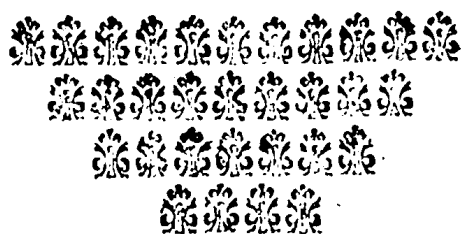


An Historical
VINDICATION
OF THE
Naked Gospel,

Recommended to the
University of Oxford.



L O N D O N :

Printed for *E. Reyner*, in the Year,
1691.

THE
P R E F A C E
TO THE
R E A D E R.

THE Design of this Work is of no less Importance than to discover the Naked Truth, as far as 'tis possible, after the Destruction of such infinite Numbers of Volumes by the Barbarity of former Ages: The little Fragments and Gleanings whereof, (that accidentally escap'd the Flames and Fury of those Times) tho' dispers'd up and down, yet do still afford some Light to a perspicacious Enquirer; and indeed give such a Landskip of things, as the Ruins now at Athens, Carthage and Rome, do of those Majestick Cities. We may still plainly see, how the simple Primitive Chastity of the Gospel was desic'd with the Ceremonies, and the vain Philology of the Pagans: How Platonic Enthusiasm was impos'd upon the World for Faith, Mystery and Revelation, by cloyster'd Ecclesiasticks; Qui omnia que putabant Christianismo conducere, Bibliis interseruerunt, as any one may collect from Erasmus, Scaliger, Grotius, Cappellus, and F. Simons, who had compar'd Manuscripts. Their dogmatical Contradictions in Councils, their silly Quarrells, their frequent changes in Opinion, their childish trifling in Words, their Inconstancy, Pride, and other Passions are laid open, as the Source of publick

A 2 Troubles

The Preface to the Reader.

Troubles and common Calamities. We may justly lament with Joseph Scaliger the cruel Suppression of the old Books that were in the hands of the Fathers, for if we had them now in our Libraries, Nous verrions des belles choses, says that Prodigy of Learning, who in another place complains, Nihil fuit erga bonas literas injuriosius veteribus Christianis; si voluissent, haberemus tam præclara. — But considering how they handed things down to us, Je ne me ferois jamais Chretien a lire les Peres, Ils ont tant de Fadaïses. Scalig.

In our own time we have seen the same Phrenzy acted over again, Academick Inquisitors (like supreme infallible Tribunals) burning Articles and Books, afterwards embracing and practising the very same; expelling and recalling, canting and recanting, after the manners of their Fore-fathers, who veer'd about with every Wind, and were very angry that the Laity would not believe things against their Sense and Reason, as the Woman would have had her Husband against his own Eyes: What! Believe your Eyes before your own sweet Wife?

The most considerable Parts of the present Vindication are, I. The History of Plato's Trinity. II. The Arian Controversie. III. Of the Nicene Council. IV. Of the Athanasian Creed. V. Of the Quarrels and Divisions of the Churches: Which take as follows.

A

(1)

A Modest and Historical

VINDICATION, &c.

THAT this work may be clear and instructive, 'tis thought necessary to observe Method and Order of Time, which are the chief lights in Historical Controversies; Therefore we will begin with the most learned Bishop of the Primitive Church.

Eusebius was born in *Palestine*, and perhaps at *Cæsarea*; (a) for he says in the beginning of his Letter to the Christians of that City, *That he was there baptized, and instructed in the Christian Faith.* He was born towards the end of the third Century; though we cannot find exactly the year of his Birth. He began early to apply himself to Learning, especially to Divinity, as it sufficiently appears in his Writings, wherein may be seen, that he had carefully read all sorts of Books; and that all the Christian Writings, whether Greek or Latin, were well known to him. He had the advantage of the curious Library, which the Martyr *Pamphilus*, his particular Friend, had collected at *Cæsarea*. (b) It's affirm'd, That being become Bishop of this City, he entreated *Constantine*, (who passed through it, and who had bid him ask some favour in behalf of his Church) That he would permit him to make a search into all the

(a) *Ap. Secret. lib. v. c. 3.*

(b) *Hi ron. Ep. ad Chron. Theod. Antipater Postrensis in concil. Nicen. l. i. Ad. 5.*

B

publick

publick Registers, to extract the Names of all the Martyrs, and the time of their Death. However, he has committed Faults enough in Chronology, as *Joseph Scaliger*, and a great many other learned Men have observed, and especially in relation to Martyrs, as Mr. *Dodwel* has lately shewn in his Dissertation, *de paucitate Martyrum*. But it was no easie matter to escape these kind of Faults in such a work as his Ecclesiastical History, which was the first of that sort that was ever undertaken; the Primitive Christians taking no care of the History of their Times.

Eusebius, is commonly called the Son of *Pamphilus*; whether he was really his Son, as some affirm, or his Nephew, according to the opinion of others; or in fine, as most believe, by reason of the great Friendship between them. This *Pamphilus* was of *Beryte* in *Phœnicia*, and Priest of *Cæsarea*; he held *Origen's* Opinions, for whom he wrote an Apology, of which there remains to us, but a part of it in Latin, among the Works of *Origen* and St. *Jerome*. He made it in Prison, where he was put in the year 307, under the Emperour *Decius*, and where *Eusebius* did not forsake him. He could write only the first five Books, having been hindered from finishing (a) this

(a) Photius, cod. CXVIII.

Work, by the Death which he suffered for the Gospel two years after he had been thrown into Prison. But *Eusebius* finish'd it, in adding thereto a sixth Book, and publish'd it after his Death. *Pamphilus* had for Master, *Pierius*

(b) Id. Cod. CXIX.

(b) Priest of *Alexandria*, who likewise suffered Martyrdom, and was also of *Origen's* Opinion, whose Assiduity and Eloquence he imitated, which got him the name of second *Origen*. It's not amiss here to relate the Judgment which *Photius* makes of his Works.

He

He advances several things, says he, remote from those which are at present establish'd in the Church, perhaps according to the Custom of the Ancients: Yet he speaks after a pious manner of the Father and the Son, excepting that he assures us, They have two Essences, (*etia*) and two Natures, (*ous*) using the words Essence and Nature, as it appears by what precedes, and follows in this Passage, for that of Hypostasis, and not in the sense of the Arians. But he speaks of the Holy Spirit in a dangerous manner, for he attributes to him, a Glory inferiour to that of the Father and the Son; yet he was Catechist of *Alexandria* under the Patriarch *Theonas*, who was consecrated in the year 282.

Pamphilus being dead, as has been said, *Eusebius* retired to *Paulinus* Bishop of *Tyre*, his Friend; where he was witness, (a) as he tells us himself, (*a*) Lib. 8. c. 7. of several Martyrdoms, the History of which he has left us, in his Book of the Martyrs of Palestine. From thence he went into *Egypt*, where he found the Persecution yet more violent, and where he was thrown into Prison. But this Persecution having ceased, he was set at Liberty, and a while after elected Bishop of *Cæsarea*, after the death of *Agapius*. It's not certainly known in what year this Election was made, but at least, he was already Bishop, when *Paulinus* dedicated a stately Church in the City of *Tyre*, which he had built there, which was in the year 316, in the 10th year of *Constantine's* Reign; for it was the custom of the Christians, (b) as well as of the Pagans, to consecrate their Churches in the time of the Decennales of the Emperours, or of any other Solemnity. *Eusebius* recites a fine Oration, spoken at this Dedication, (c) and tho' he does not say, that it was his himself

(b) Act. Inj. by a. p. 11. c. 3. n. 1. 2. 3.

(c) Lib. 10. c. 1.

B 2

that

that spoke it, yet the style of this Oration, and the modest manner after which he mentions him that made it, gives one reason to believe, that he has suppress'd his name only through Modesty. One might imagine, that he was then but Priest, were it not manifest, that it was very rare in that Age for Priests to speak in publick, where there were *Bishops* present.

It was about this time, that *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, had a bickering with one of his Priests named *Arius*, touching the Divinity of *Jesus Christ*, which gave Birth to *Arianism*. *Eusebius* having had a great share in the Disputes of Arianism, we cannot recount his Life without writing the History of it ; and to know wherein consisted these Disputes, we must necessarily ascend higher, and enquire what Principles of Philosophy were in use in that time among the Christians, and how they came to be introduced. This is so necessary a Digression, as will appear in the Sequel, that it's to be supposed, the Reader must approve of it.

There was never any Philosopher that made himself so famous as *Plato*, and no Books read with more pleasure than his, whether from the Subjects, and lofty Thoughts found therein, or by reason of the Elegancy and Nobleness of their Style, which never any Philosopher could equalize. He was born under the Reign of *Artaxerxes*, surnam'd *Long-hand*, 426 years before Christ, and died aged fourscore years, in the time when *Philip of Macedon* made himself to be fear'd of all *Greece*. *Alexander* his Son having made himself master of *Asia*, which his Successors divided among them ; one may reasonably believe, that the Sciences of the *Greeks* there, establish'd themselves with their Empire, and their Customs.

Ptolemy the Son of *Lagus*, one of *Alexander's* Successors, undertook to collect into his Library of *Alexandria*, all the Books he could find, and drew thither several learned Men of *Greece*. (a) He was learned himself, and omitted nothing, for ^{(a) Vid. Hely de 70. Int. c. 9.} the inspiring into his Sons the love of Learning.

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

Among the Opinions of *Plato*, there are not any more remarkable, than those which he had touching the Divinity, the Pre-existence and Immortality of the Soul. He held that there is only one Supreme, Spiritual, and Invisible God, whom he calls *The Being*, or, the *Being itself*, the *very Being*, *The Father*, and *cause of all Beings*, &c. He placed under this supreme God an inferior Being, which he calls *Reason*, (αβγδ) *The Director of things present and future*, the *Creator of the Universe*, &c. In fine, he acknowledged a third Being, which he calls the *Spirit* or *Soul* of the *World*. He added, That the first was the Father of the second, and that the second had produced the third. We may consult hereupon his *Timæus*, to which we should adjoin his II. and VI. Letter. In the second, which is directed to *Demys*, who complained, that *Plato* had

not sufficiently instructed him touching the *first Nature*, or *first Being*, this Philosopher thus expresses himself. *Every thing is about the King of all things, and every thing is because of him; he is the cause of all good things: The things of the second Order, are about the second; the things of the third, are about the third.* He calls this a Riddle; forbids *Denys* to speak of it before the ignorant; enjoyns him to burn his Letter as soon as he has read it, and protests he will never write again of this matter. In his sixth Letter, he enjoyns *Hermias Erastus* and *Corisca* to swear, in taking to witness, *the God who is the Director of things present and future, and the Lord, who is the Father of this Director and of this Cause.* The Obscurity which he affects in this occasion, lest he should draw on him the Rage of the Superstitious Populace, hinders us from understanding what he would say, unless we collate together all the Passages wherein he speaks of the Divinity, and consult his Interpreters and Disciples.

Here's how one of 'em (a) explains his Masters meaning: *Plato believed, that God the Creator sustains the visible and invisible World, which was made out of nothing; That his Will suffices to make Beings exist; That by the conjunction of a corporal Nature, and another incorporeal, he has made a most perfect World, which is double and single at the same time, in which one may distinguish the high, the middle, and the low; That he calls high, the Heavenly Beings, and the Gods; The middle, the Interrest Intelligences and good Demons, which are the Interpreters and Messengers, in what relates to the good of men; The low, the terrestrial Intelligences, and the Souls of men, or men Immortal; That the superiour Beings govern the inferiour, but that God who is the Creator and Father of 'em, reigns over all; and that this paternal Empire,*

(a) *Hieronymus*
de provid. apud
Philonem. Cud.
ccxi.

Empire, is nothing else but his Providence, by which he governs every sort of Being what belongs to it. We may easily understand what *Plato* calls the things of the second and third Order. We shall not busie ourselves in seeking from whom *Plato* might have learnt this Doctrin, whether from the *Caldæans*, or from the Old Testament, as some of the Fathers have believ'd.

