions 'divers inconveniencies of this journey, and the temptations 'to which people are expoſed therein. Beſides, Chriſt is not 'now at Jeruſalem: nor is there any reaſon to think the ful- 'neſs of the Spirit ſo confined to Jeruſalem, but that it may 'reach us at home. Moreover,' he ſays, 'that Jeruſalem was 'then a very wicked place; and that there were better helps 'for piety in Cappadocia.' They who pleaſe may compare Gregory with 'Jerom, who ſeems little better affected to theſe pilgrimages, than our author.

[o] Και δια της ενεπω πολυπραγμοσυνης και σταθμης λογις εις την πιστιν ενεδυναμωθη, ενρισκομενος ενδεδυμενα σωματα σεσουδα, εν αυτω τα ενυφασμενα σημεια της αναστασεως. Ibid. p. 203. C. [p] Ib. p. 405. [q] Πως γαρ ληστων αν εργον ην τα λινα σωματα βαστειν. p. 652. A. [r] Ad Paulin. ep. 49. al. 13. T. iv. p. 564.

8. He [u] intirely disclaims the expectation of a voluptuous Millennium, the renewal of Jewish sacrifices, and a terrestrial Jerusalem adorned with precious stones.

9. There [x] are in Gregory several passages, asserting free-will in strong terms; to which I refer.

CHAP. CI.

DIDYMUS OF ALEXANDRIA.

I. *His history, and character, his commentaries upon the scriptures, and other works.* II. *His testimony to the scriptures farther shewn.* III. *Select passages.*

I. 1. DIDYMUS, master [a] of the catechetical school at Alexandria, flourished [b] about the year 370. He [c] lost his sight by a distemper, when very young, in the fourth or fifth year of his age, before he had learned to read, or whilst he was learning letters. He attained nevertheless to great learning; beside grammar and rhetoric, he understood logic, music, geometry, astronomy, the most abstruse problems of the mathematicians, and all the opinions of the philosophers; as we are assured by divers ancient ecclesiastical writers, who cannot forbear to call him a wonderful man. They also say, that [d] he had great acquaintance with the divine oracles of the Old and New Testament, so as to write many commentaries upon them. As Sozomen says: 'Many, [c] excited by his great fame, came from 'far to Alexandria, some to hear him, others only to see him.

[u] Ad Eust. et Ambr. T. iii. p. 658. C. D.

[x] De Hominis Opificio. cap. iv. T. i. p. 526. E. De Vita Mosis. p. 200. C. D. 203. A. B. De Anima. T. ii. p. 107. B. Catechet. Or. cap. 31. T. iii. p. 91. et cap. 39. p. 105.

[a] —— προισαμενος εν Αλεξανδρεια τω περι διδασκαλειω των ιερων γραμματων. Soz. l. iii. c. 15. in. [b] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 253. [c] Didymus Alexandrinus multa de nostro dogmate per notarios commentatur: qui post quintum natalis annum luminibus orbatus, elementorum quoque ignarus fuit. Hieron. Chr. ad A. 3711. p. 187. Et vid. infr. not. l.

Is namque in parva aetate, cum adhuc etiam prima literarum ignoraret elementa, luminibus orbatus. Ruf. H. E. l. ii. c. 7.

Ουτος κομιδη νεος ων, και τα πρωτα των γραμματων στοιχεια μαθων. Socr. l. iv. c. 25.

—— τυφλος εξαιφνης εν τη πρωτη ηλικια μαθητευς των στοιχειων. Soz. l. iii. c. 15.

—— ως αυτος μοι διηγησατο, τεταρτον ετος ηδη βιου διανυων, ωστε γραμματων μηδεπω κεκοινωνηκως. Pallad. Hist. Laus. cap. 3. Ap. Bb. PP. Morell. T. xiii. p. 904.

[d] Ου μην αλλα και τα θεια λογια της παλαιας και καινης διαθηκης ουτως ακριβως ειδεναι, ωστε πολλα μεν εκδουναι βιβλια. Socr. l. iv. c. 25. p. 241. [e] Ην δε και τι τερας θαυμα· και πολλοι και δια το κλεος του ανδρος εις Αλεξανδρειαν παρεγινοντο, οι μεν απλως ακουσομενοι, οι δε τερατειας μετα χ. λ. Soz. l. iii. c. 15. p. 523. C.

[e] And

'And it was no ſmall grief to the Arians, that he maintained 'the Nicene doctrine.' He adds, 'that he perſuaded men 'not ſo much by the force of his reaſons, as by the agreeable 'manner of propoſing them: for he would make every one 'to be judge of the point in queſtion.' Some account of the character of Didymus was given [f] formerly, when the amiable mildneſs of his temper, here intimated by Sozomen, was collected from the moderation conſpicuous in his writings againſt the Manichees.

2. In the [g] preface to his own Commentaries upon Hoſea, Jerom ſtyles Didymus the moſt learned man of his time. Palladius [h] ſays, he ſurpaſſed all the ancients in knowledge.

3. Jerom often expreſſes * great affection and eſteem for Didymus. And though, when the controverſy about Origen's orthodoxy was on foot, he takes notice of his acceding to the peculiar opinions of that eminent ancient, he always † allows him to have maintained the catholic doctrine concerning the Trinity; and acknowledges his prodigious memory, great learning, and fine manner of writing.

4. Jerom, who has placed Didymus in his Catalogue of illuſtrious Men, there ſays, that [i] he wrote commentaries upon

[f] Vol. iii. p. 389. [g] —— quum eum Alexandriæ, vidi Didymum, et eum ſæpienter audivi, virum ſui temporis eruditiſſimum. Rogavique eum, ut quod Origines non fecerat, ipſe compleret, et ſcriberet in Oſee Commentarios.' Qui tres libros, me petente, dictavit, quinque alios in Zachariam. Pr. in Oſee. t. iv. p. 1238. [h] —— ὡς πασῶν τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐπιστήμων. Hiſt. Laus. cap. iii. ubi ſupra. * Prætermitto Didymum videntem meum. Pr. in ep. ad Gal. T. iv. P. i. p. 222.

[i] Didymus, cujus amicitiis nuper uſi ſumus. Prol. in II. T. iii. p. 6.

Jam oculis ſpargebatur caput, et magiſtrum totus quam diſcipulum decebat. Perrexi tamen Alexandriam, audivi Didymum. In multis ei gratias ago. Quod neſcivi didici: quod ſciebam, illo docente, non perdidi. Ad Pamm. et Ocean. ep. 41. al. 65. T. iv. p. 342.

† In Didymo vero et memoriam prædicemus, et ſuper Trinitate fidei puritatem: ſed in cæteris, quæ Origeni male credidit, taceamus. Adv. Ruf. l. iii. p. 363. f. T. iv. Conf. adv. Ruf. l. i. p. 355. M.

Quid reſpondebis pro Didymo, qui certe de Trinitate Catholicus eſt? Cujus etiam nos de Spiritu Sancto librum in Latinam linguam vertimus. —— Cæterum in aliis dogmatibus et Euſebius et Didymus apertiſſime in Origenis ſcita concedunt: et quod omnes eccleſiæ reprobant catholice et pie dictum eſſe defendunt. Adv. Ruf. l. i. p. 407. 409.

Quis prudentior, doctior, eloquentior Euſebio et Didymo, aſſertoribus Origenis, inveniri poteſt? Ad Pamm. et Ocean. Ep. 41. al. 65. T. iv. p. 347. in.

[i] Didymus Alexandrinus, captus a parva ætate oculis, et ob id elementorum ignarus, tantum miraculum ſui omnibus præbuit, ut Dialecticam quoque et Geometriam, quæ vel maxime viſu indiget, uſque ad perfectum didicerit. Hic plura nobiliaque opera conſcripſit: Commentarios in Evangelium Matthei et Johannis: et de dogmatibus, et contra Arianos libros duos: et de Spiritu Sancto librum unum, quem ego in Latinum verti: in Iſaiam tomos decem et octo: in Oſee ad me ſcribens Commentariorum libros tres: et in Zachariam, meo rogatu, libros quinque: et Commentarios in Job: multaque alia, quæ digerere proprii indicis eſt. Vivit uſque hodie, et octogeſimum tertium ætatis exceſſit annum. De V. I. cap. 109.

the whole book of Pſalms, and upon the goſpels of Matthew and John; a treatiſe of the Holy Spirit, tranſlated into Latin by Jerom; alſo commentaries upon Iſaiah, Hoſea, Zechariah, Job; againſt the Arians, in three books; and many other works. When Jerom wrote his book of Illuſtrious Men, in 392, Didymus was living, being then in the 84th year of his age. He died a ſhort time afterwards.

5. The [m] commentaries upon Hoſea and Zechariah were written at Jerom's requeſt. Many of Jerom's paſſages, where he ſpeaks diſtinctly of Didymus's commentaries upon the ſcriptures, are tranſcribed at length at the bottom of the pages of the chapter of Apollinarius; where they may be read by thoſe who are curious.

6. Beſide the commentaries mentioned by Jerom, Didymus wrote alſo enarrations, or ſhort notes upon the ſeven catholic epiſtles, of which we ſaw good proof ſome while [n] ago.

7. They who are deſirous to know more of his commentaries upon the ſcriptures, may conſult [o] Fabricius and [p] Tillemont.

8. We ſtill have a book of Didymus [q] againſt the Manichees, in the original Greek, of which ſome notice was taken in the hiſtory of that [r] ſect; the [s] treatiſe of the Holy Spirit, in Jerom's verſion; and [t] the Enarrations upon the ſeven catholic epiſtles in Latin. And in the Greek Chains are fragments of ſome of his commentaries. The late excellent Mr. J. C. Wolff, of Hamburgh, publiſhed [u] a large collection of notes and obſervations of Didymus upon the Acts of the apoſtles, taken from a manuſcript Greek Chain, at the Univerſity of Oxford.

II. In theſe three works ſtill remaining, Againſt the Manichees, Of the Holy Spirit, and the Enarrations upon the catholic epiſtles, many of the books of the New Teſtament are frequently quoted.

1. The [w] epiſtle to the Epheſians is quoted with that title.

2. Didymus received the epiſtle to the Hebrews, as Paul's. It is quoted in all the three works juſt mentioned; in [x] the

m See note g.

n See Vol. ii. p. 528.

o Bib. Gr. &c. T. viii. p. 353–357.

p Mem. Ec. T. x.

q Apud Combefis. Auctar. Noviſſ. P. ii. p. 21. &c. et ap. Canſ. Lection. ex edit. Baſnag. p. 291. &c.

r See Vol. iii. p. 389.

s Ap. S. Hieron. Opp. T. iv. P. i. p. 494. &c.

t Ap. Bib. P P. Lugdun. T. iv. p. 319.

u Vid. Wolff. Anecdot. Graec. T. iv. p. 1—52. Hamb. 1724.

w Beatus quoque Apoſtolus ad Epheſios ſcribens ait. De Sp. S. ap. Hieron. T. iv. p. 497. m.

x Paulus in epiſtola quam ad Hebraeos ſcribit. De Sp. S. p. 493. Vid. et p. 502. et paſſim.

that

tract concerning the Holy Spirit, against [y] the Manichees, and the [z] Enarrations.

3. He supposeth, the [a] first epistle of Peter to be written to Jews scattered abroad in several countries.

4. At the end of his Enarration upon the second epistle of Peter he either says, that [b] it is spurious, or that it has been corrupted and interpolated, and therefore is not in the canon. Nevertheless, I think, it must generally have been in authority with the Christians among whom Didymus lived, that is, at Alexandria; otherwise he would not have written notes upon it, together with the other catholic epistles. However, this passage, if rightly represented in the Latin version, may be allowed to be an intimation, that there were some, who had doubts about its genuineness and authority.

5. I suppose, that the book of the Revelation was received by Didymus; it [c] is quoted in the Enarrations.

6. He manifests his respect for the scriptures, calling them the [d] divine scriptures, and continually proving what he asserts from [e] the books of the Old and New Testament, and [f] the writings of the apostles and prophets, in both which speaks the same Spirit.

III. Shall I now add a few select passages, before I conclude this chapter?

1. Eph. ii. 3. *And were by nature children of wrath, as well as others.* Didymus says, the [g] meaning of *by nature* is really, truly, indeed; for all sinners are obnoxious to wrath. *We were* once truly, really, *children of wrath, as well as others*; that is, as they who are still in sin.

2. He [h] rejected the common notion of the Millennium, embraced by many at that time.

[y] Ως γράφει Παῦλος τοῖς πίστει· Τιμοθ. α. λ. Contr. Manich. ap. Combef. p. 26 in. [z] Vid. Enarr. in 1 Joan. cap. iv ap B. P P. T. iv. p. 333. B.

[a] Positus Petrus circumcisionis Apostolus, omnemque Judæorum habens studium, scribit eis qui in totius orbis dispersione morabantur, tanquam advenis civitatum exterarum. In 1 ep. Pet. c. i. in. p. 321. E. Vid. et Enarr. in ep. Jacob. p. 300. A.

[b] Non est igitur ignorandum, præsentem epistolam esse falsatam. Quæ licet publicetur, non tamen in canone est. Enarr. in 2 Pet. iii. ap. B. P P. T. iv. p. 326. G.

[c] —— cujus sit memoria in Apocalypsi per Jezabel. Enarr. in ep. Jud. p. 336. D.

[d] Αἱ θεῖαι γραφαὶ. Contr. Manich. p. 22. in.

Plena sunt volumina divinarum scripturarum his sermonibus. De Sp. S. p. 495. in.

[e] Veteris quoque Testamenti homo David.—Necnon etiam in Novo Testamento. Ibid. [f] Possumus quidem testimonia de divinis literis exhibere, quia idem Spiritus et Apostolis et Prophetis fuit. Ibid. et passim. [g] Οὐ κατὰ φύσιν τέκνα ὀργῆς, ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἄνθρωποι· οἱ ἐπὶ μέρει ἐν τῇ ἁμαρτίαι ὄντες. Προσκείμενον δὲ τὸ φύσει ἐστὶ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν σημαῖνον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀληθείᾳ——δηλοῖ, ὅτι ἀληθείᾳ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ὀργῆς ὑπάρχουσιν οἱ ἁμαρτάνοντες. Contr. Manich. p. 23. A. Ed. Combef.

[h] Si ergo in cœlis fidelibus hæc servatur hæreditas, frivola quædam et tepida proferunt aliqui putantes, eam se percipere in terrena Jerusalem. &c. Enarr. in 1 ep. Pet. cap. i. ver. 4. p. 321. G. H.

3. Didymus asserts the personality of the Holy Spirit: and yet he supposeth, that [i] thereby is meant in many texts of scripture a gift, or a fulness of divine gifts.

CHAP. CII.

EPHREM THE SYRIAN.

I. *His time and character.* II. *The editions of his works.* III. *A farther account of his works, for shewing what books of the Old and New Testament were received by him.* IV. *General titles and divisions.* V. *Marks of respect for the scriptures.* VI. *Select passages.*

I. EPHREM, or EPHRAIM, called the Syrian, was born at Nisibis, or near it, in Mesopotamia. But he spent the larger and latter part of his time at Edessa. He lived for a while a monastic kind of life; afterwards he was made deacon, which was the highest ecclesiastical order to which he attained.

According to Cave, Ephrem flourished about the year 370, and died in 378. I place him likewise at 370, though I think, he must have been an author much sooner. Dr. Asseman supposeth, that [a] he was a disciple of James bishop of Nisibis, and that he accompanied him to the council of Nice in 325. The time of his birth is not known with certainty; though Asseman says, upon the authority of Syrian writers, that [b] he was born under the reign of Constantine; and he thinks, he died before [c] the end of the year 378. Which is agreeable to Jerom's account, who says, that Ephrem died in the time of the emperor Valens. Fabricius thinks, he died in 375. Basnage, not before 380.

[i] Nam eundem Evangelii locum Matthæus Lucasque describens, alter ex his ait: *Quanto magis Pater cælestis dabit bona petentibus se?* [Matt. vii. 11.] Alter vero: *Quanto magis Pater de cælo dabit Spiritum Sanctum petentibus se?* [Luc. xi. 13.] Ex quibus apparet, Spiritum Sanctum plenitudinem esse donorum Dei. De Sp. S. p. 496. in.

Dicimus autem virtutis et disciplinæ quosdam esse plenos: ut illud: *Repletus es? Spiritu Sancto.* Ex. xxxi. 3. non aliud significantes quam plenos esse consummatæ atque perfectæ virtutis. Ib. p. 498. m.

Quia nunc proposuimus ostendere, superintelligi semper in Spiritu Sancto dona virtutum: ita ut qui eum habet, donationibus Dei plenus habeatur. Unde et in Isaia.— *Pone Spiritum meum super semen tuum, et benedictionem meus super filios tuos.* Ib. p. 500. infr. m.

[a] Jacobus, cognomento Magnus, natus Nisibi — — ad episcopatum Nisibis evectus fuit, ubi sanctum Ephræm auditorem habuit. Anno Alexandri 636, Christi 325. una cum Ephræmo in Bithyniam profectus, Concilio Nicæno interfuit, doctrinæ orthodoxæ vindex acerrimus. Jos. Assem. Bib. Or. T. 1. p. 17. in.

[b] Ib. p. 23.

[c] Ib. p. 54. not. 1.

For

For a more particular account of Ephrem, I refer to the learned moderns already named, [d] Cave, [e] Basnage, [f] Fabricius, [g] Asseman, and likewise to [h] Tillemont. As Jerom has an article for him, I put it [i] in the margin. He mentions a book of Ephrem, translated into Greek, which is not now known to be extant.

Ephrem was a man of great fame, and much esteemed among the Greeks, as well as Syrians. Sozomen [k] has a particular account of him, and gives him high commendations. Theodoret speaks of him [l] more than once: he says, he [m] was an excellent man, and a fine writer; though he was not acquainted with the Greek learning. In Photius [n] is an account of several of Ephrem's works, which he had read in Greek. There is an Encomium, or Life of Ephrem, written by [o] Gregory Nyssen, if it be his; for it is [p] doubted of: however, if it is not Gregory's, it was, probably, written by some other not long after his time. That author calls [q] Ephrem the doctor of the whole world: and it is common with the Syrian writers, to [r] call him the doctor or master of the world, and their prophet.

II. There have been for some time two editions of Ephrem's works; one by Gerard Vossius, in Latin, in three volumes, at Rome, finished in 1597, and since published elsewhere; another in Greek, at Oxford, in 1709. Of both these editions accounts may be seen in the fore-mentioned writers, particularly [s] J. A. Fabricius, and [t] Dr. Joseph Asseman, who after having thrown a great deal of new light upon the history and works of Ephrem, in his Bibliotheca Orientalis [u], has at length, together with other assistants, published at Rome a much more complete edition of his works, in six tomes or volumes; three

[d] Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 235. &c.
[e] Basnag. Ann. 375. n. vi. 380. n. x.
[f] Bib. Gr. L. v. c. 2. T. v. p. 319. &c.
[g] Bib. Orient. cap. vi. p. 24. &c.
[h] Mem. Ecc. T. viii.
[i] Ephræm, Edessenæ ecclesiæ Diaconus, multa Syro sermone composuit, et ad tantum venit claritudinem, ut post lectionem Scripturarum publice in quibusdam ecclesiis ejus scripta recitentur. Legi ejus de Spiritu Sancto Græcum volumen, quod quidam de Syriaca lingua verterat, et acumen tantis ingenii etiam translatione agnovi. Floruit sub Valente Principe. De V. I. c. 115.
[k] Soz. H. E. l. iii. c. 16.
[l] Theod. H. E. l. ii. c. 30. l. iv. c. 29.
[m] L. ii. c. 30. p. 118. D.
[n] Cod. 196. p. 512. &c.
[o] Greg. Nyss. T. iii. p. 597. &c.
[p] See Tillemont. S. Ephræm. Art. i. note 1.
[q] Ὁ ἀρέλιος, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλος Ἔφραιμ. Gr. N. ib. p. 601.
[r] Ephræm Syrus tantum apud suos sanctimoniæ et doctrinæ famam adeptus est, ut orbis Doctor, et Propheta Syrorum ab ipsis passim appelletur. Assem. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 24.
Ephræm magnus, qui appellatus est Syrorum Propheta. Ebedjes. ap. Assem. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 61.
[s] Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 321—331.
[t] Vid. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 60. et p. 159—163. et Prolegom. ad Ephr. opp. T. i. Gr. et Lat.
[u] Tom. i. cap. vi. p. 24. &c.

of

of which are Syriac and Latin, and the other three Greek and Latin. This edition was begun to be published in 1732, and finished in 1747.

I believe, I shall scarce quote at all the edition of Vossius, which is a translation of a translation. Nor can one quote the Greek with full assurance, which consists of translations, made we know not when, nor by whom.

Cave says, there [x] is reason to suspect the genuineness of many works in the collection of Vossius. Tillemont [y] speaks to the like purpose. A work, called the [z] Confession, is very doubtful: Tillemont defends it; but he is sensible, that it was not known to Gregory Nyssen, or whoever was the author of the above-mentioned Encomium. And speaking of a story therein related, he has these expressions: 'These,' says [b] he, 'are indeed extraordinary circumstances; but we see no good 'reason to doubt of their truth, the Confession having in it 'too many marks of sincerity, and also of grandeur, to allow 'us to imagine it to be one of the pretended pious romances, 'too common among the Greeks.' Dr. Asseman likewise has taken notice of a difficulty, relating [c] to this Confession, which I cannot say he has answered.

The famous piece, called Ephrem's Testament, as published in Greek at Oxford, and in Latin by Vossius, is interpolated, as Asseman expressly [d] says. There are also very considerable differences between the [e] Greek and Syriac copies, published in the late edition at Rome. And the same learned Dr. Asseman supposes, that there are interpolations in the [f] Greek, and another large interpolation in [g] the Syriac copy of the same

[x] Quin et non immerito forsan censeri potest plurima in editione Vossiana opuscula Ephræmum auctorem non habere: quot vero, aut quænam ea sint, ob rationes supra allatas haud ita facile est judicare. Cav. ib. p. 238.

[y] Il est difficile de douter, qu' il n' y ait dans cette edition plusieurs pieces, qui ne sont pas du grand. S. Ephrem. Ibid. art. 28, sub fin.

[z] Ελεγχος αυτου και εξομολογησις. Εν πολλοις ὑμιν, αδελφοι, δοκων χρησιμευειν. κ. λ. Oxon. Πϐ. seu p. 82. et T. i. Gr. et Lat. p. 119. &c. Romæ.

[a] S. Ephrem. note (4).

[b] S. Ephrem. art. v.

[c] Vid. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 152.

[d] Prodiit autem Latine per Vossium, et Græce in nupera editione Oxoniensi. Utraque tamen versio mendis scatet, quæ ex nostro Syriaco textu corrigi possunt. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 141.

[e] Vid. Testamentum Græce p. 230. &c. Syriace p. 395. &c. Apud Ephr. Opp. T. ii. Gr. et Lat.

[f] Præterea multa Græcus Interpres de suo adjecit, quæ in textu desiderantur, ut historiam hominis ab immundo spiritu correpti, quem Ephræm morti proximus curasse dicitur. pag. 293. a lin. 2. usque ad lin. 13. [vid. p. 236. B. C. D. T. ii. Gr. Romæ.] Et historiam Abgari Edessæ Regis, qui urbem illam extruxisse perperam narratur pag. 297. a lin. 42. usque ad lin. 50. [vid. p. 235. F. 236. A. T. ii. Gr.] Asseman. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 141.

[g] Contra, quædam Syriace habentur, quæ in Græca versione non extant, ut digressio de Moyse et magis. &c. Asseman. ib. p. 141, 142. Conf. Testam. Syriace, apud T. ii. Gr. et Lat. p. 405—408.

work,

work, even as now publiſhed in the new edition at Rome. And may I not be allowed to ſay, that the whole Teſtament has an air of fiction? For it is not likely, that a man who was juſt expiring, ſhould be able to make ſo long a diſcourſe in the preſence of a great number of people.

And there [h] are divers things in Syriac aſcribed to Ephrem, which are not his. However, undoubtedly, there are alſo many works remaining, which may be relied upon as genuine.

III. Having given this account of the editions of Ephrem, and made ſome general remarks upon his works, I proceed in a farther account of them, chiefly with a view of obſerving his teſtimony to the ſcriptures.

1. The Latin of Voſſius, and the Greek at Oxford, have no commentaries upon the ſcriptures. Thoſe editions contain only homilies, exhortations and meditations, and ſuch like things, written in a popular and pathetic manner: but the late edition at Rome, beſide thoſe things, affords many of Ephrem's commentaries upon the Old Teſtament. The firſt volume, Syriac and Latin, contains Ephrem's commentaries upon the five books of Moſes, and upon Joſhua, the Judges, the two books of Samuel, and the two books of the Kings: and in the ſecond volume of the Syriac works, with a Latin tranſlation, are commentaries upon Job, Iſaiah, Jeremiah, the Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hoſea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Micah, Zechariah, and Malachi.

2. Ebedjeſu, in his catalogue, enumerates [i] Ephrem's commentaries upon moſt, or all the books of the Old Teſtament, particularly upon Iſaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the twelve prophets. He ſays nothing of any commentaries of Ephrem upon any book of the Old Teſtament after thoſe; which makes me think, that Ephrem's canon of the Old Teſtament was the ſame with that of the Jews. Moreover, in his Syriac works ſtill remaining, he has ſeveral times expreſsly called [k] Malachi the laſt of the prophets. And Aſſeman owns, that [l] in his commentary upon the book of Daniel, Ephrem

[h] Primus [ſermo] *de Virginis Annuntiatione* inſcribitur. In quo, Sancti Ephræmi ſuper nomen et metrum omnia deſideres, laborem, ingenium, eruditionem, ſtilum. Aſſem. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 139. fin.

[i] Apud Aſſem. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 61, 62. Vid. et T. i. p. 58.

[k] Judæorum ſacrificia Prophetæ declarant immunda fuiſſe. Quæ ergo Eſaias hoc loco hominum canumve cadaveribus æquiparat, Malachias, Prophetarum ultimus, animalium retrimenta vocat, non offerenda Deo, ſed offerentium in ora cum opprobatione rejicienda [Malach. ii. 3.] Comment. in Eſ. lxvi. 3. T. ii. Syr. p. 94. C. D.

Malachias, omnium Prophetarum poſtremus, populo commendat legem, et legis coronidem Joannem, quem Eliam cognominat. Comm. in Malach. iv. 4. Ib. p. 315. C.

[l] Quæ D. Hieronymus ex Theodotione tranſtulit Danielis capita, nimirum Canti-

takes

takes no notice of the Song of the three Children, or of the stories of Susanna, or Bell and the Dragon. I may add here, that though Ephrem commented upon the book of Jeremiah's Lamentations, there appears not any commentary of his upon Baruch.

3. Dr. Asseman says, that [m] in his Testament, Ephrem quotes the second book of the Maccabees, as canonical scripture. But that does not appear clear to me: he might quote the books of Maccabees, and of Ecclesiasticus, and Wisdom, as many other of the ancient Christians did, without esteeming them canonical. We saw just now, that Ephrem esteemed Malachi the last of the prophets; therefore he admitted no later writings into the canon of the Old Testament. A division of scripture, frequent in Ephrem, and to be taken notice of by and by, confirms what is here said.

4. Before I proceed, I should observe, that Ephrem received the book of Canticles; it is quoted [n] in his Syriac commentaries. He also plainly refers to [o] the book of Ruth.

5. Ebedjesu does not mention any commentaries of Ephrem upon the books of the New Testament. Gregory Nyssen indeed says, that [p] Ephrem not only meditated upon the scriptures, but also particularly explained every part of the Old and New Testament from Genesis to the last book of grace. But that may be in part an oratorical flight, from which some abatements should be made. It is, I think, observable, that Ebedjesu says nothing of any commentaries of Ephrem upon the New Testament. His silence must be reckoned an argument, that there were none upon the New Testament, or that they were not so well known, as those upon the Old. However, we are assured by Dr. Asseman, in part quoted [q] formerly, that [r] Dionysius Barsalibæus, and Gregory Barhebræus, in their

cum trium puerorum, cap. 3. a ver. 24. ad ver. 91. Historiam Susannæ cap. 13. Bel idioli, et Draconis, atque in lacum leonis missi cap. 14. ea S. Ephræm, Hebræorum textum sequutus, in hisce commentariis tacitus præteriit. Hæc enim in Vulgata Syrorum Versione haud extabant: licet postea ex Græcis exemplaribus in Syriacum a recentioribus interpretibus conversa fuerint. &c. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 71.

[m] Vid. ib. p. 144. [n] — quorum meminit etiam sapientissimus Salomon in Canticis Canticorum: *Ecce*, inquit, *lectulum Salomonis sexaginta fortes ambiunt*; [Cant. iii. 7.] In Exod. cap. xxxvii. T. i. Syr. p. 229. F.

Christus enim est Rex Regum et verus David, id est, dilectus et amabilis—quem laudat Ecclesia, gloriosa sponsa, in suis Canticis, dicens: *Dilectus meus candidus et rubicundus*. [Cant. v. 10.] In 1 Sam. xvi. 13. T. i. Syr. p. 365. E.

Vid. et in Mich. Pr. T. ii. Syr. p. 272. B. et Paræn. 14. T. iii. Syr. p. 436. F.

[o] In Natal. Domini. Serm. 7. T. ii. Syr. p. 421, 422. [p] Πασαν γαρ παλαιαν τε και καινην εκμελετησας γραφην—ολην ακριβως προς λεξιν ηρμηνευσεν απο τε της κοσμογονειας, και μεχρι της τελευταιας της χαριτος βιβλου. κ. λ. De Vit. Ephr. T. iii. p. 601. D. [q] See Vol. ii. p. 419. [r] Dionysius Barsalibæus e Jacobitarum secta, Amidæ in Mesopotamia Episcopus in suis Commentariis in Evange-

com-

commentaries upon the goſpels quote the commentaries of Ephrem upon the ſame goſpels. And it may be very proper for my readers to recollect here what was †‡ formerly ſaid of Ephrem's writing commentaries upon Tatian's Harmony of the four goſpels; but ſtill I ſee no particular mention of commentaries of Ephrem upon any other books of the New Teſtament. And when Dr. Aſſeman publiſhed the firſt volume of his Oriental Library at Rome, in 1719, he [s] had not diſcovered any copies of the above-named commentaries upon the goſpels; though he ſpeaks of ſome fragments [t] of commentaries upon the goſpels. Nor are there in the late edition of Ephrem's works at Rome, any commentaries upon any books of the New Teſtament.

6. Whether Ephrem wrote commentaries upon the ſcriptures of the New Teſtament, or not, he certainly received all thoſe books, which had been all along generally received by Chriſtians as ſacred ſcripture. This appears from his works publiſhed formerly in Latin and Greek, and from the Syriac works lately publiſhed at Rome: in all which are quoted the four goſpels and the Acts very frequently, and St. Paul's epiſtles, and the firſt epiſtle of St. Peter, and the firſt of St. John.

7. To be a little more particular, ſo far as is needful. He expreſsly ſpeaks in his Syriac works of [u] the four holy evangeliſts, and [v] the doctrine of the goſpel, the word of life, written by the four evangeliſts, and [x] of the ſacred volume of the goſpels.

[r] ...elii Codice Syriaco Vaticano xli.—ſæpe ...ugat Ephræmi Commentaria in Textum ...angelicorum, de quibus in Præfatione ad ...rcum ſic loquitur. [s] Tatianus, Juſtini ...hilosophi et Martyris diſcipulus, ex ...Quatuor Evangeliis unum digeſſit, quod ...Diateſſaron nuncupavit. Hunc librum ...Sanctus Ephræm commentariis illuſtravit.' ...nfra: 'Sanctus quoque Ephræm, or...dinem Diateſſari ſequutus, Evangelium ...xplanavit.' Idem teſtatur Barhebræus, ...o Abulpharagius, Epiſcopus Tagriten...s in libro, quem 'Horreum Myſterio...rum' inſcripſit, quo totam ſacram ſcrip...ram breviſſimis ſecùs dilucidat. Ubi, ...Romæ in Matthæum ſic de Ephræmo ...tur: —— Commentaria Ephræmi in ...thæum et Lucam laudat Corderius in ...ca Patrum. Aſſeman. Bib. Or. T. i. ...p. 58. ‡‡ See Vol. ii. p. 198. ...p. 119—121. [t] Expoſitio ...rum in Teſtamentum Novum, cujus ...meminerunt Barhebræus et Barhebræus lo-cis ſupra laudatis, nondum ad manus noſtras pervenit. Ib. p. 63. [t] Fragmenta [Græce] in Evangelium. Cod. Vat. 663. 773. et 1190. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 157.

[u] Quatuor illi leproſi, tametſi fædam per ſe præferunt ſpeciem, ſi tamen ea parte ſpectentur, qua fauſta nunciârunt, ſanctos quatuor Evangeliſtas nobis pulchre repræſentant, cognatibus, per illos innotuiſſe universo orbi Chriſti Salvatoris noſtri gratiam, ac per Chriſtum mundo allatam libertatem. In 2 libr. Reg. cap. vii. 3. T. i. Syr. p. 337. D. E. [v] Coronam itaque ex auro argentoque fabrefactam a principibus donatam, evangelii doctrinam vitæ pharmacum eſſe intellige a quatuor Evangeliſtis ſcripto traditam, et voce promulgatam. In Zach. cap. vi. T. ii. Syr. p. 295. C. [x] Et cum impudica illa femina, cujus vitæ emendatio in facto Evangeliorum codice tantopere commendatur, ſuorum ſcelerum veniam petebat lugubribus flagitia. Parænet. 67. T. iii. Syr. 338. A.

In

In the ſame Syriac works is quoted [y] the epiſtle to the Hebrews, as the apoſtle Paul's.

8. Unqueſtionably, he alſo received the firſt epiſtle [z] of St. Peter, and [a] the firſt epiſtle of St. John. Quotations of them are to be found in the Syriac works, of which I have given proofs below in the margin.

9. Whether Ephrem received alſo thoſe catholic epiſtles, which were ſometimes doubted of, is not ſo certain. Mill in his Prolegomena ſays, that [b] Ephrem received the epiſtle of St. James, the ſecond of St. Peter, and the epiſtle of St. Jude, and the ſecond epiſtle of St. John, they being quoted by him. He does not ſay where; but he muſt mean Ephrem's Greek works: I will therefore firſt conſider the Syriac, and then the Greek works of this writer.

10. Ephrem has an exhortation, *Let* [bb] *your ſpeech be yea yea, nay nay*; and in the margin is marked a reference to Ja. v. 12. but he might as well intend Matt. v. 37.

11. Ephrem ſays, *the* [c] *day of the Lord is a thief*, and may come upon us unawares: where has been thought to be a reference to 2 Pet. iii. 19. *But the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night:* but he might as well have an eye to Matt. xxiv. 43, 44. or Luke xii. 39, 40. or 1 Theſſ. v. 2. *For yourſelves know perfectly, that the day of the Lord ſo cometh as a thief in the night.* See alſo ver. 4.

12. There has been ſuppoſed to be a reference [d] to 2 Pet. iii. 7. but I do not think it certain.

So far from the Syriac works. I now proceed to the Greek.

y Vid. Comment. in libr. Judic. T. i. Syr. p. 322. B. et p. 328. B. In 1 libr. Regnor. p. 460. B. Paræn. iv. T. iii. Syr. p. 395. D. et alibi. z Speculatores ergo et exploratores populi Dei fuere Prophetæ: *Scrutantes in quod vel quale tempus ſignificaret in eis Spiritus Chriſti prænuntians eas, quæ in Chriſto ſunt paſſiones, et poſteriores glorias.* [1 Pet. i. 11] Comment. in 1 Sam. i. 1. T. Syr. i. p. 331. A. Inde ad nos digreſſus vocavit nos *de tenebris in admirabile lumen ſuum.* [1 Pet. ii. 9] In ſelecta ſcriptur. loc. T. ii. Syr. p. 330. A. Vid. eund. loc. rerum citat. Paræn. 68. T. iii. Syr. p. 539. A. *Qui peccatum non fecit, nec inventus eſt dolus in ore ejus.* [1 Pet. ii. 22.] In Zachar. T. ii. Syr. p. 298. D.

a —— Jeſu Chriſti pariter imaginem delineavit, qui totius mundi peccata tulit et abſtulit, cum *factus eſt propitiatio pro peccatis noſtris, nec pro peccatis noſtris tantum, ſed etiam pro totius mundi.* [1 Jo. ii. 2.] In Zachar. T. ii. Syr. p. 286. A. B.

b Exemptum Eccleſiarum Palæſtinæ ſecuta eſt Eccleſia Syriaca, ut apparet ex Ephræm Edeſſeni Diaconi ſcriptis, ubi epiſtola hæc aliquoties citata eſt, tanquam Jacobi Apoſtoli, et quidem Fratris Domini. Proleg. n. 204. Vid. et n. 209, 210. 212. 222, 223. bb Os enim, divinarum laudum inſtrumentum, Jurare non decet. *Sit Sermo veſter, Eſt eſt, Non non.* De Diverſis Serm. 14. T. iii. Syr. p. 643. D.

c *Dies* namque *Domini ſur eſt*, inopinum opprimet. In Select. Scripturæ loca. T. ii. Syr. p. 342. A. d Et poſthæc pœnam ignis feret [diabolus] ipſi reſervatam in noviſſima die. In Gen. T. i. Syr. p. 136. E.

13. In every volume of the Greek works, that is, in the firſt, ſecond, and third, in each of them, are many expreſs quotations of the epiſtle of St. James.

14. The ſecond epiſtle of St. Peter is alſo quoted in every one of the Greek volumes. I ſhall mark [c] two or three quotations, which are very expreſs; one of which contains the ſecond chapter of that epiſtle from ver. 9, to the end.

15. The ſecond epiſtle of John is quoted in this manner: 'This [d] is not my ſaying, but the word of John the divine, 'who ſays, *Whoſoever tranſgreſſeth, and abideth not in the doc-* 'trine of Chriſt, *has not God*, ver. 9.

16. The third epiſtle of St. John is quoted in this manner: 'The [e] ſcripture ſays, *I have no greater joy, than to hear, that* 'my *children walk in truth.*'

17. I would juſt obſerve here, that in theſe Greek works, where St. John's firſt epiſtle is quoted, he [h] is often called The Divine or Theologue.

18. In theſe works the epiſtle of St. Jude is quoted ſeveral times. In one place [i] the whole epiſtle of Jude is tranſcribed; again, he is [k] called another diſciple of Chriſt, after having before quoted largely the ſecond epiſtle of Peter.

