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**TESTIMONIES**

OF THE

**ANTE-NICENE FATHERS**

TO

**THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST.**

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BY THE

**REVEREND EDWARD BURTON, B. D.**

LATE STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH.

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SECOND EDITION WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS.

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*Ἴδοι, ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐκ πατέρων εἰς πατέρας διαβεβηκέναι τὴν τοιαύτην διάνοιαν ἀποδεικνύομεν. Athanas. de Decret. Syn. Nic. §. 27. Vol. I. p. 233.*

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**OXFORD,**

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MDCCCXXIX.



## INTRODUCTION.

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**T**HE object of the present work is to lay before the reader a series of passages extracted from the writings of those Fathers, who lived before the Council of Nice, and which appear to support the doctrine of the divinity of Jesus Christ. It might seem hardly necessary to prove at much length, that the belief of those early Christians was most likely to be genuine and apostolical. That all corruptions are of gradual and successive growth, may be said to be a self-evident proposition: and that any doctrine is most likely to have been pure and genuine at a period which was not far removed from its first promulgation, is surely as plain and undeniable, as that we are likely to find a stream more clear and uncorrupt, the nearer we approach its source.

Let us compare Clement and Ignatius, who were contemporaries of the apostles, with ourselves. We can only learn the sentiments of the apostles from their writings. These have come down to us with the errors and corruptions which the lapse of eighteen centuries must unavoidably have introduced: we read them with a previous knowledge of different and opposite senses being deduced from the same

passage: and the notions in which we have been brought up, if not a spirit of party and of prejudice, are likely to warp our judgments and influence our interpretations. But Clement and Ignatius, if they found *things hard to be understood* in the writings of the apostles, could refer for a solution of the difficulty either to the writers themselves, or to other apostles who had known them familiarly, and who had laboured together with them. There are some points of doctrine, of which it seems impossible to conceive, that Clement and Ignatius could be ignorant. To suppose that they did not know whether Peter or Paul or John believed Jesus Christ to be essentially God, or a mere mortal man, seems as improbable, nay, I would say, as impossible, as to suppose that they did not know, whether these apostles believed Jesus Christ to have been actually nailed to the cross. If Clement and Ignatius did know what was the belief of the apostles concerning the divinity or humanity of Jesus, it necessarily follows that they held the same belief themselves; and though the writings which they have left are extremely few, it is highly probable that some traces of their belief upon this subject would appear in their own works: at all events it becomes very important that their writings should be examined, that we may see whether such traces exist or no.

If we carry the same train of reasoning into the second century, we shall find a similar improbability, that Justin or Irenæus, who had seen and heard the



contemporaries of the apostles, should not know for certain what was the apostolical doctrine concerning the nature of Christ. It may be said, that the farther we advance from the original source, the greater chance there is of our meeting with accidental errors and intentional corruptions. But this remark, though often made, requires some restriction and qualification. That *a greater number* of persons should be followers of an error which had already existed, and that heresies themselves should increase, was likely to happen as the knowledge of Christianity extended: but the very increase of Christianity made it more and more difficult that all Christians should unite in corrupting their common faith. As soon as the Epistles and Gospels were translated into any one language, an obstacle was presented to any general and uniform departure from the doctrine of the apostles; and every new nation converted to the Christian faith would afford an additional security to the integrity and unity of that faith. If we suppose that the great body of believers at any particular period, at the time of the Council of Nice for instance, held opinions concerning the divine and human natures of Christ, which were totally different from those of the apostles, we must suppose that the Christians of different countries had either kept pace with each other, and by mutual agreement made the same successive alterations in their creeds, or that at one particular time they all agreed by one sudden and simultaneous act to alter the primitive belief. The

latter supposition is manifestly absurd. All corruptions, as observed above, must be gradual and progressive : and if the apostles preached, and the early Christians believed, as the Unitarians tell us, that Jesus Christ was a mere man, the notion of his divinity could not have been introduced and finally established in the church without long controversy and continued opposition. Historians would not have been silent as to the progress of so great a change, such a total revolution in the religious belief of Christians. Volumes must have been written in support of either doctrine : the writers of one age would be found to differ from those who preceded them ; and since we have works remaining of all the three first centuries, we should find traces of all those successive changes which must have existed between the creed of the apostolical times and that of the Council of Nice.