Altho' *Plato's* Disciples are agreed with their Master, in respect of these three Principles, yet there is to be found in their Writings divers Enquiries touching their nature, and divers ways of speaking, which are not to be seen in those of this Philosopher, who never dared to write all he thought on this subject. *Plotinus* particularly, who liv'd in the beginning of the third Century, has treated of them, in several places of his *Enneades*, (a) but especially in the Book which is intitled of *the three Hypostases, which are the three Principles of all things.* Here's whereunto his Doctrin

(a) *Proserpin*
En. v. lib. i. a
cap. 3. and 35.

may be reduced. I. There are three Principles: *The Being, the Spirit, or the Reason of the Being, and the Soul of the World, which is the Reason of the Spirit.* There is also, according to him, a *Reason of the Soul of the World*, but it is a Reason obscure, (*ἀσπερς*). II. The Being has begotten the Reason, not by an act of his will, or by a decree, but by his nature, as fire begets heat, or as the sun produces light. The Reason has also begotten the Soul of the World, and perhaps termed Father in this respect. III. These three Hypostases differ in number, altho' there be a most strict union between them; which makes, that one may say at the same time, that they are different, and that they are the same thing. The first is more excellent than the second, and the second more ex-

cellent than the third. IV. The terms which *Plotinus* uses, are worth observing. 1. He call. not only essence (*ἔσσις*) after *Plato*, the nature of the being, of the reason and of the soul of the World, but he likewise uses the word *ὑποκείμενον*, matter, and lays, that the matter of the one is more perfect than that of the other. Having pretended that *Parmenides* had said before *Plato*, that there are three Principles, he expresses himself in these terms : *Parmenides holds likewise the Opinion of the three Natures.* 2. It's observable, that the word *hypostasis* (*ὑποστάσις*) signifies two things with this Philosopher ; first, the existence of a thing, considered abstractedly ; and in the second place, the thing it self which exists, as it's taken in the Title of this Book, of *the three Hypostases*, which are the Principles of all things, *τὰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις ἀπὸ τῶν ὧν πάντα γίνονται*, and in the Title of the third Book of the same *Enneade*, of *intelligent Beings.* 3. As he says, That the Reason is the Father of the Soul, he says likewise, that the Reason begets, and makes the Soul ; for we must observe, that in this matter, *Plato* and his Disciples use indifferently the words, *to beget, to make, to produce, &c.* and that *begotten* and *made*, is the same thing here, in their mouths. We need only read *Plato's Timæus.* 4. *Plotinus* says, that the Father and the Reason are *one and the same thing* *ἓν*, because *they coexist and forsake not one another.* He says, that the Supreme Being, and whose essence consists in existing, in a manner wholly particular, has begotten by his Nature the Spirit, and that he cannot be without him, no more than a luminous body can be without light.

The Spirit on his part, whose essence consists in having perpetually a lively conception of the Being, cannot exist (*ὑπάρχειν*) without this. They cannot be separated

separated (*χωρᾶσθαι*) one from the other, because there is nothing between them, as there is nothing between the Spirit and the Soul. 5. He says, that that which is begotten, resembles (*ἐμφανίζει*) its cause just as the Light resembles the Sun. 6. He says, that the Spirit is the Image (*εἰκὼν*, *εἰδολον*) of the Being, as the Soul is the Image of the Spirit.

St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, in his Eighth Book against *Julian*, cites a passage of *Porphyry*, out of his Third Book of the Philosophical History, whence it appears That the *Platonists* disputed among themselves, whether there could be more than three *Hypostases* in the Divinity ; *Plato*, saith *Porphyry*, has taught, that the Divine Essence may extend it self even to three *Hypostases* ; to wit, the Supreme Divinity, or the good it self ; after it, the Creator, who is the second ; and the Soul of the World, which is the third, &c. But there are Men who pretend, that we must not reckon the very good, or good it self, among the things which he has produced, and that being of a perfect simplicity, and incapable of accidents, he has communion with nothing : so that it is by the Spirit that we must begin to reckon the Trinity *τὸν θεόν, &c.*

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

(a) *Ennead.*
V. lib. S. c. 12.

God has begotten an excellent Being, and has brought forth all things in him. This production has cost him no pain, for pleasing himself in what he beget, and finding his productions good, he has retained them all in himself, tempering his brightness and theirs. Those which have there remain'd being more excellent, there's only his only Son (αὐτός) Jupiter who has appear'd without, by whom,

as by the *Supream Son of the Divinity*, and as in an Image, one may see what the Father is, and the Brethren which have remained in the Father, *παρὲς τοῦ πατρὸς*.

The Platonists likewise used, in speaking of the Union which they conceiv'd to be between the different Orders of their Divinities, the Terms of *ἐνότης*, of different Essence, and *κοινωνία*, Co-essential. By the first, they denote the different sorts of Beings, and by the second, what is of the same kind. Here's a Proof taken out of *Jamblichus*, in his Book of the Mysteries of the Egyptians, *Señt. 1. ch. xix.* He speaks of the manner after which the Superiour Gods are united to the Inferiour, according to the Platonic Philosophy: The Divinities, says he, of the second Order, turning themselves towards the first intellectual Beings, and the first giving to the second, the same Essence, (*ὁ αὐτὸς οὐσίας*) and the same Power; this entertains their Union. What we call Union in the things which are of different kinds, (*ἐνότητα*) as the Soul and the Body, or which are divers Species, (*ἀπομορφώσις*) as material things; or which are otherwise divided, this Union, I say, happens to 'em from superiour things, and destroys it self at a certain time. But the more we elevate our selves to superiour things, and to the Identity (*ταυτότητα*) of the first Beings, and in regard of the Species, and in regard of the Essence; when we ascend from the parts to the whole, the more we acknowledge the Union (*ἑνωσις*) which is eternal, and the more we see what is the Union properly so called, and the more we see what is the Union properly so called, and the more we see what is the Union properly so called, and that it hath about it, and in it self, the Diversity (*ἐκποικιλία*) and the Multiplicity.

Porphyry had ask'd, whether a kind of Being is form'd, (*σύνθεσις*) mixt with our Soul and Divine Inspiration, which made the Prophets able to (*a*) *Señt. 3. c. 21.* foresee the future. *Jamblichus* (*a*) answer'd,

swer'd, no; and gives this reason for it; which is, that when one only thing is form'd of two, the whole is of one and the same Species, of the same Nature, and Co essential, (*ἐκπόικιλτος*) and that this does not happen in the case proposed by Porphyry.

One may see hereby, the Subtlety with which the Platonists handled these Matters, and the Terms they used. But we should take notice of two things, in endeavouring to form to our selves an Idea of their Sentiments. The first, that we must not always suppose they had a clear and distinct knowledge of what they would say themselves, and that they saw all the consequences of their Opinions: So that it would be perhaps in vain, to endeavour to draw out of their Writings a clear Idea of their Sentiment, touching the three Principles of all things, because, perhaps they themselves conceiv'd not clearly what they said; at least, their Style is so different on this Occasion, from that which is observable in the Passages of their Writings, wherein they speak of things which they may know, that it is apparent, they contain'd not the subject of the three Principles, like an infinite of others, which they have known how to express in an even, clear, and elegant manner. The second thing we should observe, is, That in so difficult a matter, we must content our selves with what they say positively, without attempting to draw far-fetch'd Consequences from their Principles, which we cannot understand but by halves; otherwile we are in danger of attributing to them, such Notions as they never had. Neither must we endeavour to reconcile in so abstracted a subject, the contradictions which seem to appear in their Doctrin, nor conclude, that they could not mean things in such a manner, because then they must contradict themselves. It was the custom of these

Philosophers to affect certain apparent Contradictions, in using the same Terms in divers Senses. Besides, its obvious enough to imagine, that they may have sometimes contradicted themselves, on a subject whereof they had no distinct Idea.

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

A second Opinion of the *Platonists*, which has made a great noise in the World, is that of the Prae-existence of

Souls, in places above the Moon, (b) of the faults which they may have there committed; of their banishment from these happy

Abodes, to come to inhabit in differently disposed Bodies, according to the different merits of these Souls; in fine, of their return into places whence they drew their Original. We shall not trouble our selves to explain this Doctrin, because it belongs not to the Relation in hand, having only made mention of it; for a particular Reason which will appear in its Place.

The Kings of *Egypt* and *Syria*, having carried the Sciences of the *Greeks* into *Asia*, the *Jews*, who were in great numbers in these two Kingdoms, and who were oblig'd to converse with them, learnt of them their Opinions; and made no difficulty of embracing those, which did not appear to 'em contrary to their Religion. Their Books containing nothing inconsistent with sundry of the Platonic Doctrins; they believ'd therefore, that these Doctrins might be true, and receiv'd them so much the more easily, in that they thought, they might hereby defend their Religion against the *Pagans*, and make them relish it the better. *Plato* every where affirm'd the Unity of the supream

Being,

Being, yet without denying that there are other Beings, which may be called *Gods*; to wit, the *Angels*, which is agreeable to the Expressions of the Old Testament. And this is apparently one of the things which made the *Jews* better relish the Opinions of this Philosopher.

But we should give some particular Proofs of this: The Author of the Book of the *Wisdom of Solomon*, was plainly of the Opinion of the Prae-existence of Souls, as it appears from these Words of the viii Ch. 19, & 20 verses, *For I was a witty Child, and had a good Spirit. Yea, rather being good, I came into a Body undefiled.* The same Author has used the Word, *eyes*, *Reason*, in some places, where *Plato* would have used it, were he to have said the same thing. Thus in the 18 ch. 15, 16, v. in speaking of the Deliverer of the *Israelites*, he says, *Thy Almighty Reason descended from Heaven, out of thy Royal Throne, as a fierce Man of War, into the midst of a Land of Destruction, and brought thine unseign'd Commandment, as a sharp Sword, and standing up, fill'd all things with Death; and it touch'd the Heav'n, but it stood upon the Earth.* In the ix Ch. 1 v. He says, *that God has made all things by his Reason.* It cannot be alledg'd, that he has been the only one of the *Jews* that has spoke in this manner; seeing that *Philo*, who liv'd a little while after our Saviour, is full of the like Expressions, as several of the learned have observ'd. It's known that this Author has so well imitated *Plato*, that he has been call'd the *Jewish Plato*. He believ'd that there was one only supream God, as all the rest of the *Jews* do, whom he calls, *IOOX*, tho' being through Ex. silence; But he farther acknowledged a Divine Nature, which he calls *MOOX*, the Reason, as well as *Plato*; and another whom he calls likewise the *Soul of the World*. His

Writings

Writings are so full of these manners of speaking, that there is no need of offering Instances.

The *Jews* were of these Opinion when our Saviour and his Apostles came into the World; and this is perhaps the Reason why we find, accordingly as it has been observ'd by several learned Men, several Platonic Phrases in the New Testament, especially in the Gospel of St. John.

It's well known, that *Amelius* the Platonic Philosopher, having read the beginning of this Gospel, remarked, that this Apostle spake like *Plato*. In effect, this Philosopher might have said, according to his Principles, *The Reason was in the beginning with God, and was God: She it is who hath made all things, who is life, and the light of Men, &c.* We find several Passages in *Philo*, like to this. This Jewish Philosopher calls Reason, the Priest, the Mediator between God and Men, the eldest Son of God, &c. wherein it is observable, that he mixes his Jewish Notions, with the manners of speaking of *Plato*. He has likewise used in one Place the Term, *Paraclete*, (a) Inter-

cessour, in speaking of the Reason: *It was necessary, said he, that the High Priest who is to offer Sacrifices to the Father of the World should have for Intercessour — him of his Sons, whose Virtue is the most perfect, for to obtain the pardon of Sins, and abundant Graces.* He had said,

(b) that *Moses* denoted by the *Manna*, and by the *Rock* of the Desert, the same Reason: The Prophet, says he, calls elsewhere this

Rock Manna, a name which signifies the same thing, to wit, the Divine Reason, the most ancient of Beings. Our Saviour Christ calls himself in St. John, *Paraclete*, ch. xiv. 16. when he promises his Apostles to send them another *Paraclete*; he says likewise, that he is the true

Bread,

Bread, in opposition to the *Manna*, which cou'd be no more than a shadow of it; and St. Paul says, That the Stone of the Desert was *Christ*; 1 Cor. 10. 4. These ways of speaking which are found in St. John, to be the true *Bread*, the true *Vine*, and which denote, that he to whom they are applied, is able to produce in mens Spirits as much efficacy, in another kind of things, as the *Bread* and *Wine* produce in the Body; these ways of speaking, I say, were particular to the Platonists, as has been observed elsewhere.

We might give several other Examples of Platonic Phrases, to be met with in the New Testament; but it will be sufficient to remark here, that the Apostles apply to our Savior Christ Passages of the Old Testament, which *Philo* had applied to the Reason, and that this Jewish Philosopher has giv'n to this same Reason most of the Titles which the Apostles have giv'n to Jesus Christ.