19. Such then is the notice taken of theſe catholic epiſtles in the Greek works; but how far they are to be relied upon as genuine, and uncorrupted, may be hard to ſay. I rather think, it cannot be depended upon, that Ephrem is here truly repreſented. Had not Ephrem many occaſions to quote the ſecond epiſtle of Peter, and the epiſtle of Jude, in his writings againſt heretics, and in his practical works, preſerved in Syriac? Can there be any good reaſon aſſigned, why they ſhould have been there totally omitted, if they had been reputed parts of ſacred ſcripture by himſelf, and by thoſe for whom he wrote? For my own part, I muſt own, that I prefer the Syriac works much before the Greek, which at beſt are tranſlations only, in which too the tranſlator may have inſerted ſome of his own ſentiments.

[c] Και δεκατον μακαριος Πετρος κατ' αυτας τας επιστολας.——Η ημερα κυριου ως κλεπτης εν νυκτι ουτως ερχεται κ. λ. [2 Pet. iii. 10.] Interr. et Reſp. T. ii. Gr. p. 387. B.

Λεγει δε και ο μακαριος αποστολος Πετρος· Οιδε κυριος ευσεβεις εκ πειρασμου ρυεσθαι· κ. λ. [2 Pet. ii. 9—22.] Adv. Impudicitiam. T. iii. Gr. p. 60, 61.

[d] Ουκ εμος γαρ ο λογος, αλλα του θεολογου Ιωαννου λεγοντος· Πας ο παραβαινων κ. λ. De Amore Pauperum. T. iii. Gr. p. 52. F.

[e] Λεγει γαρ η γραφη· Μειζονα τουτων ουκ εχω χαραν, ινα ακουω τα εμα τεκνα εν πολιτεια και αληθεια περιπατουντα. Ad Imitat. Proverb. T. i. Gr. p. 76. F.

[h] Λεγει τις των αγιων ο θεολογος Ιωαννης. De Compunctione Animæ. T. i. Gr. p. 31. B. Vid. et in Secund. Domini Advent. T. ii. Gr. p. 209. E. et De Caritate. T. iii. Gr. p. 13. F. et paſſim.

[i] Vid. Parænet. 41. T. ii. Gr. p. 159. C. et Parænet. 42. p. 161. E.

[k] Διαλεγεται δε αυτοις, και ιερος μαθητης γενεται. Ιουδας Ιακωβου ων, αδελφος δε Ιακωβου του επι τη, παρακαταθηκη κ. λ. Adv. Impudicit. T. iii. Gr. p. 61, 62.

20. Dr. Asseman says, that [l] Ephrem received the book of the Revelation, and seems to give good proof of it. The discourse quoted by him in manuscript, when he wrote his Bibliotheca Orientalis, has been since published with Ephrem's Syriac works, where it may be [m] seen.

21. Indeed the Revelation is quoted or referred to several times in the Syriac works, lately published at Rome, if their genuineness and integrity may be relied upon.

22. The words of Rev. iii. 3. are [n] quoted; there seems to be a reference to [o] xix. 9. and to [p] chap. xxi.

23. I would add farther: The commentaries are a sort of chain; that is, beside Ephrem's comments at large, here and there are also inserted notes or explications of others. In one of those notes, of James bishop of Edessa, who [q] flourished in the latter part of the seventh century, there is [r] a long quotation out of the book of the Revelation. However, in another place Dr. Asseman assures us, that [s] James of Edessa did not write any commentary upon that book.

24. Upon the whole, we can say with certainty, that Ephrem received those books of the New Testament, which were always received by catholic Christians: what was his judgment concerning those five catholic epistles, which were sometimes doubted of, and concerning the Revelation, I leave every reader to consider, and determine for himself; for I have endeavoured to give all the light I am able.

IV. The general divisions of the books of scripture, and marks of respect for them, are such as these; I mean in the Syriac works, the Latin version of which I shall transcribe below: not having by any means an equal regard for the Greek works, as I have intimated several times; and therefore I take little notice of them.

[l] In hoc sermone citat S. Doctor Apocalypsim Joannis, tanquam canonicam Scripturæ partem. 'In Apocalypsi vidit 'Joannes ingentem et admirabilem librum 'a Deo scriptum, septem signaculis ob'signatum.' Quod ideo notavi, ut constaret Syrorum antiquissimorum de illius libri auctoritate judicium contra Ebedjesu, qui in Catalogo manuscripto inter libros canonicos Apocalypsim non nominat. Assem. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 141.

[m] Vidit in Apocalypsi sua Joannes librum magnum et admirabilem, a Deo scriptum, et septem sigillis munitum. Qui scriptum legeret, nullus erat. — [Apoc. v. 1, 2, 3.] In selecta Scripturæ loc. seu Sermon. Exeget. T. ii. Syr. p. C.

[n] Et rursus: *Si ergo non vigilaveris, veniam ad te tanquam fur, et nescies, qua hora veniam ad te.* Paræn. 61. T. iii. Syr. p. 529. A. [o] Summus rerum dominator——vocavit nos ad agni nuptias. Paræn. 68. T. iii. Syr. p. 538. D.

[p] Ipsa est mysticum illud *cœlum novum*, in quo Rex regum tanquam in sede sua inhabitavit. De Diversis. Serm. 3. T. iii. Syr. p. 607. C. [q] Vid. Assem. Bib. Or. T. i. cap. xl. p. 468.

[r] In Gen. T. i. Syr. p. 192.

[s] Apocalypsim Johannis nec Sobensis recensuit, nec Barhebræus aut Jacobus Edessenus exposuere. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 8. not. 2.

1. He speaks [t] of the oracles of the prophets and apostles, by which Jews and Gentiles are all brought together in one body.

2. He says, that [u] Christ is the precious and corner-stone between the two Testaments, the prophets and the apostles.

3. He speaks again [x] of the predictions of the prophets, and the preaching of the apostles, concurring together, and completely harmonious; which gives us full assurance of the nativity, miracles, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

4. Arguing against Marcion, and others, he says: 'This [y] 'is not mentioned by Moses in his Pentateuch, nor is it taught 'by the prophets, nor delivered to us by the apostles.'

5. Happy [z] is he, who teaches the principles of true religion delivered by the apostles and prophets.

6. Such are the general divisions of the books of scripture, both of the Old and the New Testament, which are to be found in this writer; many more like passages may be seen in him: I refer to a [a] few only.

V. Ephrem shews his respect for the sacred scriptures by such expressions as these.

1. In a funeral oration for a bishop, a part of his commendation is this: Like [b] Moses he taught and governed the people committed to his charge. The volume of the divine scriptures he held out to them as a pillar of fire to guide them: and what follows.

[t] Futurum enim erat, ut a multis gentibus, in unum Spiritum convenientibus, Prophetarum et Apostolorum oracula spiritualium tympanorum concentu celebrarentur, et Judæi atque Gentiles in unius populi corpus coalescerunt. In libr. Judic. cap. xxi. 19. 21. T. i. Syr. p. 330.

[u] Tropologice. Lapis positus inter duos terminos Christum significabat, lapidem pretiosum et angularem, inter duo testamenta, Prophetas scilicet et Apostolos locatum. Christum autem venturum præcecerunt Prophetæ præeuntes, eumdemque sequentes Apostoli jam venisse nunciaverunt. In 1 Sam. vii. 12. Ib. p. 347.

[x] Allegoriæ congruunt humeruli, seu columellæ mare sustinentes, quæ Prophetarum vaticinia et Apostolorum prædicationem significant: quæ duo simul conjuncta, mutuoque sibi convenientia, fidem de Divini Verbi incarnatione, miraculis, passione, atque resurrectione, sustinent, et in se confirmant. Congruenter ergo boves duodecim æneum hoc mare portantes, juxta ecclesiasticum, id est, allegoricum sensum, Apostolos interpretare et Prophetas, Christi nomen per universum orbem specie quadam triumphi circumferentes. In 1 libr. Regn. cap. vii. T. i. Syr. p. 460.

[y] Illud Nimirum nec Moyses in suo Pentateucho meminit, nec indicarunt Prophetæ, nec Apostoli tradiderunt. Adv. Hæret. Serm. 14. T. ii. Syr. p. 468. D.

[z] —— atque veræ religionis dogmata ab Apostolis et Prophetis tradita promulgavit: Adv. Scrutat. Serm. 3. T. iii p. 4. D. Vid. et Serm. 6. ibid. p. 12. F.

[a] In Num. cap. xxvi. ver. 6. et 22. T. i. Syr. p. 967. In Deut. xxi. 15. p. 978. In 1 Regn. cap. vii. ver. 21. p. 459. Adv. Hær. Serm. 22. T. ii. Syr. p. 489. A. Serm. 23. p. 489. E. F.

[b] Vir mitissimus, et in hac parte Moysi comparandus, populum sibi commissum docuit et rexit. Divinarum Scripturarum codicem ei pro columna ignis proposuit. &c. Funebr. Can. i. T. iii. Syr. p. 225. F. Vid. et Can. xi. p. 241. F.

2. I eſteem [c] no man more happy than him, who diligently reads the ſcriptures delivered to us by the Spirit of God, and thinks how he may order his converſation by the precepts of them.

3. The [d] divine ſcriptures, he ſays, are the keys of knowledge.

4. The [e] truth written in the ſacred volume of the goſpel is a perfect rule. Nothing can be taken from it, nor added to it, without great guilt.

5. So ſays [f] Paul, in whom Chriſt ſpeaks.

6. All [g] who hear or read the divine ſcriptures with attention and care will attain to the true ſenſe of them.

VI. I ſhall now add ſome ſelect paſſages, beginning with ſome interpretations of texts of ſcripture.

1. In his comment upon Gen. vi. 2. *by* [h] *the ſons of God*, he underſtands the deſcendants of Seth, and by the *daughters of men*, women of the poſterity of Cain. And he elſewhere argues, largely, that [i] angels never were in love with women, and could not have children by them. And ſays, that women never are pregnant, or bear children, if they are kept from men: and that the faireſt and beſt dreſſed woman would no more tempt an angel, than ſo many putrefied corpſes.

[c] Ego vero neminem eo feliciorem dicam, quam qui Scripturis Divino Spiritu nobis traditis, aures eodem Spiritu plenas præbeat, et codicem percurrendo prudenter cogitet, quomodo præceptum ſibi ob oculos propoſitum obſervare cum laude poſſit. Paræn. xviii. T. iii. Syr. p. 447. C. Vid. et A. B. [d] Divinæ literæ ſcientiæ claves ſunt. De Paradiſo. Serm. 6. T. iii. Syr. p. 576. E. F.

[e] Quemadmodum Alphabeti corpus ſuis conſtat integrum membris, nec eſt ubi quodquod demas aut adjicias; ſic veritas literis conſignata, et ſacro Evangelii Codice comprehenſa, perfecta menſura eſt, cui quidpiam addere aut detrahere nefas et crimen eſt. Adv. Hær. Serm. 22. T. ii. Syr. p. 485. A. [f] Paulus, in quo Chriſtus loquebatur, cum dolore et lachrymis dicebat. In ſelect. Scripturæ loca. T. ii. Syr. p. 334. D. [g] Divinas Scripturas quicumque legunt, vel excepta auribus illorum oracula oculis mentis diligenter conſiderant, ſenſum etiam aſſequuntur. Ibid. p. 344. B. [h] Filios Dei etiam filios Seth appellavit, qui utpote filii juſti Seth, populus Dei dicti ſunt. Filiæ autem hominum pulchræ, quæ populi Dei oculos rapuerunt, Caini ſoboles erant, quæ per cultum ornatumque ſui ſexus Sethianæ juventuti laqueum fecerant. In Gen. T. i. Syr. p. 48. C. D.

[i] Cæterum ſi porro pergant, contendantque angelos liberorum procreationi operam aliquando dediſſe; cogitent, nec hodie fore difficile deſertoribus angelis opprimere feminam, et filios generare. Hic dæmones. Hic mulieres. Explorent, num liberos gignant. Adſunt teſtes ejuſmodi delitamenta refellentes cœlibus bene multæ, quæ a viris perpetuo ſegregatæ matres nunquam eſſe potuerunt. Una et ſingularis exſtitit Maria, quæ citra viri operam mater fuit, et virgo permanſit, eo quod Deo difficile nil excogitari poteſt. Et ſiquidem angeli patres eſſe potuerunt, virginem manſiſſe Reparatoris noſtri genetricem, inepte miraremur. Gratiſſimum quidem Satanæ fuiſſet, virgines dæmonum operâ concipere et parere, quo haberet quas Mariæ opponeret virgines.—Ornavere ſe virgines Madianitæ, populoque Iſraelitarum ſe conſpiciendas præbuere. Illorum oculos rapuere, eripuere mentem. Attamen illa pulchritudinum miracula angelos non magis quam putrefcentia cadavera movere potuerunt. Adv. Hær. Serm. 19. T. ii. Syr. p. 478. A.—P.

2. Upon

2. Upon Ex. ii. 11, 12. he says, that [k] the Egyptian, whom Moses slew, was one of Pharaoh's taskmasters, and the most cruel of them all; and that Moses had before often reproved him, but he would not be persuaded to mildness.

3. Upon Deut. xviii. 15—20. he says, that [l] God performed the promise there made by sending Joshua, and other princes and prophets. But the promise was completely fulfilled in Jesus Christ, who, like Moses, was a lawgiver, and delivered laws tending to bring men to eminent virtue and holiness.

4. I do not discern any thing very remarkable in his notes [m] upon Job xix. 23—26. for which reason I do not transcribe them. He does not take any notice [n] of what is at the end of the book of Job in the Seventy: *that it was written, Job should be raised up again with those, whom the Lord should raise.*

5. Ezek. i. 1. *The heavens were opened, and I saw visions of God.*] The [o] meaning, he says, is, that to the prophet's mind the gates of heaven were opened, and with the eyes of his spirit he saw sublime and hidden mysteries.

6. Ephrem [p] has an interpretation of Zech. iii. 1—4. which I have not found in Grotius, or any other modern commentator: it deserves therefore to be particularly taken notice of. *Satan, standing at the right-hand of the angel of the Lord, to resist him,* represents the neighbours of the Jewish people, who were adversaries to them. *The brand plucked out of the fire,* is the Jewish people burned in the fire of the Babylonish captivity, and now snatched out of the burning. And Joshua the son of Josedech the high-priest, *clothed in filthy garments,* represents the abject and deplorable condition of the Jewish people in the Babylonish captivity. The order for *clothing him*

[k] Incidit in hoc tempus Ægyptii cædes. Præfectus hic erat, quem Moyses occidit, hominem nempe omnium Pharaonis procerum crudelissimum, qui a Moyse sæpe sæpius admonitus, sapere nunquam didicerat. In Exod. T. i. Syr. p. 198. F.

[l] Cæterum, etsi Deus, quod hic pollicetur, suo tempore præstitisse visus fuit, quando Moysi Josuam, et huic deinceps alios Duces Regesque substituit: attamen vere et merito dicendum est, in Christo tandem integre et absolute eam promissionem impletam fuisse. Nam etsi post hæc tempora plures Prophetæ prodierint, nullus tamen Moysi similis fuit, qui testamentum et leges conderet. Quod certe Christus præstitit, novum instituens testamentum, et leges condens hominem ad perfectum cumulatamque virtutem perducentes. In Deut. T. i. Syr. p. 277. E. F.

[m] Vid. T. ii. Syr. p. 8. [n] Vid. ibid. p. 19. [o] Id est, patefactæ sunt Prophetæ menti cœli fores, oculisque spiritus spectare licuit arcana sublimia et occultissima. In Ez. T. ii. Syr. p. 165. C.

[p] Satanas adversarios Judæorum repræsentat, illorum ditionem circum insidentes, ipsisque infestos.——*Hic est torris eruus de igne:* i. e. lignum adustum annos post septuaginta Babylonico ab igne extractum: *titionem,* vid. ipsum Sacerdotem, et universum Israelitarum populum vocat, captivitatis ærumnis nuper ereptum.——*Auferte sordidas vestes ab eo, et induite illum vestibus optimis.* Vestimenta Sacerdoti detracta contractas Babylone sordes designant, et præteritam ignominiam, quum velut exauctoratus Minister, sacris insignibus privatus atque ab aris remoto ibidem exularet. In Zach. T. ii. Syr. p. 283. A. B. C.

with change of raiment denotes the purpoſe of God to alter the condition of the Jewiſh people for the better, and to bleſs and proſper them, and to reſtore his worſhip among them.

7. Upon Zech. vi. 12. *Behold*[q] *the man whoſe name is the Eaſt* [or the *Branch*]. This man is Zerubbabel, to whom the Spirit by the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah gave glory like the ſplendor of the riſing ſun.—Ver. 13. *Even he ſhall build the temple of the Lord:* the ſpoils of Magog affording ſufficient for the expences of the work. *And he ſhall bear the glory*, that is, receive glory from the conqueſt of Magog. *And ſhall ſit, and rule upon his throne*, with firm and durable power, from which none ſhall be able to remove him, or caſt him down. *And Joſhua ſhall be a prieſt upon his throne, and the counſel of peace ſhall be between them both.* Which denotes the harmony and agreement, which by the fear of the Lord ſhall be eſtabliſhed between Joſhua the ſon of Joſedech and Zerubbabel the prince and governor of the people. But the things here ſaid under divers ſymbols of Zerubbabel are underſtood in the way of allegory of Chriſt, the true Eaſt, and ſplendor of the Father.

8. Ephrem's comment upon Zech. xii. 10—14. I ſhall tranſcribe[r] at the bottom of the page in the Latin verſion, without tranſlating it into Engliſh.

[q] *Ecce vir, et nomen ejus Oriens.*] Zorobbabel eſt, cui Spiritus vaticiniis et auctoritate Aggæi et Zachariæ gloriam, et quaſi Orientis ſolis ſplendorem contulit.——*Et ipſe exſtruet templum Domini*, ſumtus vid. et expenſas ſufficientibus populi Gog ſpoliis. *Ipſe accipiet gloriam*, a victa diſſipataque gente Magog. *Et ſedebit, et dominabitur ſuper ſolio ſuo*, firma et ſtabili dominatione, qua nemo illum dejiciat. *Et Jeſus erit Sacerdos ſuper ſolio ſuo, et conſilium bonum erit inter illos duos.* Significat concordiam et pacem timore Domini firmatam inter Jeſum filium Joſedech et Zorobbabelem populi principem et ducem. Cæterum quæ hic de Zorobbabele per varia ſymbola prædicantur, per allegoriam prædicta accipiuntur de Chriſto, cum ipſe ſit verus Oriens, et ortus ex Patre ſplendor. In Zach. cap. vi. T. ii. Syr. p. 294, 295.

[r] *Plangent eum planctu quaſi ſuper unigenitum.* Juxta hiſtoriam in hunc ſenſum dicta accipiuntur. *Aſpicient ad me, in eum, quem crucifixerunt. Aſpicient ad me:* id eſt, clamabunt ad me quicumque Judam Macchabæum amaverunt, dolentque modo confoſſum et interfectum a Gentibus: hunc quaſi filium unicum affectu plane materno *lugebunt, et frangentur dolore propter eum*, ut frangi ſolet mater propter primogenitum et unicum. *In illa die magnus erit planctus in Jeruſalem, ſicut planctus Baramon in valle Mageddo:* i. e. talis erit luctus, utique magnus, qualis fuit die, quo Joſias Rex in valle Mageddo ab Ægyptiis confoſſus occubuit. Conſtat ſiquidem ex hiſtoria reipſa Judæ Macchabæi mortem Judæos ingenti luctu proſecutos fuiſſe. Is namque Jeroſolymæ invaſores, populoque Judæorum ſemper infeſtos magnis cladibus attriverat. Quare ob acerbum ejus interitum Jeroſolymæ præcipue cives in maximis luctibus fuerunt.——*Lugebit terra per ſingulas familias:* id eſt, omnes mœrebunt familiæ, ſingulæ per turmas ſuas. *Familia David ſeorſum, et mulieres ejus ſeorſum.* &c. i. e. ſeparatim ab uxoribus conjuges, et omnes quæcumque fœminæ a viris. Hæc quidem, ut dixi, ſecundum hiſtoriam, acta ſunt in funere Judæi Macchabæi. Nihilominus ex arcana et vera ſignificatione verborum de Domini morte intelligenda ſunt. In Zach. T. ii. Syr. p. 306.

9. I would likewiſe place [s] below, in the like manner, Ephrem's comment upon Zech. xiii. 1. and alſo two paſſages more explaining in his way the [t] former and the [u] latter part of Zech. xiv. 9.

10. Ephrem ſuppoſeth, that [x] our Lord wrought no miracles before his baptiſm, when he was thirty years of age.

11. He intimates, that [y] Chriſt's miniſtry laſted two years, he [z] living on this earth two and thirty years.

12. He has ſome remarks [a] upon our Saviour's three miracles of raiſing the dead, Jairus's daughter, the widow of Naim's ſon, and Lazarus.

13. He ſuppoſeth, that [b] the apoſtles had, or choſe to themſelves ſeveral provinces: Peter, he ſays, preached at Rome, John at Epheſus, Matthew in Paleſtine, and Thomas in the Indies. But this account is imperfect, as every one may perceive. Here is no mention of St. Paul's travels, ſo well known from the Acts, and his own epiſtles.

14. In ſeveral places he ſpeaks of the [c] ſucceſs of the goſpel. The [d] Jewiſh prophets, he ſays, for a long time were of little ſervice; but when joined by the apoſtles, the empire of ſin

[s] *Et aperietur fons ſalutis domui David, et habitatoribus Jeruſalem.*] Habet hic in ſuperficie locus hunc ſignificatum. Populo Judæorum, ne porro triſtitia ſuffocetur, datus nullam afflicto ſupereſſe ſpem, Jonatias Judæ Macchabæi frater, ſalutis pandet viam, quove a fonte eadem petenda ſit, monſtrabit. Ex interpretatione vero ſpirituali, et quidem veriſſima, diſcimus fontem ſalutis eſſe effluvium pii ſanguinis et aquæ ſanctiſſimæ, quæ de latere Domini in cruce manarunt *ad aſperſionem, et ad ablutionem.* Ibid. p. 306. et 307.

[t] *Et erit Dominus Rex ſuper univerſam terram.*] Clarum eſt, hunc locum ad feliciſſima Macchabæorum tempora pertinere, quando depulſa idolatria, quam Antiochus induxerat, unius Dei cultum Judæa univerſa amplexa eſt. Nihilominus, quæ hic adumbrata vides, per Chriſti adventum abſoluta et perfecta ſunt. Ibid. p. 310. C.

[u] *In die illa erit Dominus unus, et erit nomen ejus unum.*] Hoc, quod dixi ad Macchabæorum tempus, et Judæorum ditionem pertinere, in toto terrarum orbe perfectum eſt, quando promulgato evangelio mundus univerſus in eum credidit, et agnovit ipſum eſſe Deum. Ibid. E.

[x] Nam uſque ad ſuum in Jordane baptiſmum Chriſtus nullum patravit miraculum. In Ezech. cap. i. T. ii. Syr. p. 165. D.

[y] Horæ itaque duæ poſtremæ deſignant duos annos, quibus Chriſtus ſeipſum miraculis et ſignis manifeſtavit, et noſtræ ſalutis opus moriendo abſolvit. In 2 Reg. xx. 10. T. ii. Syr. p. 562. C. [z] Vid. ibid. A. [a] In ſelecta Scripturæ loca. T. ii. Syr. p. 389.

[b] —— quia ſimiliter Apoſtoli provincias ſortiti ſunt. Simon Romam docuit, Johannes Epheſum, Matthæus Palæſtinam, et Indorum regiones Thomas. In 1 libr. Reg. cap. iv. 1. T. i. Syr. p. 453.

[c] Botrus a ſuo pendens palmite, et veſte geſtatus, Chriſtum plane repreſentat ab utroque Prophetarum et Apoſtolorum cœtu per orbem univerſum magnifice circumvectum. In Num. xiii. T. i. Syr. p. 259.

[d] Allegoria. Gedeonis buccinæ evangelii tubam præſignificabant. Evangelii namque perſonante tuba, et coruſcante ſacramentorum Chriſti lampade, peccati imperium everſum eſt. Rurſus hydriæ, inclusas lampadas continentes, Judæorum ſynagogas ſignificabant, intra quas ſcripta Prophetarum oracula oppreſſa et abſcondita diu jacuerunt. Poſtquam vero Judæi virtute crucis Chriſti fracti contritique fuere, continuo prophetarum lampadum fulgor emicuit, et Apoſtolorum luce adjutus totum terrarum orbem implevit. In cap. vii. Judic. ver. 21. T. i. Syr. p. 318, 319.

was soon destroyed, and the world was enlightened with divine knowledge.

15. Ephrem often asserts in strong terms the [e] powers of free-will in men.

16. He says, miracles [f] were then wrought by the reliques of martyrs, or at their sepulchres.

CHAP. CIII.

EBEDJESU.

I. *His time.* II. *A catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament.* III. *Remarks upon it.*

I. HAVING given an account of Ephrem of Edessa, it will not be amiss to take in another learned Syrian writer, though he be much later in time. I mean [a] Ebedjesu, of the sect of the Nestorians, who was bishop of Nisibis, called by the Syrians Soba, in the latter part of the 13th century, and died in the year 1318. As [b] he had been before bishop of Sigara from the year 1285, I place him as flourishing about that time.

II. Dr. Asseman first published an accurate edition of his [c] Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writings at Rome, in 1725. Ebed-

[e] Sita est in tua potestate salus, tibique est libera optio eligendi vitam, vel interitum. Vide, ut rebus tuis tempestive provideas, antequam elabatur tempus pœnitentiæ, et misericordiæ fores claudantur. Paræn. 4. T. iii. Syr. p. 411. F.

Jugum tuum mea ego voluntate suscepi. Non tu me reluctantem illud subire coegisti. Egomet sponte mea ad excolendum agrum tuum me obligavi. Sed heu semen a te acceptum in spem uberrimæ messis datum seminare neglexi. &c. Paræn. 5. T. iii. Syr. p. 415. A. B. Vid. Paræn. 13. p. 431. Paræn. 22. p. 455. D. E. De Diversis Serm. p. 672, 673. Vid. et De Libero humanæ voluntatis arbitrio Sermones quatuor. Ibid. p. 359—366.

[f] Jam vero intuere vitam in Martyrum reliquiis conditam. Quis enim neget, illis manere vitam, quando videt ipsorum etiam titulos vivere? Res compertissima est, de qua nullus dubitet. In sel. Scriptur. loc. T. ii. Syr. p. 349, 350.

[a] Ebedjesu, hoc est servus Jesu.—Fuit autem Ebedjesu, Catalogi hujus auctor, cognomento Bar-Bricha, id est, Filius Benedicti, gente Chaldæus, secta Nestorianus, dignitate Episcopus: floruitque sub Jaballaha, Chaldæorum Nestorianorum Patriarcha, a quo Metropolita Sobæ et Armeniæ ordinatus est. Obiit sub initium mensis Novembris anni Græcorum 1630. Christi 1318. Assem. B. Or. T. iii. p. 3. in notis a.

[b] Primum fuerat Episcopus Sigaræ et Arabiæ, circa annum Christi 1285. ut adnotatur in elegantissimo Syriaco Evangeliorum codice, qui exstat in Bibliotheca Collegii Urbani de Propaganda Fide. Deinde ad archiepiscopatum Sobæ et Armeniæ evectus est, ut supra dixi. Soba autem Syris eadem est ac Nisibis. Id. ib. not. 3.

[c] Carmen Ebedjesu, continens Catalogum Librorum omnium Ecclesiasticorum. Ibid. p. 3.

jesu

jesu in his introduction proposeth to give [d] a catalogue of all the divine books, and all other ecclesiastical writings; he first enumerates the books of the Old Testament, and then the New; this latter part I shall transcribe.

'Having [e] mentioned the writers of the Old Testament, I 'proceed to those of the New. The first of which is Matthew, 'who published his gospel in Palestine, written in Hebrew; 'the next is Mark, who preached in Latin, in the famous city 'of Rome; then Luke, who taught and wrote at Alexandria, 'in the Greek language; and John, who wrote his gospel at 'Ephesus, in the Greek tongue. And the Acts of the apostles, 'which Luke inscribed to Theophilus. Three epistles like-'wise, which in every book [or copy] and language are as-'cribed to apostles, namely, to James, Peter, and John, and 'are called catholic. And fourteen epistles of the great apos-'tle Paul: the epistle to the Romans, written at Corinth, and 'sent from thence; the first epistle to the Corinthians, written 'at Ephesus, and sent from thence by the hands of Timothy; 'the second to the Corinthians, written at Philippi in great 'Macedonia, and sent by the hands of Titus. The epistle to 'the Galatians Paul wrote at Rome, and sent it by the hands 'of Titus, a chosen and approved vessel; the epistle to the 'Ephesians was written at Rome, and sent from Paul himself 'by the hands of Tychicus; the epistle to the Philippians was 'written at Rome, and sent by Epaphroditus, a beloved bro-'ther; the epistle likewise to the Colossians was written at 'Rome, and sent by Tychicus, a disciple of the truth; the 'first epistle to the Thessalonians was written in the city of 'Athens, and sent by the hands of Timothy; the second to 'the Thessalonians was written at Laodicea in Pisidia [Phry-'gia], and sent with Timothy; the first epistle to Timothy

[d] Scribere aggredior Carmen admirabile:
In quo Libros Divinos,
Et omnes compositiones Ecclesiasticas
Omnium priorum et posteriorum
Proponam lectoribus. Ibid. p. 4.

[e] Nunc, absoluto Veteri,
Aggrediamur jam Novum Testamentum:
Cujus caput est Matthæus, qui Hebraice
In Palestina scripsit.
Post hunc Marcus, qui Romane
Locutus est in celeberrima Roma:
Et Lucas, qui Alexandriæ
Græce dixit scripsitque.
Et Joannes, qui Ephesi
Græco sermone exaravit Evangelium.
Actus quoque Apostolorum,
Quos Lucas Theophilo inscripsit.
Tres etiam epistolæ, quæ inscribuntur
Apostolis in omni codice et lingua,
Jacobo scilicet, et Petro, et Joanni,
Et Catholicæ nuncupantur.
Apostoli autem Pauli magni
Epistolæ quatuordecim.
Epistola ad Romanos,
Quæ ex Corintho scripta est. &c. &c.
Ebedjesu Catalog. ap. Assemman. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 8—12.

'was written at Laodicea, a city of Pisidia [Phrygia], and 'sent by Luke; the second epistle to Timothy was written at 'Rome, and sent by the same Luke, the physician and evan-'gelist; the epistle to Titus was written at Nicopolis, and 'sent and carried by Epaphroditus; the epistle to Philemon 'was written at Rome, and sent by Onesimus, servant of the 'same Philemon; the epistle to the Hebrews was written in 'Italy, and sent by Timothy, son according to the spirit.'

III. Upon this catalogue we may make a few remarks.

1. The order of the books of the New Testament should be observed. The gospels, the Acts of the apostles, three catholic epistles, and St. Paul's fourteen epistles: which too are mentioned in the order, which now obtains among us; the epistle to the Romans first, and that to the Hebrews last. And by Dr. Asseman we are assured, that [f] here Ebedjesu followed the order, which is in general use among the Syrians: in which order also the books are placed in the ancient manuscript copies of the New Testament. Gregory Barhebræus observed also the same order in his commentaries. But James of Edessa, in a book written by him, first mentions the Acts of the apostles, then the catholic epistles of James, Peter, and John; after that Paul's epistles, and lastly the four gospels.

2. What [g] Ebedjesu says of the places and languages, in which the several gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John were written, we are assured by Asseman, is agreeable to the common opinion of the Syrians in general.

3. It is not needful to examine the accounts here given of the places where [h] St. Paul's epistles were written, or the per-

[f] *In recensendis Novi Testamenti libris vulgatum apud Syros ordinem sequitur Sobensis, quo Evangeliis subjunguntur Actus Apostolorum, deinde Epistolæ Catholicæ Jacobi, Petri, et Joannis, mox Epistolæ Pauli. Hunc ordinem et codices antiqui manuscripti repræsentant: quo etiam Barhebræus Novum Testamentum commentariis illustravit, in suo Horreo Mysteriorum, ut notavi Tom. ii. Bib. Or. p. 282. Jacobus vero Edessenus in libro, cui titulus Onomasticon, cit. tom. ii. p. 499. primo loco Actus Apostolorum ponit, deinde Epistolas Catholicas Jacobi, Petri, et Joannis: postea Epistolas Pauli, postremo quatuor Evangelia.* Assem. B. Or. T. iii. p. 8. not. a.

[g] *Hæc est communis Syrorum sententia de sermone, quo primum Evangelia conscripta dicuntur: Matthæi scilicet Hebraice in Palæstina: Marci Romane, hoc est, Latine Romæ: Lucæ Græce Alexandriæ, et Joannis item Græce Ephesi. In eandem sententiam adnotatum legitur ad calcem omnium quotquot vidi Syriaco sermone exaratorum tum recentium tum antiquorum Evangeliorum. Nec dissentiunt Barsalibæus et Barhebræus in Præfatione ad Evangelia. Quod autem Hebraica lingua, qua Matthæus scripsisse dicitur, non sit illa, quæ revera Hebræorum propria est, sed Chaldaica, seu Syriaca, quæ Judæis post captivatem Babylonicam, Christi Apostolorumque temporibus, vernacula erat, docet idem Barsalibæus præfatione in Matthæum.* Assem. ib. p. 8. not.

[h] *Ubinam scriptæ, et per quos missæ, [Pauli epistolæ quatuordecim,] ad calcem manuscriptorum codicum diligenter adnotatum est, tam in Versione Syriaca, quam in Græcis exemplaribus, unde quæ hic a Sobensi affirmantur, descripta sunt.* Assemman. Ib. p. 10. notis.

sons

ſons by whom they were ſent: but it is worth notice, that the epiſtle to the Epheſians is here intitled, as with us.

4. Ebedjeſu mentions only three catholic epiſtles, omitting the ſecond of Peter, and ſecond and third of John, and the epiſtle of Jude: which, as we are alſo aſſured by Aſſeman, is agreeable [i] to the common ſentiments of the Syrians. And he refers to a work of James of Edeſſa, the title of which [k] I ſhall put in the margin, confirming the account, that there are but three catholic epiſtles in the ancient Syriac verſion.

5. The book of the Revelation likewiſe is omitted: nor is it, as Aſſeman [l] ſays, in the ancient Syriac verſion; nor did Barhebræus, or James of Edeſſa, write commentaries upon it: but Ephrem, he ſays, quotes it as a canonical book of ſcripture; and from Ephrem's quotation of that book, he argues, may [m] be learned and concluded, what was the ſentiment of the moſt ancient Syrians about it.

6. I place below [n] another note of that learned writer, where he ſays, that the Revelation is wanting in the ancient Syriac

[i] Ex communi Syrorum ſententia tres tantum Canonicas Epiſtolas recenſet, quarum ſcilicet de auctoritate Syri nunquam dubitarunt, quæque ab initio inter canonicos libros in Syriaca verſione ſimplici collocatæ ſunt. Sane (ut verbis utar Fabricii Tom. iii. Bibliothecæ Græcæ p. 145.) 'in 'antiquis codicibus, et primis editionibus 'Verſionis Syriacæ Novi Teſtamenti 'Epiſtola ſecunda et tertia Joannis, et 'poſterior Petri, et Judæ illa etiamnum 'deſideratur.' Dionyſius Barſalibæus, apud Pocockium Præf. ad Epiſtolas Judæ, 2 Petri, 2 et 3 Joannis, monet, 'Epiſtolas 'haſce non fuiſſe verſas in linguam Syram, 'cum libris, qui diebus antiquis redditi 'ſunt, ideoque non inveniri, niſi in ver-'ſione Thomæ Epiſcopi Heraclaënſis.' Hinc apud Jacobum Edeſſenum in Onomaſtico tres tantum Catholicæ, non ſecus atque hic in Catalogo Sobenſis, enumerantur: nimirum Jacobi, Petri, et Joannis, ut recenſui. T. ii. Bib. Or. p. 499. Aſſeman. ib. p. 9, 10. [k] Jacobi Epiſcopi Edeſſeni Vocum Difficiliorum, quæ in Synera Veteris ac Novi Teſtamenti Verſione occurrunt, recenſio et punctatio: nimirum Geneſis, Exodi,——Actuum Apoſtolorum, Epiſtolæ Jacobi, Petri, Joannis, Epiſtolarum xiv. Pauli, Evangelii Matthæi, Marci, Lucæ, Joannis. Ap. Aſſeman. Bib. Or. T. ii. p. 499. [l] Apocalypſin Joannis nec Sobenſis recenſet, nec Barhebræus aut Jacobus Edeſſenus expoſuere, duabus de cauſis: vel quia ab ipſis inter libros canonicos minime admiſſa fuit: vel, quod verosimilius cenſeo, quia ea in Syriaca Simplici quam vocant Scripturæ Verſione haud exſtabat. Cæterum Apocalypſim tamquam canonicum librum a S. Ephræmo agnitam fuiſſe liquet ex ejus carmine in illud Pſalmi —de quo dixi Tom. i. p. 141. Aſſeman. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 8. [m] Quod ideo notavi, ut conſtaret Syrorum antiquiſſimorum de illius libri auctoritate judicium contra Hebedjeſu, qui in Catalogo manuſcripto inter libros canonicos Apocalypſim non nominat. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 141.

[n] De Apocalypſi Joannis dubitatum olim fuit, an inter canonicos libros eſſet: maxime apud Orientales eccleſias, teſte Junilio Africano. Dubitaſſe videtur et Barhebræus in ſuo Nomocanone cap. 7. ſect. 9. ubi hanc Dionyſii Alexandrini ſententiam refert: 'Apocalypſis, quæ nomine Joannis 'Apoſtoli prænotatur, non ejus eſt, ſed 'vel Cerinthi, qui cibum et potum ſimiliter ſuper terram poſt reſurrectionem docet: vel Joannis cujuſpiam alterius. 'Duo enim ſunt Epheſi monumenta, quæ 'hoc nomine noſcuntur.' Certe Syri, tum Jacobitæ tum Neſtoriani, lectionem nullam ex Apocalypſi in eccleſia recitant: et tam in manuſcriptis Syriacis T. N. codicibus, quam in eo Exemplari, quod, Moſe Mardeno Ignatii Jacobitarum Patriarchæ Oratore procurante, a Joanne Alberto Widmanſtadio Viennæ Anno Chriſti 1555. typis editum fuit, Apocalypſis deſideratur! ——Cæterum Ægyptii eam conſtanter ad-

version, which they call Simple; and that none of the Syrians have any readings out of this book in their public lessons; and that Gregory Barhebræus seems to doubt of its genuineness, and to approve of the sentiment of Dionysius of Alexandria. However, he says, that the Egyptian Christians in general receive the book of the Revelation as canonical, without hesitation.