There is indeed another hypothesis, which might have been rejected as absurd, if advocates had not been found who actually advanced it. It has been said, that the doctrine of the Council of Nice was entirely a new doctrine, which had never been maintained before, but which was fabricated and promulgated by the unanimous collusion of the Fathers assembled there. The existence of such a notion, improbable and irrational as it may appear, makes it desirable that an inquiry should be instituted similar to that, which is the object of the present work. Since we have writings of the three cen-

turies which preceded the council of Nice, the question whether an entirely new doctrine was invented at that council becomes a question of fact ; and the difficulty of forcing this new doctrine upon the whole Christian world may be illustrated by the supposition of an imaginary case in our own times. The period which had elapsed from the death of our Saviour, to the assembling of the Council of Nice, was about the same as that between the congress of Vienna and the reign of Henry the Seventh in England. Now let us suppose the ministers assembled at Vienna to have published a new history of Europe, in which it was asserted, that Henry the Seventh obtained the throne of England, not by his victory over Richard the Third, or by a kind of hereditary claim, but by a divine right which was universally recognised and never disputed in his own days. There is surely no greater difference between such a fable and the real history of Henry the Seventh's accession, than between the notion of Jesus being very and eternal God, or a mere mortal man : and if it would be impossible to make the people of England receive the one as true, it would have been equally impossible, in the other case, for the whole Christian world to be induced to alter their belief.

On every account therefore it is important to ascertain the sentiments of the early Fathers. If the doctrine of the real nature of Christ was corrupted in the three first centuries, the writings of that pe-

riod must shew the progress of the corruption. If no variation appears in the opinions of Christians during that period, but the Fathers of the three first centuries all deliver the same doctrine, we must surely be anxious to know what that doctrine was. For if it be true, as we have lately been told, “ that “ the Fathers of the first three centuries were generally Unitarians, and believers in the simple humanity of Jesus Christ ”, ” we must allow, that the foundations of that faith which believes Jesus Christ to be God, are shaken even to the ground. On the other hand, if it should appear that all the Ante-Nicene Fathers with one consent speak of Christ as having existed from all eternity as very God, and that he took our human nature into union with the divine, we have surely good grounds for saying, that there never was a time when this was not the doctrine of the church, and that it was the true and genuine doctrine which the apostles themselves preached.

Not only should we be led by reason and experience to appeal to the Fathers as the oldest testimony, and therefore the most valuable, but we are invited to the investigation by our opponents. They assert, as was said above, that all the early Fathers were Unitarians; so that we need not be afraid of their denying the fairness of our appeal, when they themselves quote the same authority, and uphold it as favourable to their own cause.

\* Lindsey's Apology, p. 23, 24. Belsham's Calm Inquiry, p. 255.

In making this appeal, the Arians and the Socinians have not acted with the same constancy and uniformity. The Arians have invariably asserted, that the writings of the Ante-Nicene Fathers were upon their side. This was the language held by them at the council of Nice: and bishop Bull. and Dr. Waterland, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, had to refute the same assertion, when advanced by their Arian opponents. But the Socinians have not always been equally confident, nor indeed consistent with themselves, in referring to the early Fathers. It is impossible to read the writings of the Socinians, from their great leader down to our own times, without perceiving that they have felt the difficulty of reconciling the Ante-Nicene doctrines with their own. Gilbert Clerke mentions it rather as a fact deserving of praise, that the Socinians were the only persons who candidly acknowledged that the early writers did not agree with themselves. Socinus rather insinuates, than openly asserts, that his own party did not profess an agreement in doctrine with the Ante-Nicene Fathers: and he allows that these early writers spoke of Jesus as the Son of God, existing before the worlds, of the substance of the Father<sup>b</sup>, &c. It is notorious however, that many of his own party did make this appeal. Socinus himself wished to evade the difficulty by acknowledging no authority but that of scripture,

<sup>b</sup> Respons. ad Vujeki. II. p. 617.



and by attempting to identify the use which his opponents made of the Fathers with the Romish doctrine of tradition. Socinus however must have known that his opponents never appealed to the Fathers as to an authority which was to be added to that of scripture: they appealed to them, as the best interpreters of a doctrine which was preached not long before their own days, and the true meaning of which they were most likely to understand<sup>c</sup>. Later Socinian writers have been more bold than their leader in claiming the support of the early Fathers. When the controversy was so rife in the seventeenth century, it was confidently asserted that up to the time of the council of Nice the Father alone was believed to be God: and even those who advanced so far as to preach *the simple humanity* of Christ, maintained that this was the belief of the Christian world before the doctrines were corrupted by the Fathers assembled at Nice. It is well known, that what is called *the simple humanity* of Christ has been carried much farther by the later Socinians than by those who preceded them: but it is singu-