The *Pagans*, who had then embraced the Gospel, and who were in some measure vers'd in the Heathen Philosophy, remarking this resemblance of Terms, perswaded themselves, that the Apostles believ'd the same things, in respect of these matters, as the Platonic *Jews* and *Pagans*. And this seems to be that which drew several Philosophers of this Sect into the Christian Religion, and giv'n such a great esteem to the Primitive Christians, for *Plato*: *Justin Martyr*, in his first Apology, says, that (a) *Jesus Christ was known in part by Socrates*; for

(a) P. 48. Ed. Col. An. 1686.

the Reason was and is still the same, which is in every man. It is she that has foretold the future by the Prophets, and who being become subject to the same Infirmities as we, has instructed us by her self. He

says,

(b) P. 51. E. inf. ed. *says moreover; (b) That the Opinions of Plato, are not remote from those of Jesus Christ. And this has made likewise St. Austin to say, Thus if the ancient Platonists were such as they were described, and were to rise again; they would freely embrace Christianity, in changing (c) some few Words and Opinions, which most of the late Platonists, and those of his time have done, paucis mutatis verbis atq; sententiis, Christiani fierent; sicut pleriq; recentiorum, nostrorumq; temporum Platonici fecerunt. Tertullian (a) c. XXI. affirms in his Apology, (a) that when the Christians say, That God has made the Universe by his Word; by his Reason; and by his Power, they speak only after the sage Heathens, who tell us, That God has made the World by his (λογος) Word or Reason. Clement Alexandrin has likewise believ'd, that Plato held the Doctrin of the blessed Trinity. Origen against Celsus does not deny, but that Plato spake the truth, in speaking of God, (b) and of his Son; he only maintains, that he did not make such a just use as he ought of his Knowledge. He does not say, that the Foundation of the Christian Doctrin is different in this from that of Plato, but that this Philosopher had learnt it from the Jews. Constantin, in his harangue to the Saints, (c) after having prais'd Plato, in that he was the first Philosopher, who brought men to the contemplation of intellectual things, thus goes on: He has spoken of a first God, who is above all Essences, wherein he has done well. He has likewise submitted to him a Second, and has distinguish'd two Essences in number, (ὁὗτος ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἀπείροτος ὁ θεός) the Perfection of the one being the same as that of the other, and the Essence of the second God taking his*

his Existence from the first. For it is he who is the Author, and the Director of all things, being above all. He that is after him, having executed his Orders, attributes to him, as to the supream cause, the production of the Universe. There is then but one, to speak properly, who takes care and provides for all, to wit, the Reason, who is God, and who has set all things in their order. This Reason being God, is likewise the Son of God; for who can call him otherwise, without committing a great fault? He that is the Father of all things, is justly said to be the Father of his own proper Reason. HITHERTO PLATO HAS SPOKE LIKE A WISE MAN, (καὶ οὗτος ὁ πρῶτος Πλάτων ἀσφάλεως ἦν) but he has varied from the truth, in introducing a multiplicity of Gods, and in giving to each of them his form. We might cite several other such like Passages, whereby one might see, that several among the Fathers of the first three Centuries have believ'd, that the Opinion of Plato and that of the Apostles was the same.

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

der the Emperor *Aurelius*, maintain'd the same Opinions. *Cerintus*, on the contrary, held the Præ-existence of the Reason, which he call'd the *Christ*, and affirm'd, that she had descended on Jesus, in the form of a Dove, when he was Baptiz'd, and that she ascended up into Heaven, when he was crucifi'd. It is indeed very difficult to affirm, that this was precisely the Opinions of these Hereticks, because we have nothing remaining to us of them, and that we cannot fully trust those who speak of 'em only with detestation, seeing it might easily be, that their great Zeal has hindered them from well comprehending them. And this is a Remark which we must make in respect of all the ancient Hereticks, whose Opinions are denoted to us only from the Writings of their Adversaries.

About the middle of the third Century, *Sabellius* produced a new Opinion, which was condemned in *Egypt*, and afterwards every where. He was charg'd

with (a) *confounding the Hypostasis, and denying the Properties* which distinguish the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost, and for having said, *that the Father is the same as the Son*. Whereas *Plato* and his fol-

lowers reckoned three numerical Essences. It seems, that *Sabellius* wou'd acknowledge but one, whom he call'd the Father, the Son, or Holy Spirit in divers regards. It's said, that some others had maintain'd the same thing before and after him, as *Noët* and *Beryllus* of *Botfra*.

A while after *Sabellius*, appear'd *Paulus Samosatenus*, Bishop of *Antioch*, who was, as we have said, of the *Ebionites* Sentiment, in relation to our Savior's Divinity. Altho' the word *ὑποστάσις* had been used in the Platonic Philosophy, to signify what is of the

same

same kind, as has been observ'd already, and as may be seen in *Bull's Defence*. Nicene Council, *Sett. 2. ch. 1.* Yet the Council which met at *Antioch*, to condemn *Paul* of *Samosatia*, condemn'd likewise this term. But it's hard to find in what sense it was taken, because the Acts of this Council are lost, and we know nothing of them, but by what *St. Athanasius* and some others extremely interested to uphold this word, have said in their Disputes against the *Arians*. If we believe them, the Fathers of the Council of *Antioch* said, that the Father and the Son were not *consubstantial*, in the same sense wherein we say, that two pieces of Money made of the same Metal are *consubstantial*, because that these pieces suppose a *præ-existent matter*, of which they have been both form'd; whereas the Father and the Son do not suppose the like substance. *Paulus Samosatenus* said, that if the Son had not been made God, we must suppose, that he is of the same kind of essence as that of the Father; and that thus there must have been an anterior substance to the one and to the other, of which they must have been form'd. *St. Athanasius* assures us, (a) that the term of *homousios* was condemn'd at *Antioch*, in as much only as it might include the *Idea* of a matter anterior to things which we call

essentials

These are the chief heretical Opinions, touching the Divinity of Jesus Christ, which appear'd before the Council of *Nice*. As for the Fathers, which are respected as Orthodox, they have not varied from the Expressions of the *Platonists*; and as these have sometimes said, that the Reason is different from the Supreme Being, and sometimes, that they are both one: The Fathers have express'd themselves in the

same Terms. The *Platonists* have said, That the Father could not be without the Son, nor the Son without the Father ; as the Light could not be without the Sun, nor the Sun without Light ; and the Fathers have said the same thing. Both one and the other have acknowledged, that the Reason has existed before the World, and that she has produced it ; and as *Plato* speaks in his *Timæus*, and *Plotinus* in his *Enneades* of the Generation of Reason, as if the good it felt had produced it, to create and govern the World : So the Fathers have said, that the Son hath proceeded in some manner from the Father, before the Creation of the World, to manifest himself to men by his Production, and that hence it is, that the Scripture calls him the *Son of God*, and his *First born*.

Sometimes they say, there was a time in which the Son was not ; sometimes, that he was from Everlasting as well as the Father ; sometimes they affirm, they are equal ; and elsewhere they say, the Father is greatest. Some of 'em believe, that the Father and Son are *two Hypostases, two Natures, two Essences*, as appears from the Passage of *Pierius*, related by (a) *Cod. CXIX.* (a) *Phorins* ; others deny it. To bring

Instances of all this, would be too great an Enlargement for this Place ; and there being enough to be seen in *Bulls Book*, which we have already cited.

If it be demanded at present, what Ideas they fix to these Expressions, it cannot be affirm'd that they have been clear : First, because whatever endeavours are used to understand what they say, a man can get no distinct Notion thereof ; and secondly, because they acknowledge themselves, that it is a thing incomprehensible. All that can be done on this occasion, is to relate the Terms which they have used, to the end, that it may be seen, how they have heretofore expressed

themselves on this matter. However, learned Men have given themselves a great deal of trouble to explain the Passages of the Fathers, who liv'd before the Council of *Nice*, without considering, that all their Explications are fruitless, seeing the Fathers, in acknowledging that what they said was incomprehensible, acknowledged at the same time, that they fix'd no Idea on the Terms they used, unless such as were general and confused.

Had the matter said here, there had never been such great Disputes on the Sentiments of the Ancients, touching this Mystery, seeing the Dispute doth not so much lie on the Terms they have used, as the Ideas they have fastned to them, which cannot be reduced to any thing that is clear. Sometimes they use Terms, which seem perfectly to agree with those which have been used since ; but there is found in some other places of their Works, Expressions which seem to overthrow what they had said, so that one cannot form any Notion of what they thought. *Lactantius*, for Example, answers thus to the Heathens, who ask'd the Christians, how they said they acknowledged but one God, seeing they gave this Name to the Father, and to the Son ? (a) *When we call the Father God, and the Son God, we do not say, that each of them is a different God; and we do not separate them; because the Father cannot be without the Son, nor the Son separated from the Father: He cannot be called Father, without his Son, nor the Son be begotten without his Father. Seeing then that the Father makes the Son, and that the Son is made, the one and the other has the same Intellect, one only Spirit, and one only Substance; UNA UTRIQUE MENS, UNUS SPIRITUS, UNA SUBSTANTIA.* These are Words which seem to be decisive ;

(a) *Instit. lib.*
4. cap. 29. pag.
463. Ed. Oxon.

decisive; and had *Lactantius* held to these Expressions, he had never been accused of Heterodoxy; but if he be question'd what he means by the Word *Unus*, whether it be a Numerical Unity, or an Unity of Consent and Resemblance, he will appear determin'd

to this latter Sense: (a) *When any one,* (c. 10. p. 104. says he, *has a Son whom he dearly loves, and who dwells in the House, and under the governing Power of his Father, although the Father grants him the Name and Authority of a Master; yet in the Terms of Civilians, here is but one House and one Master. So this World is but one House belonging to God, and the Son and the Father who inhabit the World, and who are of one Mind, (Unanimus) are one only God, the one being as the two, and the two as the one. And this ought not to appear strange, seeing the Son is in the Father, because the Father loveth the Son, and the Father is in the Son, by reason of his faithful Resignation to his Father's Will; and that he does nothing, nor ever did do any thing, unless what the Father has will'd, or commanded him.* We may read farther, the vi. Ch. of the iv. Book, which begins thus: *God who has conceiv'd and produced all Things, before he began this curious work of the World, begat a Spirit Holy and Incorruptible, that he might call him his Son. Although he has produced infinite others, whom we call Angels, for his Ministry, yet has he vouchsafed to give the Name of Son to his only First born, who is clothed with the Vertue and Majesty of his Father.* That which is particular in this, is, that though *Lactantius* says, that the Son is Co-eternal with the Father, yet he says, there was a time when he was not. (a) *Sicut mater sine*

(a) Lib. 2. c. 9.
in Ed. Beudantij.

exemplo genuit auctorem suum; sic ineffabiliter Pater genuisse credendus est Co-æternum. De Matre natus est qui ante jam fuit; de Patre qui

qui aliquando non fuit. Hoc fides credat, intelligentia non requirat, ne aut non inventum putet incredibile, aut repertum non credat singulare. It's true, this Passage is not to be found in some Manuscripts, and that several learned men have fancied, that some fly Heretick has corrupted *Lactantius* Works: but in other places, wherein all the Manuscripts do agree, *Lactantius* expresses himself after the same manner; and it may be replied with as much likelihood, that it has been the Orthodox Revisors who have cut off what they thought not fit to be made publick. *Lactantius* has been long since charg'd with Heterodoxy; but in this respect, he has been no more faulty than other Fathers, who liv'd before the Council of *Nice*, whose Expressions are as different as those of the *Platonists*, in matter of the Trinity. And this has made Father *Petean* and Mr. *Huet*, to charge them with favoring the *Arian* Sentiments, whilst other learned Men have maintain'd, that they have been far from them. Each of them cites his Passages, which examin'd a-part, seem to decide for him: But when one comes to compare these Passages with one another; it cannot be comprehended how the same Persons could speak so differently. In this Comparison, their Expressions are found so obscure, and so full of apparent Contradictions, or real ones, that a man feels himself oblig'd to believe, That the Fathers had done a great deal better in keeping themselves to the Terms of the Apostles, and to have acknowledged, that they understood them not, than to throw themselves into such Labyrinths, by endeavouring to explain them.