7. I would now make another remark upon this part of Ebedjesu's Catalogue. Whatever was the general opinion of the Syrians, concerning the four catholic epistles, which have been doubted of by some, and concerning the book of the Revelation; I think, that Ebedjesu should not have passed them by in total silence: he could not be unacquainted with them. In the following part of his Catalogue, among the works of Hippolytus, he particularly mentions his vindication of John the apostle's Revelation. The passage of Ebedjesu was formerly quoted by us [o] in the chapter of Hippolytus. I would now add from the works of Ephrem since published, that James bishop of Edessa, in a passage referred to some while ago [p], mentions [q] that book of Hippolytus, which he calls a commentary upon the Revelation, or an explication of it: which seems to shew, that this work of Hippolytus was well known to learned Syrians; consequently, the book of the Revelation could not be unknown, nor very obscure among them. Though those epistles, and this book, were not in the ancient Syriac version; yet, very probably, they were in the Syriac language, in some other translation. Supposing this to be the case, I think, Ebedjesu was obliged to mention them: if they were not equally respected with the other books of the New Testament, he might have said so. He might have made two sorts or divisions of sacred books; some universally received, and respected as divine and canonical, and others, which were not of that high authority, and about which some had doubts.

8. However, we here plainly see what are the books of scripture, which are generally received by the Syrian Chris-

mittunt, ut ex canone Alulbarcati liquet: eandemque doctis Commentariis illustravit Benassalius, quorum exemplar Arabicum exstat in Bibliotheca Collegii Maronitarum de Urbe. Id. T. iii. p. 15, 16.

o Vol. ii. p. 412. note r r.

p See here p. 432. r. q Hanc porro mulierem, [Vid. Apoc. xvii. 3—6.] id est, gentem rerum dominam, vectam bestia, id est, orbis imperium obtinentem, invadet coluber Antichristus, seducet et perdet. Jam illud imperium ad eos pertinere, qui Latini dicuntur, Spiritus in sanctis viris inhabitans declaravit, et docuit per Hippolytum Episcopum et Martyrem in eo libro, quo Joannis Theologi Apocalypsim interpretatur. Jacob. Edessen. in Jacobi de Antichristo in Benedictione Dan Vaticinium. Ap. S. Ephræm. Comm. in Gen. T. Syr. i. p. 192.

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tians. And we are much obliged to Dr. Joſeph Aſſeman for giving us the Catalogue of Ebedjeſu, as he found it in the manuſcript: which another editor of that Catalogue did not do, but of his own head added the epiſtle of [r] Jude and the [s] Revelation. He alſo ſtruck out the word three, ſaying, inſtead of three epiſtles, the epiſtles, that is, of James, Peter, John, and Jude, which are called catholic: for which he has been juſtly cenſured by [t] that honeſt man, and excellent writer, the late Iſaac Beauſobre.

9. They who are deſirous to inform themſelves concerning the Syriac verſion or verſions of the New Teſtament, may conſult, beſide [u] others, [x] Fabricius, [y] Aſſeman, and [z] Wetſtein.

CHAP. CIV.

PACIAN, BISHOP OF BARCELONA.

1. PACIAN, biſhop of Barcelona, is in Jerom's Catalogue. I place the chapter [a] below. He flouriſhed about the year 370, and died an old man before 390.

[r] Tres Epiſtolas.] Jacobi ſcilicet, Petri, et Joannis. Ita habet Sobenſis in manuſcripto noſtro codice. At Echellenſis in Catalogo impreſſo p. 8. et 9. hunc locum ſic condit: 'Epiſtolæ conſignatæ ab Apoſtolis omni characlere et lingua: nempe Jacobo, Petro, Joanne et Juda: et ideo catholicæ vocantur.' Ubi nomen Judæ, ut mihi videtur, de ſuo adjiciens, vocem illam, 'tres epiſtolæ,' in hanc, 'Epiſtolæ,' mutavit, contra metri Syriaci rationem, et contra ipſius Sobenſis mentem, qui ex communi Syrorum ſententia tres tantum canonicas epiſtolas recenſet, quarum ſcilicet de auctoritate Syri numquam dubitarunt, quæque ab initio inter canonicos libros in Syriaca Verſione Simplici collocatæ ſunt. [Vid. reliqua ſupr. p. 441. not. i.] Aſſem. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 9. notis.

[s] Echellenſis p. 15. poſt Epiſtolam Pauli ad Hebræos hæc verba de Joannis Apocalypſi addit, quæ in textu Sobenſis deſiderantur: 'Revelatio Joannis Græce ſcripta eſt in inſula Patmi.' Præter argumenta, quæ ſupra adduxi, vel ipſa metri heptaſyllabi ratio, quæ hic nulla eſt, hanc appendiculam e genuino Sobenſis Catalogo excludit. Id. ib. p. 10. in notis.

[t] Auſſi Ebedjeſu n'a-t-il mis dans ſon Catalogue, ni les quartre autres Epîtres, ni l'Apocalypſe. Mais Abraham Echellenſis, qui avoit publié ce Catalogue avant M. Aſſeman, n'a pas fait difficulté d'y ajoûter l'Epitre de S. Jude, et de mettre, après l'article des Epîtres de S. Paul: 'la Revelation de S. Jean a été ecrite en Grec dans l'iſle de Patmos.' C'eſt un echantillon remarquable de la mauvaiſe foi de ce Maronite. &c. Hiſt. de Manich. T. i. p. 295.

[u] Edw. Pocock's Preface to his Commentary upon the Prophecy of Micah, and elſewhere. Br. Walton. Prolegom. ad Bibl. Polyglott. n. xiii. De Lingua Syriaca et Scripturæ Verſionibus Syriacis. Fr. Spanh. T. i. p. 650. Fr. Ad. Lamp. Prolegom. ad Joan. l. i. c. 4. ver. 7. Jer. Jones on the Canon of the N. T. Vol. i. p. 105—144.

[x] Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. iii. p. 201, 202. T. v. p. 320, 321.

[y] Aſſeman. Bib. Or. T. ii. c. xiii. De Tho. Heracl. p. 90—94. Vid. ib. cap. x. p. 82, 83. et p. 23. et p. 307. b. et alibi.

[z] J. J. Wetſten. Prolegom. ad N. T. Gr. edit. accurat. cap. ix. et Prolegom. ad N. T. Gr. p. 109, 112.

[a] Pacianus, in Pyrenæi jugis Barcelonæ.

2. Pacian

2. Pacian had a ſon named Flavius Dexter, to [b] whom Jerom inſcribed his Catalogue, at whoſe requeſt it was compoſed. Dexter was in ſeveral high offices of the empire, and for a time præfect of the prætorium. He had alſo a place in [c] Jerom's Catalogue, as an eccleſiaſtical writer: though the work mentioned by Jerom is not univerſally allowed to be now extant.

3. Jerom ſays, that Pacian wrote ſeveral ſmall tracts, particularly againſt the Novatians. And we ſtill have [d] his three letters to Sympronian, a Novatian, and an Exhortation to Repentance, and a Diſcourſe of Baptiſm: but the genuineneſs of this laſt is not very manifeſt. Pacian was quoted by us [e] formerly in the hiſtory of the Novatians: for a more particular account of him and his writings I refer to [f] others.

4. I obſerve only, as ſuited to my preſent deſign, that Pacian has ſeveral times quoted the book of Canticles, and the commonly received books of the New Teſtament, particularly the Acts of the apoſtles, and alſo the book of the Revelation. But I do not ſee any quotation of the epiſtle to the Hebrews, nor any plain reference to it, though it be ſometimes put in the margin by the editor.

CHAP. CV.

Optatus of Milevi.

1. Says Jerom: 'Optatus [a] of Africa, biſhop of Milevi, in 'the time of the emperors Valentinian and Valens, wrote a 'work in ſix books in defence of the catholics againſt the Do-'natiſts.'

epiſcopus, caſtitate et eloquentia, et tam vita quam ſermone clarus, ſcripſit varia opuſcula, de quibus et Cervus, et contra Novatianos. Sub Theodoſio Principe jam ultima ſenectute mortuus eſt. De V. I. cap. 106.

[b] Hortaris, Dexter, ut Tranquillum ſequens Eccleſiaſticos Scriptores in ordinem digeram, et quod ille in enumerandis Gentilium literarum viris fecit illuſtribus, ego in noſtris faciam. Prol. in libr. de V. I.

Unde etiam ante annos ferme decem, quum Dexter amicus meus, qui Præfecturam adminiſtravit Prætorii, me rogaſſet, ut auctorum noſtræ religionis ei indicem texerem: &c. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. T. iv. p. 419. m.

[c] Dexter Paciani (de quo ſupra dixi) filius, clarus apud ſæculum, et Chriſti fidei deditus, fertur ad me omnimodam hiſtoriam texuiſſe, quam necdum legi. De V. I. cap. 132.

[d] Ap. B. P P. T. iv. p. 305—319. [e] Vol. iii. p. 219.

[f] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. Fabr. ad Hieron. de V. I. cap. 106. et Bib. Lat. Vol. iii. p. 428. Du Pin. Bib. T. ii. p. 101. Tillem. Mem. T. viii. p. 537, et ſeq.

[a] Optatus Afer, epiſcopus Milevitanus, ex parte Catholica, ſcripſit, Valentiniano et Valente Principibus, adverſus Donatianæ partis calumniam libro ſex: in quibus aſſerit, crimen Donatianum in nos falſo retorqueri. De V. I. cap. 110.

2. The

2. The city of Milevi was ſituated in Numidia. Jerom ſays, that Optatus wrote under the emperors Valentinian and Valens, that is, between 364 and 375; from which, and from ſome other conſiderations, Tillemont concludes, that his work was publiſhed about the year 370: which is little different from Cave, who placeth this writer at 368. For a particular account of Optatus, and his work, I refer to ſeveral [b] moderns.

3. Divers teſtimonies to him in ancient writers may be ſeen prefixed to his works, and are taken notice of by Tillemont at the beginning of his article concerning him. I add to that already taken from Jerom, one from Auguſtine, where [c] he reckons Optatus with Cyprian, and others, who had come over from Gentiliſm to Chriſtianity, and had brought with them the riches of the Egyptians, that is, learning and eloquence, to the no ſmall advantage of the Chriſtian intereſts.

4. Beſide many other books of the Old Teſtament, Optatus has quoted [d] the Canticles ſeveral times; he once [e] quotes the book of Wiſdom, as Solomon's: he has alſo quoted [f] Tobit, and [g] Eccleſiaſticus.

5. In the New Teſtament, beſide the goſpels, he has quoted the [h] book of the Acts, and ſeveral of St. Paul's epiſtles, and [i] the firſt and [k] ſecond epiſtle of St. John.

6. Jerom computed the works of Optatus to conſiſt of ſix books; whereas we now have ſeven. Concerning this difficulty may be ſeen the authors, to whom I have already referred.

7. There is a paſſage, which has been ſuppoſed a part of the ſeventh book; which ſome [l] have alleged, as a proof, that Optatus received the epiſtle to the Hebrews. But ſuppoſing the paſſage to be genuine, it is of no importance; it appearing plainly, that [m] Optatus quotes not an apoſtle but a prophet,

[b] Cav. H. Lit. T. i. p. 234. S. Baſ. [illegible]. Ann. 368. n. ix. Du Pin Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 109—122. et Præf. ad Optat. Fleury's Ec. Hiſt. B. 16. ch. xl. Tillemont Les Donatiſtes. Art. 58. Mem. T. vi. Fabr. Bib. Ec. ad Hieron. De V. I. cap. 110. et Bib. Lat. T. iii. p. 425.

[c] Nonne adſpicimus, quanto auro et argento et veſte ſuffarcinatus exierit de Ægypto Cyprianus doctor ſuaviſſimus, et martyr beatiſſimus? quanto Lactantius? quanto Victorinus, Optatus, Hilarius? Ut de vivis taceam. Quanto innumerabiles Græci? De Doctr. Chriſtian. l. ii. cap. 40. n. 61. T. iii.

[d] Optat. l. i. cap. 10. bis. l. ii. cap. 8. l. iii. cap. 3. l. iv. cap. 6.

[e] Cum ſcriptum ſit in Salomone: *Deus mortem non fecit, nec lætatur in perditione vivorum.* Sap. i. 13. l. ii. c. 25.

[f] —— qui in lectione Patriarchæ Tobiæ legitur in Tigride flumine prehenſus. l. iii. c. 2.

[g] L. iii. c. 3. bis.

[h] L. v. cap. 5.

[i] L. i. c. 15. l. ii. c. 19. l. vii. c. 2.

[k] Ignorantes, de quibus Apoſtolus hoc dixerit: *Cum his nec cibum capere: Ave illi ne dixeritis.* [1 Cor. v. 11. et 2 Joh. 10.] L. iv. cap. 5.

[l] Baron. Ann. 60. n. L. Fr. Spanhem. de Auctor. Ep. ad Hebr. l. ii. cap. 7. n. viii. T. ii. p. 201.

[m] —— legem indicavit Deus per Prophetam dicens: *Quoniam hoc eſt teſtamentum meum, quod diſponam domui Iſrael et domui Judæ. Et poſt dies illos dicit Dominus, dans leges meas in corde eorum, et in mentibus eorum ſcribam eas.* Promiſit hoc jamdudum, et proxime reddidit temporibus Chriſtianis. Optat. l. vii. p. 108. edit. Du Pin.

and

and intends not Heb. viii. 8—11, but Jer. xxxi. 31—33; as has been fully ſhewn by my highly eſteemed friend, the late Mr. Joſeph Hallett, in his Introduction [n] to the epiſtle to the Hebrews, in Engliſh; or his Diſſertation concerning the author and language of that epiſtle, as tranſlated into Latin, and inſerted by the learned J. C. Wolfius in the fourth tome of his Curæ [o] upon the New Teſtament. So that there is no proof, that Optatus received the epiſtle to the Hebrews. However, as this work is not very long, and Optatus does not abound with quotations of texts of ſcripture; we cannot ſay certainly, what books were received by him, and what not. We need make no doubt, but he received all ſuch as were generally received by other Chriſtians in Africa, in his time.

8. I need not produce here any proofs of his reſpect for the ſacred ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament, about which there can be no queſtion. And beſides, ſome paſſages of his to this purpoſe were alleged formerly, in the chapters [p] concerning the burning the ſcriptures in the time of Dioclefian's perſecution, and [q] the hiſtory of the Donatiſts.

9. Remarks upon Optatus's performance may be ſeen in [r] James Baſnage's Hiſtory of the Church.

10. Le Clerc in his preface to Kuſter's edition of Mill's New Teſtament, has obſerved ſeveral of this author's quotations of texts, which Mill had taken no notice of in his collations of ancient writers. I ſhall put down here only one of them.

11. Luke ix. 50. *And Jeſus ſaid unto him, Forbid him not: for he that is not againſt us is for us.* So in our copies: but Optatus [s] reads, *For he who is not againſt you, is for you.* Which is alſo found in divers other authors, and in divers manuſcripts and verſions, as obſerved by Le Clerc, and alſo by Mill, Bengelius, and Mr. Wetſtein upon the place. Moreover this reading is approved by [t] Mill and [u] Bengelius.

12. I ſhall add another text, not mentioned by Le Clerc, becauſe he aimed at thoſe quotations of Optatus, which had been omitted by Mill.

Rom. xii. 13. *Diſtributing to the neceſſity of ſaints.* Optatus inſtead [x] of *neceſſity*, or neceſſities, has *memories*. Du Pin in his notes upon that place of his author ſays, that [y] Optatus

n p. 18, 19.
o T. iv. 820, 821.
p See before, p. 88, 89.
q Ib. p. 101.
r Hiſt. de d' Egliſe, p. 185, 186.
s Sic Chriſtus ait: Nolite prohibere. *Qui enim non eſt contra vos, pro vobis eſt.* L. v. c. 7.
t Prolegom. n. 996.
u In loc.
x Contra Apoſtolum facientes, qui ait: *Memoriis ſanctorum communicantes.* L. ii. c. 4.
y Attamen de neceſſitatibus et indigentiis ſanctorum, hoc eſt, Chriſtianorum, intelligendum eſſe Apoſtolum, longe veriſimilius eſt. Sed excuſandus Optatus, qui communem ſuo tempore lectionem ſecutus eſt. Du Pin in loc. p. 33.

fol-

followed a reading which was common in his time, but thinks, *neceſſities* to be the true reading. On the contrary, Mill thinks *memories* to be right. He gives a good ſenſe of the text, according to that reading: 'That [z] we are here directed 'to remember with compaſſion poor and afflicted Chriſtians 'at a diſtance, and to relieve them.' He alſo alleges many authorities for that reading: but in my opinion, the paſſage of Clement of Rome, upon [a] which he relies very much, is far from being clear to his purpoſe. Bengelius [b] thinks it of no value. Concerning this reading may be conſulted the juſt mentioned learned writer, and Wolfius.

CHAP. CVI.

AMBROSE, BISHOP OF MILAN.

1. *His time and hiſtory.* II. and III. *Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament received by him.* IV. *Reſpect for them.* V. *General titles and diviſions.* VI. *Select paſſages.*

I. AMBROSE, born, as ſome think, about 333, or rather, as others, about 340, and made biſhop of Milan in 374, died in 397. For a more particular account of him, and his writings, with their character, I refer to [aa] others.

2. Ambroſe was living when Jerom wrote his Catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers in 392; for [bb] which reaſon he declined giving a diſtinct account of his works: nevertheleſs, upon divers occaſions he has made mention of [c] ſeveral of them, and takes notice of [d] his frequently borrowing from Origen, without naming him.

[z] Ut nempe per μνείας intelligantur neceſſitates ſanctorum abſentium. Mill. in loc. Conf. Prolegom. n. 142.

[a] Vid. Prolog. n. 142.

[b] Nil huc facit Clementis Romanis. Bengel. ad Rom. xii. 13.

[aa] Vid. Cav. Hiſt. Lit. T. i. and Lives of the Fathers, in Engliſh. Vol. II. Du Pin Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. Tillem. Mem. T. x. Vit. S. Ambroſ. a Benedictin. adornat. Pagi Ann. 369. xiii. 374. iii. et alibi. S. Baſnag. Ann. 374. v. x. et alibi. Ja. Baſnag. Hiſt. de l'Egliſe l. xix. ch. 4. n. ix. p. 1171. Beauſobre Hiſt. de Manich. T. i. p. 366. not. i.

[bb] Ambroſius Mediolanenſis epiſcopus, uſque in præſentem diem ſcribit. De quo, quia ſupereſt, meum judicium ſubtraham, ne in alterutram partem, aut adulatio in me reprehendatur, aut veritas. De V. I. c. 124.

[c] Ad Euſtoch. ep. 18. al. 22. T. 4. P. ii. p. 37. Ad Damas. Pap. ep. 14. al. 17. p. 20. et ep. 30. al. 50. p. 237, 238. 240. f. Vid. et ad Algaſ. Qu. vi. T. iv. P. ii. p. 198. in. al. ep. 151.

[d] Nuper ſanctus Ambroſius ſic Hexaëmeron illius compilavit, ut magis Hippolyti ſententias Baſiliique ſequeretur. Ad Pamm.

3. Beſide

3. Beſide Baſil, partly contemporary with him, and ſome other Greek writers, Tillemont ſays, he [e] muſt alſo have read the works of ancient heretics; for [f] he quotes the 38th tome of Apelles, diſciple of Marcion.

4. The eminence of this biſhop of Milan, and the ſhare he had in the public tranſactions of his time, have ſecured him a place [g] in the Greek eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians: not to inſiſt on Paulinus, Rufinus, Auguſtine, and others among the Latins.

II. 1. Ambroſe quotes much the generally received books of the Old Teſtament, particularly the [h] book of Ruth, and the [i] Canticles: which laſt he quotes very often and explains largely.

2. He [k] aſcribes to Solomon three books only, the Proverbs, the Eccleſiaſtes, and the Canticles.

3. He likewiſe quotes often the apocryphal books of the Old Teſtament, as [l] Baruch, Tobit, the Maccabees, Eccleſiaſticus, Wiſdom, the [m] fourth book of Eſdras, and ſometimes with marks of great reſpect.

4. He ſpeaks of the book of Tobit, as [n] a prophetical book; and in like manner of [o] the book of Wiſdom, and [p] Eccleſiaſticus. The laſt-mentioned book he has quoted as [q] a part of the divine oracles. He quotes it alſo as [r] of authority, or by way of proof.

et Ocean. ep. 41. al. 65. T. iv. p. 346.

Habuit Ambroſium, cujus pene omnes libri hujus ſermonibus pleni ſunt. Adv. Ruf. l. i. p. 351. fin.

Nemo tibi objicit, quare Origenem interpretatus es: alioqui Hilarius et Ambroſius hoc crimine tenebuntur: ſed quia interpretatus hæretica, præfationis tuæ laude firmaſti. Ibid. l. ii. p. 505. in.

e St. Ambroiſe. art. 10. T. x.

f Plerique enim, quorum auctor Apelles, ſicut habes in trigeſimo et octavo tomo ejus, has quæſtiones proponunt. De Parad. cap. vi. T. i. p. 155. F.

g Vid. Socr. l. iv. c. 30. Soz. l. vii. c. 25. Thrt. l. iv. c. 7. l. 5. c. 18.

h In Luc. l. iii. T. i. p. 1326. ter quaterve. Et paſſim.

i Unde et Salomon oraculum divinum ſecutus ſcripſit in Canticis Canticorum. In Pſ. 118. T. i. p. 986. C. Et paſſim.

k Unde et Salomonis tres libri ex plurimis videntur electi: Eccleſiaſtes de naturalibus, Cantica Canticorum de myſticis, Proverbia de moralibus. In Pſ. 36. Pr. T. i. p. 777.

Quid etiam tres libri Salomonis, unus de Proverbiis, alius Eccleſiaſtes, tertius de Canticis Canticorum, niſi trinæ hujus oſtendunt nobis ſapientiæ ſanctum Salomonem fuiſſe ſolertem? In Lucam. Pr. T. i. p. 1262. A.

l In Pſ. 43. T. i. p. 901. In Pſ. 118. p. 1194. E.

m Si hinc faciunt quæſtionem, quod creatum Spiritum dixit, quia creatur Spiritus Eſdras docuit, dicens in quarto libro: *Et in die ſecundo iterum creaſti ſpiritum firmamenti.* [4 Eſdr. vi. 41.] De Sp. S. l. ii. c. vi. T. ii. p. 643. C. D.

n Lecto prophetico libro, qui inſcribitur Tobias. &c. De Tobia cap. i. T. i. p. 591. B.

o Prophetæ dicunt: In lumine tuo videbimus lumen. [Pſ. xxxv. 10. al. xxxvi. 9.] Prophetæ dicunt: *Splendor eſt enim lucis æternæ, et ſpeculum ſine macula Dei majeſtatis, et imago bonitatis illius.* [Sap. vii. 26.] De Fide, l. i. c. 7. T. ii. p. 453. C.

p Prophetia dicit: *Et tu cum conſilio omnia fac.* [Eccleſ. xxxii. 19.] In Pſ. xxxvi. T. i. p. 808. C.

q Proprietatis autem generationem eſſe, oracula divina declarant. Dicit enim Sapientia Dei: *Ex ore Altiſſimi prodivi.* [Eccleſ. xxiv. 3.] De Fide, l. iv. c. 8. T. ii. p. 537. A.

r —— teſtimoniis Scripturarum docemur. Siquidem lectum eſt. [Eccleſ. ii. 5.] In Pſ. cxviii. T. i. p. 1224. E.

5. Once

5. Once at least, if not oftener, he has quoted [s] the book of Ecclesiasticus as Solomon's; though, as before shewn, he ascribed no more than three books to Solomon. Moreover, in other places [t] he ascribes the book of Ecclesiasticus to Sirach. Why [u] he there calls it Solomon's, is not certain; whether because it was so called by many, or that he supposed Sirach's collection to consist very much of thoughts and observations of king Solomon.

6. He has likewise quoted [x] the book of Wisdom, as Solomon's, without thinking it to be really his; but, probably, in compliance with a common way of speaking, as it was called Solomon's Wisdom by [y] many, the vulgar sort of people, especially.

7. However, from particulars just taken notice of, it appears, that Ambrose has quoted the apocryphal books of the Old Testament with tokens of great respect.

III. 1. I formerly [z] transcribed and translated Origen's observations upon St. Luke's preface, or introduction to his gospel, both the Greek and the Latin. And I then said, that Ambrose had the like observations in his explication of the beginning of St. Luke's gospel. I do not intend to translate him, but I shall transcribe below [a] the passage very much at

[s] Pulchre autem illud exposuit nobis Salomon, dicens: *Narratio justi semper justa. Stultus autem sicut luna mutatur.* [Eccles. 27. 11.] In Ps. xxxvi. p. 807. E.

[t] Considera illum, de quo ait in Ecclesiastico Sirach. De interpell. Job, l. i. c. 4. T. i. p. 627. E.

Nam et alibi dixit Sirach Sapientia. In Ps. cxviii. p. 1135.

[u] Vid. ib. a Benedictinis annotata. p. 807.

[x] Quid sit scientia, doceat te Salomon, qui ait de Domino nostro: *Ipse enim mihi dedit eorum quæ sunt cognitionem veram.* [Sap. vii. 17.] In Ps. cxviii. p. 1082. D.

[y] Alii vero duo [libri] quorum unus Sapientia, alter Ecclesiasticus dicitur, propter quandam similitudinem, ut Salomonis dicantur, obtinuit consuetudo. Non eorum esse ipsius, non dubitant doctiores. Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. vii. c. 20.

[z] Vol. ii. p. 502—504.

[a] Nam sicut multi in illo populo divino afflati Spiritu prophetarunt: alii vero prophetare se pollicebantur, et professionem occupabant mendacio: (erant enim pseudoprophetæ potius quam Prophetæ, sicut Ananiæ filius Azor,) erat autem populi gratia ad discernere spiritus, ut cognosceret quos recipere deberet in numerum Prophetarum: quos autem quasi bonus nummularius improbaret, in quibus materia magis corrupta sorderet, quam veri splendor luminis resultaret: sic et nunc in Novo Testamento multi Evangelia scribere conati sunt, quæ boni nummularii non probarunt. Unum autem tantummodo in quatuor libros digestum ex omnibus arbitrati sunt eligendum. Et aliud quidem fertur Evangelium, quod duodecim scripsisse dicuntur. Ausus est etiam Basilides Evangelium scribere, quod dicitur secundum Basilidem. Fertur etiam aliud Evangelium, quod scribitur secundum Thomam. Novi aliud scriptum secundum Matthiam. Legimus aliqua, ne legantur. Legimus, ne ignoremus. Legimus, non ut teneamus, sed ut repudiemus: et ut sciamus, qualia sint, in quibus magnifici illi cor exaltant suum. Sed Ecclesia, cum quatuor Evangelii libros habeat, per universum mundum Evangelistis redundat. Hæreses, cum multa habeant, unum non habent. — *Quoniam multi*, inquit, *conati sunt.* Conati utique illi sunt, qui implere nequiverunt. Ergo multos cœpisse, nec impleviſſe, etiam sanctus Lucas testimonio locupletiore testatur, dicens, *plurimos esse conatos* —— Non conatus est Matthæus, non conatus est Marcus, non conatus est Johannes, non

large, that they who are curious may with the greater eaſe compare all together.

2. St. Ambroſe's ſtyle is ſomewhat more prolix and verboſe; but I ſuppoſe, none can doubt, that he here copied Origen, though he does not mention him: a proceeding, that can very ſeldom be warrantable in authors; and in this inſtance it appears not a little ſtrange.

3. However, it is fit we ſhould obſerve, that Ambroſe rejects the goſpel according to the Twelve, the goſpels according to Baſilides, according to Thomas, and according to Matthias. And ſays, that the church had one goſpel in four books, ſpread all over the world, and written by Matthew, Mark, John and Luke, with the aſſiſtance of the Spirit of God.

4. He elſewhere likewiſe ſays, that [b] there is one goſpel, and four books.

5. In the prologue to his Expoſition of St. Luke's goſpel, he mentions [c] the ſymbols of the evangeliſts, as ſuppoſed to be repreſented by the four living creatures in Rev. iv. 7.

6. In the ſame prologue, like many others, Ambroſe [d] admires the tranſcendent ſublimity of the beginning of St. John's goſpel: and on that account ſeems to give him the preference above the other three evangeliſts; though he aſcribes alſo great wiſdom to each one of them. In another place he ſays, that [e] the beginning of St. John's goſpel confuted all hereſies, particularly Arianiſm, Sabellianiſm, and Manichæiſm.

7. It is ſaid, that [f] Ambroſe is the firſt Latin who wrote a commentary upon St. Luke's goſpel: and it is ſuppoſed to have been written in the year 386. R. Simon [g] has made remarks upon it.

conatus eſt Lucas: ſed divino ſpiritu ubertatem dictorum rerumque omnium miniſtrante, ſine ullo molimine complerunt. Expoſ. Ev. Luc. T. i. p. 1265, 1266.

[b] Sed etiam Evangelium unum eſt, et quatuor libros eſſe, negare non poſſumus. In Pſ. xl. T. i. p. 883. B. [c] Unde etiam ii qui quatuor animalium formas quæ in Apocalypſi revelantur, quatuor Evangelii libros intelligendos arbitrati ſunt, hunc librum volunt vituli ſpecie figurari. —— Et congruit vitulo hic Evangelii liber, qui a ſacerdotibus inchoavit.—Plerique tamen putant, ipſum Dominum noſtrum in quatuor Evangelii libris quatuor formis animalium figurari, quod idem homo, idem leo, idem vitulus, idem aquila comprobatur. Prolog. in Expoſ. Luc. n. 7, 8. p. 1264. [d] Eſt enim vere ſapientia naturalis in libro Evangeliſtæ [an Evangelii?] ſecundum Joannem. Nemo enim, audeo dicere, tanta ſublimitate ſapientiæ majeſtatem Dei vidit, et nobis proprio ſermone reſeravit. Tranſcendit nubes, tranſcendit virtutes cœlorum, tranſcendit angelos, et Verbum apud Deum vidit. Quis autem moralius ſecundum hominem ſingula perſecutus, quam ſanctus Matthæus, qui edidit nobis præcepta vivendi? Quid rationabilius illo admirabili copulato, quam quod ſanctus Marcus in principio ſtatim locandum putavit? &c. Ibid. p. 1262, 1263.

[e] Omnes autem hæreſes hoc capitulo brevi piſcator noſter excluſit. De Fide. l. i. c. 8. p. 454. T. ii. [f] —quod apud Latinos ipſius tantum, et non alterius in Lucam commentarius fertur. Rufin. Invectiv. in Hieron. ap. Hieron. T. iv. p. 432. [g] Hiſt. Crit. des Commentateurs du N. T. ch. 15. p. 206—209.

8. The

8. The book of the Acts of the apoſtles is very often quoted by St. Ambroſe, and not ſeldom [h] by that title at length: and it [i] is aſcribed by him to St. Luke.

9. He ſuppoſes [k] St. Luke to be *the brother*, intended by St. Paul, 2 Cor. viii. 18. *whoſe praiſe is in the goſpel, throughout all the churches.*

10. This Italian biſhop received fourteen epiſtles of the apoſtle Paul: concerning which I need not add any thing farther in particular, than that [l] he has quoted the epiſtle to the Epheſians expreſsly with that inſcription; and [m] that he often quotes the epiſtle to the Hebrews, as Paul's, without heſitation.

11. He frequently quotes the firſt epiſtle of Peter, and the firſt epiſtle of John; and ſometimes as [n] if they were the only epiſtles of thoſe apoſtles. Nevertheleſs, he has alſo quoted [nn] the ſecond epiſtle of Peter.

12. In the Benedictine edition of St. Ambroſe's works is put a reference to the 7th verſe of St. John's ſecond epiſtle: but the [o] quotation, I think, better ſuits the words of 1 John iv. 3.

13. Mill, for proving that Ambroſe received the epiſtle of St. James, quotes [p] a book, not [q] generally allowed to be his. There is ſuppoſed to be a reference [qq] to James i. 14. in an acknowledged work.

[h] Ut legimus in Actibus Apoſtolorum. In Pſ. xl. n. 37. T. i. p. 882.

[i] Et adverſum Apoſtolos in Actibus eorum, quod ſeniores Iſrael convenerunt, Petrus ſanctus, et Lucas Evangeliſta teſtantur. [Cap. iv. 1. & ſeqq.] In Pſ. cxviii. n. 11. p. 1135. [k] Denique etiam ſanctum apoſtolo Paulo teſtimonium meruit perhibere. Sic enim laudat Lucam: *Cujus laus*, inquit, *eſt in evangelio per omnes eccleſias.* Expoſ. Ev. Luc. l. i. n. 11. p. 1269. E.

[l] Sicut et Apoſtolus ſcribens ad Epheſios ait. De Sp. S. l. i. c. 6. T. ii. p. 616. C. D.

[m] Ad Hebræos ſcribens Apoſtolus dicit. De Sp. S. l. iii. c. 8. p. 674. F.

Apoſtoli illud exemplum eſt: non eſt mirum. [Hebr. i. 3.] De Fide l. i. c. 13. T. iii. p. 462. A.

[n] Unde præclare Petrus de Domino Jeſu in epiſtola ſua poſuit. [1 Pet. ii. 23.] In Pſ. xxxiii. n. 45. T. i. p. 855.

——quia caritas eſt Deus, ut dixit Joannes in epiſtola. In Pſ. xxxviii. n. 10. p. 906.

Audi quoque Joannes in epiſtola ſua [illegible] De Fide, l. i. c. 8. T. ii. p. 554. E. Accipe tamen quid etiam ſcripſerit Evangeliſta Joannes in epiſtola ſua, dicens: [1 Jo. v. 20.] De Fide. l. i. c. 17. p. 467. A. B.

[nn] Et Petrus vult nos, ut legimus, divinæ conſortes fieri naturæ. [2 Pet. i. 4.] De Fide. l. i. c. 19. T. ii. p. 460. C. Vide eund. loc. iterum citat. De Fide l. v. c. 14. p. 583. A. et de Sp. S. l. i. c. 6. p. 616. F.

Etiam Petrus ſanctus adſeruit, dicens: *Quapropter fatagite, fratres, certam veſtram vocationem et electionem facere.* &c. [2 Pet. i. 10, 11.] De Fide. l. iii. c. 12. p. 514. A.

[o] Omnis qui negat Jeſum Chriſtum in carne veniſſe, de Deo non eſt. Expoſ. Ev. Luc. T. i. p. 1337. B. [p] Unde—Ambroſius Mediolani—— Tract. de Manſionibus filiorum Iſrael, rubone 18 epiſtolam Jacobi tanquam Apoſtoli citavit. Mill. Prolegom. n. 226. [q] Vid. Benedictin. Monitum. T. ii. in Append. p. 1, 2. [qq] Vocalis enim per omnium ſuorum ora ſanctorum [illegible] In Pſ. cxviii. T. i. p. 1271. B. Vid. Jac. i. 13.

14. He expreſsly quotes the epiſtle of [r] Jude.

15. I ſuppoſe it cannot be doubted, that he received all the catholic epiſtles.

16. Ambroſe very often quotes the book of the Revelation, and aſcribes it [s] to John the apoſtle and evangeliſt.

17. Upon the whole, we ſee, that this celebrated biſhop of Milan, in the latter part of the fourth century, received all the books of the New Teſtament, which we receive, without any other. For there appears not in his works any particular regard to writings of Barnabas, or Clement, or Ignatius, or to the Recognitions, or Conſtitutions. From whence we may reaſonably conclude, that theſe juſt-mentioned writings were not eſteemed of authority by himſelf, or other Chriſtians at that time.

IV. His reſpect for the ſacred ſcriptures is manifeſt. Ambroſe was called to the epiſcopate from a ſecular courſe of life. For which reaſon he begs of God, to [t] give him application and neceſſary care to underſtand the ſcriptures. He [u] proves what he advances by texts of ſcripture, and does not otherwiſe expect to be regarded. And [x] he ſuppoſeth it to have been the practice of Chriſtians in ancient times, to form their belief by the holy ſcriptures. Ambroſe [y] was a great admirer of the Pſalms, upon divers of which he wrote commentaries, particularly upon the 119th Pſalm, which are generally well eſteemed.

V. Diviſions of ſcripture found in him are ſuch as theſe: prophets [z] and apoſtles, Old and New Teſtament: the [a] prophetical and evangelical ſcriptures: the [b] law and the prophets,

[r] — cui dictum eſt ab angelo Michaële in epiſtola Judæ: *Imperet tibi Dominus.* [ver. 9.] Exp. Ev. Luc. T. i. p. 1393. D.

[s] Et ideo fortaſſis Joanni Evangeliſtæ cœlum apertum, et albus equus eſt demonſtratus. [Ap. xix. 12—16.] In Pſ. xl. p. 878. A.

Quomodo igitur aſcendamus ad cœlum, docet Evangeliſta, qui dicit. —— [Apoc. xxi. 10.] De Virginitat. cap. 14. T. ii. p. 234. D.

[t] Sed tantummodo intentionem et diligentiam circa ſcripturas divinas opto adſequi. De Offic. Miniſt. l. i. c. 1. T. i. p. 3.

[u] Sed nolo argumento credas, ſanctæ Imperator, et noſtræ diſputationi. Scripturas interrogemus. Interrogemus Apoſtolos, interrogemus Prophetas, interrogemus Chriſtum. De Fide. l. i. c. 6. T. ii. p. 451. C.

Satis, ut arbitror, libro ſuperiore, ſancte Imperator, — Scripturarum lectionibus approbavimus. De Fide. l. ii. Prolog. p. 471. B.

[x] Sic nempe noſtri ſecundum Scripturas dixerunt patres. De Fide. l. i. c. 18. p. 467. C.

[y] Etenim licet omnis Scriptura divina Dei gratiam ſpiret, præcipue tamen dulcis Pſalmorum liber. In Pſ. i. Præf. n. iv. T. i. p. 738.

[z] Clamat Propheta ſempiternum, clamat et Apoſtolus ſempiternum. Plenum eſt Vetus Teſtamentum teſtimoniis Filii ſempiterni, plenum eſt Novum. De Fide. l. i. c. 8. T. ii. p. 454. C.

[a] In quo nobis Propheticæ Scripturæ et Evangelicæ ſuffragantur. Expoſ. Luc. l. i. p. 1277. F.

[b] Lex et Prophetæ cum Evangelio congruentes. De Fide. l. i. c. 13. p. 460. D.

agreeing

agreeing with the goſpel: the [c] goſpel, the apoſtle, and the prophets.

VI. There are ſome other things in Ambroſe, which may be reckoned worthy of notice.

1. He quotes [d] Mark xvi. 15. Therefore he had in his copies the latter part of that chapter.

2. Ambroſe [e] had in his copies the paſſage concerning the adulterous woman, which we now have in the 8th chapter of St. John's goſpel.

3. He quotes 2 Tim. i. 14. after this manner: *That* [f] *good thing, which was committed unto thee, keep by the Holy Ghoſt, which is given to us.*

4. He [g] ſeems not to have had the heavenly witneſſes, in his copies of the fifth chapter of St. John's firſt epiſtle.

5. He [h] ſpeaks of various readings in the Latin copies of the New Teſtament: ſome of which likewiſe, he ſays, had been corrupted; and he appeals to the original Greek.