<sup>c</sup> We may quote the authority of Dr. Priestley upon this point: "It will be an unanswerable argument, *a priori*, against any particular doctrine being contained in the scriptures, that it was never understood to be so by those persons for whose immediate use the scriptures " were written, and who must " have been much better qualified to understand them, in " that respect at least, than we " can pretend to be at this " day." Hist. of early Opinions concerning Jesus Christ. p. xv.

lar, that the confidence with which this party appeal to the Fathers has also increased; and in the course of this work I shall give extracts from writings of our own days, in which it is plainly and expressly said, that all the early Christians were Unitarians. It is the object of the present work to inquire into the ground of this assertion.

In the following pages no evidence is adduced from any author who wrote after the time of the Council of Nice. This council was held in the year 325; and it is well known, that the confession of faith which was then drawn up, asserts unequivocally that Jesus Christ was from all eternity God of God, of one substance with God the Father. No doubt was ever entertained as to this being the doctrine, which was held by a large majority of the Fathers assembled at that council: neither can there be any doubt, but that this has been the professed doctrine of the catholic church ever since that time. There is therefore no necessity for our consulting any Post-Nicene authorities, when we wish to ascertain what were the sentiments of the primitive church. What we have to inquire is, whether the Fathers, who lived nearest to the apostolic times, and whose works remain, believed that Jesus Christ was God, or that he was merely a man. For every candid person will surely allow, that notwithstanding the positive and plain declarations of the Fathers assembled at Nice, yet if the writers who preceded them held a different doctrine, and did not believe

in the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son, there would be great reason to suspect the soundness of the articles subscribed at Nice.

With respect to the present work, it is not from ostentation, but in justice to myself, that I state, that I have carefully and attentively read through the works of all the Fathers of the three first centuries: or to speak more correctly, of those who wrote before the assembling of the Council of Nice: for some of the testimonies, which I adduce, are taken from works written at the beginning of the fourth century. I do not pretend to have quoted all the passages which bear upon the particular doctrine that I am endeavouring to maintain. Those who believe in the divinity of Christ will naturally think, that any mention of Christ being born of a Virgin, of his becoming man, of his creating all things, of his having appeared to the patriarchs, &c. &c. is a satisfactory proof that the writers, who used such expressions, believed that Jesus Christ was God, or at least that they could not agree with modern Unitarians, who deny that any one of these expressions can properly be applied to Christ. The writings of the early Fathers are full of assertions such as these: but I have omitted hundreds, perhaps thousands of such instances, and have only selected those passages, where the meaning of the writer was conveyed in the strongest and plainest terms.

It is perhaps useless to make protestations of

candor and sincerity, or to say, that I have only been guided by a love of truth. But if in any instance a passage is translated unfairly, or an inference deduced from it which it will not bear, the reader is furnished with the means of detecting and exposing the error. The quotations are all given in English, as literally as the idiom of our language will permit, perhaps more literally than some persons would have wished: and at the bottom of the page the passage will be found in its original language. In laying the quotations before the reader, I have had two things principally in view: that he should be in possession of so much of the context as will make the passage intelligible: and that he should be able to see, whether the words which bear upon the controverted point are translated fairly. It will therefore often be found, that the passage is given more at length in the translation, than it is in the original: sometimes only a few words are of importance for deciding the doctrine, when several sentences are necessary for understanding the context. In those cases I have transcribed only so much of the original passage as seems to support the doctrine of Christ's divinity.