To shew farther, that the Expressions of the Fathers are only fit to produce confused Notions, and such as are contrary to those, which all Christians at this day hold; we need only read *Tertullian*, who

having

having said in his Apology, *Ch. xxi.* That the Nature of Reason is spiritual; adds, *Hunc ex Deo prolatum didicimus, & prolatione Generatum, & ideo Filium, & Deum dictum ex unitate substantiæ, nam & Deus Spiritus est:* But what means *Prolatum genitus*? The Terms of *Unity of Substance*, may signify, not only of the same Substance in *Number*, but moreover, of a like Substance, that is to say, spiritual and equally perfect: And what he adds, seems to favour this last sense; *Etiã cum radius ex sole porrigitur, portio ex summa, sed Sol erit in radio, quia Solis est radius; nec separatur substantia, sed extenditur.* The substance of a Ray, after what manner soever we conceive it, is not the same in *Number* as that of the Sun; and *Tertullian* says, that it is the same of the Son. *Ita de Spiritu Spiritus, & de Deo Deus;* Thus a Spirit is born of a Spirit, and a God of a God. *Ut Lumen de lumine accenditur, manet integra, & indefecta materie matrix, etsi plures inde traheres qualitatum muteris;* as when we light one Torch by another, the Light which has lighted the other, remains entire and without being wasted, although we light several Torches, who have the same qualities. *Ita & quod de Deo profectum est, Deus est, & Dei filius & unus ambo.* *Ita de Spiritu Spiritus, & de Deo Deus modulo alterum numerum gradu, non statu fecit, & à matrice non recessit, sed excessit:* So what proceeds from God is God, and Son of God, and both are but one; so the Spirit which is born of a Spirit, and the God who is born of a God, makes two in respect of Degree, but not in respect of his State; he has not been separated from the Womb, or from his Original, but is gone out of it.

These

These Words of *Tertullian*, do not appear at first sight agreeable with *Arius's* Opinion; but at most, they contain nothing that is clear; for one might have demanded of *Tertullian*, whether by this *Prolation* he speaks of, the Reason has existed as Light from a Torch, lighted by another Torch exists, as soon as it is lighted? Should he allow it, he might have been told, that to speak strictly, there must then have been two Gods, seeing that, in fine, two Spirits, though exactly equal, and strictly united, are two Spirits. If this be so, the second Spirit being not form'd of the same numerical Substance, as that of the first, one might say with *Arius*, that he has been *extracted from nothing*; and there would be in this regard, nothing but a Dispute about Words, between *Arius* and *Tertullian*. But if it be answer'd for *Tertullian*, that his comparison is not good, it will be ask'd, why he made use of a comparison which may lead into Errour, especially having said before, that he was of *Plato's* opinion touching the Reason? If he meant, that the Father has produced in his proper Substance, without multiplying it, a *Modification*, in respect of which, one may call the Substance of the Father, Son; why does he say, *Spiritus ex Spiritu, ex Deo, Deus*? For to speak properly, the Father has produced neither a Spirit, nor a God, but a new manner of being in his proper Substance.

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

The Fathers have likewise used the Term *Hypostasis*, as well as the *Platonists*, in two senses; sometimes

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times

times for the Existence taken in an abstracted manner, and sometimes for the thing it self, which exists. The Equivocation of this Term, and that of the Words, *One and Many*, which, as has been shew'd, are taken sometimes from the Unity, and the Plurality *Specificals*, and sometimes from the Unity and Plurality *Numericals*, have caus'd great Controversies among the Fathers, as divers learned Men have

(a) *Pejavinus*
Curcellanus,
Bucinus, &c.

(a) observ'd. But it is fit we should take notice of one thing, which is, that Bull who has writ Prolixly on this matter, has not a word of the *Numerical* and

Specific Unity; without which, a man cannot comprehend what the Fathers mean, nor draw any Conclusions from them against the Hereticks. Yet when they say there are *three Hypostases*, or *three Essences*, or *three Natures*, he constantly takes it as if they said, there are three Modifications in one only Numerical Essence. He supposes, that the *iota* Essence, and *pure Nature*, signifie manners of existing of one Numerical Essence, only because that without this, those who have thus spoken of it, would not have been Orthodox, or of the Opinion at present receiv'd, which the Council must have approv'd of, seeing otherwise it would not have been admitted as it is. He supposes on the contrary, for the same Reasons, that when the Fathers deny there are three *Hypostases*, they do not barely mean, that there are not three Essences of different kinds, but that there are not three in number. But others will deny there is any place, where the Words *Nature* and *Essence* can be taken for what we at this day call *Personality*, which is to say, for a Modification; and that it appears from the Passages which he cites, that the Fathers held the *Numerical Unity*.

And

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

Arius being a Priest of *Alexandria*, about the year 318, undertook, as it seems, to explain more clearly, the Doctrin of the Divinity of Jesus Christ, which had been till that time taught in the Christian Church, under the Veil of those Terms which we have recited. He said, that to *beget* in this Subject, was nothing else but to *produce*; whence he concluded, that the Divinity of Jesus Christ had been extracted out of nothing by the Father. Here's how he expresses himself, in a Letter which he wrote to *Ensebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*: *We make Profession to (a) believe, that the Son is not without Generation, and that he is not a part of that which is unbegotten, nor of any other Pre existent matter whatever; but that by the Will and Council (of God) he has been perfect God, (ὁὐκ ἔστιν ἀρχὴ) before all Time and Ages; that he is his only Son, and that he is not subject to change; that before he was begotten or created, he was not.* *Arius* was counted an able Logician, (b) and was in good esteem with his Bishop *Alexander*; but speaking freely his mind, he drew on him the hatred of one *Meleece* (c) Bishop in *Thebaida*, who had caus'd a Schism in *Egypt*, although he did

(a) *Ap Theod.*
lib. 1. cap. 5.

(b) *Sequens lib.*
1. c. 15.

(c) *Epiphanius in*
Her. 1. XIX.

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not

not much vary from the common Opinions, only because he would not receive into Communion the Priests who had fall'n in the *Dioclesian* Persecution, but after a long Penitence, and would have them for ever depriv'd of their Office.

One may say, the History of this in *St. Epiphanius*, who accuses him for having an affected Devotion, and taking up a particular way of living to make himself admired by the People. *Arius* had moreover another Enemy, named *Alexander*, and Sir-

(a) *Micth.*
lib. 1. c. 4.

named (a) *Bancalas*, who was also an associate Priest with him. He joyned himself to *Melece*, to complain to the Bishop of *Alexandria*, that *Arius* sowed a new Doctrin touching the Divinity of our Saviour Christ. He could the better spread his Opinions, in that having a particular Church at *Alexandria* committed to his Care, He preach'd there what he thought fit. (b)

(b) *Epiph.*
Sec. 2.

He drew such a great number of People into his Opinions, that there were 700 Religious Votaries who had embraced them, and consequently, a greater number among the ordinary People. It's said, that he was a man of large shape, of a severe Countenance, yet of a very agreeable Conversation.

Alexander thought, that in a matter wherein one might easily equivocate, it were best to let the two Parties explain themselves, to the end it might appear, that he had accorded them more by Persuasion than Force. He brought the two Parties to a Conference, in demanding of them, the Explication of a Passage of Scripture, in the Presence of the Clergy of his Church; but neither one nor the other of these Parties would yield, endeavouring only to vanquish. *Arius* his Adversaries maintained, that the Son is of the

the same essence (*ὁμοουσιος*) as the Father, and that he is eternal as he is; and *Arius* pretended that the generation denoted a beginning. There was another meeting called, as fruitless as the first, in respect of the dispute; but by which it seems *Alexander*, who had before not any precise determined sentiment on this matter, was induced to embrace the opinion of *Arius* his adversaries. He afterwards commanded this Priest to believe the same thing (*ὁμοουσιος γεννητο ἑκ τῆς οὐσίας*) and to abandon the opposite opinion.

But it being seldom known that Men yield obedience to these kind of Injunctions, *Arius* remained still in the same opinion, as well as several other Bishops and Ecclesiastics who had approved of it. *Alexander* angry at his not being obey'd, excommunicated him, with all those of his party, and oblig'd him to depart out of *Alexandria*. There were among others, five Priests of this City, and as many Deacons of the same Church, besides some Bishops of *Egypt*, as *Secundus* and *Theonas*, To them were joyned a great number of People, some of which did in effect approve the doctrin of *Arius*, and others thought that he had been condemned with too high an hand, without entring into the discussion of the controversy. After this severity, the two Parties endeavoured to make their opinions and conduct be approved by Letters which they sent every where. They exposed not only their reasons, but endeavoured to render odious the opposite Party, by the consequences they drew from their opinions, and in attributing to them strange expressions. Some Bishops, as *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, exhorted *Alexander* to reconcile himself with *Arius*; and others approv'd his Conduct, and advised him not to receive him into communion till he retracted. The letters

letters of *Alexander* and *Arius* are too considerable to be disregarded ; Here's then the sum of them.

Arius wrote to (a) *Eusebius* of "*Nicomedia*, to en-
 treat his Protection against *Alexander*
 (a) *ap. Epiph.* " who had excommunicated him and dri-
 in *Hes. LXIX.* " ven him out of *Alexandria*, because he
 & *Theodor. lib.* " could not grant him, that the Father
 " C. 5. " and the Son are coeternal; that the Son coexists
 " with the Father without generation, having been
 " always begotten, and not begotten at the same
 " time, without letting it be imagined that the Fa-
 " ther has existed so much as one moment before
 " the Son. He added, that *Eusebius* Bishop of *Ce-
 sarea*, *Theodotus* of *Laodicea*, *Paulinus* of *Tyre*, *Athanasius* of *Anazarba*, *Gregory* of *Beryta*, and *Aëtius*
 of *Lydia*, condemning the sentiments of *Alexander*,
 had been likewise struck with an Anathema, as well
 as all the eastern People who were of the same opi-
 nions, except *Philogonius* Bishop of *Antioch*, *Hel-
 lanicus* of *Tripoly*, and *Macarius* of *Jerusalem*, one
 of which said that the Son " was an *Eruclation*, the
 " other a *Projection*, and the other that he was not
 " begotten, no more than the Father. To this *A-
 rius* added the explanation of his opinion, which
 " we have already related.

The Bishop (a) of *Nicomedia* having receiv'd this
 Letter call'd a Synod of his province
 (a) *Sozom.* of *Bythinia*, which wrote circular Letters
 II. to all the Eastern Bishops to induce them
 to receive *Arius* into communion, as maintaining the
 truth, and to engage *Alexander* to do as much. We
 have still a Letter of *Eusebius* to *Paulinus* Bishop of
Tyre, wherein he not only entreats *Paulinus* to inter-
 ceed for *Arius* ; but wherein he exposes and defends
 his sentiments with great clearness. He says *he has*
never

*never heard there were two Beings without Generation ,
 nor that the one has been parted into two, but that this
 single Being had begotten another, not of his Substance,
 but perfectly like to him, although of a different Nature
 and Power; That not only we cannot express by Words the
 beginning of the Son, but that it is even incomprehensible
 to those intellectual Beings, which are above men, as well
 as to us. To prove this, he cites the 8th of the Proverbs,
 God the Lord possess'd me in the beginning of his
 Ways, before his Works of old, I was set up from
 Everlasting, and he has begotten me before the Moun-
 tains were brought forth. He says, that we must not
 search into the Term of Begetting any other Signification
 than that of Producing, because the Scripture does not
 only use it in Reference to the Son, but moreover, in
 speaking of Creatures ; as when God says, I have be-
 gotten Children ; and I have brought them up, but
 they have rebelled against me.*

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

There is extant a Letter of *Arius*, directed to this
 Bishop, (a) and written from *Nicomedia*,
 which contains a Confession of Faith, ac- (a) *Apud*
 cording to the Doctrin which *Arius* af- *Epiph. II.*
 firm'd that *Alexander* himself had taught him ; where-
 in, after having denoted his Belief touching the Fa-
 ther

ther, which includes nothing Heterodox; he adds, *That he hath begotten his only Son before the times Eternal; that it is by him, that he has made the World; that he has begotten him, not only in Appearance, but in Reality; that this Son subsists by his own Will; that he is unmoveable; that he is a Creature of God that is perfect, and not as other Creatures; that he is a Production, but not as other Productions; nor as Valentinian said, a Projection of the Father; nor as Manes affirm'd, a Consubstantial Part of the Father; nor as Sabellius called him, a Son Father; (ὁμοούσιος) nor as Hieracas spake, a Lamp lighted by a Lamp, or a Torch divided into two; That he did not exist before he was begotten, and became a Son; that there are three Hypostases (that is to say, different Substances) the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; and that the Father is before the Son, although the Son was created before all Ages. Arius adds, That Alexander had several times preach'd this Doctrin in the Church, and refused those who did not receive it. This Letter is Sign'd by six Priests, seven Deacons, and three Bishops, Secundus of Pentapolis, Theonas of Lybia, and Pistus whom the Arian Bishops had Establish'd at Alexandria.*