CHAP. CVII.

THE PRISCILLIANISTS.

I. *Jerom's chapter of Priſcillian.* II. III. *Two chapters more of Jerom concerning Latronian and Tiberian, followers of Priſcillian.* IV. *A chapter of Iſidore of Seville concerning Idacius, one of Priſcillian's accuſers.* V. *The time of the riſe of Priſcillianiſm.* VI. *The hiſtory of Priſcillian, and of his proſecution and execution at Treves, together with divers of his friends and followers, extracted from Sulpicius Severus.* VII. *An apology for Priſcillian and his friends, in divers remarks upon that extract.* VIII.

[c] Cum igitur in Evangelio, in Apoſtolo, in Prophetis generationem Chriſti legerimus. De Fide. l. i. c. 14. p. 462. D.

[d] Audivimus enim legi, dicente Domino: *Ite in orbem univerſum, et prædicate evangelium univerſæ creaturæ.* De Fide. l. i. c. 14. p. 461. D. [e] Vid. ep. 25. n. 26. T. ii. p. 892—894.

[f] Bonum depoſitum cuſtodi per Spiritum Sanctum, qui datus eſt nobis. Exp. Ev. Luc. l. i. T. i. p. 1279. A.

[g] Et ideo hi tres teſtes unum ſunt, ſicut Joannes dicit: *Aqua, ſanguis, et Spiritus.* Unum in myſterio, non in natura. Aqua itaque eſt teſtis ſepulturæ, Sanguis teſtis eſt mortis, Spiritus teſtis eſt vitæ. De Sp. S. l. i. T. ii. c. 6. p. 616. &c.

Alibi quoque Evangeliſta: *Per aquam,* inquit, *et Spiritum venit Chriſtus Jeſus, non ſolum in aqua, ſed per aquam et ſanguinem. Et Spiritus teſtimonium dicit, quoniam Spiritus eſt veritas: quia tres ſunt teſtes, Spiritus, aqua, ſanguis. Et hi tres unum ſunt.* De Sp. S. l. iii. c. x. al. xi. p. 678. D.

[h] Quod ſi quis de Latinorum codicum varietate contendit, quorum aliquos perfidi falſaverunt, Græcos inſpiciat codices, et advertat, quia ibi ſcriptum eſt: Οι Ηνευματι Θεου πιστευσαντες. Quod interpretatur Latinus: *Qui Spiritui Dei ſervimus.* De Sp. S. l. iii. c. x. p. 642. D. Conf. Mill. et Wolff. ad Philip. iii. 3.

The ſentiments of the Priſcillianiſts concerning the ſcriptures, and upon other points. IX. *Charges of falſhood and lewdneſs brought againſt them by Jerom and Auguſtine conſidered.* X. *The like in pope Leo.* XI. *An article of Philaſter in their favour.* XII. *The concluſion.*

I. SAYS Jerom, 'Priſcillian [a] biſhop of Abila, who by 'means of the faction of Hydatius and Ithacius was put to 'death at Treves, by order of the uſurper Maximus, wrote 'many ſmall pieces, ſome of which have reached us. To this 'day he is accuſed by ſome, as having been of the Gnoſtic 'hereſy, holding the ſame principles with Baſilides and Mar-'cion, mentioned by Irenæus. Others defend him, ſaying, 'that he did not hold the opinions imputed to him.'

Jerom here ſays, that Priſcillian had written many ſmall pieces: and he ſeems to ſay, that he had ſeen ſome of them. I do not recollect any thing of them to be now extant, except ſome paſſages of an epiſtle of his, cited by Oroſius in his Commonitorium, or Memoir, ſent to Auguſtine: and they appear not a little obſcure.

II. I muſt proceed to tranſcribe the two following chapters of Jerom's Catalogue, as nearly connected with the former, and becauſe they will be of uſe to us hereafter.

'Latronian [b] of Spain, a learned man, and for his poetical 'writings fit to be compared with the ancients, was alſo put 'to death at Treves, together with Priſcillian, Feliciſſimus, 'Julian, and Euchrocia, leaders of the ſame faction. The 'monuments of his wit are ſtill extant, written in divers kinds 'of metre.'

Jerom therefore muſt have ſeen likewiſe ſome of the works of Latronian, as well as of Priſcillian, though none of them have come down to us.

III. 'Tiberian [c] of Bætica, accuſed of the ſame hereſy with 'Priſcillian, wrote an apology for himſelf in a pompous and 'laboured ſtyle. Afterwards, when his friends had been put 'to death, weary of his exile, he changed his mind, and, to

[a] Priſcillianus Abilæ epiſcopus, qui factione Hydatii et Ithacii Trevenis a Maximo tyranno cæſus eſt, edidit multa opuſcula, de quibus ad nos aliqua pervenerunt. Hic uſque hodie a nonnullis Gnoſticæ, id eſt, Baſilidis et Marcionis, de quibus Irenæus ſcripſit, hæreſeos accuſatur, defendentibus aliis, non eum ita ſenſiſſe, ut arguitur. De V. I. cap. 121.

[b] Latronianus, provinciæ Hiſpaniæ, valde eruditus, et in metrico opere veteribus componendus, cæſus eſt et ipſe Treviris, cum Priſcilliano, Feliciſſimo, Juliano, Euchrocia, ejuſdem factionis auctoribus. Exſtant ejus ingenii opera diverſis metris edita. Ib. cap. 122. [c] Tiberianus Bæticus ſcripſit pro ſuſpicione qua cum Priſcilliano accuſabatur hæreſeos Apologeticum tumenti compoſitoque ſermone. Poſtea, poſt ſuorum cædem tædio victus exilii mutavit propoſitum, et juxta ſanctam Scripturam, canis reverſus ad vomitum ſuum, filiam, devotam Chriſto virginem, matrimonio copulavit. Ib. cap. 123.

'uſe

'use the words of scripture, *the dog is returned to his own vomit* 'again, he persuaded his daughter, though a virgin devoted 'to Christ, to enter into the state of marriage.'

The last sentence in that chapter is not clear; I find it differently translated. Du Pin[d]: 'After the death of his friends, 'overcome by the tiresomness of a long exile, he married a 'young woman consecrated to Christ.' Tillemont: 'At 'length, he was weary of his exile, and quitted the party 'which he had embraced: but falling into a new fault, (to 'shew that he was no longer a Priscillianist) he married his 'daughter, who had consecrated her virginity to Christ.' Some would have it, that he married his own daughter; but 'surely without reason.

IV. As Jerom in the chapter just transcribed speaks of an apology written by Tiberian, it may not be amiss to add here a chapter of Isidore of Seville, in his book of Ecclesiastical Writers, concerning Idacius, one of Priscillian's accusers. He is different from Ithacius the chronologer, who [g] flourished about the year 445, though S. Basnage [h] speaks of the chronologer as one of the accusers of Priscillian. However, in another place [i] he speaks of him agreeably to the present sentiments of other learned moderns.

Says Isidore: 'Idacius [k] a Spanish bishop, wrote a book, 'which was a sort of an apology; in which he shewed the 'detestable doctrines of Priscillian, and his magical arts, and 'shameful lewdness. And he says, that one Mark of Mem-'phis, a great magician, and disciple of Manes, was Priscil-

[d] Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 241.

[e] Il fe laſſa enfin de ſon exil, et quitta le parti qu'il avoit embraſſé. Mais tombant dans une nouvelle faute, (pour montrer qu'il n'eſtoit plus Priſcillianiſte,) il épouſa ſa fille, qui avoit conſacré ſa virginité à J. C. Les Priſcillianiſtes. Art. xxiii. p. viii.

[f] Matrimonio copulavit] Id eſt, coëgit, ut duceret. Sic enim explicat Sophronius, ac quis accipiat illum suam ipsius auxilliatricem. Lambec. Scholion, ap. Fabric. Bib. Gr. Vid. ibid. Mariani et aliorum annotationes.

[g] Idatius, seu Hydatius, Lucensis Hispanus, patria Gallecus, domo Lucensis.—Episcopus, claruit anno 445. ——Obiit anno 468, vel sequente, admodum grandevus. Scripsit Chronicon ab anno 379. ad ann. 428,——idque postea ad annum 467 produxit. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 113. Et Conf. Pagi ad ann. 469. n. v. et A. 431. n. lvi. Du Pin. T. 3. P. ii. p. 232.

[h] Magni quidem in ea re momenti est Idacii auctoritas, qui de miseri Priscilliani accusatoribus existimatur. Ad annum vero Theodosii ix. scribit in Chronico.—S. Basn. ann. 386. n. xi. Vid. eund ad ann. 387. n. vi.

[i] Vid. ann. 468. n. v.

[k] Idacius Hispaniarum episcopus, cognomento et eloquio Clarus, scripsit quemdam librum sub Apologetici specie: in quo detestanda Priscilliani dogmata, et maleficiorum ejus artes, libidinumque ejus probra, demonstrat: ostendens, Marcum quemdam Memphiticum, magiæ scientissimum, discipulum Manis fuisse, et Priscilliani magistrum. Hic autem cum Ursacio episcopo, ob necem ejusdem *Priscilliani*, cujus accusatores extiterant, Ecclesiæ communione privatus, exilio condemnatur, ibique diem ultimum obiit, Theodosio majore et Valentiniano regnantibus. Ibid. De Script. Ec. cap. 2.

'lian's maſter. This Idacius, together with the biſhop Urſa-
'cius, on account of the death of Priſcillian, whoſe accuſers
'they had been, was deprived of the communion of the church,
'and ſent into baniſhment, where he died in the time of The-
'odoſius the elder and Valentinian.'

So writes Iſidore of Seville, if he may be relied upon. It is a pity, that Jerom did not give an account of this work, if Ithacius or Idacius was the author of it. Cave [l] ſuppoſes Idacius, biſhop of Emerita, to be meant by Iſidore. Tillemont thinks [m], that Ithacius, whom Sulpicius calls biſhop of Soſſuba, was the author of this book: which to me alſo ſeems more probable; however this is a thing of ſmall moment.

V. As Priſcillian was the author of a ſect in the fourth century, which made a great noiſe in the world, and ſubſiſted a good while, I have judged it not improper, to give a diſtinct account of him and his followers.

We are not exactly informed of the time of the riſe of this ſect. Tillemont [n] placeth it in 379: and it muſt be owned, that * Proſper, in his Chronicle, ſpeaks of it under the year 379, when Auſonius and Olybrius were conſuls. Nevertheleſs, he needs not to be underſtood to ſay preciſely, that in that year, but only at that time, or about that time, appeared the hereſy of Priſcillianiſm. And I think we may form a different computation: a council was called at Saragoſſa upon occaſion of it in 380, as will be ſeen preſently; which may induce us to think, it firſt appeared four or five years ſooner, perhaps, in 375 or 376: for nothing gets to a head, and becomes formidable at once. However I have dated it no higher than 378.

VI. Says Sulpicius Severus, whom I now intend to tranſcribe very largely, 'Mark [o], a magician of Memphis in Egypt,
'coming into Spain, perverted Agape, a woman of quality,
'and Elpidius the rhetorician: they inſtructed Priſcillian.'

Whether this be quite right, I dare not take upon me to determine; for Sulpicius, who mentions theſe particulars, had juſt before ſaid, that [p] the origin of the ſect was doubtful and

l Idacius Clarus, diverſus ab Ithacio epiſcopo Soſſubenſi, urbis cujuſdam, forſan Emeritæ epiſcopus, claruit anno 385. H. L. T. i. p. 280. m Les Priſcillianiſtes. art. 13. et note iv. T. viii.

n Ibid. art. 3. * Ea tempeſtate Priſcillianus epiſcopus de Gallicia ex Manichæorum et Gnoſticorum dogmate hæreſim ſui nominis condidit. Proſp. ap. Scal. Theſ. p. 188. o Primus eam intra Hiſpanias Marcus intulit, Egypto profectus, Memphis ortus. Hujus auditores fuere Agape quædam non ignobiles mulier et rhetor Elpidius. Ab his Priſcillianus eſt inſtitutus. S. Sever. Hiſt. Sacr. l. ii. cap. 46 al. 61. ſub in. p Namque tum primum infamis illa Gnoſticorum hæreſis intra Hiſpanias deprehenſa.—Origo iſtius mali oriens ab Ægyptiis. Sed quibus ibi initiis coaluerit, haud facile eſt differere. Ib.

obſcure.

obſcure. And he himſelf more than once calls [q] Priſcillian the author of it. However, it muſt be owned, that Iſidore above-cited, relates as from Ithacius, that Mark, a magician of Memphis, was Priſcillian's maſter. And Jerom in one of his letters ſays, that [r] Agape taught Elpidius, and he Priſcillian.

'When [s] this ſect was conſiderably increaſed,' as the hiſtorian proceeds, 'and many men and women, ſome of them of 'high rank, had embraced its tenets, and ſeveral biſhops, 'particularly Inſtantius and Salvianus, had declared in favour 'of it; Hyginus, biſhop of Corduba, in whoſe neighbour-'hood eſpecially it prevailed, gave information of it to Ida-'cius biſhop of Emerita: who immediately engaged in the 'affair, and acted with ſuch heat and violence, as was more 'likely to exaſperate than reclaim men. Indeed he may be 'compared to a man, who thruſts a lighted torch into com-'buſtible matter.'

'After there had been a great deal of contention, and many 'warm diſputes, a ſynod was convened at Saragoſſa [in 380]; 'where alſo the biſhops of Aquitain were preſent; but Priſ-'cillian and his friends refuſed to appear.' Poſſibly, becauſe they had already had experience of the unequal judgments of men; or becauſe they were determined to follow their own convictions. 'Sentence therefore was paſſed upon them in 'their abſence. In that ſentence were included Inſtantius and 'Salvian, biſhops, and Elpidius and Priſcillian, laymen. It

[q] Priſcillianum——principem malorum omnium. Id. c. 47. al. 63.

Cæterum——non repreſſa eſt hæreſis, quæ illo auctore proruperat. c. 51. al. 66.

[r] In Hiſpaniis Agape Elpidium, mulier virum, cæcum cæca, duxit in foveam, ſucceſſoremque ſui habuit Priſcillianum. Ad Cteſiph. ep. 43. T. iv. p. 477.

[s] Is ubi doctrinam exitiabilem adgreſſus eſt, multos nobilium, pluresque populares, auctoritate perſuadendi, et arte blandiendi, allicuit in ſocietatem. Ad hoc mulieres novarum rerum cupidæ, fluxa fide, et ad omnia curioſo ingenio, catervatim ad eum confluebant. ——Jamque paullatim perfidiæ illius tabes pleraque Hiſpaniæ pervaſerat. Quin et nonnulli epiſcoporum depravati. Inter quos Inſtantius et Salvianus Priſcillianum non ſolum conſenſione, ſed ſub quadam etiam conjuratione ſuſceperant. Quo Adelphus [Hyginus] epiſcopus Cordubenſis, ea vicino agens, comperto, ad Idatium Emeritæ civitatis ſacerdotem refert. Is vero ſine modo, et ultra quam oportuit, Inſtantium ſocioſque ejus laceſſens, facem quandam naſcenti incendio ſubdidit: ut exaſperavit malos, potius, quam compreſſerit. Ibid. cap. 46. al. c. 61. et 62.

Igitur poſt multa inter eos, et digna memoratu certamina, apud Cæſarauguſtam ſynodus congregatur. Cui tum etiam Aquitani epiſcopi interfuere. Verum hæretici committere ſe judicio non auſi, in abſentes tum lata ſententia, damnatique Inſtantius et Salvianus Epiſcopi, Helpidius et Priſcillianus laici. Additum etiam, ut, ſi quis damnatos in communionem recepiſſet, ſciret, in ſe eandem ſententiam promendam. Atque id Ithacio Oſſubenſi epiſcopo negotium datum, ut decretum Epiſcoporum in omnium notitiam deferret, maximeque Hyginum extra communionem faceret: qui cum primus omnium inſectari palam hæreticos cœpiſſet, poſtea turpiter depravatus in communionem eos recipiſſet. Interim Inſtantius et Salvianus, damnati judicio ſacerdotum, Priſcillianum etiam laicum, ſed principem malorum omnium, una ſecum Cæſaraugustana Synodo notatum, ad confirmandas vires ſuas Epiſcopum Labinenſi oppido conſtituunt: rati nimirum, ſi hominem acrem et callidum ſacerdotali auctoritate

'was

'was added, that if any received the condemned perſons to 'communion, he ſhould be liable to the ſame ſentence. And 'it was ordered, that Ithacius, biſhop of Soſſuba, ſhould no-'tify the decrees of the council to others, and particularly 'ſhould take care, that Hyginus be excommunicated: who, 'though he had firſt informed againſt them, had ſince received 'the heretics to communion. Hitherto Priſcillian was a lay-'man; but now Inſtantius and Salvian, who were his ſteady 'friends, thought it beſt to make him biſhop of Abila, who 'was the chief leader of the ſect. After this Idacius and Itha-'cius, deſirous to put an end to the affair, before it prevailed 'too much, imprudently applied to the ſecular powers. They 'therefore went to the emperor; and preſenting requeſts un-'becoming the epiſcopal character, they obtained a reſcript 'from Gratian, that all heretics ſhould not only be excluded 'from the churches, and from the cities where they dwelt, 'but from the whole extent of the Roman empire: which 'obliged many of theſe Gnoſtics to abſcond, or flee from the 'uſual places of their abode.'

'In this extremity Inſtantius, Salvian, and Priſcillian, went 'to Rome, in order to clear themſelves before Damaſus, then 'biſhop of that city, of the charges that had been brought 'againſt them. In their journey, they made converts at ſeve-'ral places. When they came to Bourdeaux, Delphinus the 'biſhop would not ſuffer them to make any ſtay there: how-'ever, they were entertained at the country-ſeat of Euchrocia.'

armaſſent, tutiores fore ſeſe. Tum vero Idacius atque Ithacius acrius inſtare, arbitrantes poſſe inter initia malum comprimi: ſed parum ſanis conſiliis ſeculares judices adeunt, ut eorum decretis atque exſecutionibus hæretici urbibus pellerentur. Igitur poſt multa et fœda Idacio ſupplicante, elicitur a Gratiano tum Imperatore reſcriptum, quo univerſi hæretici excedere non eccleſiis tantum et urbibus, ſed extra omnes terras propelli jubebantur. Quo comperto, Gnoſtici diffiſi rebus ſuis, non auſi judicio certare, ſponte ceſſere, qui epiſcopi videbantur. Cæteros metus diſperſit. Ib. cap. 47. al. c. 62 et 63.

At tum Inſtantius, Salvianus et Priſcillianus, Romam profecti, ut apud Damaſum, Urbis ea tempeſtate Epiſcopum, objecta purgarent. Sed iter eis præter interiorem Aquitaniam fuit: ubi dum ab imperitis magnifice ſuſcepti, ſparſere perfidiæ ſemina. Maximeque Eluſanam plebem, ſine tum bonam et religioni ſtudentem, pravis prædicationibus pervertere. A Burdigala per Delphinum repulſi, tamen in agro Euchrociæ aliquantiſper morati, infecere nonnullos ſuis erroribus. Inde iter cœptum ingreſſi, turpi ſane pudibundoque comitatu, cum uxoribus, atque alienis etiam feminis, in quis erat Euchrocia, ac filia ejus Procula: de qua fuit in ſermone hominum, Priſcilliani ſtupro gravidam, partum ſibi graminibus abegiſſe. Hi ubi Romam pervenere, Damaſo ſe purgare cupientes, ne in conſpectum quidem ejus admiſſi ſunt. Regreſſi Mediolanum, æque adverſantem ſibi Ambroſium repererunt. Tum vertere conſilia, ut, quia duobus Epiſcopis, quorum ea tempeſtate ſumma auctoritas erat, non illuſerant, largiendo et ambiendo ab Imperatore cupita extorquerent. Ita corrupto Macedonio, tum Magiſtro Officiorum, reſcriptum eliciunt: quo calcatis quæ prius decreta erant, reſtitui eccleſiis jubebantur. Hoc freti Inſtantius et Priſcillianus repentvere Hiſpanias. Nam Salvianus in Urbe obierat. Ac tum ſine ullo certamine eccleſias, quibus præfuerant, recepere. Ib. cap. 48. al. c. 63. et 64.

Here

Here the hiſtorian, whom I tranſcribe, makes reflexions upon their manner of travelling; they having women in their company, particularly Euchrocia, wife or widow of Elpidius, and her daughter Procula. Concerning whom too it was ſaid, that ſhe had been with child by Priſcillian, and had procured an abortion. Indeed ſuch a way of travelling will be liable to ſome cenſures, though people behave with the utmoſt purity and ſobriety. But, poſſibly, the violent proceedings of Ithacius might diſpoſe ſome of Priſcillian's friends to accompany him in this journey, as the only means of their ſafety: and they might be unwilling to be left behind at that ſeaſon. Euchrocia, in particular, whoſe habitation was at Bourdeaux, or near it, might be under ſome apprehenſions from Delphinus, biſhop of Bourdeaux, and one of thoſe biſhops of Aquitain, who was preſent at the late council at Saragoſſa, and had joined in the ſentence of condemnation there paſſed upon Priſcillian and his adherents.

'When they came to Rome, deſirous to clear themſelves to 'Damaſus, he would neither hear them nor ſee them. From 'thence therefore they went back to Milan; but neither would 'Ambroſe hear their apology. Whereupon they altered their 'deſign of trying biſhops, and applied to court; where they 'obtained a repeal of the fore-mentioned reſcript of Gratian, 'with an order, that they ſhould be reſtored to their churches.'

Sulpicius ſays, that this was owing to ſums of money, wherewith they bribed the emperor's officers. Whether this be truly ſaid, or not, there are no writings of Priſcillian, or his friends, remaining, to give us any information. But this reſcript ſeems to have continued in force in Spain throughout the reign of Gratian, and the reigns of Theodoſius and Valentinian, to the time of (A) Honorius: for we find, from the firſt council of Toledo, in 400, (of which more hereafter,) that the Priſcillaniſt biſhops of that country were then in poſſeſſion of their ſees.

'Now then Inſtantius and Priſcillian returned to Spain, and 'took poſſeſſion of their churches without difficulty; but Sal-'vian had died at Rome.'

(A) That edict of Gratian is by Baronius eſteemed a great crime: for which God ſuffered him to be afterwards aſſaſſinated by Maximus. Immane profecto piaculum, quo ſuggeſtione Macedonii Gratianus Princeps maxime pius, ejus, quod pie ſanctèque ſanxerat, prævaricator eſt factus. E quo quidem facinore ſibi necem compa-ravit. Nam ad immane ſcelus vindicandum, et hæreticos libera voluntate indulgentia Gratiani vagantes comprimendos, atque digna animadverſione pleſtendos, ſuſcitavit adverſus eum Deus Maximum Tyrannum, qui Imperatori necem tulit, et in principes hæreticorum gladio animadvertit. Baron. Ann. 381. n. cx.

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'Volventius[t] the proconſul, paying a due regard to Gra-
'tian's reſcript, favoured them; and Ithacius, who ſtill had a
'mind to be troubleſome, was checked, and was in danger of
'being taken up, as a diſturber of the peace of the churches:
'he therefore went away into Gaul.' Soon after this Maximus, a Spaniard, who had aſſumed the purple in Britain, invaded Gaul, and alſo became maſter of Spain, and had Gratian aſſaſſinated in Auguſt or September, 383. 'When Maxi-
'mus made his public entrance at Treves, Ithacius was there;
'and in a ſhort time he preſented to the uſurping emperor a
'petition againſt Priſcillian and his adherents, filled with in-
'vidious charges of many crimes. Whereupon the emperor
'appointed a council to be held at Bourdeaux, and ſent orders
'to the præfect of Gaul, and the vicar of Spain, to take care
'that all perſons concerned ſhould appear there. Inſtantius
'was firſt heard, and his defence being judged invalid, he was
'depoſed. Priſcillian, declining the judgment of the biſhops,
'appealed to the emperor.'

Priſcillian might think he had good reaſon to decline the judgment of the ſynod of Bourdeaux; foraſmuch as Delphinus, biſhop of that city, had already declared againſt him at the council of Saragoſſa. This council of Bourdeaux was held in 384, or rather in 385.

'The affair was now brought before the emperor: and the
'biſhops Idacius and Ithacius, the accuſers, were very for-
'ward to appear.' Here Sulpicius ſays, 'he would not blame
'their zeal againſt heretics, if they had not been too intent
'upon victory:' intimating, I think, that there was ſomewhat blameable in their manner of proceeding. He here alſo gives a very indifferent character of Ithacius, which I may take farther notice of hereafter. 'Martin biſhop of Tours had oc-

[t] Verum Trachio [Ithacio] ad reſiſtendum non animus, ſed facultas defuit: quia hæretici corrupto Volventio Proconſule vires ſuas confirmaverant. Quinetiam Ithacius ab his quaſi perturbator eccleſiarum reus poſtulatus, juſſuſque per atrocem exſecutionem deduci, trepidus profugit in Gallias.—Jam rumor inciſerat, Clementem Maximum intra Britannias ſumſiſſe imperium, ac brevi in Gallias erupturum. Ita tum Ithacius ſtatuit, licet rebus dubiis, novi Imperatoris adventum exſpectare: interim ſibi nihil agitandum. Igitur ubi Maximus oppidum Trevirorum victor ingreſſus eſt, ingerit preces plenas in Priſcillianum ac ſocios ejus invidiæ atque criminum. Quibus permotus Imperator, datis ad Præfectum Galliarum atque Vicarium Hiſpaniarum literis, omnes omnino, quos labes illa involverat, deduci ad Synodum Burdegalenſem jubet. Ita deducti Inſtantius et Priſcillianus: quorum Inſtantius prior juſſus cauſam dicere, poſtquam ſe parum expurgabat, indignus eſſe epiſcopatu pronuntiatus eſt. Priſcillianus vero, ne ab Epiſcopis audiretur, ad Principem provocavit. Permiſſumque id noſtrorum inconſtantia.——Cap. 49. al. c. 64.

Ita omnes, quos cauſa involverat, ad Regem deducti. Secuti etiam accuſatores, Idacius et Ithacius Epicopi: quorum ſtudium in expugnandis hæreticis non repre-

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'caſion to come to Treves at this time: and he did not ceaſe 'to reprove Ithacius, and to charge him to give over the pro- 'ſecution: he alſo waited on the emperor, and intreated him 'not to touch the lives of theſe unhappy men. It was ſuffi- 'cient, he ſaid, and more than ſufficient, that heretics be ex- 'pelled from the churches by the authority of biſhops; but it 'was a new and unheard-of thing, that a ſecular judge ſhould 'take cognizance of the affairs of the church. In a word, as 'long as Martin was at Treves, the hearing was deferred: and 'when he was going away, with a reſolution that can never be 'too much commended, he demanded, and obtained a promiſe 'from the emperor, that nothing ſhould be done to affect the 'lives of thoſe perſons. But afterwards, the emperor being 'miſled by the biſhops Magnus and Rufus, and diverted by 'them from the milder counſels firſt reſolved upon, referred 'the hearing of the cauſe to the præfect Evodius, a man of a 'moroſe and ſevere diſpoſition. There were two hearings of 'the cauſe before him: and Priſcillian being convicted of 'practiſing magic, and not denying, that he had taught ob- 'ſcene doctrines, and held nocturnal aſſemblies with lewd wo- 'men, and been wont to pray naked among them; Evodius 'pronounced him guilty, and put him into cuſtody, till he 'could make his report to the emperor. When the proceed- 'ings at the trial were brought to the palace, the emperor 'pronounced ſentence, that Priſcillian and his adherents ought 'to be put to death.'

'But Ithacius perceiving how diſagreeable it would be to 'the biſhops, if he ſhould aſſiſt at the laſt proceedings againſt 'men who were to receive ſentence of death, (for the cauſe 'was to be reheard;) withdrew himſelf from the hearing: 'though to no purpoſe, after having compleated his wicked

harderem, ſi non ſtudio vincendi plus quam oportuit certallent.——Namque tum Martinus apud Treveros conſtitutus, non deſinebat increpare Ithacium, ut ab accuſatione deſiſteret: Maximum orare, ut ſanguine infelicium abſtineret: ſatis ſuperque fuiſſe, ut Epiſcopali ſententia hæretici pellerentur ecclefiis pellerentur: novum eſſe et inauditum nefas, ut cauſam Eccleſiæ judex ſeculi judicaret. Denique, quoad uſque Martinus Treveris fuit, dilata cognitio eſt. Et mox diſceſſurus, egregia auctoritate a Maximo elicuit ſponſionem, nihil cruentum in reos conſtituendum. Sed poſtea Imperator per Magnum et Rufum Epiſcopos depravatus, et a mitioribus conſiliis deflexus, cauſam Præfecto Evodio permiſit, viro acri et ſevero. Qui Priſcillianum gemino judicio auditum, convictumque maleficii, nec diffitentem obſcœnis ſe ſtuduiſſe doctrinis, nocturnos etiam turpium feminarum egiſſe conventus, nudumque orare ſolitum, nocentem pronuntiavit, redegitque in cuſtodiam, donec ad Principem referret. Geſtis ad Palatium delatis, cenſuit Imperator, Priſcillianum ſocioſque ejus capitis damnari oportere. Cap. L. al. c. 64. et 65.

Cæterum Ithacius videns, quam invidioſum ſibi apud Epiſcopos foret, ſi adcuſato etiam poſtremis rerum capitalium judiciis adſtitiſſet, (ſcenim iterati judicium neceſſe

'deſign,

'design. Thereupon Maximus appointed, that Patricius, an 'advocate of the treasury, should perform the part of accuser. 'Upon his motion judgment was given, and Priscillian was 'condemned to die; and with him Feliciſſimus and Armenius, 'two presbyters, who had lately left the Catholics to follow 'Priscillian: Latronian also and Euchrocia were put to death. 'Instantius, who, as before said, had been condemned by the 'bishops, was banished to one of the British isles, called Sy-'lina, [Scilly.] The sentences passed upon the rest were as 'follows: Asarinus and Aurelius, deacons, were put to death; 'Tiberian was banished to the island Sylina, and his goods 'were confiscated; Tertullus, Potamius, and John, men of 'low rank, and thought worthy of mercy, because they had 'confessed their own fault, and informed against their associ-'ates before they were put to the question, were banished 'for a time only, and within the limits of Gaul.—Nevertheless, after that Priscillian had been executed, the heresy 'which sprang from him was not suppressed, but was rather 'the more confirmed, and farther spread. For his followers, 'who before honoured him as a holy man, afterwards began 'to respect him as a martyr. The bodies of those who had 'been executed were carried into Spain, and there interred 'with much solemnity: and to swear by him was reckoned a 'very sacred oath. And among our people, (that is, the ca-'tholics in Gaul,) has been enkindled an irreconcileable war, 'which for these fifteen years past has been carried on with 'fierce contentions, impossible by any means to be composed.'

Thus I have carried on the history of Priscillian, and his followers, from their first appearance to the time of his death, and the death of several of his friends with him; and

erat:) subtrahit se cognitioni, frustra, callido jam scelere perfecto. At tum per Maximum adcusator adponitur Patricius quidam, fisci patronus. Ita eo insistente, Priscillianus capitis damnatus est, unaque cum eo Feliciſſimus et Armenius, qui nuper a Catholicis clerici Priscillianum secuti, desciverant. Latronianus quoque et Euchrocia gladio peremti. Instantius, quem superius ab Episcopis damnatum diximus, in Sylinam insulam, quæ ultra Britanniam sita est, deportatus. Hum deinde in reliquos sequentibus judicus, damnatique Asarinus et Aurelius Diaconi gladio. Tiberianus, ademtis bonis, in Sylinam insulam datus. Tertullus, Potamius, et Joannes, tamquam viliores personæ, et digni misericordia, quia ante quæstionem se ac socios prodidissent, temporario exilio intra Gallias relegati.——Cæterum Priscilliano occiso non solum non repressa est hæresis, quæ illo auctore proruperat, sed confirmata, latius propagata est. Namque sectatores ejus, qui eum prius ut sanctum honoraverant, postea ut Martyrem colere cœperunt. Peremtorum corpora ad Hispanias relata, magnisque obsequiis celebrata eorum funera. Quin et jurare per Priscillianum summa religio putabatur. Ac inter nostros perpetuum discordiarum bellum exarserat: quod jam per quindecim annos fœdis dissensionibus agitatum, nullo modo sopiri poterat. Cap. 51. al. c. 65. et 66.

as we have the advantage of a contemporary hiſtorian, I have taken his account very much at large.

It is not eaſy to ſay exactly the time of theſe events. Tillemont[a] thinks, theſe executions were made at Treves in 385: Baſnage[x] not till 387. And they both ſeem to argue plauſibly. Other learned men[*] are for the year 386.

VII. May it not be proper for us now to make ſome remarks, and try, whether we can form a reaſonable judgment concerning the innocence, or the guilt of Priſcillian and his followers? And I think, we may for the preſent take little notice of the charge of magic, few of us now a-days knowing what it means: and perhaps in old times, when the charge of magical practices was more common, many who talked about it, had no diſtinct notion of it. Moreover, the charge of magic has been ſo often found, upon examination, to be falſe and malicious, that of late little regard is had to it: we may therefore diſmiſs that part of the accuſation as frivolous and inſignificant, and confine our obſervations to other things, ſuch as the obſcene doctrines, and indecent actions, which Priſcillian, in particular, was charged with. And it is likely, that many conſiderations may offer themſelves tending to vindicate him, and ſhew the innocence of his followers.

1. And firſt of all, it is not unlikely, that the calling them by the name of Gnoſtics, and their being ſaid to reſemble the Manichees, was one ground of the charges brought againſt them. The Manichees were in diſrepute: to the Gnoſtics in general almoſt every kind of impurity was aſcribed. When once theſe men were called Manichees, many would impute to them all the ſuppoſed erroneous principles, and evil practices of that ſect, and believe, that they were really guilty of them. Sulpicius entering upon the hiſtory of what related to them in his time, ſays, it[y] was a Gnoſtic hereſy; and again in the courſe of his narration[z] he calls them Gnoſtics. It was commonly ſaid, that the Priſcillianiſt doctrine was brought into Spain by Mark of Memphis, ſaid to be a diſciple of Manes. Maximus, the emperor, in his letter to Syricius biſhop of Rome, endeavouring to juſtify himſelf in putting them to death, calls them[a] Manichees. And if it be not improper to

[a] See Priſcillianiſts. art. ix. et note x.
[x] Ann. 386. n. xi. et 387. n. vi.
[*] Vid. Cav. H. L. De Priſcillliano.
[y] Namque tum primum infamis illa Gnoſticorum haereſis intra Hiſpanias deprehenſa. Hiſt. l. ii. c. 46. in. [z] Quo comperto, Gnoſtici diffidi rebus ſuis, &c. cap. 47. fin. [a] Cæterum quid adhuc proxime proditum ſit Manichæos ſceleris admittere, non argumentis, neque ſuſpitionibus dubiis vel incertis, ſed ipſorum confeſſione inter judicia—tua ſanctitas—cognoverit. Ap. Baron. Ann. 387. n. lxvi.

allege

allege here later writers, Jerom says, they [b] were a branch of the Manichees, Gnostics and Basilidians. How their agreement, or supposed agreement with the Manichees, was improved against them, to their prejudice, is evident from Pope [c] Leo; whose manner of insinuating the worst things against them, upon that account, must, I think, appear offensive to all candid persons.

2. Another thing that deserves consideration, is the character of the persons, who were accused and suffered in the time of Maximus, and were the leaders of the sect.

1. Priscillian, as [d] Sulpicius says, was of a noble family, rich, ingenious, always in action, eloquent, learned, and a good disputant, having read a great deal. He had a happy genius, if it had not been perverted; for he had many good qualities both of body and mind: he slept little, and was very sparing in his diet, disinterested and moderate, spending little upon himself. Moreover, he had a modesty of countenance and behaviour, which gained him the esteem and respect of many.

It is not likely, that such a man should teach lewd doctrines, and pray naked among lewd women. Indeed, it is also said of him, that [e] he was proud and conceited of his learning; nevertheless, I do not perceive, how pride should lead a man into scandalous indecencies: it would rather secure him against all such things.

There is therefore no good reason to believe that account: if he confessed such things, it was upon the rack; for it is very probable, that he was tortured. Sulpicius is a very concise writer, and does not say it expressly of Priscillian; but there can be no doubt made, but the torture was used at this trial: for he says of Tertullus and two others, that they 'made 'confession, before they were put upon the rack,' as we saw

b Priscillianus in Hispania pars Manichæi—Qui quidem partem habent Gnosticæ hæreseos, de Basilidis impietate venientem. Ad Ctes. ep. 43. T. iv. p. 476.

c Sequentes dogmata Cerdonis atque Marcionis, et cognatis suis Manichæis per omnia consonantes. Leo ep. 15. c. 4.

Faciunt hoc Priscillianistæ, faciunt Manichæi, quorum cum istis tam foederata sunt corda, ut solis nominibus discreti, sacrificiis autem suis inveniantur uniti. Ibid. c. 16. et passim.

d Ab his Priscillianus est institutus, familia nobilis, prædives opibus, acer, inquies, facundus, multa lectione eruditus, differendi ac disputandi promtissimus. Felix profecto, si non pravo studio corrupisset optimum ingenium. Prorsus in eo animi et corporis bona cerneres. Vigilare multum, famem et sitim ferre poterat, habendi minime cupidus, utendi parcissimus.——Quippe humilitas speciem ore et habitu prætendens honorem sui et reverentiam cunctis injecerat. Ib. cap. 46.

e Sed idem vanissimus, et plus justo inflatior profanarum rerum scientia: quin et magicas artes ab adolescentia eum exercuisse creditum est. Cap. 46. p. 280.

just

ſuſt now. Tillemont[f] alſo infers this from ſome things ſaid by Pacatus. But forced confeſſions are often falſe. However, of this ſome farther notice may be taken hereafter.

2. Another of the ſufferers is Euchrocia, widow of Elpidius: ſhe too was beheaded, or otherwiſe put to death with Priſcillian, as we have ſeen in Sulpicius. Of her Pacatus ſays in his Panegyric: 'What[g] were the crimes, for which the widow of an illuſtrious poet was dragged to puniſhment with a hook? She had no other fault, but that of being too religious, and worſhipping the Deity with more than common zeal.' Euchrocia's moral character therefore was unblemiſhed: ſhe had no other fault, but that ſhe was a Priſcillianiſt.

Auſonius celebrating Elpidius among the other profeſſors of Bourdeaux, of whom he had been one, commends his eloquence, and ſays, 'he[h] was happy in dying before he reached old age, as he was not witneſs to the violent death of his wife, nor the fault of his daughter.' By which we perceive, that the ſtory told of Procula by Sulpicius was common. Nevertheleſs it might not be true: it might be only common report, as the expreſſions of Sulpicius †‡ ſeem to imply: for ſuch ſtories, when once raiſed concerning ſome perſons, can never be dropt or forgotten. And that it was not true, may be argued from the character of Euchrocia, and from her continued reſpect for Priſcillian: to which may be added, that, if our hiſtorians ſay right, Elpidius likewiſe had been a favourer of Priſcillian, and even his maſter. And it may be reckoned very improbable, that Elpidius ſhould either inſtil into Priſcillian lewd principles, or receive them from him.