Some remarks are necessarily interspersed, both to make the passage intelligible to the reader, when he has not the original work to consult, and to point out the conclusion, which appears to follow naturally and legitimately from the quotation: but I state expressly, that I do not profess to notice all

the different interpretations, which have been given to any passage, nor to answer the objections which have been founded upon other expressions of the same author. There is not much reading necessary to know that we may find passages in the Fathers and in the New Testament, which speak of Christ as having a human nature, and being inferior to his Father. But that person must have little knowledge and little judgment, who produces such passages as these in proof of the Unitarian doctrines. The catholic church has always held that Christ had a real human nature, and that as a Son, begotten by God, he was so far inferior to the Father: but if the church which believes this, believes also that Jesus Christ is God, it is surely most unfair to argue, that those passages which prove the humanity of Christ, overturn the doctrines of the catholic church. Those doctrines can only be overturned, when it is proved, that the Fathers held notions concerning the human nature of Christ, which are incompatible with what the church believes of his divine nature. It is not therefore my intention to examine those passages which Unitarian writers have advanced, as maintaining their own hypothesis, nor to point out the false and unfair conclusions which they have drawn from others. If it be proved satisfactorily, that the Fathers believed in the eternity and consubstantial divinity of the Son, the Unitarian notion of his mere humanity is necessarily overthrown. For there is this great difference between the creed of the Unita-



rians and that of the catholic church, so far as they are affected by the testimonies of the Fathers: The divinity of Christ, according to the catholic sense of the doctrine, is not disproved by passages which support his human nature; but *the simple humanity* of Christ is altogether overthrown by passages which assert his divinity.

The judgment of the Ante-Nicene Fathers has often been appealed to, and testimonies from their writings have often been alleged, in support of the divinity of Christ. The Defence of the Nicene Faith by Bishop Bull is a work, which must ever stand preeminent in this department of theological learning, and which would almost discourage any other person from presuming to combat in the same field. But that great man seems to have had too vast a mind, and too much overflowing with polemical learning, to make his book a favourite study with the general reader. The quotations, which he brings from the Ante-Nicene Fathers in this and his other works, will most of them be found in the following pages.

The great work of Le Nourry<sup>d</sup>, beside being a storehouse of critical information concerning the works of the Fathers, contains many quotations from them in proof of the divinity of Christ.

Dr. Waterland has made great use of the early Fathers in many of his writings, and the unfounded

<sup>d</sup> Apparatus ad Bibliothecam Maximam Veterum Patrum, &c. Paris. 1703.

assertions of Arians and Socinians are exposed by copious references to the original works: but there is no one treatise of Dr. W. in which the testimonies of the Fathers are advanced in any systematic or regular order. In the course of the following pages, I have occasion frequently to notice how largely I am indebted to him for his references and quotations.

The work most nearly resembling the present is that written by Burgh, and entitled, *An Inquiry into the Belief of the Christians of the first three Centuries respecting the one Godhead of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*. It was the object of this gentleman to present a series of testimonies from the Ante-Nicene Fathers, arranged in chronological order: and, when we consider that he was a layman who had not long directed his studies to that line of reading, we must agree that the praise, which was bestowed upon his book, was not unmerited. But he has certainly not noticed all the passages which might be adduced, and from not having used the best editions, he has sometimes made assertions, which are not borne out by the original passage.

After having studied the Fathers themselves, I consulted the above and other works, that I might correct the errors and omissions which I had made. The quotations are brought forward in chronological order, that the reader may be able to judge whether the later Fathers had departed in any way from the

opinions of those who lived nearer to the apostolical times. A short account is prefixed concerning the life of each of the Fathers ; for which I am chiefly indebted to the elaborate work of Dr. Lardner ; and where chronologists differ, I have generally followed that writer.

At the end of this Introduction there will be found a list of the editions, which are referred to ; and in each case it was intended to select the best.



This second edition will not be found to differ in any material points from the first, except that it has received some corrections and several additions, which a continued perusal of the later Fathers and of other writers has enabled me to make. The arrangement has in no instance been altered, and the Numbers prefixed to each quotation remain the same, that references may be made without any difference to either edition. The new matter is interspersed in various places throughout the work, and occupies on the whole about forty pages.



## LIST OF EDITIONS

REFERRED TO IN THIS WORK.