Alexander (a) wrote on his side circular
(a) Socrat. lib. 1. c. 6.] Letters, wherein he sharply censures Eusebius of Nicomedia, in that he protected Arius, and recommended him to others. He joyns to this the Names of those who had been Excommunicated, and explains their Doctrin, wherein he contents not himself to set down what we have seen in Arius Letters, touching the beginning which he attributes to the Son; he says moreover that this Priest maintain'd that the Son is one of the Creatures, that we cannot call him the Reason and Wisdom of the Father but improperly, seeing that he himself has been produced by the Reason and Wisdom of God; that

that he is subject to change, as other intelligent creatures; that he is of another Essence than God; that the Father is incomprehensible to him, and that he knows not himself what is his proper substance; that he has been made for our sakes, to serve God as an Instrument in creating us, and that without this, God had never begotten him. Alexander adds, That having assembled near an hundred Bishops of Egypt and Lybia, they had Excommunicated Arius and his Followers, by reason of his Opinions. He afterwards comes to prove his, and shews first, *The Eternity of the Son by this Passage of St. John, In the Beginning was the Reason. 2. That he cannot be reckoned among the Creatures; because the Father says of him in the 45. Ps. My heart has uttered. (eructavit) a good Word. 3. That he is not unlike the Essence of the Father, of which he is the perfect Image, and the Splendor, and of whom he says, He that has seen me, has seen the Father. 4. That we cannot say, there was a time in which he was not, seeing that he is the Reason, and the Wisdom of the Father; and that it will be absurd to say, there was a time in which the Father was without Reason and Wisdom. 5. That he is not subject to change, because the Scripture says, He is the same yesterday and to day. 6. That he was not made because of us, seeing St. Paul says, that it is because of him, and by him that all things are. 7. That the Father is not incomprehensible to the Son, seeing he says, As the Father knows me, so I know the Father.*

This Letter wherein Eusebius of Nicomedia is extremely ill treated, shockt this Bishop to the utmost Point, and having great access to the Court, because Constantine made then his abode at Nicomedia, this occasion'd divers Bishops to be at his Devotion; but he could not engage Alexander to forget what had past, to speak no more of this Controversie, and to

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receive

receive *Arius* into Communion. The quarrels every day grew hotter, and the People were seen to range themselves, some taking *Arius* side, others *Alexanders*; and the *Comedians* being Gentiles, this gave them occasion to make a Sport of Christian Religion on their Theaters.

Each side treated one another with the odious Name of Heretick, and endeavour'd to shew, that the Sentiments of the opposite Party overthrew the Christian Religion; but it appears, that neither the one, nor the other Party, could yet perswade the Emperor, seeing he wrote to *Alexander* and to *Arius*, a long Letter, of which *Hosius* Bishop of Cordovia was the bearer, wherein he equally chides them: He

says, he found that the Controversie (a) had begun in this manner; That *Alexander* having demanded of each of his Priests, what they thought of a passage of Scripture, or rather, *on an idle sort of*

Question? (*Ἐπεὶ τὸν Θεοῦ πατρὸς ὁμοῦς ὢν υἱὸς*) *Arius* inconsiderately answer'd what he should have thought, or rather conceal'd, if he had thought it, "That from thence had come his Excommunication, and the Division of the People. And therefore, he exhorted them to a mutual pardoning of one another, and to receive his Opinion, which was, That it had been better not to have troubled the Ecclesiasticks with this Question; and that those who were ask'd it, should have held their Tongues, because the matter concern'd what was equally incomprehensible to both Parties, and which serv'd only to raise Disturbances among the People. He could not conceive, how for a Question of very small Importance, and in which, if they well understood one another, they would find they

" agreed

" agreed in the main, they should make such a bustle, and divide themselves in so scandalous a manner.

I do not say this, adds he, *as if I would constrain you to think the same thing on a most vain Question, or however you will please to call it. For one may without dishonouring the Assembly, and without breaking the Communion, be in different Sentiments in such inconsiderable things. We have not all the same Wills in all things, neither are we all of us of the same temper of Body and Humors. The Emperors Letter, says Socrates, gave them admirable Advice, and full of Wisdom; but the Mischief was grown too great, and neither the Emperors Endeavours, nor his Authority, who brought the Letter to Alexandria, could appease it. Alexander had taken care to write every where, to hinder the spreading of Arius his Opinions. We have still a long Letter which he wrote to the Bishop of Constantinople, wherein he vehemently inveighs against the Arian Faction, and endeavours to render it odious; in saying, That Arius maintain'd, that the Son was of a Nature capable of evil as well as of good, although it actually remain'd without sin, and that it was for this, that God had chosen him for his eldest Son. He proves the Eternity of the Son, and that he was not extratted from nothing, because he was in the beginning, and that all things have been made by him. Yet he holds, that the Son has been begotten, and that only the Father is without Generation, although that the Subsistence, or Substance of the Son, (*ὑπόστασις*) be incomprehensible to the Angels themselves, and that there is none but melancholy Persons who can think of comprehending it. He afterwards shews, that the manner after which Jesus Christ is the Son of God, is infinitely more excellent than the manner after which Men are, seeing he is so by his Nature, we only by Adoption. He accuses Arius with*

with following the Doctrin of *Ebion* and *Artemas*, and for having imitated *Paul* of *Samosatia*, Bishop of *Antioch*, whose Doctrin had been embraced by *Lucien*, (Martyr) who by reason of this, had separated himself from the Communion of three following Bishops of this City. He joyns to him three Bishops of *Syria*, who seem to have been, *Paulinus*, *Eusebius*, and *Theodotus*, and reproaches them with using Passages, which relate to the Humiliation of Christ, to attack his Divinity, and to have forgotten those which speak of the Glory of his Nature, such as this is; *The Father and I are one; which the Lord says*, adds he, *not to denote that he is the Father, nor to say, that two Natures, in respect of the manner of existing, (τὸ ὄν εἶναι ἓξ ὁμοῦν) are but one; but because the Son is of a Nature, which exactly keeps the Paternal Resemblance, being by his Nature like to him in all things, the unchangeable Image of his Father, and a Copy of this Original. He afterwards defends himself largely against the Consequence which Arius drew from his Adversaries Sentiments, which consisted in accusing them, for denying the Generation of the Son, in making him Eternal. He affirm'd, That there is an infinite difference between the Creation, of the World, and the Generation of the Son, although this last be wholly incomprehensible, and that he cannot explain it.*

In the mean time, the Division increased so greatly among the People, that in some places, it came to a Sedition, wherein the very Statues (a) of the Emperor were thrown down, who appear'd to favour the *Arians*, because he would have 'em tolerated. There was moreover, the Controversie about *Easter*, the one denying that it should be celebrated at the same time as the *Jewish*, and the others affirming it; but this

(a) *Euseb. de vit. Conf. lib. 3. c. 4.*

this contest, had not produced a Schism, as *Arianism* had done.

Constantin seeing that these Letters had been fruitless, thought there was no better way to allay these controversies, than to call a Council, from all Parts of the Roman Empire. It was perhaps *Hosius* who gave him this advice, at least if we may believe *Philostorgius* (a), the Bishop of *Alexandria* being gone to *Nicomedia*, there assembled (a) *lib. 1. c. 7.* *Hosius* and he consults, to find out means to set up their opinion and to make that of *Arius* condemned; and a little while after the Emperor call'd a Council at *Nice*, a Town of *Bithynia*. (b) This was in the year 325, and to the end that nothing might hinder the Bishops from coming, *Constantin* took on himself the charges of their journey. The Historians are not agreed in reference to the number of 'em, some setting down more than 300 (c) and others less. We must not wonder at this diversity, seeing there are few passages in Ecclesiastical History, wherein appears more confusion and neglect than in the History of this famous Council: And therefore have we been obliged to extract what we are going to say, out of divers Historians, because none of the Ancients has been compleat in his relations. As to the diversity observable among the Historians on the same facts, we have followed either the most ancient, or those which have appeared most probable. *Eusebius* who was present at the Council, has pass'd very lightly over the Circumstances of this History apparently, lest he should either offend the *Arians*, or the

(b) *Euseb. in vit. Conf. lib. 3. c. 6.*

(c) *Eusebius in Antioch says there were 270. Theod. 1. 5. Constantin. 300. Sec. 11. 9. Eusebius 250. vit. Conf. lib. 3. c. 9. S. Athanasius. 318.*

the Orthodox. This affair has never been since discussed of with an entire disinterest, reports having been often related as certain facts. In a word, there has never any thing hapned, whereunto one may apply with more reason these words of *Sactus*: *Maxima quæque ambigua sunt, dum alij quoquomodo audita pro compertis habent, alij vera in contrarium vertunt, et gliscit utrumque posteritati.* Eusebius vaunts very much of the Bishops which were here, but *Sabinus* (a) a Macedonian Bishop of *Heraclea* a

(a) *Socr.*
l. 7.

Town of *Thrace*, treats them as Ignoramuses in his collection of Councils. There was likewise a great number of Priests and Deacons, who came in Company with the Bishops.

The Council opened the 14th. of *June*, and therein were regulated several things, which we shall not here take notice of, designing only to remark what past in relation to the principal question therein decided, to wit *Arianism*. Alsoon as ever the Bishops were arrived, they made particular Assemblies without discountenance, and sent for *Arius* (a) to them to inform themselves of his opinions.

(a) *Socr.*
l. 17. & 19.

After they had heard from him what he thought, some of 'em were for condemning all sorts of novelties, and to content themselves in speaking of the Son, in the same terms their predecessors had used; and others affirm'd that the opinions of the Ancients were not to be received without examining. There were seventeen Bishops according to *Sozomen* (b) who favoured *Arius* his

new explications, the chief of which were (b) *ib. cap.*
20. *Eusebius of Nicomedia, Eusebius of Cesarea, Menophantes of Ephesus, Patrophilus of Scythopolis, Theognis of Nice, Narcissus of Neroniadis, Theonas*

Theonas of Marmarica, and Secundus of Ptolemais. These Bishops drew up a Confession of Faith (c) according to their sentiments, but they had no sooner read it in the Assembly, but it was cryed out upon as false; 'twas torn in pieces, and they were reproacht with it as Persons who would, as they said, betray the Faith and the Godhead of Christ. A Letter of *Eusebius of Nicomedia*, wherein he exprest his thoughts, had the same lot.

(c) *Theodor.*
lib. 1. c. 7. ex
Athanasio.

In fine, a Creed was undertaken to be made, wherein the opinions contrary to those of *Arius* were established. It was immediately observ'd that the new ways of speaking which the *Arians* used, were to be condemned, *That the Son had been extructed from nothing; that he was a Creature; that there was a time wherein he was not, &c.* and Scripture Phrases were to be used, such as these; *Only begotten Son, the Word, Power, Wisdom of the Father, the brightness of his Glory, and character of his Power.* The *Arians* having shew'd that they were ready to admit a Confession exprest in these terms; the Orthodox Bishops fear'd lest they should expound these terms in an ill sense. And therefore they were for adding that *the Son is of the Substance of the Father*, because this is that which distinguishes the Son from the Creatures. Hereupon the *Arians* were askt, whether they acknowledged, *That the Son is not a Creature, but the Power, the only Wisdom and Image of the Father; that he is Eternal, and like to the Father in all things; in fine true God.* The Heterodox have spoken among themselves, believ'd that these explications might very well agree with the notion they had of the Divinity of the Son, and demot'd they were ready to receive them.

In fine, 'it being observ'd that *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, in the Letter which was read, rejected the Term of *Consubstantial*, (*ἁπομόσιος*) it was thought, that the Orthodox Doctrin. could not be better express'd, and all Equivocation excluded, than in-making use of it; and so much the rather, in that the *Arians* seem'd to be afraid of it. This Circumstance is owing to St.

Ambrose, (a) whose Words are these: *Auctor ipsorum Eusebii Nicomedie Episcopus, Epistola sua prodidit, dicens; si verum inquit, Dei filium increatum dicimus, homo unison, Consubstantiali cum Patre incipimus confiteri. Hæc cum lecta esset Epistola in Concilio Nicæno, hoc verbum in tractatu fidei posuerunt Patres quod viderunt Adversariis esse formidini, ut tanquam evaginato ab ipsis gladio ipsum nefandæ caput Hæreseos amputarent.*

The Orthodox conceiv'd then their Sentiment, touching the Divinity of the Son in these Terms:

(b) *We believe in one only Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, only Son of the Father, that is to say, of the Substance of the Father, God, born of God, Light of Light, true God, born of the true God, begotten, not made, Consubstantial with the Father.*

The *Arians* in vain complain'd, that these Words were not to be found in Scripture; They were told, that those they were wont to use, were no more there neither, being wholly new; whereas it was near six-score years since, that several Bishops had used the Word, *Consubstantial*.