3. Another put to death with Priſcillian was Latronian, or Matronian; of whom Jerom writes, as before quoted, that he was a learned man, and for his poetical works worthy to be compared with the ancients. It is not likely, that Latronian ſhould be an aſſociate with any man in ſuch things as were laid to the charge of Priſcillian.

f Il ſemble, ſelon Pacatus, que l'on ait employé tourmens et la queſtion pour examiner cette affaire, et que cela ſoit fait en preſence meſme des Eveſques accuſateurs. Les Priſcillianiſtes. Art. IX. T. viii. —— cum gemitus et tormenta miſerorum auribus ac luminibus hauſiſſent. Pacat. Paneg cap. 29.

g Sed nimirum graves ſuberant, invidioſæque cauſæ, ut unco ad pœnam clari vatis matrona raperetur. Objiciebatur enim, atque etiam exprobabatur mulieri viduæ nimia religio, et diligentius culta Divinitas. Pacat. Paneg. c. 29.

h Facunde, docte, lingua et ingenio celer,

— — — — — — — —

Minus malorum munere expertus Dei,
Medio quod ævi raptus es:
Errore quod non deviantis filiæ,
Pœnaque læſus conjugis.

Auſon. Profeſs. n. v.

†‡ De qua fuit in ſermone hominum, Priſcilliano ſtupro gravidam.

4. Beſide theſe, ſeveral others ſuffered at this time: Feliciſſimus and Armenius, preſbyters; Aſarinus and Aurelius, deacons; theſe were put to death: Inſtantius and Tiberian were baniſhed. Of all whom we know nothing amiſs, but that they were followers or friends of Priſcillian.

5. Among whom there were likewiſe many others of rank and quality, and ſeveral biſhops, particularly Salvian, who died at Rome. And I think it is very obſervable, that Hyginus of Corduba, who firſt ſent informations againſt them to Idacius biſhop of Emerita, afterwards entertained a favourable opinion of them, and received them to communion. For which too he was ſoon after depoſed and excommunicated by the council of Saragoſſa in 380, or 381. I can conceive no reaſon for this alteration of his conduct, but that he now embraced their principles, as right and true; or had found, that they were not ſo abſurd and unreaſonable, as he once ſuppoſed them to be; and therefore he diſliked the heat and violence with which Idacius and others proſecuted thoſe who held them: and the better to ſecure them from the hard treatment of others, he received them to communion.

6. Beſide the numbers, and the rank and quality of the followers or friends of Priſcillian, their good character in general is another thing very much in his favour. Tiberian's daughter had devoted herſelf to virginity, whilſt he was a Priſcillianiſt; and to ſhew that he had altered his mind, he induced her to enter into the ſtate of marriage: which ſeems to ſhew, that theſe people were rather of an auſtere, than a looſe courſe of life. Sulpicius in his account of Priſcillian's journey through Aquitain to Rome, with the biſhops Inſtantius and Salvian, ſays, they [i] perverted many of the people of Eluſa, which were a good ſort of people, and much devoted to religious exerciſes.

After [k] the executions before-mentioned, the emperor Maximus, at the inſtigation of the biſhops whom he had about him, gave a commiſſion to ſome tribunes with power of the ſword to go into Spain, to make inquiry after theſe heretics, and to confiſcate their goods, or put to death ſuch as ſhould be ap-

[i] —Sparſere perfidiæ ſemina: Maximeque Eluſanam plebem, ſane tum bonam et religioni ſtudentem, pravis prædicationibus pervertere. H. S. l. ii. cap. 48. ſub in. al. cap. 63.

[k] Et jam pridie Imperator ex eorum ſententia decreverat. Tribunos ſumma poteſtate armatos ad Hiſpanias mittere, qui hæreticos inquirerent, deprehenſis vitam et bona adimerent. Nec dubium erat, quin ſanctorum etiam maximam turbam tempeſtas iſta depopulatura eſſet, parvo diſcrimine inter hominum genera. Etenim tum ſolis oculis judicabatur, cum quis pallore potius, aut veſte, quam fide hæreticus æſtimaretur. Dial. 3. cap. xi.

prehended.

prehended. This Martin earneſtly oppoſed, dreading the conſequences, and at length prevented it. 'Nor can there be any 'queſtion made,' ſays Sulpicius, 'that if the commiſſion had 'proceeded, it would have been fatal to multitudes of good 'men. For at that time little regard was had to men's real 'characters: if a man looked pale, or was modeſt in his garb, 'it was reckoned a mark of hereſy, and ſufficient to caſt him, 'without making any particular inquiry concerning his faith.' In another place Sulpicius ſays, that[1] if the biſhop Martin had not put a ſtop to that commiſſion, it would have been the ruin of the churches in Spain.

7. The good opinion, which ſuch men had of Priſcillian to the laſt, wipes off all ſuſpicion of lewd practices in him: for how was it poſſible, that they ſhould honour him as an holy man when living, or reſpect him as a martyr when dead, who had been wont to pray naked among lewd women!

3. There are ſome circumſtances to be obſerved, which appear to be in favour of Priſcillian and his friends. After they had been condemned in the council of Saragoſſa, in 380, or 381, and after an edict had been obtained from Gratian, to the prejudice of all called heretics; Inſtantius and Salvian and Priſcillian went into Italy, firſt to Damaſus at Rome, and then to Ambroſe at Milan, to apologize for themſelves: which ſeems to imply, that they were not conſcious of any very notorious miſconduct, and that they hoped to be able to juſtify themſelves before thoſe eminent biſhops. And though they did not obtain a hearing, they did not deſpond: but with a conſciouſneſs of their innocence, as it ſeems, applied to Gratian, and procured a repeal of the former edict againſt them, which had been given at the requeſt of Idacius and Ithacius; and they obtained from the emperor a new edict, whereby they were reſtored to their churches. And whatever Sulpicius may ſay of the methods by which this new reſcript was obtained, it remained in force throughout the reigns of Theodoſius and Valentinian to the time of Honorius and Arcadius: for the Priſcillianiſts were in poſſeſſion of their churches when the council of Toledo met, in the year 400, as may appear hereafter.

What I would now argue from hence is, that when Priſcillian and Inſtantius applied to Gratian for a repeal of the former reſcript, and obtained a new reſcript for reſtoring them and their friends to their churches; the odious and infamous doc-

[1] —— Dummodo ut et Tiberi jam in excidium eccleſiarum ad Hiſpanias miſſi reſcinderentur. Dialog. 3. cap. xiii.

trines and actions, afterwards alleged againſt Priſcillian at his trial, were not generally known to the catholics, or not believed by them: for if they had, a reſcript would not have been granted to reſtore them to their churches. I think likewiſe, that it may be argued, that the infamous charges againſt Priſcillian and others were not univerſally credited, even after their execution; for if they had, ſome care would have been taken about the repeal of this new reſcript, before the year 400.

Another thing, which may be reckoned a circumſtance in their favour, is, that Tiberian of Bætica wrote an Apology for himſelf and his ſect: but no apology can be made for the things laid to the charge of Priſcillian, if true. It is likely, therefore, that the deſign of that work was to ſhew his own, and his friends innocence. Evil things were laid to their charge by ſome; and others admitted ſuſpicions of them: he endeavoured to ſhew, that thoſe ſuſpicions were unreaſonable.

4. In the next place let us obſerve, who were accuſers, and what was the management of the proſecution. Says Sulpicius, entering upon the account of this affair, when [m] it was brought before Maximus: 'I ſhould not blame the zeal of the biſhops 'Idacius and Ithacius againſt heretics, if they had not been 'too intent upon victory: and therefore in my opinion, both 'accuſers and accuſed were to blame. As for Ithacius, he was 'a man of no honour, and had no regard to right or wrong. 'He was audacious, impudent, proud, extravagant in his 'expences, and indulged himſelf to a great degree in eating 'and drinking. At length he proceeded to ſuch exceſs of 'folly, that he was ready to charge all good men as aſſociates 'or diſciples of Priſcillian, who were ſtudious in reading, and 'practiſed faſting. Yea, this wretch had the aſſurance to 'charge the biſhop Martin with hereſy, a man who might be 'compared with the apoſtles!'

5. This was the chief proſecutor: and as for the manner of the proſecution, there are many things ſaid by Sulpicius in his account of this affair, which ſhew the earneſtneſs, with which it was carried on, from the beginning to the end. When Hy-

m Ita omnes, quos cauſa involverat, ad Regem deducti. Secuti etiam adcuſatores Idacius et Ithacius Epiſcopi: quorum ſtudium in expugnandis hæreticis non reprehenderem, ſi non ſtudio vincendi plus quam oportuit certaſſent. Ac mea quidem ſententia eſt, mihi tam reos quam adcuſatores diſplicere. Certe Ithacium nihil penſi, nihil ſancti habuiſſe definio. Fuit enim audax, loquax, impudens, ſumtuoſus, ventri et gulæ plurimum impertiens. Hic ſubditiæ eo uſque proceſſerat, ut omnes etiam ſanctos viros, quibus aut ſtudium inerat lectionis, aut propoſitum erat certare jejuniis, tamquam Priſcilliani ſocios aut diſcipulos, in crimen arceſſeret. Auſus etiam miſer eſt, ea tempeſtate Martino epiſcopo, viro plane Apoſtolis conferendo, pelam objectare hæreſis infamiam. Cap. L. ſubin.

ginus

ginus biſhop of Corduba had given Idacius of Emerita ſome information concerning theſe people, Sulpicius ſays, that 'Idacius preſently acted with ſuch heat and violence, as was 'more likely to exaſperate than reclaim men: that he was like 'a man, who thruſts a lighted torch into combuſtible matter.' Sulpicius afterwards blames Idacius and Ithacius for going to the court of Gratian, and 'preſenting there requeſts unbecom-'ing the epiſcopal character,' whereby they obtained an edict againſt all heretics. He alſo ſays, that when Ithacius firſt applied to Maximus at Treves, he 'preſented a petition againſt 'Priſcillian [n] and his adherents, filled with invidious charges 'of many crimes.' In theſe laſt expreſſions eſpecially, and in ſeveral expreſſions made uſe of in the characters of Idacius and Ithacius juſt tranſcribed; that 'they were too intent upon vic-'tory;' that 'Ithacius had no regard to right or wrong,' and that he was 'audacious and impudent:' I think it is intimated, that Ithacius (and perhaps Idacius likewiſe) told lies againſt Priſcillian and his adherents. And it ſeems to me, that about this time were forged thoſe charges of infamous doctrines and actions, which brought on their execution.

Beſide all this, we have perceived, that the queſtion was uſed in the trial of theſe perſons before the præfect Evodius. But there is no relying upon confeſſions extorted in that way: the accuſed might be thereby compelled to ſpeak againſt their own conviction, and be made to ſay all their accuſers wanted them to ſay.

There is one thing mentioned by Sulpicius, which very much diſparages the evidence, upon which theſe unhappy men were convicted. 'Tertullus, Potamion, and John, men of low 'condition, were judged worthy of mercy, becauſe they had 'confeſſed their own crimes, and diſcovered their aſſociates, 'before they were put to the queſtion.' Theſe, ſo far as we can perceive, were the only witneſſes, beſide the accuſers; perſons of low condition, who had been among the followers of Priſcillian, and would ſay any thing to ſave themſelves from the torture, or other puniſhment, which the circumſtances of things made them apprehenſive of.

6. We cannot forbear to obſerve, who were the judges: the ſupreme judge was the uſurping emperor Maximus, who [o] was a man of a ſevere temper; and when he came into Gaul, was elated with the ſucceſſes of a civil war. Again, it is ſaid

[n] Ingerit preces plenas in Priſcillianum ac ſocios ejus invidiæ atque criminum. Cap. 49. p. 287.

[o] — Imperatorem Maximum, ferocis ingenii virum, et bellorum civilium victoria elatum. Sulp. de Vit. Martin. c. 20. p. 337.

of him, that [p] he had many good properties, but was of a severe temper, and was covetous, and at this time in want of money; and therefore, as may be supposed, too willing to seize the estates of those who were decried as heretics. For which reason there was danger of involving many good men, and of easily admitting evidence against those who were brought into suspicion: Sulpicius assures us, that such things were then said by many. And if the emperor was not of himself covetous, his circumstances at that time rendered him necessitous; which could not but have some influence upon his counsels with regard to divers matters.

Then Evodius, the præfect of the prætorium, before whom the cause of Priscillian and his friends was heard, was of a rigid and severe temper, as before-mentioned.

7. Finally, let us observe the judgments of men at that time concerning this affair. And I think it must have been already taken notice of in the process of this history, that all did not approve of these proceedings. However, it may be worth the while to be a little more particular; and then, possibly, we may perceive, that there were many who disliked them and condemned them.

[r]. Martin, bishop of Tours, generally allowed to be an understanding and holy man, very much disliked these proceedings. Whilst the cause was depending, 'he said, it was sufficient, and more than sufficient, that those men, if convicted 'of being heretics, should be condemned by bishops, and cast 'out of the churches.' He blamed Ithacius, and earnestly charged him to give over the prosecution before the emperor: and he interceded with Maximus, 'that the lives of those men 'might not be touched.'

The conduct of Ithacius, and some others who had been active in this affair, being censured by some, there was a synod of bishops at Treves, in 387, as [s] Basnage supposes, in which their behaviour was examined. The sentence, as may be well supposed, was in his favour: he was acquitted. One bishop however there was, Theognostus by name, who had the gene-

p Maximus Imperator, alias sane bonus, depravatus consiliis sacerdotum. S. Sev. Dialog. 3. c. xi. p. 495.

Verum primo die, atque altero, suspendit hominem [Martinum] callidus Imperator, sive ut rei pondus imponeret, sive quia nimis sibi implacabilis erat, seu quia, ut plerique rem arbitrabantur, avaritia repugnabat: siquidem in bona eorum inhiaverat. Fertur enim ille vir multis bonisque artibus praeditus, adversus avaritiam parum consulisse: nisi forte regni necessitate, quippe exhausto superioribus Principibus et prohibente aerario, pene semper in expeditione atque procinctu bellorum civilium constitutus, facile excusabitur, quibuslibet consiliis subsidia imperio paravisse. Ibid. p. 508.

r Ann. 387. n. vii.

rosity

rosity openly to declare against him, and refused to communicate with him and the other bishops his favourers.

At [r] this time Martin had occasion to come to Treves, to intercede with Maximus for the lives of some officers, now in his custody, who had acted with great zeal in the service of their master Gratian. He was very unwilling to communicate with Ithacius, and the bishops who sided with him. However, he complied at last upon these two conditions, that the lives of the officers for whom he interceded should be spared, and that the tribunes, sent to Spain to try heretics there, should be recalled. And though his communion with them was but for a day only, as soon as he was got out of Treves, in his way home, he humbled himself for what he had done.

Some expressions of Sulpicius, relating to Martin's concern to prevent the tribunes going to Spain to try heretics, appear very remarkable. 'The [s] bishop Martin had several petitions,' he says, 'to ask of Maximus, when he was admitted into his 'presence. Beside others, he was to intercede for the Count 'Narses, and the president Leucadius, who had exerted 'themselves for Gratian. But his principal care was, that 'tribunes might not be sent to Spain with power of the 'sword. For it was the kind concern of Martin, not only to 'save the catholics, who were in great danger to be haraſſed

[r] Interea Episcopi, quorum communionem Martinus non inibat, trepidi ad Regem concurrunt, prædamnatos se conquerentes, quum esse de suo omnium statu, si Theognosti pertinaciam, qui eos solus palam lata sententia condemnaverat, Martini armaret auctoritas.——Sed ille, licet Episcopis nimio favore esset obnoxius——alia longe ut Simonem vincere parat. Ac primo secreto accersitum blande appellat: hæreticos prædamnatos more judiciorum publicorum, potius quam insectationibus sacerdotum: non esse causam, qua Ithacii, cæterorumque partis ejus communionem putaret esse dimittendam: *Theognostum odio potius*, quam causa fecisse dissidium: eumdemque tantum solum esse, qui se a communione interim separarit: a reliquis nihil novatum. Quæ tum ante paucos dies habita synodus Ithacium pronuntiaverat culpa non teneri. Quibus cum Martinus parum moveretur, Rex ira accenditur, ac se de conspectu ejus abripuit. Et mox percussores his, pro quibus rogaverat, diriguntur. Dialog. 3. c. 12.

Quod ubi Martino compertum jam nactus tempore est, palatium irrupit. Spondet, si parceretur, se communicaturum: quamvis ut et Tribuni jam in excidium ecclesiarum in Hispanias missi retraherentur. Nec mora intercessit. Maximus indulget omnia. Postridie Felicis Episcopi ordinatio parabatur, sanctissimi sane viri, et plane digni, qui meliore tempore sacerdos fieret. Hujus diei communionem Martinus init, satius æstimans ad horam cedere, quam his non consulere, quorum cervicibus gladius imminebat. Verum ut nec summa vi Episcopis nitentibus, ut communionem illam subscriptione firmaret, extorqueri non potuit. Postero die se inde propipiens, cum revertens in via mœstus ingemisceret, se vel ad horum noxiæ communion fuisse permixtum. Ib. c. xiii.

[s] Postridie palatium petit. Præter multas, quas evolvere longum est, has principales petitiones habebat: pro Narsete Comite, et Leucadio Præside, quorum ambo Gratiani partium erant, pertinacioribus studiis, quæ non est temporis explicare, iram victoris meriti. Illa præcipua cura, ne tribuni cum jure gladiorum ad Hispanias mitterentur. Pia enim erat solicitudo Martino, ut non solum Christianos, qui sub illa erant occasione vexandi, sed ipsos etiam hæreticos liberaret. Dial. 3. c. xi.

'thereby, but the heretics alſo.' Which is a ſtrong teſtimony to the iniquity of the proceedings of thoſe times. It alſo ſhews, I think, that neither Martin, nor the hiſtorian Sulpicius, ſuppoſed the followers of Priſcillian to be guilty of the things laid to their charge by Ithacius and his friends.

2. In 386 or 387 (B) Ambroſe, biſhop of Milan, was ſent ambaſſador to Maximus by Valentinian the younger. When he was at Treves, he refuſed to communicate with the biſhops there. In his letter to the emperor Valentinian he ſays: 'Maximus ſeeing[t], that I ſeparated myſelf from the biſhops 'of his communion, who alſo ſolicited the death of certain 'perſons who erred from the faith, in great anger bid me de-'part immediately; which I was not unwilling to do: I was 'more concerned to ſee them ſending into baniſhment the bi-'ſhop Hyginus, an old man who had nothing left but the 'laſt breath. And when I deſired his courtiers, not to ſend 'away the old man without cloathing, and other neceſſaries, 'I was ſent away myſelf.' All that Ambroſe ſays, therefore, of the Priſcillianiſts is, that they 'erred from the faith.' And it is plain, he did not approve of putting them to death. And if this be Hyginus, biſhop of Corduba, as is generally ſuppoſed, can it be imagined, that ſuch a feeble old biſhop, ſhould countenance the lewd conduct and principles, which were by ſome aſcribed to Priſcillian? No, for certain, he knew not of any ſuch things taught and practiſed by Priſcillian, or his followers; if he had, he would not have favoured them. And do we not here alſo evidently ſee the cruelty of the courtiers of Maximus, and of the biſhops, by whom he was influenced?

3. Pacatus, a heathen and therefore a diſintereſted man, of Gaul and therefore well acquainted with theſe tranſactions, in his Panegyric pronounced at Rome in the preſence of Theodoſius the emperor, and the ſenate, in 389, about a year after

(B) Tillemont, Les Priſcillianiſtes note x. allows, that Ambroſe was at Treves in 387: he ſays, that the execution of the Priſcillianiſts was then over. But Biſmage an. 387. n. vi. (who alſo ſays that Ambroſe was with Maximus in 387,) thinks it plain, that the executions were ſtill depending. Which affords a ſtrong argument, that Priſcillian was not put to death before 387. Undoubtedly Sulpicius knew the time very well; and in the year 400, ſpeaks of its being then fifteen years ſince that event: but fifteen may be uſed by him as a round number, and be equivalent to thirteen or fourteen.

[t] Poſtea, cum videret me abſtinere ab Epiſcopis, qui communicabant ei, vel qui aliquos, devios licet a fide, ad necem petebant; commotus ea juſſit me ſine mora regredi. Ego vero libenter, niſi me plerique inſidias evaſurum non credebant, ingreſſus ſum iter: hoc ſolo dolore percitus, quod Hyginum Epiſcopum ſenem in exilium duci comperi, cui nihil jam niſi extremus ſupereſſet ſpiritus. Cum de eo convenirem comites ejus, ne ſine veſte, ſine plumario paterentur extrudi ſenem, extruſus ipſe ſum. Ambroſ. Epiſt. cl. i. ep. 1. ii. p. 891.

5 the

the death of Maximus, among other inſtances of his mal-adminiſtrations, reckons this, of which he ſpeaks in this manner. ‘ But [u] why do I ſtay to recount the deaths of ſo many ‘ men, when their cruelty was ſuch as to ſpill the blood of ‘ women? For they practiſed the utmoſt rigour toward a ‘ ſex that is uſually ſpared even in war. And what were ‘ the cauſes of this barbarity? What were the crimes, for ‘ which the widow of an illuſtrious poet was dragged to puniſhment with a hook? She had no other fault, but that of ‘ being too religious, and too exact in the worſhip of the ‘ Deity. And is it not fit, that theſe ſhould be the greateſt ‘ crimes, when biſhops become accuſers? for theſe were the ‘ informers in that affair, biſhops by name, but indeed dragoons and executioners: who not content with having ‘ ſpoiled unhappy men of the eſtates of their anceſtors, ſought ‘ alſo their lives; and when they had made them poor, ‘ loaded them with crimes, that they might put them to death:’ and what follows, which I tranſcribe below without tranſlating. For here is enough to ſhew, that he did not think the charges brought againſt Priſcillian and his followers to be true. Moreover, he afterwards calls them innocent men; and ſpeaks of the covetouſneſs of Maximus, as what diſpoſed him to receive informations againſt men, that he might ſeize their eſtates. And what Pacatus ſays in the preſence of Theodoſius, and his court, may be ſuppoſed to be approved by them. Tillemont here obſerves, that [x] Pacatus was a heathen, and in what he ſays of Euchrocia, he only has an eye to the exterior profeſſion which the Priſcillianiſts made, of a very auſtere and retired courſe of life. Very right. This was their profeſſion. Therefore their maſter had not taught them obſcene doctrines, nor ſet them an

[u] De virorum mortibus loquor, cum ad cruentum recorder ad ſanguinem feminarum, et in ſexum, cui bella parcunt, non parce ſeviturn? Sed nimirum graves ſubeant, invidioſæque cauſæ, ut uncо ad pœnam clari vatis matrona rapiatur. Objiciebatur enim, atque etiam exprobrabatur viduæ nimia religio, et diligentius cultus Divinitas. Quid hoc majus poterat invenire accuſator ſacerdos? Fuit enim, fuit et hoc delatorum genus, qui nominibus miſſitates, revera autem ſatellites, atque adeo carnifices, non contenti miſeros exvolviſſe patrimoniis, calumniabantur ſanguinem, et vitas premebant reorum, non pauperum. Quinetiam cum judicus capitalibus aſſiſtiſſent, cum gemitus et tormenta miſerorum auribus ac luminibus hauſiſſent, cum lictorum arma, cum damnatorum fræna tractaſſent, pollutas pœnali manus contactu ad ſacra referebant, et ceremonias quas inceſtaverant mentibus, etiam corporibus impiabant. Hos ille Phalaris in amicis habebat, hi in oculis ejus, atque etiam in oſculis erant: nec injuria, a quibus tot ſimul votiva veniebant, avaro divitum bona, cruento innocentium pœna, impio religionis injuria. Pacat. Paneg. Theod. cap. 29.

[x] Eſt un Payen qui parle, et qui ne s' arreſte qu' à la profeſſion exterieure que faiſoient les Priſcillianiſtes d' une vie plus auſtere, et plus retirée. Les Priſcill. Art. x. T. viii.

example

example of extravagant indecency, by frequently praying naked with lewd women.

4. After the executions were over, Ithacius [y] was often blamed in converſation; and to excuſe himſelf he would ſay, that he had acted according to the direction of others: which is not unlikely. And [z] it looks as if Sulpicius could have named ſome of them; but he judged it more prudent not to do ſo.

5. When Maximus had been put to death in 388, Ithacius and his party loſt their principal ſupport; and Ithacius was ſoon afterwards depoſed. Proſper in his Chronicle, at the year next after that in which Maximus loſt his life, ſays, 'that 'Ithacius [b] and Urſacius were deprived of the communion of 'the church, on account of the death of Priſcillian, whoſe 'accuſers they had been.' And Iſidore of Seville, as before quoted †4, ſays, that Idacius, together with Urſacius, was deprived of the communion of the church, and ſent into baniſhment, where he died. But Sulpicius ſays, that [c] Ithacius was the only biſhop that was depoſed upon this account. He adds, 'Nardacius, though leſs guilty, of his own accord re-'ſigned his biſhopric; which might be ſaid to have been wiſely, 'and modeſtly done, if he had not endeavoured to recover his 'loſt ſtation.' Who is this Nardacius, and who Urſacius, mentioned by Proſper and Iſidore, is not certain. As Urſacius is never mentioned by Sulpicius, nor Nardacius any where elſe by him, ſome have thought, that hereby is meant Idacius. On the other hand, as many biſhops had ſome concern in this affair, and Idacius has not been mentioned lately by Sulpicius, Nardacius may be reckoned a different perſon. However that be, I ſuppoſe Sulpicius ought to be relied upon, that Ithacius only was now depoſed.

[y] Quod initio jure judiciorum et egregio publico defenſum, poſtea Ithacius in jurgiis ſolitus, ad poſtremum convictus, in eos retorquebat, quorum id mandato et conſiliis effecerat. II. S. l. ii. c. 51. p. 391.

[z] Maximus Imperator, alias ſane bonus, depravatus conſiliis ſacerdotum, poſt Priſcilliani necem, Ithacium Epiſcopum, Priſcilliani accuſatorem, cæteroſque illius ſocios, quos nominari non eſt neceſſe, vi regia tuebatur, ne quis ei crimini daret, opera illius cujuſcumque modi hominem fuiſſe damnatum. ——Congregati apud Treviros Epiſcopi tenebantur, qui quotidie communicantes Ithacio communem ſibi cauſſam fecerant. Dial. 3. cap. xi. in.

[b] Ithacius et Urſacius Epiſcopi ob necem Priſcilliani, cujus accuſatores fuerant, Eccleſiæ communione privantur. Proſp. p. 389. Ap. Scalig. Theſ. Temp.

†4 See note [k] p. 455.

[c] —— ad poſtremum convictus, in eos retorquebat, quorum id mandato et conſiliis effecerat. Solus tamen omnium epiſcopatu detruſus. Nardacius, [f. Nam Idacius, *Voſſ.*] licet minus nocens, ſponte ſe epiſcopatu abdicaverat. Sapienter id, et verecunde, niſi poſtea amiſſum locum repetere tentaſſet. II. S. l. ii. c. 5. p. 392.

6. Another

[6]. Another thing, as I apprehend, manifesting the different judgments of men concerning this affair, is what Sulpicius says at the conclusion of his narration, of the perpetual feuds and contentions, which there had been among the catholics in Gaul for fifteen years past, from the time of those executions to the time of his finishing his history, in the year of our Lord 400. There were very few Priscillianists in Gaul; the divisions betwixt the bishops and other Christians in that country were owing, therefore, as seems probable, to different sentiments concerning this affair. Some vindicated the proceedings against Priscillian and his followers, others blamed them; and these disputes ran so high, that sometimes they could scarce communicate with one another. Ambrose, in the year 392, said, that [d] he had been oftentimes hindered from going into Gaul by the frequent divisions of the bishops there.

[7]. There are two councils, whose debates may probably afford some farther light in this affair. The first is the council of Saragossa, mentioned by Sulpicius, and supposed to have been held in 380, or 381: in the decrees of this council several things are condemned; as [e] fasting on the Lord's-day, and some other days usually reckoned festivals by the catholics; absenting from church on these days; assembling in private houses and country places; receiving the eucharist, without consuming it [or swallowing it] at church; going barefoot; taking upon them the character of teachers, without authority; referring perhaps to Agape, Elpidius, and Priscillian, who was yet a layman; bishops receiving those who had been excommunicated; clergymen leaving their stations, and betaking themselves to a retired monastic kind of life, because of the luxury, or other faults observable among ecclesiastics. These, and some other such like things are forbidden, which may be reckoned erroneous or irregular. Here are no sentences of condemnation upon those who teach obscene doctrines,

[d] —— propter quorum frequentes dissensiones crebro me excusaveram. De Obitu Valentin. n. 25. T. ii. p. 1181.

[e] Item Legit: ne quis jejunet Die Dominico.—Item legit: Eucharistiæ gratiam si quis probatur in ecclesia non consumsisse, an thema sit in perpetuum.——Item legit: Viginti et uno die, quo a 16 Kalendas Januarii usque in diem Ephiphaniæ, quæ est 8. Idus Januarii, continuis diebus, nulli liceat de ecclesia se absentare, nec latere in domibus, nec secedere ad villam, nec montes petere, nec nudis pedibus incedere, sed concurrere ad ecclesiam.—Item lectum est, ut hi per disciplinam, aut sententiam Episcopi ab ecclesia fuerint separati, ab aliis Episcopis non sint recipiendi. Item legit: si quis de clericis propter luxum, vanitatemque præsumtam, de officio sponte discesserit, ac velut observatorem legis monachum voluerit esse magis quam clericum, ita de Ecclesia repellendum.——Item lectum est: Ne quis doctoris sibi nomen imponat, præter has personas, quibus concessus est ——Concil. Cæsaraugust. Ap. Labb. T. ii. p. 1009, 1010,

and

and practise gross indecencies; but here are intimations of pretensions to more than ordinary strictness and mortification. And, if I mistake not, the decrees of this council, and their silence about the shameful things imputed to Priscillian at his trial, very much confirm the conjecture formerly proposed to be considered; that no such things had been heard of, till they were invented by Ithacius, and others: who, when once they had begun to prosecute Priscillian before the civil magistrate, were too intent upon victory, as Sulpicius observed, and without any regard to truth, forged calumnies, and heaped upon him reproaches of infamous actions, till they gained their end, and had him executed.

The other council was held at Toledo, in the year 400, or thereabout; of which a sufficient account[f] may be seen in several authors, so far as relates to this affair. Here were reconciled to the church Symphosius and Dictinius, noted Priscillianists, and several others of that sect. It seems, that they two had been with Ambrose at Milan, to intreat his favourable interposition in their behalf: if that is not certain, it is however manifest, that Ambrose became their mediator, and proposed terms upon which they might be received. Ambrose died in 397. Why the affair was deferred is not known: but it appears from the acts of the council, that Simplician had then succeeded him in the see of Milan. Ambrose had proposed, that[g] they should be received to the peace of the church upon retracting their errors, and confessing the faults which they had been guilty of; and they were now received. Symphosius's Priscillianism had many aggravations; he[h] seems to have been a follower of Priscillian from the beginning, and to have declined the judgment of the council of Saragossa in 380. Moreover, the terms proposed by Ambrose were, that[i]

[f] Baron. Ann. 405. n. xliii.—lix. Pagi Crit. in Baron. Ann. 405. n. xii.—xvii. Tillemont Les Priscillian. art. xiv.—xvii. T. viii. Beausobr. Diss. sur les Adamites. Part. ii. p. 377—379.

[g] Arduum nobis esset audire jam dictos. Literis tamen sanctæ memoriæ Ambrosii, quas post illud concilium ad nos miserat: Ut si condemnassent quæ perperam egerant, et implessent conditiones, quas præscriptæ literæ continebant, reverterentur ad pacem: [Adde quæ sanctæ memoriæ Siricius Papa suasisset:] magnam nos constat præstitisse patientiam. Conc. Tolet. i. ap. Labbe. T. ii. p. 1220.

[h] Etsi diu deliberantibus verum, post Cæsaraugustanum Concilium, in quo sententia in certos quosque dicta fuerat, sola tamen una die, præsente Symphosio, qui postmodum declinando sententiam præsens audire contemserat. *Ibid.*

—— In Synodo Cæsaraugustana, anno 381 adversus Priscillianum coacta: cujus judicium declinasse dicitur Symphosius in sententia Toletanæ i. Synodo, se subducens. Pagi Ann. 405. n. xiii.

[i] Cæterum extortum sibi de multitudine plebis, probaret Symphosius, ut ordinaret Dictinium Episcopum, quem sanctus Ambrosius decrevisset bonæ pacis locum tenere presbyterii, non accipere honoris augmentum. Confitentur etiam illud, quod alios per diversas ecclesias ordinassent, quibus de-

for

for the present all should abide in the stations they were in, without alteration. Nevertheless, in the mean time, before those terms were accepted and executed, Symphosius had ordained Dictinius bishop, who before was only presbyter; which, he said, had been extorted from him by the importunate requests of the people. Symphosius likewise, or he and Dictinius together, had lately ordained in the vacant sees of the province of Galicia several bishops, who were in the Priscillianist scheme. In particular they had ordained Paternus bishop of Braga, the chief city of Galicia: who, however, now renounced Priscillianism before the council, having been convinced of his error, he said, since his ordination, by reading the works of Ambrose bishop of Milan.

Dictinius had been a forward Priscillianist; he had written several books much esteemed by the sect; particularly a book called Libra, the Pound, consisting of twelve parts or arguments, as the Roman pound had twelve ounces. Augustine[k] speaks of him and his book. I have put some of his passages, where he speaks of them, in the margin. Pope Leo likewise speaks of Dictinius. He[l] complains of the Priscillianists, that they still read his writings, and followed his errors, though he had renounced them.

These two learned Priscillianist bishops, and leading men among them, Symphosius and Dictinius, were received by the catholics in the council of Toledo, upon abjuring their former errors, embraced by them, or advanced and promoted by them in their discourses or writings. Their form[m] of renunciation and

erant sacerdotes: habentes hanc fiduciam, quod cum illis propemodum totius Galiciæ sentiret plebium multitudo. Ex quibus ordinatus est Paternus Bracarensis ecclesiæ Episcopus. In hanc vocem confessionis primus erupit, et sectam Priscialliani se scisse, sed factum Episcopum liberatum se ab ea lectione librorum S. Ambrosii esse juraret. Conc. Tol. i. ibid.

k —— et Dictinii Episcopi —— famam laudare mordaciter. Est hoc tolerabilius adhuc, quia ille putatur fuisse catholicus, atque ex illo errore correctus—cum deinde Dictinii librum, cujus nomen est Libra, eo quod pertractatis duodecim questionibus velut unciis explicatur, tantis extulerit laudibus, ut talem libram——multis librarum auri millibus pretiosiorem esse testetur. Contr. Mendac. ad Consent. cap. 3. n. 5. T. vi.

Quæ cum ita sint, quoniam nimis longum est omnia pertractare quæ in illa Libra Dictinii sunt posita velut imitanda exempla mentiendi. Ibid. cap. 17. n. 35. Vid. et cap. 21. n. 41.

l Postremo autem capitulo hoc prodidit justa querimonia, quod Dictinii tractatus, quos secundum Priscilliani dogma conscripsit, a multis cum veneratione legerentur: cum si aliquid memoriæ Dictinii tribuendum putant, reparationem ejus magis debeant amare quam lapsum. Non ergo Dictinium, sed Priscillianum legunt, et illud probant quod errans docuit, non quod correctus elegit. Leon. Ep. 15. cap. xvi. al. ep. 93.

m Symphosius dixit: Juxta id quod paulo ante lectum est, in membrana nescio qua, in qua dicebatur Filius innascibilis, hanc ego doctrinam, quæ aut duo principia dicit, aut Filium innascibilem, cum ipso auctore damno, qui scripsit.—Item dixit: Omnes libros hæreticos, et maxime Priscilliani doctrinam, juxta quod hodie lectum est,

confession

confeſſion I have placed below ſomewhat at large. Now likewiſe was received Comaſius, preſbyter under Symphoſius; his confeſſion is in the paſſage juſt tranſcribed. Iſonius [n] was alſo now received upon confeſſion, who had lately been baptized, and ordained biſhop by Symphoſius. In [o] like manner Vegetinus, who had been biſhop before the council of Saragoſſa.

From the reception of theſe eccleſiaſtics by the council, ariſeth a ſtrong argument, that the Priſcillianiſts were not guilty of the evil practices laid to the charge of Priſcillian, and generally imputed to Gnoſtics: if they had, they would not have been received upon renouncing their former errors: if that had been the caſe, I ſuppoſe they would have been depoſed, and put into a ſtate of penance, and declared incapable of ever holding any office in the church.

I would juſt take notice of one thing more, mentioned in the account of the acts of this council, relating to Herenas biſhop of ſome place in Spain: that [p] all his clergy in general, without being aſked, cried out aloud before the council, that Priſcillian was a catholic and a holy martyr. Herenas himſelf likewiſe ſaid the ſame, and that Priſcillian had ſuffered perſecution from the biſhops of his time. Which judgment of his, the biſhops of the council ſaid, was a reflection upon many holy men, ſome deceaſed, others ſtill living: they therefore declared Herenas, and his clergy, and divers other biſhops

ubi innaſcibilem Filium ſcripſiſſe dicitur, cum ipſo auctore damno. Comaſius Preſbyter dixit: Nemo dubitet, me cum domino meo Epiſcopo ſentire, et omnia damnare quæ damnavit, et nihil ejus præferre ſapientiæ, niſi ſolum Deum.—Dictinius Epiſcopus dixit: Sequor ſententiam domini mei, et patris mei, et genitoris et doctoris mei Symphoſii. Quæcumque locutus eſt loquor.—Et ideirco omnia quæ Priſcillianus aut male docuit, aut male ſcripſit, cum ipſo auctore condemno. Ibid. p. 1229.

Poſt aliquanta. —— Dictinius Epiſcopus dixit: Audite me, optimi ſacerdotes. Corrigite omnia.——Hoc enim in me reprehendo, quod dixerim unam Dei et hominis eſſe naturam. Item dixit: Ego non ſolum correctionem veſtram rogo, ſed et omnem præſumtionem meam de ſcriptis meis arguo atque condemno.——Item dixit:—— Quæcumque conſcripſi, omnia me toto corde reſpuere. In ead. pag. ſub in.

[n] Item Iſonius nuper baptizatum ſe a Symphoſio, et Epiſcopum factum, hoc fe tenere, quod in præſenti concilio Symphoſius profeſſus eſt, reſpondit. Ibid. p. 1230.