	A. D.				
Barnabas	72.	}	{		
Clemens Rom.	96.			Patres Apostolici Cotelerii. Amstelædami. 2 vol. fol. 1724.	p. 1.
Hermas	100.				p. 4.
Ignatius	107.				p. 12.
Justin Martyr	150.				p. 14.
Tatianus	165.	p. 32.			
Athenagoras	170.	p. 61.			
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Clemens Alex.	194.	p. 68.			
Tertullianus	200.	p. 111.			
Minucius Felix	210.	p. 180.			
→ Hippolytus	220.	p. 242.			
→ Origenes	240.	p. 244.			
Cyprianus	250.	p. 280.			
Novatianus	257.	p. 348.			
Dionysius Alex.	260.	p. 365.			
Dionysius Rom.	260.	p. 377.			
Concil. Antioch.	269.	p. 420.			
Archelaus	278.	p. 420.			
Theonas	290.	p. 423.			
Lucianus	300.	p. 432.			
Methodius	305.	p. 433.			
Arnobius	306.	p. 434.			
Petrus Alex.	306.	p. 438.			
Lactantius	310.	p. 442.			
		p. 448.			
		p. 449.			

\* This edition was reprinted at Venice in 1734 with some fragments discovered at Turin by Pfaffius, and published by him in 1715. But the genuineness of

them is extremely doubtful.

<sup>b</sup> The date in the title-page of this edition is printed by mistake CIOIOXXCVI.





TESTIMONIES  
OF  
THE ANTE-NICENE FATHERS  
TO  
THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST.

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BARNABAS, A.D. 72.

**WE** learn from the Acts of the Apostles, iv. 36. that Barnabas was *a Levite of the country of Cyprus*, and that he travelled often in company with St. Paul, and afterwards by himself. There is nothing certain known as to the time or manner of his death. Whether the Epistle, which bears his name, was really written by him, has been disputed among the learned. Pearson, Cave, Du Pin, Hammond, Vossius, Bull, Wake, and Lardner, were inclined to think it genuine: Coteler, Tillemont, and Jortin doubted about it; and Basnage pronounced it spurious. Horsley gives it as his own opinion, that "an inspired apostle could not be the writer of such a book." But though we may reject the Epistle, as not being the work of Barnabas, it seems impossible to deny that it was written at an early period. It is quoted in several places by Clement of Alexandria, who himself wrote at the end of the second century. He expressly ascribes it to "the apostle Barnabas," and his quotations from it are

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all to be found in the work which has come down to us. It must therefore have been written before the end of the second century. Dr. Priestley himself quoted it among the writings of the apostolic fathers : and though I place it as the earliest work, from which this series of testimonies is taken, I do not venture to decide the question, whether Barnabas was the real author or no. If he was not, the Epistle should probably be ranked after those of Clement and Ignatius ; and the evidence adduced from it belongs to the second century, not to the first. Lardner, who believed it to be genuine, thought that it was written about the year 71 or 72. The whole of the Epistle has not come down to us in Greek, the four first chapters and part of the fifth being lost : but there is an old Latin translation, which has preserved the whole of it.

1. *Barnabæ Epistola*, c. 5. p. 60.

“ — and what is more, the Lord endured to suffer for our souls, though he is the Lord of the world : to whom God said before the constitution of the world, *Let us make man* <sup>a</sup>.”

It appears therefore, that the notion of Christ being one of the persons to whom God said, *Let us make man*, is as old as the time in which this Epistle was written : and in c. 6. p. 19. the words of Genesis are quoted as spoken by the Father to the Son. The passage also asserts expressly the preexistence of Christ, and the atonement made by

<sup>a</sup> Et ad hoc Dominus sustinuit pati pro anima nostra, cum sit orbis terrarum Dominus ; cui dixit die ante constitutionem sæculi, *Faciamus*, &c. Instead of *die ante constitutionem sæculi*,

bishop Bull proposed reading *Deus ante*, &c. which seems a good conjecture. The sense is the same in either reading, and if *Deus* is not in the text, it must be supplied.

his sufferings ; both of which doctrines have been denied by modern Unitarians.

This being the first passage in which the words of Gen. i. 26. are quoted, I may mention, that the Arians perfectly agreed with the orthodox party in their interpretation of them. Thus in the Creed which was drawn up by the Arians at the council of Sirmium, A. D. 351. we find this clause ; “ If any one say that the Father did not speak the words, *Let us make man*, to his Son, but that he spoke them to himself, let him be anathema <sup>b</sup>.”

2. *Barnabæ Epistola*, c. 5. p. 16.