The Fathers of the Council, during this Time, were not so busied in vanquishing the *Arians*, and in making several Regulations, but that they remembered their private grudges. Several Church-

men,

men, says *Sozomen*, (a) as if they had been assembled to prosecute their particular Affairs, as it commonly happens, thought this a fit time to get those punish'd who had offended them. Each of 'em presented Requests to the Emperor, wherein they accused one or other, and signified the wrong they had done them. This hapning every day, the Emperor set one a part in which they were every one of 'em to bring his Grievance. The day being come, the Emperor took all their Requests, and caus'd 'em to be thrown into the Fire, and exhorted them to a mutual Forgiveness, according to the Precepts of the Gospel. He afterwards enjoy'd them to labour in clearing up the Points of Faith, of which they were to be Judges, and a sixth day, wherein the Question of the *Consubstantiality* should be decided.

The day appointed (a) being come, *Constantine* convocated all the Bishops into an Hall of the Palace, where he had caus'd Chairs to be set on both sides.

The Bishops entred first, and the Emperor came in afterwards, and did not sit down at the Head of the Assembly on a gilded Seat, which he caus'd to be there placed, till the Bishops, by Signs had giv'n him leave. Being set down, *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, who was at his Right Hand, harang'd him, and thank'd him, for the care he had taken to preserve the Purity of the Catholick Faith. *Constantin* afterwards began to speak, and made a Discourse in Latin, wherein he represented, That he had no greater Affliction than the Divisions he observ'd among Christians, exhorting the Bishops very earnestly to Peace: An Interpreter afterwards turn'd the Speech into Greek, for the Eastern Bishops understood not Latin.

Although it seems, that Business was prepared in particular Assemblies before-hand, yet there arose at

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first

(a) Lib. 3. de
fid. ad Grat.
cap. ult.

(a) Euseb.
vit. Const. lib.
3. c. 10.

first a great Controversie; and *Constantine* had the patience to hear long Contests, wherein he exercised the Office of Moderator, in endeavouring to accord those, whose Sentiments or Expressions appear'd remote, in upholding the Arguments which seem'd to him weak, and in giving Praises to such, who seem'd to speak well. *Eusebius* of *Cesarea* long held

(a) *Socrat.*
lib. 1. c. 8. &c.
Theod. lib. 1.
c. 4. p. 12.

out against the use which they would (a) make of the Word *Consubstantial*. He offer'd another Confession of Faith, wherein it was omitted, and wherein he call'd the Son barely, *God born of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, only Son, first born of all Creatures, begotten of his Father before all Worlds*. The Emperor approv'd this Confession of Faith, and exhorted the Fathers of the Synod to follow it, in adding thereto only the Word *Consubstantial*.

Afterwards the Confession was read, which had been drawn up with this Word, the Terms of which have been already recited. Anathema's were joyn'd thereto, against those who should use on this Occasion other Terms, than those of the Holy Scripture, which must be understood, with an Exception of those, which the Council thought fit to consecrate. This Proposition was particularly condemn'd, *That the Son existed not before he was begotten*. *Eusebius*, and others requested, That the Terms of the Symbol, and Anathema's might be explain'd. 1. It was said, That the Word *Begotten*, was used and not made, because this last Word expresses the Production of Creatures, to which the Son has no likeness, being of a Substance far more excellent than they, begotten by the Father in an incomprehensible manner. 2. As for the Word *Consubstantial*, it is proper to the Son, not in the sense wherein it is taken, when we speak

of

of Bodies, or mortal Animals, the Son being Consubstantial with the Father, neither by a Division of the Divine Substance, of which he possesses a part, nor by any change of this same Substance. The meaning of which is only this, That the Son has no Resemblance with the Creatures which he has made, but, that he is in all things like to his Father, by whom he has been begotten; or that he is not of another Hypostasis, or Substance, but of that of the Father. 3. Those were condemn'd, who said, that the Son was not before he was born, seeing that he existed before his corporal Birth, and even before his divine Generation, according to *Constantin's* Argument. (a) For before, said he, *that he was actually begotten, he was in Power in his Father, in a manner unbegotten, the Father having been always Father, as he is ever always King and Saviour, and all things in his Power, being eternally in the same Condition*.

(a) These Words of *Eusebius's* Letter, are not to be found but in *Theodoret, Socrates* having retrenched them.

It will perhaps seem, that this is pure *Arianism*, and that this is to deny the Eternity of the Son; but we must observe, that in the Style of that time, to exist before the World, and to be eternal, is the same thing; seeing, that to prove his Eternity, this Passage is cited, (b) *In the Beginning was the Word*; and it sufficed to shew, that he was begotten, before there was any time. So that we must not reject these Words, as suppositious, merely for this Reason; and it is so ordinary to find hard Expressions, in those who attempt to explain, in any sort, this incomprehensible Mystery; that if one might hence judge of them, one would be apt to declare them all Hereticks, which is to say, to anathemize the greatest part of the Ancients.

(b) *Vid Ep. Alexandri Ep.*

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

After these explications *Eusebius* subscribed, as he himself testifies in the Letter above recited, (b) altho' he had refused it the day before.

(b) *Athanas.*
ibid. The long and formal opposition which he had made against the word *Consubstantial*, caused it to be suspected that there was want of sincerity in this subscription. In fine *Arius* and his Party were anathematized, and all their Books condemned, and particularly a Poem which *Arius* had entituled *Tbalia*. Most of the *Arian* Bishops subscribed, after *Eusebius* his example, to this confession of Faith and the Anathema's after the explications above mentioned. Yet there were some of 'em, who refused at first to sign, (a) the principal of which were *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*,

(a) *Socr. lib.*
l. cap. 8. *Theognis* of *Nice*, *Maris* of *Calcedon*, *Theonas* of *Marmarica* and *Secondus* of *Ptolemaida*. They were immediately Excommunicated by the Council, and were to be sent afterwards as well as *Arius*, into Exile by *Constantin*. The Council wrote a circular Letter (b) to the Churches of

(b) *Socr. lib.*
l. Cap. 9. *Egypt*, denoting to 'em in what sort they had carried themselves in the business of *Arius*, and what had been ordered touching *Melese* the Schismatical Bishop, and the observation of *Easter*. *Constantin* wrote also to the Church of *Alexandria*, to assure it that after a full and matur

mature examination, *Arius* had been condemned by the common consent. He greatly vaunted of the moderation and learning of the Bishops, making no mention of their quarrels, according to the Custom observed in publick Acts, and such like occasions, where every thing is suppress'd which may give an ill opinion of the Decrees of these kinds of Assemblies. In another Letter directed to the Bishops and Churches, he enjoys the name of *Porphyry* to be given to *Arius*, and his followers to be called *Porphyrians*. This *Porphyry* was a famous *Platonist*, who had written against the Christian Religion, and whose Books *Constantin* had caus'd to be burnt. *Lucas Holstenius* has written his Life, which is to be found at the end of the Book of the *Abstinence of Animals*. *Constantin* design'd to declare hereby *Arius* an Enemy to the Christian Religion, and not in any manner reproach him with being a *Platonist*, touching the Trinity, seeing *Constantin* did not disapprove, as we have seen, the sentiments of *Plato*. It's true the *Arians* have been upbraided with their too great application to the reading of this Philosopher, and other Heathen Authors: *Revera de Platonis et Aristophanis sum*, says St. Jerom, (a) in *episcopatum allegatur. Quotus enim quisque est qui non apprime in his eruditus sit?* (a) *Advers. Lucif. T. 2. p. 142.* *Accedit ad hoc quod Ariana heresis magis cum sapientia seculi facit, et argumentationum rivos de Aristotelis fontibus mutuatur.* Thus the Orthodox and Hereticks equally approved the sentiments of *Plato*, each of them apparently explaining them, according to his Hypothesis. *Constantin* further order'd in the same Letter to burn all *Arius* his Books; to the end that not only his pernicious Doctrin be destroyed, but that there remain no monument

monument of it to posterity. He likewise declared that if any one concealed any of his Books, and did not bring them to be burnt, he should be put to death after it had been proved upon him. There is moreover another Letter of this Emperor, wherein he enjoins all Churches to celebrate *Easter*, according to the Canons of the Council.

Eusebius and *Theognis*, either effectually believing that the Creed of the Council might admit an *Arian* sense, (a) or affrighted by the Emperors severity, offered to sign the Creed, but refused to anathematize *Arius*, affirming that opinions were attributed to him which he never did one. *Eusebius* so ordered, by the means of his Friends, about the Emperor, (b) that what he desired was granted him, which is to say, that they were contented with his subscription to the Creed. *Theognis* and *Maris* did as much; and the Letter of the Council to the Churches of *Egypt*

(a) *Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 14.*

(b) *ex. Epist. Const. ad Nicomed. ap. Theod. lib. 1. cap. 22.*

mentions only *Theonas*, and *Secondus* who had absolutely stood out. *Phylostrorgus* likewise acknowledges (a) that all the *Arian* Bishops subscribed except two; and reproaches the rest with their insincerity in that they had explain'd after the *Arian* fashion the terms of the Council, by the advice of *Constantia* the Emperors Sister. He adds that *Secondus* setting out to go into his Exile, said to *Eusebius*; you have subscribed, *Eusebius*, that you might not be banisht, but for my part I believe what God has revealed to me, which is, that you shall be carried into Exile, before the year comes about.

Arius, if we believe the Orthodox, had not the Courage to resolve on Banishment, with *Secondus* and *Theonas*

Theonas. He pretended a desire to be better instructed, and sought an occasion of conferring with *Athanasius*, Deacon of *Alexandria*, (b) whose Acts are still extant. If this Relation be true, one may conjecture, That *Arius* designedly defended himself but ill, the better to yield to his Adversaries Reasons, as he did, to obtain his Grace. He acknowledges at the end of this Conference, the Equality and Consubstantiality of the Son with the Father; after which, he shews himself entirely reclaim'd from his Error. The Fathers of the Council receiv'd him, as a Penitent, without settling him in his Employ; and the Emperor only forbade him to go to *Alexandria*. *Enzois* and *Achillas* colleagues of *Arius* were also pardoned; and St. *Jerome* adds (a) to them eight Bishops, of which he names but three, and one Priest, (a) *In Lucifer p. 145. T. 2.* *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, *Theognis* of *Nice*, *Syras*, Priest of *Lybia*, and *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cesarea*. It appears from the sequel of the Dialogue, that the *Arians* denied that the Bishops of their Party were reconciled at *Nice*, but St. *Jerome* grounds himself on the Acts and Subscriptions of this Council, which yet he had not then at hand, excusing himself from naming the four other reconciled Bishops by a Rhetorical Figure, & reliqui, quos enumerare longum est. There needed not so much time for to set down four names, but without doubt, he did not remember them.

The first who sign'd the Council among the Orthodox, was *Hosius*, Bishop of *Cordova*, afterwards, *Vitinius* and *Vincent*, Roman Priests, sent by *Sylvester*; after them, the Bishops of *Alexandria*, *Antioch* and *Jerusalem*; and in fine, the other Bishops. Those who favour the Pretensions of the Church of *Rome*, say.

say, That *Hosius* sign'd in Quality of Legat, from the Bishop of that City, but the most ancient Historians have not a Word of it.

The Council ending the 25th of *August*, *Constantin* took his farewell of them, in a very fine Harangue,

(a) *Euseb. in*
vi. c. 38 wherein he exhorted the Fathers to thoughts of Peace, and to a mutual Forbearance; but which, was of little Effect,

as will appear by the Sequel. Thus ended this famous Council, the Circumstances of which, would be better known to us, if the fear of offending great Persons, the Zeal of some, the Passion of others, and the Respect which Posterity has had for the Decisions of so famous an Assembly, had not hindered contemporary Authors from writing the History with exactness, and the Disengagement remarkable in good Historians; and retain'd those who have liv'd since, from saying what they knew (perhaps) that was disadvantageous. St. *Athanasius*, in a little Treatise already cited, and where he seems at first to be willing to enter on this History, transported by the Zeal of which he was full, falls on Controversie and Invectives; when one might expect him ready to relate Circumstances. *Sozomen* says, *That he did*

(a) *Lib. i. c. 20.* not dare to relate the Creed of Nice,

(a) *because some of his pious and learned Friends in this matter, advised him to suppress the things, which the Intrigues, and the Priests alone should understand, and that according to their Council, he had conceal'd what was to be kept silent.*

A while after, the Emperor (b) being to celebrate the Feast of his *Vicennales*, which is to say, of the twentieth Year of his Empire, invited the Bishops to *Byzantia*, which he thought of re-establishing, in giving it the new

Name

Name of *Constantinople*, where he magnificently treated them, and made each of 'em a-part a Present, after which, they return'd to their Bishopricks. It seems, that it was about this time, that he wrote very obliging Letters to *Eusebius* of *Cesarea*, (c) in giving him order to procure him fifty Copies fairly written, of the Holy Scripture.