[o] Vegetinus vero olim ante Cæſarauguſtanum concilium Epiſcopus factus, ſimiliter libros Priſcilliani cum auctore damnaverat, ut de cæteris acta teſtantur. Ibid.

Vegetinum autem, in quem nulla ſpecialiter dicta fuerat ante ſententia, data profeſſione, quam ſynodus accepit, ſtatuimus communioni noſtræ eſſe reddendum. Ib. p. 1231. in.

[p] Herenas clericos ſuos ſequi maluerat, qui ſponte, nec interrogati, Priſcillianum catholicum, ſanctumque Martyrem clamallent: atque ipſe uſque ad finem catholicum hunc eſſe dixiſſet, perſecutionem ab Epiſcopis paſſum. Quo dicto omnes ſanctos, jam plurimos quieſcentes, aliquos hac luce durantes, ſuo judicio deduxerit in reatum. Hunc cum his omnibus, tam ſuis clericis, quam diverſis Epiſcopis, hoc eſt, Dictinio, Acurio, Emilio: qui ab eorum profeſſione recentes maluiſſent ſequi conſortium pereuntium, decernimus ab ſacerdotio ſubmovendum. Ib. p. 1230, 1231.

adhering

adhering to him in that ſentiment, to be depoſed from their offices.

This ſerves to ſatisfy us of two things: Firſt, that about thirteen or fourteen years after the event, the Priſcillianiſts (and, it is likely, many others) were of opinion, that Priſcillian had been falſely accuſed, and unjuſtly put to death. Secondly, it ſhews, that lewd principles and practices were no part of their religion: but they diſapproved them, and reckoned the imputation of them to any man to be reproachful and diſhonourable.

[8]. Once more, the teſtimony of Jerom in favour of Priſcillian is not unworthy of our regard: for in his book of Illuſtrious Men, as cited at the beginning of this chapter, he ſays, that 'by means of the faction of Idacius and Ithacius, 'Priſcillian had been put to death at Treves; that to that 'day he was accuſed by ſome as having been of the Gnoſtic 'hereſy; whilſt others defended him, ſaying, that he did not 'hold the opinions which had been imputed to him.' And in the next chapter he gives an account of Latronian and Tiberian of Bætica, two followers of Priſcillian, and particularly commends the former for his learning and poetical writings. It is true, in another work, written about the year 415, he ſays, that [9] Priſcillian had been condemned by the civil magiſtrate, and by the judgment of all the world: which has led ſome to ſay, that Jerom was now better informed concerning the Priſcillianiſts, than when he wrote the former work in 392. But, 'as Queſnell ſays, Jerom could not be then ignorant of the affairs of the church. That learned man therefore would ſuppoſe, that the chapter in the book of Illuſtrious Men had been interpolated. To which Du Pin well anſwers, that [10] conjecture, though unſupported by any manuſcript, might have been of ſome moment, if it were not well known, that Jerom has oftentimes ſpoken very differently of one and the ſame perſon. The caſe, I think, is this: in the book of Illuſtrious Men he writes with the calmneſs of an hiſtorian; in the other he is out of humour, and writes in the heat of controverſy. We may then be well aſſured, that in the year 392, when Jerom wrote his Catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, there were different opinions among men concerning Priſcillian; and that there were ſome, who did not allow him to have held

[8] Quid loquar de Priſcilliano, qui et [illegible] gladio, et totius orbis [illegible] [illegible] eſt? Ad Cteſiph. ep. 43. T. iv p. 4.

[9] Vir, nihil eorum, quæ in Eccleſia gerebantur, ignarus. Quenell. Not. et Obſervation. in Leon Ep. xv. p. 448.

[10] Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 241.

the

the opinions imputed to him, or to have been guilty of the crimes laid to his charge.

We may therefore, I think, after this long diſcuſſion of the affair, and after weighing what can be ſaid on both ſides, aſſent to the judgment of that wiſe and good man, Martin, biſhop of Tours, who lived at that time, who was ſeveral times at the court of Maximus, before and after the trial of Priſcillian, and was well acquainted with the biſhops chiefly concerned in that proſecution. He ſaid, 'It was ſufficient, and more than 'ſufficient, that being convicted of hereſy by the biſhops, 'they ſhould be turned out of the church.' And when that was done, I preſume, they ought to have been allowed to live quietly in the world, and to worſhip God in ſeparate aſſemblies, in their own way, under the protection of the civil government. Which likewiſe may be ſuppoſed to have been Martin's intention: for, as it ſeems, neither he, nor his diſciple and hiſtorian Sulpicius, approved, that magiſtrates ſhould interpoſe in things of religion. They therefore did not like, that civil penalties ſhould be inflicted upon erroneous Chriſtians, but only church-cenſures: and it is likely, that they judged this method to be moſt conducive to the intereſts of religious truth. They hoped, that by ſuch cenſures, men might be awakened to conſideration; and that by reaſons and arguments, calmly propoſed, they who had been ſeduced, might be convinced of their error, brought back to the catholic church, and to the acknowledgment of the right faith.

VIII. Hitherto we have chiefly conſidered the origin of this ſect, and the hiſtory of its author, and his firſt followers, with their ſufferings, as related by Sulpicius, who has given but a very general account of their opinions. And it may be expected, that ſome farther notice ſhould be taken of theſe by us.

1. There is no account of this ſect in Epiphanius. Fabricius[t] indeed has referred us for a knowledge of them to Epiphanius and Damaſcenus; but it is a miſtake of that excellent man, through haſte. Epiphanius ſpeaks there only of the Montaniſts, ſometimes called Priſcillians from Priſcilla, one of Montanus's propheteſſes; and Damaſcenus's article in the place referred to is only Epiphanius's ſummary or recapitulation. Queſnell[u] ſays, Epiphanius takes no notice of this ſect. The

[t] De Priſcilliano——ejuſque hæreſi—— Epiphanius et Damaſcenus hæreſi 49. Fabric. not. ad Hieron. de V. I. cap. 121. Ap. Bib. Ec. [u] De hac hæreſi nihil apud Epiphanium, qui forte eam a Gnoſticorum, Manichæorum, aliorumque ſectis, quibuſcum pleraque habebant Priſcillianiſtæ communia, non diſtinxit. Queſn. Not. et Obſerv. in Ep. xv. S. Leon. p. 447.

reaſon,

reaſon, he thinks, may be, that he did not diſtinguiſh it from the Gnoſtic or Manichæan, with whom the Priſcillianiſts very much agreed. But I ſhould think, that there is another very obvious reaſon of Epiphanius's ſilence, and more likely to be the true reaſon: which is, that this ſect did not become famous, till after Epiphanius had finiſhed his work. Nor are they expreſsly mentioned by Philaſter; whether he has quite omitted them, will be conſidered hereafter. However, there are ſeveral writers, which may be of uſe to us, beſide Sulpicius Severus, the hiſtorian already tranſcribed: Auguſtine has a long article concerning them in his book Of Hereſies; Oroſius, of Spain, ſent or delivered to Auguſtine a Memoir or Commonitorium relating to them. And other writers have mentioned them.

2. Auguſtine at the beginning of his article concerning them, which I tranſcribe below, ſays, 'The [x] Priſcillianiſts, followers of Priſcillian of Spain, have a mixture of the doctrines of the Gnoſtics and Manichees, together with errors borrowed likewiſe from other hereſies.'

3. Let that ſuffice for his general character of this people. I ſhall now add ſome particulars, though not in the order in which they lie in Auguſtine.

4. I therefore in the firſt place obſerve their opinion concerning the ſcriptures. 'In [y] which reſpect,' he ſays, 'they are more cunning than the Manichees; for they reject not any part of the canonical ſcriptures, but receive them all, and endeavour to ſupport themſelves by their authority. And when any texts are alleged againſt them, they ſtrive to evade them by allegorical interpretations. They likewiſe uſe apocryphal ſcriptures, and argue from them in favour of their opinions.'

5. And in divers places, Auguſtine ſpeaks to the like purpoſe, ſaying, that [a] they received all the canonical ſcriptures intire; uſing alſo apocryphal books. And ſays, whatever is alleged againſt them from ſcripture, they evade ſometimes by cunning and artful, at other times by ridiculous and ſtupid in-

[x] Priſcillianiſtæ, quos in Hiſpania Priſcillianus inſtituit, Maxime Gnoſticorum et Manichæorum dogmata permixta ſectantur. Quamvis et ex aliis hæreſibus in eos ſordes tanquam in ſentinam quamdam horribili confuſione confluxerint. De Hær. cap. 70. T. viii.

[y] Hoc verſutiores etiam Manichæis, quod nihil Scripturarum Canonicarum repudiant, ſimul cum Apocryphis legentes omnia, et in auctoritate ſumentes, ſed in ſuos ſenſus allegorizando vertentes quicquid in ſanctis libris eſt, quod eorum evertat errorem. Ibid.

[a] Priſcillianiſtæ vero accipiunt omnia et canonica et apocrypha ſimul. Sed quæcumque, quæ contra eos ſunt, in ſuæ perverſitatis ſenſus aliquando callida et aſtuta, aliquando ridicula et hebeti expoſitione pervertunt. Ad Ceret. ep. 237. n. 3 T. ii.

 terpretations.

terpretations. He alſo obſerves, that [b] they had a hymn, ſaid by them to be the hymn, which Chriſt ſung at the laſt ſupper with the diſciples. He moreover ſays, that hymn was to be found in apocryphal ſcriptures, not peculiar to the Priſcillianiſts, but uſed by other heretics likewiſe. A main [c] part, if not the whole of that hymn, may be ſeen in Auguſtine's letter to Ceretius juſt quoted. What reſpect they had for that, or other apocryphal ſcriptures, is not very clear: there does not appear any thing heterodox in that hymn; they owned it was not in the canonical ſcriptures, and they [d] explained it by them, and agreeably to them.

6. Oroſius, Auguſtine's friend, and of Spain, ſays, that [e] the Priſcillianiſts, differing from the Manichees, endeavour to ſupport their doctrine by the ſcriptures of the Old, as well as of the New Teſtament. He alſo ſays, they [f] had a book intitled the Memoir or Memoirs of the Apoſtles: in which, poſſibly, the above-mentioned hymn was inſerted.

7. Priſcillian is one of thoſe heretics, who, as Vincent of Lerins [g] ſays, in almoſt every page of their works inſert quotations of the books of the Old or New Teſtament.

8. Pope Leo with a partiality, well becoming a man that uſes authority in things of religion, and loves to make the worſt of every thing relating to thoſe called heretics, ſays, the [h] Priſcillianiſts pretend to receive the books of the Old Teſtament. However, he cannot deny, but that therein they differ from the Manichees. As [i] for their apocryphal books, he not

[b] Hymnus ſane, quem dicunt eſſe Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, qui maxime permovit venerationem tuam, in ſcripturis ſolet apocryphis inveniri. Quæ non propriè Priſcillianiſtarum ſunt, ſed alii quoque hæretici eis nonnullarum ſectarum impietate vanitatis utuntur, inter ſe quidem diverſa ſentientes:——ſed ſcripturas illas habent in ſua diverſitate communes, eaſque illi præcipue frequentare aſſolent, qui Legem veterem et Prophetas non recipiunt. Ibid. n. 2.

[c] Habes verba eorum in illo codice ita poſita: *Hymnus Domini, quem dixit ſecrete ſanctis Apoſtolis diſcipulis ſuis, quia ſcriptum eſt in Evangelio: Hymno dicto aſcendit in montem.*——[Matt. xxvi. 30.] Ibid. n. 4.

[d] Deinde, quid caſtius eſt, ut eundem hymnum illi ſecundum ſcripturas canonicas conentur exponere. Ibid. n. 5.

[e] Priſcillianus, primum in eo Manichæis miſerior, quod ex Veteri quoque Teſtamento hæreſim confirmavit. Oroſ. Comm. ad Auguſtin. n. 2. T. viii.

[f] Et hoc ipſum confirmant ex libro quodam, qui inſcribitur Memoria Apoſtolorum, ubi Salvator interrogari a diſcipulis videtur ſecreto, et offendere, quia de parabola Evangelica, quæ habet: *Exiit ſeminans ſeminare ſemen ſuum.* [Matt. xiii. 3.] Ibid.

[g] Lege Pauli Samoſateni opuſcula, Priſcilliani, Eunomii, Joviniani, reliquarumque peſtium: cernas infinitam exemplorum congeriem, prope nullam omitti paginam, quæ non Novi aut Veteris Teſtamenti ſententiis fucata et colorata ſit. Vincent. Comm. p. 356. Pariſ. 1669.

[h] —— Quia etſi Vetus Teſtamentum, quod illi ſe ſuſcipere ſimulant, Manichæi refutant, ad unum tamen finem utrorumque tendit retentio: cum quod iſti abdicando impugnant, iſti recipiendo corrumpunt. Ad Turib. ep. 15. cap. 16. p. 930.

[i] Apocryphæ autem ſcripturæ, quæ ſub nominibus Apoſtolorum multarum habent ſeminarium falſitatum, non ſolum interdicendæ, ſed etiam penitus auferendæ ſunt,

only

only prohibits them, but directs alſo, that they ſhould be ſought for, and burnt.

9. Turibius biſhop of Aſtorga in Spain, who [k] is ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed about the year 447, ſpeaks [l] of their uſing apocryphal ſcriptures, the ſame with thoſe uſed by the Manichees; as the Acts of Andrew, Thomas, and John: and he particularly mentions the Memoir of the apoſtles, taken notice of by Oroſius.

10. According to Jerom [m] the Priſcillianiſts made uſe of apocryphal books of the Old, as well as of the New Teſtament; particularly, the Aſcenſion of Iſaiah, and the Revelation of Elias.

11. It muſt therefore, I think, be allowed, that the Priſcillianiſts, beſide the canonical ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament, made uſe of apocryphal books: what reſpect they had for them, is not certain; but from theſe teſtimonies it may be reckoned probable, that they ſhewed them a good deal of reſpect, more than catholics generally did: though after all, they need not to be ſuppoſed to have equalled them to thoſe ſcriptures, which are uſually called canonical. This then was their doctrine concerning the ſcriptures.

12. By ſeveral they are ſaid to have held the Sabellian doctrine concerning the Deity. So [n] Auguſtine in his book of Hereſies, and [o] elſewhere; ſo likewiſe [p] Oroſius. It is the laſt particular in Oroſius's Memoir, and in Auguſtine's chapter concerning the Priſcillianiſts in his book of Hereſies; but it makes the firſt [q] in Pope Leo's letter concerning the errors of the Priſcillianiſts, written in the year 447.

[k] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 340. et Tillemont. S. Leon. art. xvii.—xix. Tom. xv.

[l] —— ſpecialiter autem Actus illos, qui ſub nomine S. Andreæ: vel illos, qui appellantur S. Joannis, quos ſacrilego Leucius ore conſcripſit: vel illos, qui dicuntur S. Thomæ, et his ſimiles: ex quibus Manichæi, et Priſcillianiſtæ, vel quæcunque illis eſt ſecta germana, omnem hæreſim ſuam roborare nituntur: et maxime ex Manichæiſſimo illo Libro, qui vocatur Memoria Apoſtolorum, in quo ad me quam pertractatus ſuæ auctoritatem doctrinam Dominam mentiuntur. Turib. cap. v. ap. S. Leon. p. 232.

[m] Aſcenſio enim Iſaiæ et Apocalypſis Eliæ hoc habent teſtimonium. Et per hanc occaſionem, multaque hujuſmodi, Hiſpaniarum et Luſitaniæ deceptæ ſunt mulierculæ. &c. In If. cap. lxiv. T. iii. p. 473, 474. Conf. ad Theodor. ep. 52. al. 29. p. 581. T. iv.

[n] De Chriſto Sabellianam ſectam tenent, eumdem ipſum eſſe dicentes, non ſolum Filium, ſed etiam Patrem, et Spiritum Sanctum. De Hær. cap. 70.

[o] Contra quam veritatem Priſcillianus Sabellianum antiquum doguna reſtituit, ubi ipſe Pater qui Filius, qui et Spiritus Sanctus perhibetur. Ad Oroſ. cap. 4. T. viii.

[p] Trinitatem autem ſolo verbo loquebatur. Nam unionem abſque ulla exiſtimo aut proprietate afferens.—Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, hunc eſſe unum Chriſtum dicebat. Oroſ. Comm. ap. S. Aug. T. viii. [q] Primo itaque ca-

13. Pope Leo preſently afterwards[r] charges them with agreeing with the Arians in their ſentiment concerning the perſon of Chriſt: whether conſiſtently, or not, let others determine.

14. They are ſuppoſed to have had ſome doctrine concerning the innaſcibility of Chriſt: we [s] ſee it in the confeſſions of thoſe who renounced Priſcillianiſm before the council of Toledo, and returned to the catholics. Pope [t] Leo ſeems not to have underſtood the meaning of this, though it be one of his articles of accuſation againſt them, and he talks a good deal about it. I do not perceive Oroſius or Auguſtine to ſay any thing diſtinctly about this point.

15. They had alſo ſome opinions concerning the ſoul, which were diſliked by many of the catholics. They [u] are ſaid to have held, that the ſoul was conſubſtantial to the Deity: ſo ſays Leo; nor is this denied, but ſuppoſed to be their opinion, both [x] by Oroſius and Auguſtine. To the like purpoſe Jerom [y], in a paſſage which I tranſcribe below; ſhewing, that there were among Chriſtians, as well as among the philoſophers, different opinions concerning the origin of the ſoul.

16. Farther, Pope Leo adds, It [z] was alſo ſaid, that they believed the pre-exiſtence of human ſouls, and that they had ſinned in heaven, before they were ſent into bodies. And [a]

pitulo demonſtratur, quam impie ſentiant de Trinitate, qui et Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, unam atque eandem aſſerunt eſſe perſonam, tamquam idem Deus nunc Pater, nunc Filius, nunc Spiritus Sanctus nominetur. Ep. 15. cap. i. p. 227.

[r] In ſecundo capitulo oſtenditur ineptum vanumque commentum de proceſſionibus quarumdam virtutum ex Deo.——In quo Arianorum ſuffragantur errori, dicentium, quod Pater Filio prior ſit.—Ibid. cap. 2.

[s] Symphoſius Epiſcopus dixit:——Hanc ego doctrinam, quæ aut duo principia dicit, aut Filium innaſcibilem, cum ipſo auctore damno, qui ſcripſit. Concil. Toletan. i. ap. Labb. Conc. T. ii. p. 1250. Vid. et ſupr. not. [m] p. 477, 478. [t] Tertio vero capituli ſermo deſignat, quod iidem impii aſſerant, ideo Unigenitum dici Filium Dei, quia ſolus ſit natus ex virgine. Quod utique non auderent dicere, niſi Pauli Samoſateni et Photini errus haberent: qui dixerunt, Dominum noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum, antequam naſceretur ex virgine Maria non fuiſſe. Si autem iſti aliud de ſuo ſenſu intelligi volunt, neque principium de matre dant Chriſto: aſſerant neceſſe eſt, non unum eſſe Filium Dei.——Quoquoverſum igitur ſe contulerint, in magnæ tenaunt impietatis abruptum.——Ib. cap. 3.

[u] Quinto capitulo refertur, quod animam hominis divinæ aſſerant eſſe ſubſtantiæ, nec a natura Creatoris ſui conditionis noſtræ diſſare naturam. Quam impietatem, ex Philoſophorum quorumdam et Manichæorum opinione manantem, catholica fides damnat. Ib. cap. v. p. 228.

[x] Vid. Aug. ad Oroſ. cap. i. et iv. T. viii.

[y] Super animæ ſtatu memini veſtræ quæſtiunculæ, imo maximæ eccleſiaſticæ quæſtionis: Utrum lapſa de cœlo ſit, ut Pythagoras Philoſophus, omneſque Platonici, et Origenes, putant: an a propria Dei ſubſtantia, ut Stoici, Manichæus, et Hiſpana Priſcilliani hæreſis ſuſpicantur: an in theſauro habeantur Dei, olim conditæ, ut quidam eccleſiaſtici ſtulta perſuaſione confidant: an quotidie a Deo fiant, ut mittantur in corpora:—an certe ex traduce, ut Tertullianus, Apollinaris, et maxima pars Occidentalium autumant, &c. Ad Marcellin. et Anapſ. ep. 78. al. 82. T. iv. p. 612. [z] Decimo autem capitulo referuntur aſſerere, animas, quæ humanis corporibus inſeruntur, fuiſſe ſine corpore, et in cœleſti habitatione peccaſſe. Leo. ib. c. 10.

[a] —— docens animam, quæ a Deo nata ſit, de quodam promtuario procedere, profiteri ante Deum, ſe pugnaturam, inſtrui adhortatu angelorum: dehinc deſcenden

Oroſius and [b] Auguſtine both ſpeak of their believing the pre-exiſtence of human ſouls, and their deſcent from heaven, through ſeveral regions, into bodies allotted to them. But they do not ſay, that they ſuppoſed thoſe ſouls to have ſinned in their pre-exiſtent ſtate.

17. Another opinion aſcribed to them by Pope Leo is, that the [c] ſons of promiſe are born of women, but conceived by the Holy Spirit. I do not obſerve this in Oroſius, or Auguſtine: perhaps it is a conſequence, which ſome deduced from their principles. Whether allowed by them, may not be certain; nor is it very intelligible: and perhaps there is nothing heretical in it.

18. Several other opinions are imputed to them: whether rightly, or not, cannot be certainly ſaid, as we have none of their writings; and what their enemies ſay is not eaſy to be underſtood. However, I obſerve farther,

19. Pope Leo ſays, they [d] faſted on the day of Chriſt's nativity, and on the Lord's-day; which may be true, ſo far as I know: and though herein was an irregularity, yet in their way they honoured thoſe days. Moreover, I think, it ought to be allowed, that this adds not any credit to the charge of licentiouſneſs.

20. Another article imputed to them is a diſadvantageous opinion of marriage. Pope Leo ſays, 'They [e] condemn mar-'riage, and the procreation of children; in which, as in al-'moſt every thing elſe, they agree with the Manichees. And, 'as their manners ſhew, they therefore diſlike marriage, be-'cauſe of the confinement of that ſtate, and it is an obſtruc-'tion to lewdneſs.'

21. Auguſtine expreſſeth himſelf to this purpoſe: 'With [f]

tem per quoſdam circulos a principatibus maligni capi, et ſecundum voluntatem victoris principis in corpora diverſa contrudi, eique adſcribi chirographum. Oroſ. Comm. ap. Aug. T. viii.

[b] Hi animas dicunt ejuſdem naturæ atque ſubſtantiæ, cujus eſt Deus, ad agonem quemdam ſpontaneum in terris exercendum, per ſeptem cœlos, et per quoſdam gradatim deſcendere principatus, et in malignum principem incurrere, a quo iſtum mundum factum volunt, atque ab hoc principe per diverſa carnis corpora ſeminari. &c. De Hær. cap. 70.

[c] Non autem annotatio manifeſtat, quod filios promiſſionis ex mulieribus quidem natos, ſed ex Spiritu Sancto dicant eſſe conceptos. Ibid. cap. 9.

[d] Quarto autem capitulo continetur, quod Natalem Chriſti——non vere iſti honorent, ſed honorare ſimulent, jejunantes eodem die, ſicut et die Dominico, qui eſt dies reſurrectionis Chriſti. Ubi ſupr. c. 4.

[e] Septimo loco ſequitur, quod nuptias damnant, et procreationem nalcentium perhorreſcunt. In quo, ſicut pene in omnibus, cum Manichæorum profanitate concordant. Ideo, ſicut eorum mores probant, conjugalem copulam deteſtantur: quia non eſt illic libertas turpitudinis, ubi pudor et matrimonii ſervatur et ſoboliſ. Ib. cap. 7.

[f] Carnes tanquam immundas eſca ipſa devitat. Conjuges, quibus hoc malum potuit perſuadere, diſpungens, et viros a nolentibus feminis, et feminas a nolentibus viris. Opificium enim omnis carnis non Deo bono et vero, ſed malignis angelis tribuunt. Hær. 70. T. viii.

'regard to diet, they look upon the fleſh of animals as impure. 'Where this ſect prevails, it is a common thing with them to 'ſeparate men from their wives, and women from their huſ- 'bands, without mutual conſent. For all fleſhly productions, 'they aſcribe not to the good and true God, but to malignant 'angels.'

This, probably, was the reaſon of their diſliking marriage: and they muſt conſequently have condemned fornication, and every kind of uncleanneſs.

22. Pope Leo ſays, 'that upon this head the Priſcillianiſts 'agreed with the Manichees.' We have no writings of Priſcillianiſts, to give us light, and but very imperfect accounts of their opinions: concerning the Manichees we have fuller information; and we can be ſatisfied, that as they had a diſadvantageous notion of marriage, they abſolutely condemned fornication, and ſuch like things. This I ſuppoſe to have been made out [g] formerly; I would now confirm it by a paſſage of Fauſtus not yet alleged: 'We [h] do not think,' ſays that Manichæan biſhop, 'that the lives and manners of robbers are to 'be approved, becauſe Jeſus ſhewed mercy to a robber on the 'croſs; or that we are to approve the lives of publicans and 'harlots, becauſe Chriſt declared their ſins to be forgiven, and 'that they went into the kingdom of heaven before thoſe who 'behaved proudly. For when he abſolved a woman taken in 'adultery, whom the Jews brought before him, he ſaid to her, '*Go, and ſin no more.*' And Pope Gregory the firſt, ſurnamed the great, as well as Leo, ſays; the [i] Manichees condemned marriage, becauſe they had obſerved virginity to be commended in the ſacred oracles. If therefore the Priſcillianiſts condemned marriage, it may be ſuppoſed, that they went upon the like grounds with the Manichees: and if they judged marriage itſelf not ſufficiently pure; they loudly condemned fornication, and all ſins of the fleſh.

IX. We are now led to the conſideration of two branches of immorality charged upon the Priſcillianiſts, by ſome writers of the fourth and fifth centuries. One is lying, to conceal their

g Vol. iii. p. 309—311.

h ——Sed tamen non idcirco dicemus, et latronum vitas et mores nobis probabiles eſſe debere, quia Jeſus latroni indulgentiam dederit: aut quia publicanis ignoverit errata, diverſique, quod etiam præcederent ipſi ad regnum cœlorum eos qui ſuperbe geſſerunt. In injuſtitia namque et in adulterio deprehenſam mulierem quamdam, Judæis accuſantibus, abſolvit ipſe, præcipiens ei, ut jam peccare deſineret. Fauſt. l. 32. cap. 1. ap. Auguſtin. T. viii.

i Quia autem in ſacro eloquio Manichæus virginitatem laudari comperit, conjugia damnavit. Jovinianus quia concedi conjugia cognovit, virginitatis munditiam deſpexit. Gregor. Moral. in Job. l. xix. c. 18. T. i. p. 618. D.

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principles; the other is the practice of impurity: I ſhall tranſcribe in the margin theſe charges, as expreſſed by Auguſtine and Jerom; afterwards I ſhall take notice of what is ſaid by Pope Leo: and if I ſpeak to both theſe charges together, for the ſake of brevity, I hope it will not be taken amiſs.

1. Of their falſhood Auguſtine ſpeaks in the article [k] for this ſect, in his book of Hereſies, and [l] in another work. He ſays, they approved of lying, to conceal from others their real principles and actions: they were ſaid to have this among the rules of their ſect, Swear, forſwear; but never betray a ſecret.

2. Auguſtine [m] ſpeaks of lewd women among the Priſcillianiſts.

3. Jerom [n] ſpeaks of the Priſcillianiſts, as practiſing lewdneſs in a very ſhameful manner.

But there are conſiderations, which may diſpoſe us to think, that here is ſome miſrepreſentation or aggravation of both theſe points.

1. It is very likely, that the charge of falſhood againſt theſe people, as well as of impurity, was partly owing to their being reckoned a branch of the Gnoſtics, to whom ſuch things were generally imputed. A paſſage of Sulpicius, which [o] I place below, may juſtify this ſuppoſition.

2. Auguſtine ſeems not to have full proof of the falſhood, which he imputes to them. He ſays, it was reported of them, and it had been confirmed by ſome who had once been of the ſect, and had left them. But the teſtimony of ſuch perſons I take to be of little or no value; ſome ſuch people might be willing to ſay any thing, to ingratiate themſelves with their new friends.

[k] Propter occultandas autem contaminationes et turpitudines ſuas habent in ſuis dogmatibus et hæc verba: Jura, perjura, ſecretum prodere noli. De Hær. cap. 70. T. viii. [l] Poſſunt enim aliqui hæretici reperiri fortaſſe immundiores. Sed iſtis illis fallacia comparatur. Alii quippe, ut ſunt hominum vitia, de hujus vitæ conſuetudine vel infirmitate mentiuntur. Hi autem in ipſa nefaria doctrina hæreſis ſuæ præceptum habere perhibentur, ut occultandorum dogmatum ſuorum cauſa etiam falſa juratione mentiantur. Hi qui eos experti ſunt, et ipſorum fuerant, atque inde Dei miſericordia liberati ſunt, etiam verba ipſa præcepti hujus iſta commemorant: Jura, perjura, ſecretum prodere noli. Ep. 237. al. 253. n. 3. T. ii.

[m] Quod ſi enim ex numero Priſcillianiſtarum impudicarum aliqua femina injiciat oculum in catholicum Joſeph. Contr. Mendac. ad Conſent. cap. vii. n. 17. T. vi.

[n] Priſcillianus in Hiſpania, pars Manichæi (de turpitudine cujus te diſcipuli diligunt *plurimum*) *ſoli* cum *ſolis* clauduntur mulierculis, et illud eis inter coitum amplexuſque decantant.—Qui quidem partem habent Gnoſticæ hæreſeos de Baſilidis impietate venientem. Ad Cteſiph. ep. 43. T. iv. p. 476. [o] Namque tum primum infamis illa Gnoſticorum hæreſis intra Hiſpanias deprehenſa, ſuperſtitio exſecrabilis, arcanis occultata ſecretis. Hiſt. Sa. l. ii. c. 46. al. 61. in.

3. There were martyrs among the Priſcillianiſts, as [p] Auguſtine allows. Therefore, probably, there were ſeaſons, when they reckoned themſelves obliged to declare the truth: though at other times, from prudential conſiderations, they might judge it proper to be upon the reſerve: as indeed moſt people will think, who lie under difficulties and diſcouragements.

4. Auguſtine himſelf acquits them of exceſſive lewdneſs. For he ſays, 'A [q] more impure ſect, poſſibly, may be found; 'but never were there any men comparable to them for falſe-'hood.'

5. According to Auguſtine, the Priſcillianiſts had an argument in behalf of lying from Thamar. Whereupon he ſays, 'Why [r] do they think, that Thamar is to be imitated when 'ſhe lied; and that Judah may not be imitated in the com-'miſſion of uncleanneſs?' Auguſtine therefore knew very well, that the Priſcillianiſts did not approve of fornication, or adultery, or any other ſuch ſins of the fleſh.

6. Jerom, in his letter to Cteſiphon, ſpeaks of [s] Priſcillianiſm as a doctrine of perfection, and that they pretended to uncommon degrees of knowledge and holineſs. If therefore they tranſgreſſed, it was not by principle, but through infirmity, and the force of ſudden temptation, as the men of other ſects too often do.

7. In another work he ſpeaks of the Priſcillianiſts, as [t] aſſerting, that with due care men may arrive at ſuch perfection, as to be free from ſin, even in thought. They who had this notion, muſt have aimed at perfection, and could not by principle indulge themſelves in evil actions.

8. I do not obſerve Oroſius, in the account which he gives Auguſtine of the Priſcillianiſts, to charge them either with falſhood or lewdneſs.

X. We now proceed to Pope Leo; for I have thought it worth the while to place him by himſelf, and to conſider diſtinctly what he ſays; I [u] therefore tranſcribe him largely

p —Exſecrantur Priſcillianiſtarum falſa martyria. Contr. Mendac. cap. v. n. 9. T. vi.

q See before note [l] p. 487.

r Cur autem iſti imitandum ſibi Thamar exiſtimant mentientem, et imitandum Judam non exiſtimant fornicantem? Contr. Mendac. cap. xiv. n. 30. T. vi.

s Priſcillianus in Hiſpania pars Manichæi —verbum perfectionis et ſcientiæ ſibi vindicantes. Ad Cteſiph. ep 43. p. 476. in.

t —— ut præteream Manichæum, Priſcillianum, —quorum omnino iſta ſententia eſt: poſſe ad perfectionem, et non dicam ad ſimilitudinem, ſed æqualitatem Dei humanam virtutem et ſcientiam pervenire: ita ut aſſerant ſe ne cogitatione quidem et ignorantia, quum ad conſummationis culmen aſcenderunt, poſſe peccare. Adv Pelag. Dial. i. T. iv. p. 484. in.

u In execrabilibus autem myſteriis eorum, quæ quanto immundiora ſunt, tanto diligentius occulantur, unum prorſus nefas eſt, una eſt obſcænitas, et ſimilis turpitudo. Quam etſi eloqui erubeſcimus, ſolicitiſſimis

below.

below. The ſum of what he ſays is this: 'The Priſcillianiſts 'agree with the Manichees in ſentiments, conſequently in 'practice. Wicked and obſcene myſteries had been proved 'upon the Manichees: and therefore they were alſo uſed by 'the Priſcillianiſts. Moreover, ſuch things had been proved 'upon the Priſcillianiſts in former times.'

In anſwer to which I ſay: 1. I am of opinion, that obſcene myſteries never were proved upon the Manichees by Pope Leo, or any others. And I would willingly refer to what has been already obſerved relating to this point in [x] a preceding volume, and particularly to the Remarks upon Mr. Bower's account of the Manichees [xx]. 2. Suppoſing ſuch things to have been proved concerning the Manichees, it does not follow, that they may be righteouſly aſcribed to the Priſcillianiſts. For allowing the Priſcillianiſts to have agreed with the Manichees in ſome of their peculiarities, it cannot be thence reaſonably concluded, that they embraced them all: yea it is apparent, that they differed from them, and in a material point, receiving the ſcriptures of the Old Teſtament: not now to mention any thing elſe. 3. Pope Leo ſays, obſcene myſteries had been proved upon the Priſcillianiſts in former times; referring, I ſuppoſe, to the trial of Priſcillian and his friends. To which I anſwer: I am of opinion, that they were not then proved upon Priſcillian nor his followers; and of this let every one judge, who has peruſed the preceding part of this chapter. 4. I think, it appears, that Pope Leo had not any poſitive proof, that the Priſcillianiſts uſed obſcene myſteries, or practiſed any wickedneſs by principle: for he alleges not any ſuch proof; and founds his charges againſt them upon their ſuppoſed agreement with the Manichees, and the tranſactions of former times.

XI. As yet I have taken nothing from Philaſter, becauſe the Priſcillianiſts are no where mentioned by him under that name. But he has an article of heretics, whom he calls Abſtinents, which [y] I ſhall now tranſcribe at the bottom of the page.

tamen inquiſitionibus indagatam, et Manichæorum, qui comprehenſi ſunt confeſſione cognitum, ad publicam fecimus pervenire notitiam. — Quod autem de Manichæorum facinoroſo ſcelere, hoc etiam de Priſcillianiſtarum inceſtiſſima conſuetudine olim compertum, multumque vulgatum eſt. Qui enim per omnia ſunt impietate ſenſuum pares, non poſſunt in ſacris ſuis eſſe diſſimiles. Ep. 15. cap. 16. p. 230, 231.

[x] See Vol. iii. p. 408—410.

[xx] Ibid. p. 549—554.

[y] Sunt in Galliis, et Hiſpaniis, et Aquitania, velati Abſtinentes, qui et Gnoſticorum et Manichæorum particulam perniciosiſſimam æque ſequuntur, eandemque non dubitant prædicare: ſeparantes perſuaſionibus conjugia hominum, et eſcarum abſtinentiam promittentes, quæ non ex legis præcepto, ſed promotionis cœleſtis, et dignitatis cauſa voluntati hominum talis a Chriſto conceſſa eſt gratia. Dicit enim Dominus Petro: *Non omnes capiunt hoc verbum.* [Matt. xix. 11.] Et iterum idem Dominus

It

It is the opinion of [z] Fabricius, and [a] Tillemont, that the Priſcillianiſts are the heretics here intended by Philaſter.

What he ſays is briefly this: That in Gaul, and Spain, and Aquitain, there was a ſort of Abſtinents, a branch of the Gnoſtics and Manichees, who diſſolved marriages without mutual conſent, and enjoined abſtinence from ſome kinds of food. And he ſhews the inconveniences of the former of thoſe doctrines, and confutes it by texts of ſcripture, as he does alſo the latter. He moreover ſays, that they captivated many people.

Whenever this article was written by Philaſter, it tends greatly to wipe off ſome aſperſions which were caſt upon the Priſcillianiſts. Their diſtinguiſhing character was not licentiouſneſs, but rigour and abſtinence: this was their profeſſion, this their outward appearance; and thereby they gained upon many people. If this article of Philaſter was written ſoon after the riſe of Priſcillianiſm, and before the trial of Priſcillian at Treves, (which may be reckoned very probable) it confirms the conjecture mentioned ſome while ago; that the charges brought againſt him were firſt invented about that time.

The only two articles imputed to theſe Abſtinents by Philaſter, are their rigid doctrines about marriage and diet. Theſe, as I apprehend, firſt induced men to call them Manichees: and having once given them that denomination, or ſaid that they were a branch of the Gnoſtics and Manichees, men were led to aſcribe to them all the enormities, which were generally imputed to thoſe people.

XII. Upon the whole, from what has paſſed before us in this chapter, I think it appears, that the Priſcillianiſts received the ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament, which were generally received by other Chriſtians. They likewiſe made uſe

ait: *Qui dimiſerit uxorem ſuam ſine cauſa criminis, facit eam mœchari.* [ib. ver. 9.] Aliud eſt itaque conſenſu communi hoc fieri, laudis cauſa majoris conſequendæ a Domino, et aliud contra legem ſuadere, contraque amborum facere voluntatem. Et iterum: *Qui non manducat, manducantem non ſpernat: et qui manducat, non manducantem non judicet.* [Rom. xiv. 3.] Quod ex voluntate eſt itaque, laudis eſt amplioris immo potius mercedis cœleſtis eſt deſiderium. Quod autem extra legem eſt, non a Deo Chriſto eſt traditum, ſed inani hominum præſumtione et errore inventum. Scriptum eſt enim: *Do vobis omnia edere, ſicut fœnum.* [Gen. ix. 3.] Hoc autem ideo faciunt, ut eleas paulatim ſpernentes, dicant eas non eſſe bonas, et ita non a Deo hominibus eſcæ cauſa fuiſſe conceſſas: ſed a Diabolo factas ut aſſerant, ita ſentiunt. Inque hoc jam creaturam non a Deo creatam, ſed a Diabolo eam factam prædicantur. Perque hoc mendacium multorum animas captivarunt. Philaſt. H. 85. Abſtinentes.