(c) *Soz. lib. 1. cap. 9.*

As to *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, and *Theognis* his Friend, they were no sooner return'd into their Bishopricks, but they began again to Preach publicly *Arianism*, (d) and receiv'd into their Communion some Persons of *Alexandria*, who had been thence expelled for this Opinion. *Constantin* advertis'd of this, sent them into Exile, three Months after the Council, and establish'd at *Nicomedia* one *Amphion* for Bishop, and *Chrestus* at *Nice*. Thus was *Secundus*'s Prediction accomplish'd, and Insincerity punished.

(d) *Ex. Epi. Const. ad Nicom. l.*

Two Months after, *Alexander*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, died, which occasion'd great Disturbances in that City. The Orthodox (a) say, that *Athanasius*, Deacon of this Church, whom *Alexander* had brought along with him to *Nice*, by reason of his Knowledge, had been denoted several times by this Bishop, for his Successor, but that he had hid himself a little before his Death, for fear of being Elected, and that having been found, he was chosen by a Plurality of Voices.

(a) *Soz. m. 17. Philost. III. 11.*

The Heterodox affirm, on the contrary, that the *Melitanians* being re-united to the Catholics, after the Death of *Alexander*, fifty-four Bishops of *Egypt* took an Oath, to elect by common consent his Successor, but that seven among them broke their Oaths, and chose *Athanasius*, without the Participation of the rest. Some even assure, that the Voices were divided, and the Election not being made quick enough, *Athanasius* shut himself

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up

up with two Bishops, into St. *Denys's* Church, and caused himself to be consecrated maugre the other Bishops, who made the Church-doors be broken open, but too late, the Ceremony being over. Hereupon they Excommunicated him; but having strength'd his Party, he wrote in the Name of the City to the Emperor, to give him Notice of his Election, which was approv'd by this Prince, who believ'd these Letters came effectually from the Magistracy of *Alexandria*. There may have been Passion on the side of the Heterodox; but heating our selves as we do, for the Truth, as well as for Errour, and upholding sometimes the right side by indirect ways, we may admit of some things which the Heterodox say, and not blindly receive, whatever the Orthodox relate.

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

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

portance, return'd again to a good Opinion of *Arius*; whether he acted according to his present Interests, or that he suffer'd himself to be led by those who were most about him, or that in fine, he really chang'd his Opinion. (a) *Constantia*, Sister of *Constantin* and Widow of *Licinius*, had among her Domesticks, a Priest, a friend to *Arius*, who held the same Opinions as he did, and who perswaded this Princess, that *Arius* held not those Opinions he was charged with, in the manner as they were usually exprels'd, that *Alexander* had accused him through Envy, because he was esteem'd by the People, and that the Council had done him wrong. *Constantia*, who much confided in this Priest, easily believ'd him, but dared not speak her Mind to the Emperour; and being fall'n dangerously sick, all that she could do before she died, was to recommend this Priest to her Brother, as a man highly vertuous, and much devoted to the service of her Family. A while after she died, and this Priest having gotten the favour of *Constantin*, held to him the same Discourse, telling him, That if he pleas'd to admit *Arius* to come before him, and to explain his Opinion, he would find that at bottom, his Doctrine was the same as that of the Council which condemn'd him. *Constantin* surpriz'd at the oddness of this Discourse, answer'd, That if *Arius* would sign the *Nicene Creed*, he would let him come into his Presence, and would send him honourably to *Alexandria*. This Priest having assured him of it, *Constantin* sent Word to *Arius* to come to Court, and *Arius* not daring at first to do it, the Emperor wrote a Note to him, in which he order'd him to come immediately at his Charge: *Arius* obeyed this reiterated Order, and being come to *Constantinople* with *Euzoius*, they presented to the

(a) *Socrat. lib. 1*
c. 25. ex *Ruffin.*

Emperor a Confession of their Faith, wherein they barely said, *They believ'd that the Son was begotten of the Father before all Ages, and that the Reason, who is God, had made all things, as well in Heav'n as in Earth.* Constantine was fully satisfi'd with this Declaration, so that either he had chang'd his Mind, or giv'n small Attention, or little comprehended the sense of the *Nicene Creed*. However it was, it appears by the Sequel, That the *Arian* Bishops came by Degrees into favor, and that the Emperor treated *Arius* with great kindness, and permitted him to return to *Alexandria*.

It's not punctually known when *Arius* was recalled, but it's certain, he had been already, when *Eusebius* and *Theognis* were, which hapned three years after the Council of *Nice*, in the year 328, according to

(a) *Lib. 3. cap. 13.*

the relation of *Philostorgus*, (a) these two Bishops wrote from the place of their Banishment a Letter, wherein they complain, (b) *That they had been condemn'd without being heard, altho their conduct had been approved*

(b) *Socr. lib. 1. cap. 14.*
of in the Council, where having well examin'd the word *Consubstantial*, they had in fine approved of it. They added, they had only refused to Anathematize *Arius*, because they knew he was not such a one as he was described; and seeing this was acknowledg'd by his being recalled, it could not be just that they who suffered only on his account, should remain in Exile after his Revocation. This Letter was directed to the principal Bishops, whom *Eusebius* and *Theognis* entreated to intercede for them with the Emperor. In speaking of the Repeal of *Arius*, they directly attribute it to these Bishops: Your Piety, say they, has thought fit to treat him gently, and to recal him. A Learned man (c) observes in this place, that

(c) *Valesius ad locum.*

Eusebius and *Theognis* attribute to the Bishops what the Emperor had done, seeing it

it was he that had recalled *Arius*; and that the Ecclesiastical Historians attribute likewise sometimes to the Emperor the actions of the Bishops, as when *Socrates* says that the Council of *Nice* forbade *Arius* his return to *Alexandria*, whereas it was the Emperor. But in truth the Emperor did then few things of his own pure motion, being only the Church men's Tool, which falls out but too often, even among the greatest Princes.

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

Since the Council of *Nice* had been dissolv'd, and that they had been banish'd. This usage, and the decisions of *Nice* had but only outwardly allay'd the disputes, which last still when they were recalled. *Eusebius* assures us that the Bishops of *Egypt* had been ever since over Head and Ears in quarrels; and *Socrates* says (a) that he found from the Letters of the Bishops of those times, that some were scandaliz'd at the word *Consub-*

(a) *lib. 1. c. 23.*

stantial; examining, says he, this term with too great application

application, they fell foul on one another, and their quarrels did not ill resemble a combat in the dark. It appears they sufficiently bespattered one another with calumnies, without knowing wherefore. Those who rejected the word Consubstantial, thought the others hereby introduced the opinions of Sabellius and Montanus, and treated them as impious, as denying the existence (ὑπόστασις) of the Son of God. On the contrary those who stuck to the word Consubstantial, imagining the others would introduce a plurality of Gods, had as great aversion, as if they would have reestablished Paganism. Eustathius Bishop of Antioch accused Eusebius Bishop of Cesarea for the Nicene Creed. Eusebius denied it, and charged on the other side Eustathius of Sabellianism; thus the Bishops wrote one against another. They all accorded in saying the Son has a particular Existence, and that there is only one God in three Hypostases; yet they could not agree, nor remain quiet. This is the effect of equivocal terms, which were introduced into Christianity without well defining them, and the bad custom of most of the Ancients, who never speak calmly of these matters; who have thought of nothing less than the expressing themselves clearly, and who seem to prove they spoke sincerely, when they testified to believe, that the mystery about which they disputed was incomprehensible; by expressing themselves thereon in an unintelligible manner. Eustathius Bishop of Antioch

(a) *Socr. lib.*
1. cap. 24.

(a) accusing of Arianism Eusebius of Cesarea, Paulinus of Tyre, and Patrophilus of Scythopolis; and these Bishops accusing him in their turns of Sabellianism; to know who had reason on their side, a Synod was assembled at Antioch in 329. the conclusions of which were disadvantageous to Eustathius. It consisted of Bishops, who had sign'd the Nicene Creed only by force, among whom

were

were the two Eusebius's, Theognis of Nice, Theodotus of Laodicea in Syria, Narcissus of Neroniada, Aetius of Lydia, Alphæus of Apamea, and Theodorus of Sidon. Alfoon as ever they arriv'd at Antioch, a Woman of ill fame presented her self to 'em with a little Child, which she said to have had by Eustathius, and desired them to do her right against him, as refusing to receive his Child. Eustathius made great protestations of his innoency, but this Woman having been believed upon her Oath, he was deposed; (a) some Authors affirmed that the Arian Bishops had suborn'd her, to have an occasion for the deposing of Eustathius; and that the true cause of his deposal was his adherence to the Nicene Creed. Others say it was the pretended Sabellianism of which he was accused, and some have contented themselves with saying there were other accusations, for which he had been deposed, whereupon Socrates (b) makes this remarkable reflection: *The Bishops are wont to deal thus with all those whom they depose; accusing and declaring them impious, without shewing wherein.* (b) *loc. cit.*

A Bishop was afterwards to be substituted in Eustathius his place, and the Arian Bishops cast their eyes on Eusebius of Cesarea. But there arose a violent sedition hereupon; some willing to retain Eustathius, and others accepting Eusebius. They had come to Difficulties, had not the Emperor taken care, by sending one of his Officers who appeased the People, and made them understand how Eustathius deserv'd to be sent into Exile, and in effect he was sent into Thrace. However Eusebius did a thing, which made him receive very honourable Letters from the Emperor, which he has inserted in the life of this Prince, which is, that according to the Canons, he refused to pass from

from one Church to another. *Constantin* heapt up Praises on him by reason of this refusal, and wrote to the Council, and the Church of *Antioch* to let him remain where he was. So that instead of *Eusebius*, there was elected *Enphronius* Priest of *Cappadocia*, whom the Emperor had named with *George* of *Arcthusa*, to the end the Council might choose which they pleased.

(a) Having deposed *Eustathius*, the *Arian* Bishops labored to procure the return of *Arius* to *Alexandria*, where *Athanasius* would not permit him to enter, as has been already said. They engaged the Emperor to write to this Bishop, but *Athanasius* still defended himself, in that he could not receive into the Church those who had forsok the Faith and been excommunicated; so that *Constantin* wrote to him an angry Letter, that he should receive into the Church those he ordered him, under pain of banishment. The obstinacy of this Bishop, who would part with none of the advantages which the Council of *Nice* had granted to his Predecessor against the *Meletians*, had also drawn on him the enmity of these Schismatics. The Council had ordained that *Melece* should only retain the name of Bishop, without exercising any function of his Office, and without ordaining any Successor; and that those whom he had ordained should have no part in Elections. However *Melece* at his death had ordained one *John* for his Successor, and the *Meletian* Priests would have the same privileges as others. *Athanasius* could not consent to any thing of this, and equally ill treated the *Meletians* and *Arians*. This conduct reunited the two parties, who had been till that time opposite. The *Meletians* were of the *Nicene* opinion; but by conversing with the

the *Arians*, they soon entered into their Sentiments, and joyn'd together, to induce *Constantin* to accept of several Accusations against *Athanasius*; as having imposed a kind of Tribute on *Egypt*, in ordering it to furnish the Church of *Alexandria* with a certain number of Linnen Garments; in having supplied a certain seditious Person with Money; named *Philumenus*; in having caused a Chalice to be broken, overthrown the Table of a Church, and burnt the Holy Books; for having misused several Priests, and committed divers Violences; in having cut off the Arm of a *Meletian* Bishop, named *Arsenius*, and keeping it to use in Magical Operations. *Constantin* acknowledg'd the Innocency of *Athanasius*, in regard of the two first Accusations; and for the rest, he refer'd it to an Assembly of divers Bishops, which was at *Cesarea* in *Palestine*, where *Athanasius* not appearing, he was cited to a Synod at *Tyre*, in the year 334; and which consisted of Bishops of *Egypt*, *Lybia*, *Asia*, and *Europe*.

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

The business of the broken Chalice, and the misusing the Priests, was a little more difficult. *Athanasius* began by an Appeal from *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, and the rest of the Bishops of his Party. He afterwards said, That he, whose Chalice was pretended to have been broken, and whose Name was *Ischyra*, was not a Priest. However, without any regard to these Reasons, there were sent some *Arian* Bishops, to take Informations against him at *Alexandria*, with *Ischyra* his Accuser; but he protested highly against this Proceeding, and went to *Jerusalem*; where the Emperor was. In the mean time, the Informations from *Egypt* were receiv'd, and *Athanasius* being loaded with them, he was deposed in his Absence, and forbid to go to *Alexandria*. *Arsenius* having been admitted into Communion by the Council, and made Bishop of *Hypsyle*, a Town of *Egypt*, subscrib'd to the Deposition of *Athanasius*, although he had justifi'd him, in reference to one of the Accusations brought against him. The Sentence of the Council bore, that he had slighted the Emperors Orders, and made the Assembly wait for him in an indecent manner; That he came to *Tyre* with a great multitude of People, and endeavour'd to make a Disturbance there; That he had for sometime refused to purge himself of the Crimes laid to his Charge, and uttered Injuries to divers Bishops; That he would not submit to their judgment; That he was convicted of breaking a Chalice, by the Informations made against him at *Alexandria*. Thus was *Athanasius* condemned by his Enemies, who were his Judges, as *Arius* had been anathematiz'd by *Alexander* his Predecessor, and several other Bishops, who had declared themselves against him,

him, before the Convocation of the Council. The same usage has been observ'd in all the Assemblies of Bishops which have met since; the Clergy having this Advantage above the Laity, that they can be both Judges and Parties.

After the Deposal of *Athanasius*, the Emperor wrote to the Fathers of the Council, to repair as soon as possible to *Jerusalem*, to celebrate the Dedication of the Church of the Apostles, which was now finished. Where being arriv'd, they were magnificently receiv'd, and made several Orations, for the greater Solemnity of the Festival, which hapned to be very luckily, in the same year in which the *Tricennales* of the Emperor (a) were to be celebrated, which is to say, the 30th year of his Reign. *Eusebius* (b) particularly made several Harang's before the Emperor, who took a great deal of pleasure in hearing them, insomuch that he would hear standing a long Oration, which this Bishop made on the holy Sepulchre. *Eusebius* well remembers this Honour the Emperor did him, and the Praises he gave to his Oration touching *Easter*, and carefully inserts in the Life of *Constantin*, all the Letters he had receiv'd from the Emperor; perhaps, not out of Acknowledgment, but rather to do himself Honour, (a) as has been reproach'd him.

The Bishops assembled at *Jerusalem*, (b) having ended the Dedication of the Church, which *Constantin* had newly built, and there receiv'd into Communion *Arius* and *Enzoins*, on the Emperors Recommendations.

(a) In the Year, 335.

(b) In vit. Const. lib. iv. 46, & 33.

(a) Baronius athis tempora.

(b) Socr. lib. l. c. 33.

Eusebius and *Theognis* say, that *Arius* had been kindly receiv'd by the Bishops, but in no sort, that he was received into Communion, which was, perhaps, for some years refus'd him, to try his Sincerity. Afterwards they wrote to the Church of *Alexandria*, that she might receive them, and be assured, she would enjoy hence-forward a full Tranquility, Envy having been driv'n out thence, by the Deposal of *Athanasius*. (a) In the

(c) *Socr. lib. II. 28.* mean time this Bishop had gotten to *Constantinople*, to complain to the Emperor of what he had suffer'd; but he could obtain no Audience of him; all that he could be heard to say, was, That he entreated the Emperor to cite to *Constantinople* the Bishops which were at *Jerusalem*, to have another Examination of his Affair. *Constantin* wrote to *Jerusalem*, and complains in his Letter, that in a time wherein the *Barbarians* began to acknowledge the true God; "The Christians, "who would be thought to have the Mysteries of "God in their keeping, (for he durst not say that "they kept them,) labour'd only to entertain Divisions and hatred among them, not to say, for "the Destruction of Mankind. And therefore he desired that the Bishops assembled at *Jerusalem*, would meet at *Constantinople*, to examine once for all, the Affair of *Athanasius*, and put some end to it. This Letter being come to *Jerusalem*, some of the Bishops return'd to their Dioceses, and others to *Constantinople*. These last perswaded, according

(a) *Id.*

(b) *Socr. lib. I. cap. 55.*

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Provisions which went every year from *Alexandria* to *Constantinople*, of which three Bishops were Witnesses. The Emperor provoked by these Accusations, ordered him to retire to *Treves*, a Town of the *Belgick* *Gaule*, where he remain'd about two years.

The Bishops who were met at *Constantinople* (c) deposed after this *Marcellus* of *An-*
cyra, as being fall'n into the opinion of ^{(c) *Id. cap. 36.*} *Paul* of *Samosatia*. One *Asterius* who had taught Rhetoric in *Cappadocia*, having embraced the Christian Religion, had wrote some Books, wherein he spake of the Divinity of the Son, in the same terms as *Arius*. *Marcellus* undertook to refute them, but far from establishing the Pre-existence of the Son, he denied the Divinity of Jesus Christ exist'd before his Birth; or at least exprest himself in such a manner, that one might believe he regarded the Reason or the Word, not as a being that has his particular Existence, but as I know not what kind of accident, such as is the word, or the sound which is made in speaking. He also very ill treated (a) in the same Book several

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over to *Constantinople*, they had only enjoyned *Marcellus* to alter his Opinion, according to the Stile of that time. He promist he would burn his Book, but having not done it, and even refusing to do it, his affair was reassumed at *Constantinople*, and he was deposed. *Eusebius* of *Cesarea* wrote two Books expressly against him, wherein he criticizes his work, and three others which he entituled, of *Ecclesiastick Theology*, wherein he establisht the opinions which he thought Orthodox touching the Divinity, and refused those of *Marcellus* and divers other Hereticks. *Marcellus* was afterwards (a)

(a) *Socr. lib. II. 20. & Sozom. lib. II. cap. 29.*

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

After that *Athanasius* had been sent into Exile,

(a) *Arius* had returned to *Alexandria*; but his presence being likely to cause a disorder, by reason of the great number of those who followed the sentiments of

Athanasius, the Emperor recalled this Priest to *Constantinople*, and to assure himself entirely of his belief, of which the Orthodox still doubt. He offered him the Nicene Creed to sign, which he did without ballancing, and moreover swore he was of that opinion. A report ran that he had

hid under his Arm a Writing, which contain'd his Opinion, and that he barely swore he believ'd what he had wrote; but there is no great certainty to be expected in what his Enemies say of him. Perhaps he thought, like *Eusebius* of *Cesarea*, that one might give to the words of the Creed a sense which amounted to his sentiment, although he wish't they had made use of other terms. What the Fathers of *Nice* said more than he consisting in something absolutely incomprehensible; perhaps moreover he counted that for nothing. However *Alexander* Bishop of *Constantinople* refused to receive him into Communion, although the Emperor had order'd him to do it, and a great number of Bishops and of the People urg'd him to it. Besides this the *Arian* Bishops were preparing to hold a Council, to examin afresh the question agitated at *Nice*, and had markt a day in which they were to meet to discourse about it, and to conduct *Arius* into the Church maugre *Alexander*. In this extremity knowing not how to maintain his refusal, the History tells us that he shut himself up in a Church call'd *Peace*, and let himself very devoutly to pray to God, nor that he would convert *Arius*, or that he would discover to himself the Truth, but, *that if the opinion of Arius was true, he himself might not see the day set apart to discourse of it; or that if his own beliefs were true, Arius who was the cause of so great mischief, might be punisht for his Infidelity.* A Prayer so little charitable, and whence might be seen that this Bishop was more concern'd for his reputation than the Truth, fail'd not of being heard, seeing that the next morning which was

Sunday

Sunday, or the same day at night, as *Arius* went to the Church accompani'd by those of his Party, or in some other place, for the Historians vary, in passing by the Market of *Constantin*, he had to great occasion to go to ease himself, that he was forced to betake himself to the common Privies, where instead of finding ease, he evacuated his Bowels, and thus died suddenly. Since that time Passengers were commonly shew'd these places of ease, and no body dared sit down on the same place where *Arius* sat. 'Tis said that a Rich *Arian*, to abolish the memory of it, bought afterwards this Place of the Publick, and there built an House.

It's thus that *Rufinus*, *Socrates*, and *Sozomen* relate the last Events of the life of *Arius*. But

St. *Athanasius* says that (a) having been recalled by the solicitations of those of his Party, he offered his Confession of

Faith to the Emperor, and swore that he did not believe any thing else; after which those that protected him would introduce him into the Church, at his going out of the Emperors Palace, but that he died, without having been received into Communion. (b) A Learned Man

is of Opinion in this matter, That the *Arius* who was received into Communion at Jerusalem, was a Priest of the Party of the famous *Arius*, and not he himself, who had already died out of the Communion of the Church; for without this it must be said that *Athanasius* has been mistaken. But were it granted him that this Bishop was mistaken, in speaking of a Man whom he every moment orewhelmed with injuries, it cannot be found

found strange, especially not having been at *Constantinople* then, when what he relates must have hapned. One may farther say, that *Athanasius* has related, by way of abridgment, and little exactly, what he had heard say of *Arius*, and that he regarded him as an excommunicated Person, having been only received by a Council whose Authority *Athanasius* would not acknowledge, it consisting principally of Persons whose opinions had been anathematized at *Nice*. It is far more natural thus to interpret this passage of *Athanasius*, than to reject wholly as false an History so circumstanced as that of the latter years of the life of *Arius*, in respect of certain facts which the Historians, which we have already cited, had no interest to alter.

Arius being dead, apparently of a sudden death, peradventure by Poyson, which may have given occasion to the Tragical manner, in which the Historians mention it, the Disputes started on his occasion dyed not with him: (a) Those who were of *Athanasius's* Party at *Alexandria*, besought of God his return in the Publick Prayers, and ceased not to importune the Emperor, to make him be recalled. *Constantin* was oblig'd to write to the People of that Town a Letter, wherein he upbraided them for their Lightness and Folly, and enjoyns the Ecclesiasticks to remain quiet, and wherein he declares he would not recall *Athanasius*, whom he treats as a seditious Person, and one who had been condemned by a Council. He answers likewise to *Anthony* the Hermit; That he could not slight the Judgment of the Council of Tyre, because that supposing some among the Bishops were passionate, yet it is not probable

bable that so great a number of Wise and Learned Bishops should all of 'em act by passion; and that Athanasius was an Insolent Proud and Troublesom Fellow.

Constantin wrote these Letters but a little time before his death, which hapned in the year 337, the circumstances of which may be seen in his life writ by Eusebius. Yet we must remember, that this is rather a Panegyrick than an uninterest History; whence it is that he says nothing of the death of his two Wives, and the eldest Son of this Emperor, whom he had put to death thro' jealousy or revenge.

Eusebius was always of the Arians side. Yet So crates has undertaken to justify him, (b) and so do's Dr. Cave seem to do, thinking himself thereto oblig'd thro' Christian Charity; whereas the love of truth should oblige all Historians never to vary from it. But it is this pretended charity, which extends it self only to Fathers which are respected as Orthodox, which has been the cause that we have in a manner only Panegyricks of the Ancients, wherein their defects are ever suppress'd, when they cannot be covered with the mask of some Vertues.

Eusebius, as it appears by the conduct he held at the Council of Nice, was a dextrous Person, who did not scruple to subscribe to terms which were not pleasing to him, provided he could expound them in a sense according to his mind, tho' little conformable to that of those who set them up. For in fine, a Man must shut his Eyes, touching what he says in his Letter to the Church of Cesarea, not to see, that he understood otherwise the terms of the Symbol, than Athanasius did. He was a great admirer of Origen, several of whose opinions may be seen in his life; he lived not long after Constantin, for he dyed in the

the year 340. St. Jerome in several places calls him *Signifer et Princeps Arianorum*; Speaking of the great Eusebius Bishop of Cesarea.

Athanasius in his banishment wrote a 'Creed at Rome, which he presented to a Council sitting there, yet that Creed was not publish'd till above three hundred years after in the Toletan Council, as Baronius himself owns, neither can any one tell us what that was; for that which passes commonly amongst us under the name of the *Athanasian Creed*, and is read in our Churches, was drawn up by God knows who, as Vossius de *Tribus Symbolis*, Camerarius, and Ell. du Pin in his *B. des Aut. Eccles.* do ingenuously confess. For how durst Athanasius make a new Creed after the Nicene? Besides, no Writer of that time mentions it, no not Athanasius himself. It seems to have been broach'd above 600 years after that age, in which time a profound ignorance had overspread Christendom; however the Eastern Churches would never own it, no not at this day. See more in the above mentioned learned Authors.

Constantin being dead, Eusebius Bishop of Nicomedia, a relin'd Courtier, soon made himself Master of Constantius, and all the Grandes of the Palace, in whom he rooted his beloved *Arianism*; being assisted by Constantia's Priest, the Empress was soon gain'd over, and the Roman Empire became for the most part *Arian*, Athanasius being condemn'd not only by many Eastern, but also by several great Western Councils. Afterwards they fell so to *Logger-heads*, that the Western Church excommunicated the Eastern, and the Eastern return'd the same Complement upon the Western, and there we'll leave them.

F I N I S.