[z] Perſpicuum vero eſt a Philaſtrio perſtringi Priſcillianiſtas, qui circa A. C. 380. profiteri ſe cœperunt. Fabric. annot. in Philaſt. p. 161.

[a] Si les heretiques qu' il nomme Abſtinens ſont les Priſcilliamſtes, comme il y a aſſez d' apparence, il n' a écrit, qu' après l' an 380. auquel cette hereſie commença à éclater dans l'Eſpagne. S. Philaſtre. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. viii.

of

of apocryphal books; but what respect they had for them cannot be now clearly determined. Some ecclesiastics, who went under this denomination, are represented, from an ill-judged zeal and without sufficient reason, to have deserted their stations in the church, to betake themselves to a retired and solitary course of life. They had errors concerning the soul, and some other matters. They seem to have had a disadvantageous opinion of marriage, and thereby sometimes made unhappy breaches in families, if their adversaries do not aggravate. They also had rules about diet, not founded in reason, nor scripture. Some of these people are blamed for not consuming the eucharist at church: and they were irregular in fasting, when other Christians feasted. But as we have none of their writings remaining, we do not know their whole system with certainty. By some they have been charged with obscene doctrines, and lewd practices. But so far as we are able to judge upon the evidence that has been produced, they rather appear to have made high pretensions to sanctity and purity, and to have practised uncommon mortifications.

CHAP. CVIII.

DIODORUS, BISHOP OF TARSUS.

DIODORUS, of [a] a good family, and probably born at Antioch, in which city he long resided, was ordained bishop of Tarsus in Cilicia by [b] Meletius bishop of Antioch about the year 378. He died in 394, or sooner.

2. St. Jerom, whom [c] I place below, reckons the time when he was presbyter the most shining period of his life. He does not assign the reasons of that judgment: but they may be collected from other writers, particularly the ecclesiastical historians of those times.

3. Diodorus, whilst presbyter, seems to have had the direction of some monastery, or school, in, or near the city of Antioch.

[a] Και την μεν τε γενους ουκ ελογιζετο περιβαλειαν, την δε υπερ της πιστεως ταλαιπωριαν ασπασιως υπεμεινε. Theod. H. E. l. iv. c. 25. p. 188. B. [b] Ib. l. v. c. 4. in. [c] Diodorus, Tarsensis Episcopus, dum Antiochiæ esset Presbyter, magis claruit. Extantque ejus in Apostolum commentarii, et multa alia, ad Eusebii magis Emiseni characterem pertinentia: cujus cum sensum secutus sit, eloquentiam imitari non potuit propter ignorantiam secularium literarum. De V. I. cap. 119.

At

At[d] which time he instructed divers young men in the knowledge of the scriptures, and the principles of religion: among whom three, who were afterwards very eminent, are particularly mentioned; Maximus bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, Theodore bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia, and John Chrysostom bishop of Constantinople. Chrysostom in an oration calls Diodorus[e] his father, and boasts of the share he had in his esteem.

4. Moreover, Jerom may have an eye to some sufferings, which he underwent from the Arians in the time of Valens: whereas his episcopate was peaceable. Chrysostom says, he[f] was more than once banished from his native country, for his freedom in speaking the truth. Theodoret, in divers places, celebrates Diodorus's courage in those difficult times. He says, 'that[g] when Leontius was bishop of Antioch, he and 'Flavian, though they were then but laymen, not only openly 'professed the apostolical doctrine, but were also very diligent 'in keeping the people in the right faith. He elsewhere calls 'them[h] lights of the truth.'

To these, and some other like things, Jerom may refer.

5. Jerom says farther, that 'Diodorus wrote Commentaries 'upon St. Paul's Epistles, and many other things, imitating 'the manner of Eusebius of Emesa;' of whom, it may be remembered, we spake[i] formerly. To the like purpose[k] Socrates, and[l] Sozomen: who say, that Diodorus wrote many books, representing the literal or historical sense of scripture, omitting the mystery.

6. I formerly[m] had occasion to take notice of Diodorus's work against the Manichees, in five and twenty books, of which there is mention made in[n] Photius. The same learned critic mentions a book of Diodorus[o] concerning the Spirit, and[p] gives a large account of his work against Fate, in eight books, and three and fifty chapters.

[d] Τηνικαυτα ουν ουτοι [Ιωαννης, Θεοδωρος, και Μαξιμος] σπουδαιοι περι την αρετην γενομενοι, μαθητευουσιν εις τα ασκητικα Διοδωρῳ και καρτεριῳ· οιτινες τοτε μεν ασκητηριῳ προισταντο· Socr. l. vi. c. 3. p. 302. B. Et Conf. Soz. l. viii. c. 2. p. 757. A. Et Thdrt. l. v. c. ult.

[e] In Diod. T. iii. p. 748. A.

[f] Αλλα και ουτος πολλακις της πατριδος εξεπεσε δια την υπερ της πιστεως παρρησιαν. Ibid. p. 749. B.

[g] —— Η δε αξιαγαστος ξυνωρις φλαβιανος και Διοδωρος, Ιερατικης μεν λειτουργιας μηδεπω τετυχηκοτες, τῳ δε λαῳ συντεταγμενοι, νυκτωρ και μεθ' ημεραν εις τον υπερ της ευσεβειας ζηλον διηγειραν απαντας. Theod. L. ii. c. 24. p. 107. A. B. Vid. et l. iv. cap. 25.

[h] —— οι της αληθειας φωστερες. L. iv. c. 27. p. 190. c.

[i] See p. 128, 129.

[k] —— πολλα βιβλια συνεγραψε, ψιλῳ τῳ γραμματι των Θειων προσεχων γραφων, τας θεωριας αυτων εκτρεπομενος. Socr. l. vi. c. 3. p. 302. C.

[l] Soz. l. viii c. 2. p. 257. A.

[m] Vol. iii. p. 384. 394.

[n] Cod. 85. p. 204.

[o] Cod. 102. p. 275.

[p] Cod. 223. p. 662. &c.

7. By

7. By Theodoret we are aſſured, that [q] Diodorus wrote againſt Paul of Samoſata, Sabellius, Marcellus, and Photinus.

8. Suidas [r] ſays, 'that Diodorus lived in the time of Julian and 'Valens; and adds, as from Theodore the reader, that he wrote 'Commentaries upon all the books of the Old Teſtament, 'Geneſis, Exodus, and the books following, and upon the 'Pſalms, and the four books of the Kingdoms, and the diffi-'cult places of the Chronicles, and upon the Proverbs: the [s] 'difference between theory and allegory: upon Eccleſiaſtes: 'upon the Canticles: upon the Prophets — [t] upon the four 'Goſpels: upon the Acts of the Apoſtles: upon the epiſtle 'of the evangeliſt John: — Againſt the Melchiſedechians: 'againſt the Jews: of the reſurrection of the dead: of [u] the 'ſoul, and the different opinions about it — of Providence: 'againſt [x] Plato, concerning God, and the gods: of nature 'and matter: againſt the Aſtronomers and Aſtrologers, and of 'fate: of [y] God, and the fictitious matter of the Greeks, or 'Gentiles — againſt the philoſopher Euphronius, by way of 'queſtion and anſwer: — againſt Porphyry of animals and ſa-'crifices:' and divers others, which need not to be here re-hearſed.

9. Ebedjeſu, in his Catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical writers found in the Syriac language, ſays, That Diodorus [z] wrote ſixty books, which the Arians had burned. However he mentions eight, which had remained, having eſcaped the diligence of his enemies; one of which is the work againſt the Manichees; another is an explication of a part of St. Matthew's goſpel.

10. One book, in Suidas, and which may be ſuppoſed to relate to the right interpretation of ſcripture, is entitled 'The 'difference between theory and allegory.' In the enumeration of his works, it is placed, as we have ſeen, next after the Commentary upon the book of the Proverbs; and [a] therefore may have been a Diſſertation ſubjoined to it. But the deſign of it is not very obvious. Fabricius thinks, it [b] ſhewed the difference of the myſtical ſenſe from the allegorical and moral. Ludolf Kuſter, in his notes upon Suidas, ſays, that [c] theory

[q] Hæret. Fab. l. ii. cap. xi.

[r] V. Διοδωρος. [s] Της θεωριας και αλληγοριας. [t] Εις τα ευαγγελια· εις τας πραξεις των αποστολων· εις την επιστολην Ιωαννου του ευαγγελιστου. [u] Περι ψυχης· και δια-φορων περι αυτης αιρεσεων. [x] Κατα Πλατωνος περι Θεου και θεων.

[y] Περι θεου και των παρ' Ελλησι πεπλασμενων. [z] Composuit libros numero ſexaginta, quos Ariani combuſſerunt — Remanſerunt vero ex illis quæ ſequuntur — et Expoſitio in partem Matthæi. Ebed. Cat. n. 18. ap. Aſſeman. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 39.

[a] 'In Proverbia:' cui addidit diſſertationem de 'differentia theoriæ et allegoriæ,' ſive ſenſus myſtici ab allegorico atque morali. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 362.

[b] See note [a]. [c] Θεωρια hic ſignificat ſenſum abſtruſiorem et myſticum:

denotes

denotes the abſtruſe and myſtical ſenſe in oppoſition to the literal ſenſe: and moreover, that the theory is more ſublime than the allegory.

11. Diodorus ſeems to have been an apologiſt for the Chriſtian religion. He wrote, as we have ſeen, againſt the Jews, as well as againſt heretics. And it may be reckoned very probable, that in ſome of his works he confuted heatheniſm, or ſome of its principles: it may be fairly argued from the titles of ſeveral of them above-mentioned from Suidas. And, if Facundas may be relied upon, the emperor Julian wrote a letter to Photinus, in [d] which he reviled Diodorus, as ignorant of the myſteries of the gods, but well verſed in the fiſhermens' theology; a large part of which letter Facundus has left us in a ſad Latin tranſlation.

12. The reſpect ſhewn to Diodorus appears, in part, in ſome things already ſaid.

13. Theodoret [e] ſpeaks of him in terms of the higheſt reſpect, and often commends him. Baſil, who was acquainted with Diodorus, teſtifies [f] his eſteem and affection for him, as an excellent and uſeful man. They who are pleaſed, may alſo conſult [g] Facundus.

14. Many learned moderns have been very ſenſible of his merit. Cave [h] ſpeaks honourably of his method of interpreting ſcripture. And as he imitated Euſebius of Emeſa, ſo, as it ſeems, to [i] him we are indebted for Chryſoſtom and Theodore, whoſe taſte was formed by his. I place in the margin a part [k]

cui opponitur το ῥητὸν, ſive ſenſus literalis. Sozomenus de Diodoro noſtro: ——περὶ δὲ το ῥητὸν των ἱερων λογων τας ἐξηγησεις ποιησασθαι, τας θεωριας ἀποφευξασθαι: id eſt: 'Quem accepi multos libros a ſe conſcriptos poſteris reliquiſſe, et ſacram ſcripturam ad literam expoſuiſſe, omiſſo ſenſu myſtico.' Et Socrates:—ψιλῳ τῳ γραμματι τας θειας προσεσχαι γραφας, τας θεωριας αἰτιων ἐκφεροντος. 'Diodorus vero '—— multos conſcripſit libros, ſimplicem 'tantum atque obvium ſcripturarum ſenſum inquirens, myſticam vero earum interpretationem refugiens.' Θεωρια igitur quid ſignificet, hinc patet. Ab ea differt allegoria, quod hæc in inferioribus ſubſiſtat, nec in tam ſublimi argumento verſetur, quam theoria. Kuſter.

[d] Julianus enim Chriſto perfidus Imperator ſic Photino hæreſiarchæ adverſus Diodorum ſcribit.—Diodorus autem Nazaræi Magus,—acutus apparuit Sophiſta religionis agreſtis——uſque adeo ignorans Paganorum myſteria, omnemque miſerabiliter imbibens, ut aiunt, degenerum et imperitorum ejus theologorum piſcatorum errorem. Facund. l. iv. cap. 2. p. 59.

[e] Καὶ Διοδωρος μεν ὁ σοφωτατος τε καὶ ακριβεστατος, οἱα τις Ηλιακος διειδως τε καὶ μιλας, τοις μεν οἰκειοις της ἀρθριας χρησφῃ, τας δε των ἐναντιων βλασφημιας ἐπελυξε. Theod. l. iv. c. 25. p. 188. B. Vid. et l. v. cap. ult. [f] Baſ. Ep. 244. al. 82. p. 378. D. [g] Fac. l. iv. c. 2.

[h] Vir ſane undequaque doctiſſimus, qui in indagando S. Scripturarum ſenſu, repudiatis allegoriis, ſimplicem duntaxat atque obviam verborum intelligentiam ſectatus eſt. Cav. H. L. T. 1. in Diodoro.

[i] Præcipuus Diodori labor fuit, quo pleroſque Scripturæ libros interpretando imitatus eſt Euſebium Emeſenum. Atque ipſe prævirit Joanni Chryſoſtomo atque Theodoro Mopſueſteno, ita ut ſenſum literalem potius quam ex recepto apud pleroſque aliis illis temporibus more allegorico ſectentur, &c. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. vi. p. 562. [k] Je ne ſay, ſi Theodore

of Beausobre's character of our Diodorus of Tarsus, and Theodore of Mopsuestia. 'He calls them two of the most learned 'bishops of antiquity: both which, as he says, banished from 'their Commentaries allegorical interpretations, confining 'themselves to the literal sense. The loss of their works has 'been a great detriment to the Christian interest. But the 'Greeks sacrificed them to their hatred and envy, because 'Nestorius had been their scholar.'

15. The usefulness of Diodorus's Commentaries, if they had been extant, may be collected from what Montfauçon says: That[l] from the remaining fragments of them, to be found in the Chains, he appears to have been well acquainted with Origen's Hexapla.

16. I have allowed myself to enlarge in the history of Diodorus, and his works, because they are most of them lost, and many of them were designed for illustrating the holy scriptures. But for farther accounts of them, and the reflections cast upon his and Theodore's memory, after the rise of the Nestorian and Pelagian controversies, I refer to other[m] writers; though I have made some use of them, and have been assisted by them in composing this article.

CHAP. CIX.

A COMMENTARY UPON THIRTEEN OF ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES.

I. *The time and author of this work.* II. *His testimony to the books of the New Testament.*

I. I HAVE already more than once[a] taken notice of a Commentary upon thirteen of St. Paul's epistles, usually joined with St. Ambrose's works, and of late ascribed by many to Hilary deacon of Rome.

de Mopsueste, et Diodore de Tarse, deux des plus savans Eveques de l' Antiquité, découvrirent cette vuë des loix Mosaiques: pour être un preservatif contre l'idolatrie; mais ils bannirent, l'un et l'autre, de leurs commentaires sur la V. T. tout ce sens d' allegories, s' attachant uniquement à bien expliquer le sens literal. Quelle perte pour l' Eglise que celle de leurs excellens ouvrages, que les Grecs ont sacrifié à leur haine et leur envie, parce que ces savans hommes avoient été les maîtres de Nestorius. Beauf. H. de Manich. l. i. ch. iv. T. i. p. 288.

[l] Diodorus Tarsensis, in sacra Scriptura apprime versatus, Hexaplorum plenam notitiam habuisse videtur: ut ex ejus fragmentis, quæ in Catenis supersunt, deprehenditur. Montf. Prælim. in Hexapl. Orig. p. 95.

[m] Vid. Civ. H. L. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 358—363. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. viii. et Du Pin. T. ii.

[a] See Vol. iii. p. 155. 415.

1. And

1. And as I have not yet given any account of him, I shall do it now, but briefly. He [b] was born in Sardinia, and made deacon of Rome about the year 354. He is mentioned by Jerom in his book of Ecclesiastical Writers, in the chapter concerning [c] Lucifer of Cagliari, and several times in his book against the Luciferians. Hilary was always a zealous Homoüsian. Afterwards he became a rigid Luciferian, and even exceeded the bishop, from whom those people received their denomination. Jerom [d] pleasantly calls him another Deucalion, as if he would bring again an universal deluge on the world, because he was for rebaptizing Arians, and other heretics, when they came over to the church: whereas it had been the general usage of Christians in former times, and of the church of Rome in particular, to receive heretics upon repentance. Upon the ground of this notion Hilary separated from the church. He also wrote treatises in favour of his opinion. So says Jerom.

2. Cave readily allows this Hilary, deacon of Rome, to be author of the fore-named Commentary, written, as he supposeth, before 384, as also of Quæstiones in Vetus et Novum Testamentum, written about 370, and usually joined with [e] St. Augustine's works. Pagi [f] likewise contends, that Hilary, deacon of Rome, was author of both these works. Du Pin [g] carefully examines this point. Tillemont says: It [h] is now thought by many, that Hilary is author of the fore-mentioned Commentary: but that this opinion is not without its difficulties. James Basnage, without determining who is the author, says, he [i] lived in the time of Damasus, before the end of the fourth century. Samuel Basnage [k] hesitates. And as for the Quæstiones, &c. he will not deny them to have the same author with the Commentaries, because they agree in several

[b] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 317.

[c] De V. I. cap. 95.

[d] Est præterea aliud quod inferemus, adversum quod ne mutire audeat Hilarius, Deucalion orbis. Si enim hæretici baptisma non habent, et ideo rebaptizandi ab Ecclesia sunt, quia in Ecclesia non fuerunt, ipse quoque Hilarius non est Christianus. In ea quippe Ecclesia baptizatus est, quæ semper ab hæreticis baptismum recepit.—Diaconus eras, o Hilari, et a Manichæis baptizatos recipiebas. Diaconus eras, et Ebionis baptisma comprobabas. Repente, postquam exortus est Arius, totus tibi displicere cœpisti. Segregas te cum tuis vernulis, et novum balneum aperis.——Quod [e] negandum quispiam putaverit, hæreticos a majoribus nostris semper fuisse susceptos, legat beati Cypriani epistolas.——Legat et ipsius Hilarii libellos, quos adversus nos de hæreticis rebaptizandis edidit: et ibi reperiet, ipsum Hilarium confiteri, a Julio, Marco, Silvestro, et cæteris veteribus Episcopis similiter in pœnitentiam omnes hæreticos susceptos. Hieron. Adv. Lucifer. T. iv. P. ii. p. 305. Vid. ib. p. 302. infr. m.

[e] Tom. iii. edit. Lovan. T. iv. edit. Benedict. [f] Ann. 362. n. xxv. xxvi.

[g] Bib. Ec. T. ii. [h] St. Ambroise. art. xci. Mem. Ec. T. x. et Lucifer de Cagliari Art. ix et not. 9, 10. Mem. T. viii.

[i] Histoire de l'Eglise. l. xix. ch. 7. n. 15. p. 1181. [k] Ann. 362. n. 21, 22.

things.

things. But[l] he says, they are written in a manner much inferior to the commentaries. None, in my opinion, have treated this question more fully, or more judiciously, than the Benedictine editors of St. Ambrose's works: they say, that[m] the manuscript copies of the commentaries are very different from one another; and that in some parts of those commentaries there appear to be interpolations of long passages. Nor are they certain, that the Quæstiones were written by the author of the commentaries. And if they were, they also have been interpolated: which indeed, I take to be very probable, or even manifest, concerning both these works.

II. I shall make some extracts out of the commentaries; but I forbear to transcribe any thing out of the Quæstiones in V. et N. Testamentum.

1. In these Commentaries upon thirteen epistles of St. Paul, most books of the Old and New Testament are quoted: as the four gospels, Mark's[n] in particular; the Acts of the apostles very often; the first and[o] second epistle of Peter; St. John's first epistle often, his[p] third epistle once at least; the[q] Revelation he ascribes to John the apostle, and quotes it very freely: whether the author received the epistle to the Hebrews, as Paul's, may be questioned; since he wrote commentaries upon his acknowledged thirteen epistles, and not upon that. However, the epistle to the Hebrews is mentioned in[r] these commentaries.

2. I shall now put down some remarkable observations and explications of this author.

3. He says, that[s] all the apostles were chosen out of the Jewish nation, and that it was fit it should be so.

4. Upon Gal. i. 19. he says, that[t] James, there mentioned, and called *brother of the Lord*, was son of Joseph by a former

[l] Commentarius porro operi Quæstionum longissime præstat. Ib. n. 22.

[m] In Commentar. Admonit. ap. S. Ambrosii Opp. T. ii. in Append. p. 21. &c.

[n] Quamvis dicat Marcus Evangelista de dæmonibus: *Sciebant enim Christum ipsum esse Christum.* [Marc. i. 34.] In 1 ep. ad Cor. cap. ii. 8. Ap. Ambros. T. ii. Append. p. 118. D.

[o] Sicut Petrus Apostolus inter cætera dicens: *Ut sitis, inquit, consortes divinæ naturæ.* [2 Pet. i. 4.] In Philip. i. p. 251. F.

[p] Hic est Caius, ut arbitror, ad quem scribit Joannes Apostolus exsultans in caritate ejus, quam exhibebat fraternitati. In Rom. xvi. p. 110. E.

[q] Sicut dictum est in Apocalypsi Joannis Apostoli. In 2 Thess. c. ii. p. 280. C. Vid. et in 2 Cor. xi. p. 198. B. in 1 Thess. iv. p. 282. A. Et passim.

[r] Nam simili modo et in epistola ad Hebræos scriptum est, quia Levi, qui decimas accepit, decimas dedit Melchisedec. In 2 Tim. i. p. 305. B.

[s] Hoc est quod dicit, quia dispensatio prædicationis his decreta est a Deo, qui ex Judæis crediderunt in Christum. Unde nullus ex Gentibus ad Apostolatum electus est. Dignum enim erat, ex his eligi prædicatores, qui ante speraverunt salutem, quæ illis promissa est in Christo. In Eph. i. ver. 11, 12. p. 233. B.

[t] In Galat. i. p. 213. F.

wife: but ſome impiouſly aſſerted, that Joſeph had children by Mary.

5. He ſuppoſeth, that [u] the Chriſtians at Rome had no apoſtle with them, before the time of St. Paul's writing to them; which to me appears very probable: it may be argued from the whole of his epiſtle to them, though from ſome parts of it more eſpecially. However, Pelagius manifeſts a different opinion in [x] his commentary upon that epiſtle.

6. Upon Col. iv. 14. *Luke the beloved phyſician and Demas greet you:* he ſays, 'That [y] Luke was juſtly dear to Paul, 'becauſe he conſtantly accompanied him. Moreover, he is 'ſaid to have written the goſpel and the Acts of the apoſtles.' Which manner of expreſſion, ſeems to intimate ſome doubt about the truth of that tradition; or, whether Luke here mentioned, and called phyſician, was the evangeliſt.

7. He ſuppoſeth [z] the epiſtle, called to the Epheſians, to have been written to them.

8. The tranſlation of Col. iv. 16. followed by him, is [a] *that ye read the epiſtle of the Laodiceans.* The ſame is in [b] the commentary aſcribed to Pelagius. Which expreſſion I take to be ambiguous: it may import an epiſtle written by the Laodiceans; or an epiſtle which was their property, as having been written to them. In which of thoſe two ſenſes Pelagius underſtood the expreſſion, does not appear: but this author, I think, underſtood it in the latter ſenſe; and ſuppoſed, that hereby was meant a letter ſent to the Laodiceans by the apoſtle. Since, therefore, he allowed the epiſtle, called to the Epheſians, to have been written to them; and that there was an epiſtle ſent to the Laodiceans, mentioned Col. iv. 16, he muſt have looked upon this as a loſt epiſtle. For it does not appear, that there was any epiſtle of the apoſtle Paul received by him, which was inſcribed to the Laodiceans.

[u] Romanis autem [ut Galatis] iraſci non debuit, ſed et laudare fidem illorum: quia nulla inſignia virtutum videntes, nec aliquem Apoſtolorum, ſuſceperant fidem Chriſti, ritu licet Judaico. Proleg. in ep. ad Rom. p. 25. B. [x] Romanos Petri prædicatione fidem tenentes confirmare ſe velle Paulus dicit: non quo minus acceperint a Petro, ſed ut duobus Apoſtolis teſtibus atque doctoribus, eorum roboretur fides. Pelag. in Rom. in 11. Ap. Hieron. T. v. p. 927. [y] Vere carissimus Apoſtolo fuit Lucas, quia omnia poſtponens Apoſtolam ſemper ſequutus eſt. Qui et Evangelium et Actus Apoſtolorum ſcripſiſſe perhibetur. In Col. p. 276. C. [z] Vid. Proleg. in ep. ad Eph. et Comm. in c. i. v. 1.

[a] *Et vos ut eam, quæ eſt Laodicenſium legatis.*] Quia generales ſunt Apoſtolorum, et ad omnium profectum eccleſiarum ſcriptæ epiſtolæ:——ideirco, etiam Laodicenſibus epiſtolam hanc legi præcepit, ut per hanc quid agendum ſibi eſſet addiſcerent: et Coloſſenſes ut eorum legerent, juxta ſenſum ſupradictum. In Col. iv. p. 276. D.

[b] Et ea, quæ Laodicenſium eſt, vobis legatur. Pelag. in Col. ap. Hieron. T. v. p. 1076.

9. The

9. The firſt epiſtle to the Theſſalonians is inſcribed in this manner: *Paul, and Silvanus, and Timothy, to the church of the Theſſalonians.* Upon which the author obſerves: 'The [c] 'letter has the names of three biſhops, [or of biſhops, without 'three,] but the ſenſe and words are the apoſtle's alone.' A ſomewhat like obſervation may be ſeen in Pelagius's [d] Commentary upon the beginning of the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians. And it is very juſt. All the authority of the epiſtle is derived from the apoſtolical character and commiſſion.

10. His reading at 1 Tim. iii. 16. is [e] *Which was manifeſted in the fleſh.* That muſt have been in many Latin copies at that time.

11. In the note upon Tit. iii. 13. he makes no queſtion, but [f] that Zenas was a Jewiſh lawyer: which appears to me very probable, though then a Chriſtian.

CHAP. CX.

PHILASTER, BISHOP OF BRESCIA.

I. ACCORDING to Cave [a] Philaſter, biſhop of Brixia, or Breſcia, in Italy, and author of a work Concerning Hereſies, flouriſhed about the year 380. Tillemont likewiſe [b] thinks it probable, that the forementioned work muſt have been written in the year 380, or ſoon after. Fabricius not only thinks, that [c] Philaſter wrote after Epiphanius, but that he alſo borrowed from him: which does not appear certain to me. Some few inſtances of agreement between authors, who have the ſame deſign, will not amount to a full proof. If Philaſter had read Epiphanius, in all probability he would have mentioned him. It needs not to be reckoned at all ſtrange, if he was wholly unacquainted with Epiphanius's work, even ſuppoſing him not to have written before 380, or ſomewhat later, which is not certain. Auguſtine, long after that, had ſeen

[c] Trium quidem Epiſcoporum nomina literæ continent. [Al. Epiſcoporum nomine literæ continentur.] Sed ſenſus et verba ſolius Apoſtoli ſunt. In 1 Theſſ. p. 277. A. [d] *Et Soſthenes frater.*] *Frater*, inquit, non Apoſtolus. Hunc autem ideirco ſecum ſcribentem inducit, quia ex ipſis doctor eſt, et pro his valde ſollicitus. Pelag. in 1 Cor. ap. S. Hieron. T. v. p. 974. [e] p. 296. B.

[f] Quamvis enim Zenam Legiſperitum vocitet, Apollo tamen perfectus erat in Scripturis. Sed quia Zenas hujus profeſſionis fuerat in ſynagoga, ſic illum appellat. In Tit. iii. p. 317. A.

[a] Hiſt. Lit. T. i. [b] See S. Philaſtre Mem. Ec. T. 8. [c] Etiam ante Philaſtrium ſcripſit Epiphanius, ex cujus libris ille profecit. Fabric. Not. ad Vit. Philaſt. per Gaudentium.

only the Summary or Synopſis of Epiphanius, as all allow. Philaſter is often quoted by Auguſtine in his book of Hereſies. It may not be amiſs to put down[d] a paſſage of Auguſtine in his letter to *Quod vult deus* concerning that work, in which he gives the preference to Epiphanius above Philaſter. The year of Philaſter's death is not certainly[e] known; but it is generally ſuppoſed, that[f] he died in 386, or 387.

2. Philaſter has a catalogue of the books of ſcripture: which, omitting ſome things relating to apocryphal writings, is to this purpoſe. 'It[g] was appointed by the apoſtles, and their ſuc-'ceſſors, that nothing ſhould be read in the catholic church, 'but the law, and the prophets, and the goſpels, and the Acts 'of the apoſtles, and thirteen epiſtles of Paul, and ſeven other, 'two of Peter, three of John, one of Jude, and one of James, 'which ſeven are joined with the Acts of the apoſtles. But 'the hidden, that is, apocryphal ſcriptures, though they ought 'to be read by the perfect, for the improvement of men's 'manners, may not be read by all.'

3. In that article are omitted the epiſtle to the Hebrews, and the book of the Revelation. Nevertheleſs, perhaps, they are not quite rejected, but only denied to be publicly read. Let us therefore obſerve ſome other places.

4. The very next article relates to the epiſtle to the Hebrews, and is to this effect: 'There[h] are others alſo, who do not 'allow the epiſtle of Paul to the Hebrews to be his: but ſay, 'it is either an epiſtle of Barnabas the apoſtle, or of Clement 'biſhop of Rome. But others ſay, it is an epiſtle of Luke 'the evangeliſt. And ſome receive an epiſtle to the Laodi-'ceans. Some pretend, that additions have been made to

[d] Philaſtrius quidam Brixienſis epiſcopus, quem cum ſancto Ambroſio Mediolani etiam ipſe vidi, ſcripſit hinc librum —— Neque enim putandum eſt, aliquas ignoraſſe Epiphanium, quas noverat Philaſtrius: cum Epiphanium longe Philaſtrio doctiorem invenerimus. Epiſt. 222. T. ii.

[e] See St. Philaſter in Tillemont, near the end. [f] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. et Baſnag. ad ann. 386. n. x.

[g] Propter quod ſtatutum eſt ab Apoſtolis, et eorum ſucceſſoribus, non aliud legi in eccleſia debere catholica, niſi Legem, et Prophetas, et Evangelia, et Actus Apoſtolorum, et Pauli tredecim epiſtolas, et ſeptem alias, Petri duas, Joannis tres, Judæ unam, et unam Jacobi, quæ ſeptem Actibus Apoſtolorum conjunctæ ſunt. Scripturæ autem abſconditæ, id eſt, apocrypha, etſi legi debent morum cauſa a perfectis, non ab omnibus legi debent. Phil. de Hær. cap. 88. [h] Sunt alii quoque, qui epiſtolam Pauli ad Hebræos non adſerunt eſſe ipſius, ſed dicunt, aut Barnabæ eſſe Apoſtoli, aut Clementis de urbe Roma epiſcopi. Alii autem Lucæ Evangelii aiunt. Epiſtolam etiam ad Laodicenſes ſcriptam. Et quia addiderunt in ea quædam non recte ſentientes, inde non legitur in eccleſia, etſi legitur a quibuſdam. Non tamen in eccleſia legitur populo, niſi tredecim epiſtolæ ipſius, et ad Hebræos interdum. Et in ea quia rhetorice ſcripſit, ſermone plauſibili. Inde non putant eſſe ejuſdem Apoſtoli. Et quia et factum Chriſtum dicit in ea, inde non legitur. De pœnitentia autem propter Novatianos æque. Ibid. cap. 89.

it

'it by some heterodox persons, and that for that reason, it 'ought not to be read in the churches, though it is read by 'some. But in the church are read to the people his thirteen 'epistles only, and that to the Hebrews sometimes. Moreover some reject it as more eloquent than the apostle's other 'writings: and because Christ is here said [i] to be *made*: and 'because of what he says of [k] repentance, which the Novatians make an advantage of.'

A part of this chapter was alleged [l] formerly.

5. By this we perceive, that there were at that time not a few, who on one account or other had doubts about the writer of this epistle, which has not St. Paul's name at the beginning, as his other epistles have. The objection taken from the superior elegance of the style of this epistle above the rest deserves notice. It affords an argument, that the ancient Christians read the scriptures with care. How Origen expresseth himself upon this head, we saw [m] formerly.

6. Philaster himself received the epistle to the Hebrews; for he reckons it a heresy to reject it. And in the remaining part of the chapter, just cited, he proposeth answers to the two last-mentioned objections. And in this his work, of Heresies, he has [n] several times referred to this epistle, or quoted it as the apostle Paul's.

7. Philaster received likewise the book of the Revelation. For one of his heresies is that [o] of those who reject the gospel of John and his Revelation. I put that article at the bottom of the page; where he observes, there are some who dare to say, that the Revelation is not a writing of John the apostle and evangelist, but of Cerinthus.

8. I do not think it needful to make any more remarks upon these articles, nor to transcribe any more chapters of this author. But it hence appears, that he received the same books of the New Testament which we do. If ever we come to that part of this work, which is allotted for the history of the heretics of the first two centuries, we shall have occasion to take farther notice of Philaster.

[i] Hebr. iii. 2. [k] Hebr. vi. 4. and x. 26. [l] See Vol. iii. p. 244. [m] See Vol. ii. p. 467. [n] Cum Apostolus docent, quod omnem hominem mori oportet, postque hoc jam judicari. cap. 122. p. 255. Vid. Hebr. ix. 27. Et honorande nuptiæ. cap. 117. p. 239. A. Vid. Hebr. xiii. 4. [o] Post hos sunt hæretici, qui Evangelium secundum Joannem, et Apocalypsim ipsius non accipiunt: et cum non intelligunt virtutem Scripturæ, nec desiderant discere, in hæresi permanent pereuntes: ut etiam Cerinthi illius hæretici esse audeant dicere, et Apocalypsim ibidem non beati Joannis Evangelistæ et Apostoli, sed Cerinthi hæretici, qui tunc ab Apostolis beatis hæreticus manifestatus, abjectus est ab ecclesia. Hær. 60. p. 120, 121. Et Conf. Fabricii, not. (*b*).

CHAP. CXI.

GAUDENTIUS, BISHOP OF BRESCIA.

1. GAUDENTIUS, ſucceſſor of Philaſter in the biſhopric of Breſcia, is placed by Cave at the year 387. For a more particular account of him, and his works, I refer to [a] others. I ſhall only take his teſtimony to the books of the New Teſtament, and ſome ſelect paſſages.

2. He expreſsly ſays, there [b] are four evangeliſts; and he has frequently quoted all the four goſpels, St. Mark's [c] in particular.

3. The [d] book of the Acts of the apoſtles is expreſsly quoted, and aſcribed to St. Luke, who had alſo written a goſpel.

4. I need not produce any particular quotations of St. Paul's epiſtles. I only obſerve, that [e] he has ſeveral times quoted the epiſtle to the Hebrews as Paul's.

5. Gaudentius takes but little notice of the catholic epiſtles. However, he has quoted [f] the epiſtle of St. James, and [g] the firſt epiſtle of St. Peter. And, very probably, he received all the reſt.

6. He likewiſe quotes [h] the book of the Revelation.

7. There is no notice taken by Gaudentius of any apocryphal Chriſtian books. And it is likely, that his canon of the New Teſtament was the ſame with that now generally received.

8. It appears, that [i] Gaudentius was wont to compare the Latin and Greek copies of the New Teſtament, or the Latin tranſlation with the Greek original. And as he had travelled in the Eaſt, it is not improbable, that he was well ſkilled in the Greek language.

[a] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 282. Du Pin. Bib. T. iii. Tillem. Mem. T. x.

[b] In quatuor Evangeliſtarum Teſtimonio. Ap. Bib. P P. T. v. p. 947. A.

[c] Vid. p. 950. F. 951. G.

[d] Sicut in principiis Actuum Apoſtolorum Lucas Evangeliſta teſtatur. p. 959. A. Lucas Evangeliſta, qui beatos Apoſtolos pari merito ſubſequutus eſt, et Evangelii librum et Actus Apoſtolorum imitanda examinatione conſcripſit. p. 969. C.

[e] Sicut ſcriptura teſtatur in epiſtola Pauli beatiſſimi ad Hebræos. p. 975. G. et paſſim. [f] p. 972. F. [g] p. 962. C.

[h] Et ſicut in Apocalypſi de Babylone ſcribitur, vel urbe, vel gente, vel unaquaque anima, errorum caligine, vitiorumque carnalium permixtione confuſa. [Apoc. c. xvii. ver. 6.] p. 943. C. et alibi.

[i] —— dicens: *Nunc judicium eſt hujus mundi. Nunc hujus mundi princeps mittetur deorſum.* ſive, *expelletur foras*, ut in Græci exemplaribus legimus. [Joh. xii. 31.] p. 969. B.

Sine, inquit, *eam*, ſive *ſinite*. Utrumque enim et in Græcis et Latinis exemplaribus invenitur. Sed magis congruere videtur ſenſui, cum legitur. *Sinite*, &c. [Conf. Marc. xiv. 6. Joh. xii. 7.] p. 964. A.

9. He has divers good obſervations upon Chriſt's ſhewing himſelf to Thomas, and takes notice [k] of the advantage which we have from the ſcrupulouſneſs of that apoſtle, in the fuller evidence of our Lord's reſurrection.

10. Gaudentius ſuppoſed [l] our Lord's miniſtry to have been of but one year's duration only from his baptiſm to his death.

11. He often ſpeaks [m] of the Lord's-day, or the firſt day of the week, ſanctified by Chriſt's reſurrection from the dead.

12. He aſſerts free-will very ſtrongly. He ſays, 'That [n] 'things are not done, becauſe they were foretold: but the 'Divine preſcience knows before hand what will happen, and 'therefore they are foretold. It is, he ſays, inconſiſtent with 'the perfections of God, that he ſhould command, or compel 'men to do what he blames, if done. What the Jews did, 'they did voluntarily, though it had been foretold. And do 'you think, that if the Jews had repented at the preaching of 'Jeſus, the world could not have been ſaved? I think we are 'not to limit the divine power or wiſdom. *For who has known 'the mind of the Lord? or who has been his counſellor?* Con-'ſider, how in the goſpel Chriſt waited for the repentance of 'the Jewiſh people, and how he upbraided the cities, in which 'moſt of his mighty works were done, becauſe they repented 'not.'

13. Deſcanting upon the notice taken of the value of the ointment, with which Mary had anointed the Lord, as men-

[k] Sufficiat nobis, quoniam ſancti Thomæ curioſitas et ambiguitas futuræ ſcrupuloſitatis finem fecit. Quod enim abſens fuit, quod avidius et videre et attrectare Dominum perquiſivit, totum noſtræ procurabatur ſaluti, ut evidentius noſceremus reſurrectionis Dominicæ veritatem. p. 969. B.

[l] Anniculus eſt, quia poſt illud baptiſmum, quod pro nobis in Jordane ſuſceperat, uſque ad paſſionis ſuæ diem unius anni tempus impletur. Et ea tantum ſcripta ſunt in Evangeliis, quæ in illo anno vel docuit vel fecit. Nec ipſa tamen omnia. p. 948. H.

[m] Nam ſexta feria, quâ hominem fecerat, pro eodem paſſus. Et die dominica, quæ dicitur in ſcripturis prima ſabbathi, in qua ſumſerat mundus exordium, reſurrexit. p. 945. F. Vid. et p. 960. D. et 959. B.

[n] Synagoga Judæorum, quod erat crudeliter factura, prædictum eſt: non ut fieret, juſſum eſt. Nec ideo factum eſt, quia prædictum erat. Sed ideo prædictum eſt, quia erat futurum: ut præſcientiam ſuam Deus in his quæ per libertatem arbitrii hominum futura erant, oſtenderet. Libertatem diximus arbitrii, quia voluerunt Judæi facere quod fecerunt: et utique ſi voluiſſent, [ſi noluiſſent,] non feciſſent. Certe ingentis ſacrilegii eſt, vel cogitare quod Deus, qui non ſolum bonus et juſtus, ſed ipſa bonitas eſt et ipſa juſtitia, vel jubeat aliquid vel cogat fieri quod factum damnet. An fortaſſe putamus, quia ſi pœnituiſſent Iſraelitæ, aliter omnipotens Filius Dei ſalvare non potuerit mundum? *Quis enim cognovit ſenſum Domini? aut quis conſiliarius ejus fuit?* Conſidera in Evangelio, quomodo expectaverit Chriſtus pœnitentiam Judæorum: ubi exprobat civitatibus, in quibus factæ ſunt plurimæ virtutes ejus, quod non egerint pœnitentiam. —— Præſcientia quidem Dei non fallitur. Sed nec homini conceſſa ſemel voluntatis libertas auferetur. &c. p. 948. F. G. Vid. et p. 963. B.

tioned John xii. 4, 5. he[o] has some uncommon thoughts concerning our Saviour's treatment of Judas.

14. He[p] seems to have read the decree of the council at Jerusalem, Acts xv. as we now have it. By *blood* he does not understand homicide, but the blood of animals. Moreover he says, there was no occasion to insert there a prohibition of homicide, adultery, and such great crimes, which were punished even by human laws, but only those particulars, *things offered to idols, blood, things strangled, and fornication.* If the reader pleases, he may recollect what was formerly[q] said by us concerning the true reading of that place.

15. He[r] asserts the reality of natural religion: and says, that by the exercise of their own reason men may learn the existence of God, and discern the obligation of an equitable conduct one toward another.

16. He[s] celebrates the progress of the Christian religion, and the effects of it in turning men from darkness to light, and from vice to virtue and holiness.

17. I conclude my extracts with a pious observation of this writer: 'That[t] we are born again, that we know in part the 'works of God, that we endeavour to improve the time of 'this life, so as to obtain a better, that in the hope of future 'recompenses we act and speak religiously, is all owing to 'God: I say, it is owing to God.

[o] Quamvis ergo Dominus Jesus conscientiæ judex esset, noluit tamen Judam de occultis ejus actibus increpare, ne, quoniam verisimili ratione videbatur locutus, putaretur forsitan injuste correptus, atque hinc iracundiam ejus tantam concepisse causam, ut inimicis necandum traderet quem sine ullo peccamine habuisset infensum. Nihil ergo acerbum Christus voluit pro merito sceleratæ mentis illius ioqui, ne Judas cum tradere videretur iratus, &c. p. 964. D. E.

[p] Et idcirco beatus Jacobus cum cæteris Apostolis decretum tale constituit in ecclesiis observandum: *Ut abstineatis vos*, inquit, *ab immolatis, et a sanguine*, id est, *a suffocatis*. Prætermiserunt *homicidium, adulteria*, *veneficia*: quoniam nec nominari ea in ecclesiis oporteret, quæ legibus etiam Gentilium punirentur. Prætermiserunt quoque illas omnes minutias observationum legalium. Et sola hæc quæ prædiximus custodienda sanxerunt, ne vel sacrificatis diabolo cibis profanemur immundis, vel ne forsan per viscera suffocatorum animalium sanguine polluamur, vel ne immunditiis fornicationum corpora nostra, quæ templa Dei sunt, violemus. p. 967. F. G.

[q] See Vol. iii. p. 131—164.

[r] Neque hodie aliquis reatum peccati incurrit, si eum non astringat aut naturalis lex, aut mandati lex, aut literæ lex. Naturalis lex est illa, quam Gentes legem literæ non *habentes naturaliter ea quæ legis sunt faciunt*: quia rationabilis animæ humanæ natura, ut Creatorem suum sentiat, ut proximum non lædat, ut non faciat quod pati non vult, naturali quadam lege intelligit. &c. p. 960. F.

[s] Nam priusquam pateretur et resurgeret Christus, notus erat tantum in Judæa Deus. Tunc in omnes gentes fulgor claritatis dominicæ pertransit ——p. 948. C.

[t] Nos ipsi etiam, quod renascimur, quod hæc ipsa opera Domini ex parte novimus, quod vivendo vitam quærimus, quod futurorum spem gerentes pie conversamur et loquimur. Dei, inquam, Dei sunt opera. p. 960. B.

CHAP.

CHAP. CXII.

SOPHRONIUS.

1. As St. Jerom has placed his learned friend Sophronius in his Catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, I tranſcribe the chapter [a] below. And I likewiſe refer to ſome learned [b] moderns, who have made obſervations upon it.

2. Jerom ſays, that Sophronius was a very learned man; that when young, he publiſhed a work entitled The praiſes of Bethlehem, and ſince, an excellent account of the Demolition of the temple of Serapis. He had alſo tranſlated ſeveral of Jerom's works into Greek.

3. All thoſe things are loſt. But we have a Greek verſion of St. Jerom's Catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, called Sophronius's. But though many receive it as his, all do not. Its genuineneſs is denied, not only by [c] Iſaac Voſſius, who thought it to have been made by Eraſmus himſelf, who firſt publiſhed it, but [d] by divers other learned men, who allow the antiquity of it.

4. Nevertheleſs, Robert Stephens and Mill have prefixed to the four goſpels the ſeveral chapters or Lives of the four Evangeliſts, in that Greek verſion; and Mill, in like manner, the chapters of St. James and St. Jude to their epiſtles. He ſhould have taken alſo the chapter concerning St. Paul, and have placed it before his epiſtle to the Romans. Why he omitted it, I do not know, unleſs he thought it too long. Moreover, theſe chapters, ſo far as taken, are in [e] Stephens, and [f] Mill, called Sophronius's. But, if I may be allowed to ſpeak my

[a] Sophronius, vir apprime eruditus, laudes Bethlehem adhuc puer, et nuper de ſubverſione Serapis inſignem librum compoſuit. De Virginitate quoque ad Euſtochium, et Vitam Hillarionis monachi, opuſcula mea, in Græcum eleganti ſermone tranſtulit. Pſalterium quoque, et Prophetas, quos nos de Hebræo in Latinum vertimus. De V. I. cap. 134.

[b] Vid. Fabr. Bib. Ec. et Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 195—198. Cav. Hiſt. Lit. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. xii. St. Jerome, art. 39. et 58.

[c] Vid. Voſſ. citat. a Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 295, 296.

[d] Viro ſummo Iſaaco Voſſio facile largior, nec Sophronii illius, cui tribuitur, nec valde antiquam eſſe Græcam Catalogi Hieronymiani verſionem. Sed ut ab Eraſmo, aut ab alio illius ævi confictam credam, adduci non poſſum. Nam cum ex eo quædam iiſdem verbis in Lexico Suidæ legantur, potius eſt, ut Suida vetuſtiorem credam. Jo. Andr. Boſius Introductione in notitiam Script. Ec. cap. 3. citat a Fabr. Bib. Ec. p. 13.

Ac præterea Græcus Interpres, qui adſcito Sophronii nomine vetuſtatem mentitur, eam fideliter exhibeat. C. A. Heuman. Præf. ad Lactant. Symph. p. v. Hanover. 1722.

[e] Βιος — μαθητου καλα Σωφρονιου. Ap. Stephan. [f] Σωφρονιος.

mind,

mind, it ſeems to me, that thoſe articles had been better put in St. Jerom's own original Latin, even ſuppoſing, that the Greek verſion had been made by his friend Sophronius: but as that is not certain, the verſion is ſtill leſs proper. I formerly [g] took the liberty to make remarks upon ſome of the teſtimonies prefixed by Mill to the goſpels.

CHAP. CXIII.

THEODORE, BISHOP OF MOPSUESTIA IN CILICIA.

I. His time and hiſtory. II. *Accounts of his works, particularly of his commentaries, from Photius and others, and his teſtimony to the ſcriptures.* III. *A fragment concerning the four goſpels, with remarks.* IV. *His character, as a preacher.* V. *Reflections upon him after his death.*

I. THEODORE was mentioned in the chapter of Diodorus of Tarſus. He was deſcended of an honourable family, and in all probability was a native of the city of Antioch. He [a] was an intimate friend and fellow-diſciple of John Chryſoſtom under Libanius the ſophiſt, and Andragathius the philoſopher, and afterwards under the fore-mentioned Diodorus and Carterius.

Sozomen ſays, that [b] he was well ſkilled in the ſacred ſcriptures, and in the liberal ſciences of the rhetoricians and philoſophers. Theodoret [c] calls him the doctor of the whole church: he ſays, he was biſhop ſix and thirty years, and wrote againſt all hereſies, particularly thoſe of Arius, Eunomius, and Apollinarius.

And, as according to Theodoret's account, Theodore died in 429, it is concluded, that [d] he was ordained in 394. I do not therefore well know, why [e] Cave placed him as flouriſhing about the year 407; when, too, he ſuppoſeth him to have been

g See the chapter of Hippolytus. Vol. ii. p. 408, 409.

a Vid. Socr. l. vi. c. 3. Soz. l. viii. c. 2. Thdrt. l. v. c. ult.

b Μοψουεστιας δε της κιλικων Θεοδωρος, ανηρ και των ιερων βιβλων, και της αλλης παιδειας ρητορων τε και φιλοσοφων ικανως εμπειρημενος. Soz. l. viii. c. 2. p. 757. A. B.

c — Θεοδωρος ο Μοψουεστιας επισκοπος, πασης μεν εκκλησιας διδασκαλος. κ. λ. Thdrt. l. v. c. ult.

d Vid. Pagi Ann. 403. xvi. et 427. xii. Et Conf. Aſſeman. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 400. not. 3.

e Claruit anno 407. Quin ſi mortis ejus tempus recte aſſequor, jam ab anno 392 epiſcopatum tenuit. Obiiſſe enim videtur anno 408, poſtquam eccleſiam Mopſueſtenam per 36 annos gubernaſſet. H. L. T. i. p. 385.

biſhop

bishop so soon as 392. And indeed, there are others also, who think, he [f] was ordained bishop in 392, and died in 428.

Theodore [g] had a brother, named Polychronius, who presided with honour over the church of Apamea, and was distinguished by his agreeable manner of preaching, and the holiness of his life.

II. Photius has given an account of several of Theodore's works.

1. The first in order is [h] his Defence of Basil against Eunomius, consisting of five and twenty books. 'Though his 'style is not clear,' Photius says, 'he is full of sense and ar-'gument, and abounds with texts of scripture. He confutes 'Eunomius, almost word for word; and largely shews him to 'have had little skill in profane learning, and yet less in our 'theology.'

2. The next is a Commentary upon the book of Genesis. Here Photius says, that [i] Theodore studiously shuns allegorical interpretations, and confines himself to the history. He moreover says, that in this work may be perceived the principles of Nestorianism, though the author was before Nestorius.

3. The third [k] is a small volume in three books, against [l] the Persian Magic, and shewing the preference of true religion. Here again Photius says, that the author favours Nestorianism.

4. The fourth and last is [m] 'a work in five books, against 'those who said, that men sin by nature, not by will and 'choice. He considers it as a doctrine held by those in the 'west, and from thence brought into the east, especially by 'an author, called Aram; who he is I do not know, who 'had written several books in defence of it. The opinions of 'that sect he represents in this manner. One of them is, that 'men sin by nature, not by choice. By nature, however, not 'meaning that, in which Adam was first formed; for that, 'they say, was good; but that which he afterwards had, when 'he had transgressed, being now bad instead of the good, and 'mortal instead of the immortal nature, which he before had. 'Hence men, being bad by nature, who before were good, 'now [n] sin by nature, not by choice. Another opinion of 'theirs, and consequent upon that is, that [o] infants, though

[f] Vid. Basnag. Ann. 428. n. v.

[g] Thdrt. ubi supra.

[h] Cod. 4. p. 7.

[i] Cod. 38. p. 24.

[k] Βιβλιδαριον——Cod. 81. p. 200.

[l] Conf. Theod. de Mops. art. 6. Tillem. T. 12.

[m] —— προς τους λεγοντας, φυσει και ου γνωμη πτανειν τους ανθρωπους. ——Cod. 177. p. 396.

[n] —— εν τη φυσει, και ουκ εν προαιρεσει κεκτησθαι την αμαρτιαν. Ib.

[o] —— μηδε τα παιδια, και αρτιγενητα η, μη απηλλαχθαι αμαρτιας.

'newly

'newly born, are not free from ſin; foraſmuch as from Adam's 'tranſgreſſion a ſinful nature, as they expreſs it, is derived to 'all his poſterity: for this they allege thoſe words, *I was born* '*in ſin*, and others. Here alſo,' as Photius proceeds, 'appear 'Neſtorian principles, and the notion of Origen concerning 'the period of the puniſhments of the future ſtate. He [p] alſo 'ſays, that man was at firſt made mortal; though death be 'repreſented as the conſequence of his tranſgreſſion, the better 'to convince us of the evil of ſin.' Photius concludes that article, ſaying, 'that this writer appeared to have ſtudied the 'ſcriptures with care, though in many things he erred from 'the truth.'

5. Photius did not know, who was meant by Aram, nor whether it was a real or fictitious name. But learned men are now well ſatisfied, that [q] hereby is to be underſtood St. Jerom: and that in this work Theodore aimed to confute Jerom's three Dialogues againſt the Pelagians. And it is ſuppoſed, that he had alſo an eye to Auguſtine.

6. It is obſervable, that [r] in the copies which Photius had of all theſe works, they were ſaid to be written by Theodore of Antioch. Nevertheleſs Photius perceived, that they were written by Theodore biſhop of Mopſueſtia; and had good evidence of it from ſome of his epiſtles, which he had read.

7. Theodore's works were tranſlated into Syriac; Ebedjeſu gives this account of them: Theodore [s] the commentator 'compoſed one and forty tomes.—A Commentary upon the 'book of Geneſis in three tomes; upon David in five tomes; 'upon the Twelve Prophets in two tomes; upon Samuel [or 'the firſt two books of the Kings] in one tome; upon Job 'in two tomes; upon Eccleſiaſtes in one tome; upon Iſaiah, 'and Ezekiel, and Jeremiah, and Daniel, each in one tome: 'there putting an end to his labours upon the Old Teſtament. 'Matthew he explained in one tome; Luke and John in two 'tomes; the Acts of the apoſtles in one tome; the epiſtle 'to the Romans, the two epiſtles to the Corinthians, in two 'tomes; the epiſtles to the Galatians, to the Epheſians, to

[p] Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ λέγειν αὐτοὺς, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μὲν θνητὸν πεπλάσθαι τὸν ἀδὰμ, ἐνδείξει δὲ μόνον· ἵνα μισήσωμεν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, σχηματίσαι δῶ τὸν Θεόν. Ibid.

[q] Vid. T. Ittigii Diſſ. de Aramo ſcriptore eccleſiaſtico antipelagiano. In App. ad Diſſ. de Hæreſiarchis. p. 366. &c. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 387. Tillem. Theodor. de M. Art. 7. Mem. T. xii. Aſſeman. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 402. not. 4. Beauſ. H. M. T. ii. p. 466, 467. Hod. de Bib. Text. p. 322. n. 18.

[r] Vid. Cod. 177. p. 396. in. Et Conf. cod. 4. p. 8. cod. 38. p. 24. cod. 81. p. 200.

[s] Theodorus Commentator
Compoſuit quadraginta et unum tomum, Ebedjeſu Catalog. cap. 19. ap. Aſſeman. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 30. &c.

'the

'the Philippians, to the Coloſſians, and the two epiſtles to 'the Theſſalonians, both the epiſtles to Timothy, the epiſtle 'to Titus, and to Philemon, and to the Hebrews; thus [t] 'compleating his Commentaries upon the whole apoſtle in 'five tomes. Ebedjeſu afterwards mentions ſeveral other 'works of Theodore. A book concerning the Sacraments: 'one book entitled Of the Faith: one tome Concerning the 'Prieſthood: two tomes concerning the Holy Spirit: a tome 'concerning the Incarnation: two tomes againſt Eunomius: 'and [u] two other againſt an author, who aſſerted ſin to be in 'our nature: two other againſt Magic:—and [x] moreover five 'tomes againſt the Allegoriſts:—and a book of Jewels, in 'which his epiſtles are collected: and a Diſcourſe of Law-'giving, wherewith he put an end to his labours.'

8. Simeon, who [y] was biſhop of Beth-Arſam, or Arſamopolis, in Perſia, from the year of Chriſt 510 to 525, ſays, that [z] Theodore wrote commentaries upon all the books of the Old and New Teſtament.

9. According to [a] the Edeſſen Chronicle, he began to write commentaries in the year of Chriſt 402, or the ninth year of his epiſcopate.

10. I forbear to tranſcribe [b] Gennadius's chapter concerning Theodore; but would refer to ſome learned moderns [c] for a farther account of his works. For the preſent let us make a ſtand, and review what we have ſeen in ancient authors.

1. Ebedjeſu having mentioned Theodore's Commentaries upon the Twelve Prophets, and upon Iſaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and Daniel, adds, that he there put an end to his labours upon the Old Teſtament. Which may afford an argument, that Theodore did not receive, as ſacred and divine ſcripture, any books written after thoſe of the Jewiſh canon.

2. He is ſaid [d] to have ſpoken in diſreſpectful terms of the

[t] Quinque autem tomis finem impoſuit Commentariis ſuis in totum Apoſtolum. Ibid. p. 33.

[u] Ac duo alii adverſus aſſerentem, Peccatum in natura inſitum eſſe. Ib. p. 34.

[x] Quinque præterea tomos compoſuit
Adverſus Allegoricos,
Et unum pro Baſilio.
— — — — — — —
Item librum Margaritarum,
In quo Epiſtolæ ejus collectæ ſunt.
Demum Sermonem de Legiſlatione,
Quo finem lucubrationibus ſuis impoſuit, Ib. p. 34, et 35.

[y] Vid. Aſſeman. Bib. Or. T. i. 341.

[z] A Diodoro accepit Theodorus, Mopſueſtiæ in Cilicia, qui omnes quidem tum Veteris tum Novi Teſtamenti libros commentatus eſt. Sim. Beth-Arſ. ap. Aſſem. ib. p. 318.

[a] Vid. ib. p. 400.

[b] Gennad. de Script. Ec. cap. 12.

[c] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. Oudin. de Scr. Ec. T. i. p. 895. Du Pin Bib. T. iii. p. 90. Tillem. Mem. T. xii. Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. v. c. 33. T. iii. p. 153. &c. Pagi Ann. 423. n. xv.—xix.

[d] Vid. Conc. Conſtant. ii. app. Labbé. T. v. p. 451, 452. Conf. Tillem. T. xii. Theod. de M. art. v. et Du Pin ubi ſupr.

book

book of Job, and the Canticles. But [e] as thoſe accounts appear among the charges and accuſations of enemies, there is, in all probability, ſome miſrepreſentation. Moreover, as we have ſeen in Ebedjeſu, he wrote a Commentary upon the book of Job: which may amount to a confutation of one part of that charge.

[3]. Ebedjeſu mentions commentaries upon the three goſpels only of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John, ſaying nothing particularly of St. Mark. Nevertheleſs there can be no queſtion made, but he received four goſpels, as other Chriſtians did: and we may ſee proof of it in a fragment to be alleged preſently.

[4]. Theodore, as we are alſo aſſured by Ebedjeſu, wrote commentaries upon St. Paul's fourteen epiſtles, particularly upon that to the (A) Hebrews.

[5]. None of the accounts of his commentaries, which we have ſeen, are ſufficient to ſatisfy us, which of the catholic epiſtles were received by him. Unqueſtionably, he received thoſe, which had been all along received by Chriſtians in general. But what was his opinion concerning the reſt, and concerning the book of the Revelation, does not as yet clearly appear, that I know of.

[6]. Moſt of Theodore's works are loſt. But fragments may be found, chiefly in Latin, and perhaps not fairly repreſented, in the Acts of the ſecond general council of Conſtantinople, or the fifth general council, held in 553, as alſo in Facundus, and in the Greek Chains. We are likewiſe aſſured by Fabricius, that [f] his Commentary upon the Twelve Prophets is ſtill

p. 90. b.

[e] On dit, que Theodore de Mopſueſte [Garnier. ad Mar. Mercat. Diſſ. i. § 9. p. 320.] regardoit le livre de Job comme une fable tirée du Paganiſme, ——le Cantique de Salomon comme une chanſon d' amoureux——I' ai de la peine à le croire——Il n' y eut perſonne pendant ſa vie, qui l' accusât d' erreur——Il ne fut condemné que près de cent cinquante ans après ſa mort, par la cabale de Juſtinien. J. Baſn. H. de l' Egl. l. viii. ch. v. n. 6. p. 430. Vid. ib. l. x. ch. 6. n. 4. p. 520.

(A) Dr. Joſeph Aſſeman, in a note upon Ebedjeſu's Catalogue, ſays: Epiſtolas Pauli omnes a Theodoro fuſe explicatas eſſe, teſtatur Theodoritus. Præfat. in Comment. in eaſdem. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 32. Which led me to conſult Theodoret's preface to his Commentaries upon St. Paul's Epiſtles, and his argument to the Epiſtle to the Hebrews. But I have not found there any mention made of Theodore's Commentaries. It ſeems, that Dr. Aſſeman borrowed this from Dr. Cave, who ſtill ſays in the new edition of his H. L. T. i. p. 387. in his account of Theodore's Works: Commentarii in 14. D. Pauli Epiſtolas: quas omnes a Theodoro fuſe explicatas eſſe, auctor eſt Theodoritus. Præf. in Comm. in Ep. S. Pauli. This miſtake is corrected by Fabricius, who ſeems to have had the ſame fruitleſs taſk impoſed upon him by Cave, that I have had from Aſſeman. Quod vero Epiſtolas Pauli omnes fuſe explicatas a Theodoro ſcripſerit Theodoritus, in ejus Præfatione Commentarii in Epiſtolas Apoſtoli, quam laudat eruditiſſimus Caveus, non reperio. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. ix. p. 163. m.

[f] 'In duodecim Prophetas Commenta-'rius' ——Integer foliorum 223 ſervatur Græce in Bibl. Cæſarea, teſte Lambecio. Fabr. B. G. T. ix. p. 162.

in

in being, in manuſcript, in the emperor's library at Vienna. D. B. de Montfauçon, in his Diarium Italicum, in his account of things in the library of St. Mark at Venice, ſpeaks[g] of its being there, and in the library at Vienna, and in the Vatican: of which[h] he ſpeaks again in his Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum MSS. I am glad there is ſo good evidence that this work is ſtill extant, and that there are ſeveral copies of it; I hope, it may ſome time be publiſhed: it might let us know more fully this writer's manner of interpreting ſcripture: and, poſſibly, we might there ſee his ſentiments concerning the diſputed books of the New Teſtament, about which we do not yet diſtinctly know his opinion.

7. The laſt work of Theodore in Ebedjeſu's Catalogue, is entitled, A Diſcourſe of Lawgiving, or of the Lawgiver. As it is not now extant, we cannot ſay what was in it: but if a conjecture were to be formed, we might be apt to think, the[i] deſign of it was to ſhew, that one and the ſame God was the author of the Old and the New Teſtament, or of the more ancient and the latter diſpenſation.

III. I ſhall now put down a fragment, or paſſage of Theodore concerning the four goſpels, which is prefixed by Dr. Mill to St. John's goſpel, taken[k] from Corderius's Chain upon that evangeliſt. As Dr. Mill's New Teſtament is very common, I need not tranſcribe the Greek here at length; but I ſhall endeavour to make a literal verſion of it.

Says Theodore: 'After[l] the Lord's aſcenſion to heaven, the 'diſciples ſtayed a good while at Jeruſalem, viſiting the cities 'in its neighbourhood, preaching chiefly to the Jews; until 'the great Paul, called by the divine grace, was appointed to 'preach the goſpel to the Gentiles openly. And in proceſs of 'time, Divine Providence, not allowing them to be confined 'to any one particular part of the earth, made way for con-'ducting them to remote countries. Peter went to Rome, 'the others elſewhere. John, in particular, took up his abode 'at Epheſus, viſiting however at ſeaſons the ſeveral parts of 'Aſia, and doing much good to the people of that country

g 'Theodori Antiocheni in xii. Prophe-'tas.' Hic liber nondum editus eſt. Exſtat quoque in Bibliotheca Cæſarea Vindebonenſi, et in Vaticana Bibliotheca. Diar. Ital. p. 39.

h In Bibliotheca Cæſarea Vindebonorum. Codex clxiii. bombycinus Græcus, Theodori Mopſueſteni in duodecim Prophetas Minores. Biblioth. Biblioth. MSS. T. i. p. 546. Et vid. in Ind. Gen. Theodor. Mopſ. in Scripturam.

i Vid. Aſſeman. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 39. not. 3.

k Ap. Balth. Corderii. Caten. in S. Joann. in Procem. Antv. 1630.

l Μετα την εις ουρανους αναληψιν του κυριου επι πολλω μεν τους Ιεροσολυμοις εδιατριψαν οι μαθηται τω χρονω. κ. λ.

by

'by his diſcourſes. About[m] this time the other evangeliſts, 'Matthew, Mark, and Luke, publiſhed their goſpels: which 'were ſoon ſpread all over the world, and were received by 'all the faithful in general with great regard. Nevertheleſs, 'the Chriſtians of Aſia, having a great opinion of the abili-'ties and faithfulneſs of John, and conſidering that he had 'been with Jeſus from the beginning, even before Matthew, 'and that he had been greatly favoured by the Lord, brought 'to him the other books of the goſpels, deſiring to know his 'opinion concerning them. And he declared his approbation 'of them, ſaying, that what they had written was agreeable 'to truth; but that ſome miracles, which might be of great 'uſe if recorded, were omitted. He ſaid, moreover, that 'whereas they had written of the coming of Chriſt in the 'fleſh, it was fit that the things concerning his Divinity alſo 'ſhould be recorded. The brethren thereupon earneſtly de-'ſired him to write thoſe things, which he eſteemed needful 'to be known, and which he ſaw to have been omitted by the 'reſt: with which requeſt he complied. And he was in-'duced to begin immediately with the doctrine of Chriſt's 'Deity. After which he proceeded to the account of the 'things ſaid and done by the Lord in the fleſh.'

It will now be proper to make ſome remarks.

1. This account of the occaſion of St. John's writing his goſpel agrees very much with that in[n] Euſebius of Cæſarea. I mention this obſervation in the firſt place, becauſe it is likely, that the occaſion of St. John's goſpel was the thing primarily intended in that part of our author's work, from which this paſſage is taken.

2. The late date of the firſt three goſpels is here ſuppoſed: they were not written, until after that the firſt twelve diſciples had for a good while preached the goſpel to the Jews at Jeruſalem, and in the neighbouring cities; nor until after St. Paul had been called, and had openly preached the goſpel to the Gentiles; nor until after that St. Peter had been at Rome; nor, as it ſeems, until after, or at leaſt, about the time of St. John's taking up his abode at Epheſus in Aſia.

3. It ſeems to be ſuppoſed, that all the firſt three goſpels were written about the ſame time.

4. Thoſe goſpels were ſoon ſpread abroad among Chriſtians all over the world. This is expreſsly ſaid by our author, as

[m] Γινῶται τοίνυν ἐν τούτοις τὰ λοιπὰ τετραδίτων εὐδοκίμων, ματθαῖ[illegible]μαρκ[illegible]

[n] See p. 225—227.

well as that they were received by all with great regard. And indeed the accounts given, both by Theodore and by Euſebius, of the occaſion of St. John's writing his goſpel, afford good evidence, that the firſt three goſpels ſoon came into the hands of many Chriſtians. Before St. John wrote his goſpel, the Chriſtians in Aſia had ſeen and read the other three; and they aſked St. John his opinion concerning them, and he approved them. There can be no reaſon to doubt, that about this time, and ſoon after they were written, thoſe three goſpels were delivered to other Chriſtians, beſide thoſe in Aſia.

5. The publiſhing of St. John's goſpel, which he wrote now at the requeſt of the believers at Epheſus, would contribute to their being yet more public, and looked upon by all with the greateſt veneration. And from this time forward, it is reaſonable to think, the four goſpels were collected in one code or volume. And St. John's goſpel, now added to the reſt, would occaſion a diligent comparing of all of them together, and a careful attention to the ſeveral accounts of each.

I now proceed.

IV. That Theodore was a celebrated commentator, we have ſeen: that he was alſo a celebrated preacher, and admired as ſuch, at Antioch, and Conſtantinople, and all over the Eaſt, may be collected from teſtimonies in [o] Facundus.

V. 1. Theodore, as the ſame Facundus [p] ſays, lived and died in the communion of the church. And his great reputation is manifeſt from Sozomen and Theodoret, before cited. Nevertheleſs afterwards, upon occaſion of the Pelagian and Neſtorian controverſies, there [q] were great debates about his ſentiments; and not a few moderns [r] call him the parent both of Pelagianiſm and Neſtorianiſm: whilſt others allow [s] indeed his holding the Pelagian principle, but think the charge of

[o] Theodoſio Imperatori, qui per idem tempus mundi regebat gubernacula, ſic dicit: Theodorus enim, quem quando dicimus, virum dicimus in epiſcopatu clarum finem habentem, et quinquaginta pene annis fortiter repugnantem cunctis hæreſibus, et in expoſitionibus, quas in omnibus eccleſiis orientalibus faciebat, et quibus in regia civitate valde eſſet comprobatus apparet. &c. Facund. l. ii. c. 2. p. 23. Vid. et l. x. cap. 1. p. 148. E.

[p] —— in cujus pace atque honore defunctus idem Theodorus. Id. l. x. c. 1. p. 148. C. Vid. et l. ii. c. 2.

[q] Vid. S. Baſnag. Ann. 550. n. vii.—ix. 551. n. x. &c. 553. n. xvii. &c. Tillem. Theodore de M. art. 4. Mem. T. xii.

[r] Theodorus Mopſueſtenus Pelagianorum æque ac Neſtorianorum parens. Aſſem. ad Chr. Edeſſ. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 402. not. 3.

Hinc Theodorus merito Pelagianorum pater audit, ejuſque ſectatores Chaldæi Neſtoriani de originali peccato uſque in præſentem diem male ſentiunt. —— Nam Neſtoriani Pelagianum dogma expreſſe docuere, ut probat Pagius ad annum 428. n. xvi. hac in re a magiſtro ſuo Neſtorio deſciſcentes, qui de peccato originali recte ſenſerat. Aſſem. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 34. not. 1. Conf. Pagi Ann. 423. n. xv.—xviii.

[s] Vid. S. Baſnag. Ann. 428. n. 7.

Nestorianism not so clear. Divers passages of his, alleged by Facundus[t], seem not reconcileable therewith: however, we have seen, that Photius, in his accounts of Theodore's works, scruples not to accuse him of being in the Nestorian principle. And in his epistles he says, that[u] Nestorius borrowed his abominable doctrine from Diodorus of Tarsus, and Theodore of Mopsuestia: but bishop R. Montague[x], in a note upon Photius, vindicates both those great men.

2. I shall take here two passages of Theodore, one out of his commentary upon St. John's gospel, the other out of his commentary upon the Acts of the apostles; as they are cited, in Latin, in[y] the Acts of the fore-mentioned council of Constantinople, in 553, and in Greek, in the emperor Justinian's confession of the right faith, or his edict issued in[z] 545, or rather in[a] 551; against the three chapters, as they are called, that is, the works of our Theodore, the writings of Theodoret against Cyril of Alexandria, and the letter of Ibas bishop of Edessa, about the year 436, to Maris a Persian. They are alleged in the way of reproach, and are among charges brought against him: and perhaps the quotations are not quite exact and fair; nevertheless, they may be of some use to us, in forming an idea of Theodore's judgment, or way of thinking.

In[b] his commentary upon St. John's gospel, he says, 'that 'when Thomas made that confession to Christ, *My Lord and*

[t] Facund. l. ix. [u] Phot. Ep. 1. p. 7. f. Vid. et p. 11. m.

[x] Intelligit Mopsuestenum, et Tarsensem episcopos, qui et doctissimi et orthodoxi erant, aut habebantur, præcipue Diodorus, et a Basilio, Chrysostomo, ac aliis laudantur. Nec nisi mortui in suspicionem hæreseos venere, et sequiorum calamis punguntur. Qui mihi non persuadent, fuisse hæreseos labe infectos. Montac. Not. ad Phot. Ep. i. p. 46. [y] Thomas quidem, cum sic credidisset, *Dominus meus et Deus meus* dicit: non ipsum Dominum et Deum dicens, (non enim resurrectionis scientia docebat et Deum esse eum qui resurrexit) sed quasi pro miraculo facto Deum collaudat.

— Ut quum ad ipsum accessissent, tanquam Salvatorem, et omnium bonorum auctorem, et doctorem veritatis, ab ipso, utpote auctore bonorum, et doctore veritatis vocarentur: sicut omnibus hominibus, quamcunque sectam sequentibus, consuetudo est ab ipso dogmatis inventore vocari, ut Platonici et Epicuræi, Manichæi et Marcionistæ, et siquidem tales dicuntur. Eodem modo et nos nominari Christianos judicaverunt Apostoli, tamquam per hoc certum facientes, quod ipsius doctrinam oportet adtendere. Conc. Constantin. ii. Col. iv. ap. Labbé. T. v. p. 440, 441.

[z] Vid. Cav. de Justiniano. H. L. T. i. p. 509. et Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. xi. p. 441.

[a] Pagi ann. 551. n. v. Basnag. ann. 551. n. 7, 8.

[b] Οὗτος δὲ καὶ τὴν ὁμολογίαν θωμᾶ, ἣν ἐπὶ τῇ ψηλαφήσει τῶν χειρῶν καὶ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ κυρίου μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν, τὸ, ὁ κύριος μου καὶ Θεὸς μου, εἶπεν, μὴ εἰρῆσθαι περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρὰ τῷ θωμᾷ, (οὐ γὰρ εἶναι λέγει τὸν Χριστὸν Θεὸν) ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐκπλαγεῖτα τὸν θωμᾶν ὑμνῆσαι τὸν Θεὸν ἐγείραντα τὸν Χριστόν. Τὸ δὲ χειρὸν, ὅτι ἐν τῇ τῶν πράξεων τῶν ἀποστόλων γενομένῃ παρ' αὐτοῦ δηθεὶ ἑρμηνείᾳ, συγκρίνων ὁ αὐτὸς θεόδωρος τὸν Χριστὸν Πλάτωνι, καὶ μανιχαίῳ, καὶ ἐπικούρῳ, καὶ μαρκίωνι, λέγει, ὅτι ὥσπερ ἐκείνων ἕκαστος εὐραμένος οἰκεῖον δόγμα τοῦ αὐτῷ μαθητευσάντας πεπιστηκὲ καλεῖσθαι Πλατωνικοὺς, καὶ μανιχαίους, καὶ ἐπικουρείους, καὶ μαρκιωνίστας, τὸν ὁμοῖον τρόπον καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐραμένου τὸ δόγμα, ἐξ

'*my God*, [John xx. 28.] he did not call Chriſt Lord and God; 'but being aſtoniſhed at the great miracle of his reſurrection, 'and the full evidence of it, which had been afforded to him, 'he praiſed God, who had raiſed Chriſt from the dead. Nor 'is the being raiſed from the dead a proof of deity.' And in his commentary upon the Acts of the apoſtles, he ſays: 'As 'the Platonics and Epicureans, and the men of other ſects, 'are called from their maſters, who firſt taught the principles 'profeſſed by them; ſo Chriſtians are called from Chriſt, whom 'they have received as the teacher of truth, and their Saviour, 'and the author of all good. And the apoſtles therefore gave 'us this denomination, that thereby we might be reminded of 'our obligation to adhere to Chriſt's doctrine.'

That is the ſenſe of thoſe two paſſages, as may appear to ſuch as will compare the Latin and Greek at the bottom of the pages.

3. I conclude this chapter with tranſcribing below [c] the charges brought againſt Theodore, and the principles aſcribed to him, by Simeon Beth-Arſam before-mentioned, as the paſſage may entertain ſome of my readers: though indeed he there, and elſewhere [d] ſpeaks to the like purpoſe alſo of Diodorus, whom he conſiders as his maſter; and Paul of Samoſata as maſter of both. But Theodore of Mopſueſtia is the worſt of all, having added to, and farther eſtabliſhed the Unitarian, Jewiſh ſentiments, which he had received from them (B).

αὐτὸν τὸν Χριστιανὸς καλεισθαι. Ap. Chron. Paſch. p. 361. et Concil. Labb. T. v. p. 706.

[c] A Diodoro accepit Theodorus Mopſueſtiæ in Cilicia, qui omnes tum Veteris tum Novi Teſtamenti libros commentatus eſt. Verum in cunctis ipſius commentariis et ſermonibus Judaicam de Chriſto opinionem tradit, Diodoro, Pauloque Samoſateno præceptoribus ſuis conſentiens. Quæ vero a Simone Mago, a Paulo, et a Diodoro aſſerebantur, hæc ille amplificavit, confirmavitque, aſſerens Chriſtum hominem eſſe creatum, factum, mortalem, conſubſtantialem nobis, Filium adoptivum, et Templum Dei æterni, non Filium naturalem Dei eſſe, ſed per gratiam et adoptionem. — A Theodoro accepit Neſtorius. &c. Ap. Aſſem. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 348, 349.

[d] A Paulo accepit Diodorus Tarſi Ciliciæ epiſcopus.— Chriſtum vero ipſum hominem exiſtimavit creatum, factum, mortalem, conſubſtantialem nobis, et Filium per gratiam, Pauli Samoſateni præceptoris ſui veſtigiis preſſe inhærens. Ib. p. 348. in.

(B) Some learned moderns think, that Diodorus of Tarſus, in his old age, in oppoſing the Apollinarians, eſpouſed the ſame doctrine concerning Chriſt with Paul of Samoſata, Marcellus of Galatia, and Photinus: which, as they ſay, was likewiſe the opinion of Theodore of Mopſueſtia and Neſtorius. Vid. Garner. ad Marium Mercatorem. T. ii. p. 317—319. et Pagi ann. 428. xix. Et Conf. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 361. et Tillem. Mem. T. viii. Diodore de Taſe.

THE END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.