The following passage also proves the preexistence of Christ, and that he created the world. “ For if he had not come in flesh, how could we men have been saved, when we looked at him ? for when men look at the sun, the work of his hands, which will cease to exist, they have not power to face its rays <sup>c</sup>.” It is to be observed that *his hands* can only mean the hands of Christ : it was Christ therefore who created the sun. Compare Gen. i. 16. *And GOD made two great lights*, &c. Athanasius says expressly, that Christ is the Maker and Lord of the sun <sup>d</sup>.

3. *Barnabæ Epistola*, c. 6. p. 19.

The following passage evidently implies the divinity of Christ, and his union with the Father, inasmuch as it refers to him those words which Ezekiel

<sup>b</sup> Εἴ τις τὸ, Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον, μὴ τὸν πατέρα πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν λέγειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν λέγει τὸν Θεὸν εἰρηκέναι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. Ath. de Synodis, vol. I. p. 743.

<sup>c</sup> Εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἦλθεν ἐν σαρκί, πῶς ἂν ἐσώθημεν ἄνθρωποι βλέποντες αὐ-

τὸν ; ὅτι τὸν μέλλοντα μὴ εἶναι ἥλιον, ἔργον χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχοντα βλέποντες οὐκ ἰσχύουσιν εἰς ἀκτίνας αὐτοῦ ἀντοφθαλμῆσαι.

<sup>d</sup> Ὁ ἡλίου Ποιητῆς καὶ Κύριος. De Incarn. 17. vol. I. p. 62.

(xi. 19. and xxxvi. 26.) attributes to God the Father : “ *Lo!* saith the Lord, *I will take away from them*, i. e. from those whom the Spirit of the Lord foresaw, *their stony hearts, and will give them hearts of flesh* : because He was about to be manifested in the flesh, and to dwell among us : for “ the dwelling-place of our heart, my brethren, is a “ holy temple to the Lord<sup>e</sup>.” Thus he who *was manifested in the flesh* was the person who spoke those words in Ezekiel ; and we learn from xi. 17. that this was *the Lord God*.

4. *Barnabæ Epistola*, c. 7. p. 20.

“ If then the Son of God, being Lord, and who is “ to judge quick and dead, suffered, that his stripes “ might give us life, we will believe that the Son of “ God was incapable of suffering, except for our “ sakes<sup>f</sup>.” If Christ had been a mere man, it would be absurd to say, that he was *incapable of suffering* : such an incapability could not be predicated of any human being whatever. See Acts ii. 24.

CLEMENS ROMANUS, A. D. 96.

Clement is mentioned by St. Paul (Phil. iv. 3.) as one of his *fellow-labourers, whose names are in the book of life*. He was undoubtedly bishop of Rome ; but there are difficulties in ascertaining the order and date of his succession. Some writers place him immediately after St. Peter : but Irenæus<sup>g</sup>, who is the oldest authority, names as the three first bishops, Linus, Anencletus, Clement. Many dates

<sup>e</sup> Ἰδοῦ, λέγει Κύριος, ἔξελω τούτων κ. τ. λ.—ὅτι ἔμελλεν ἐν σαρκὶ φανεροῦσθαι, καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικεῖν.

<sup>f</sup> Εἰ οὐν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὢν Κύριος, καὶ μέλλων κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ

νεκροῦς, ἔπαθεν, ἵνα ἡ πληρῆ αὐτοῦ ζωοποιήσῃ ἡμᾶς, πιστεύσομεν, ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἠδύνατο παθεῖν, εἰ μὴ διὰ ἡμᾶς.

<sup>g</sup> III. 3, 3. p. 176.

have been assigned for the beginning of his bishopric: some have put it as early as A. D. 61, others as late as 93; and while some think that he sate till the end of the first century, others contend that he resigned his see in 77. This variety of opinions, as to the time of his being bishop, necessarily leads to uncertainty as to the date of his Epistle to the Corinthians. Archbishop Wake thought that it was written between the years 64 and 70: but those who think that he was not bishop till 93, must also conceive that the Epistle was not written till after that time. Lardner ascribes it to the year 96; and I have adopted that date in preference to an earlier one, that I might not seem to give to any of these testimonies a greater antiquity, than what the most scrupulous critic would be obliged to allow.

The Epistle was written in the name of the church of Rome to the church of Corinth, on the occasion of some jealousies and dissensions among the Corinthian brethren: and the following testimony to the writer of it is particularly valuable, as coming from Irenæus, who had himself conversed with persons who had seen the apostles. “ After Anen-  
“ cletus, Clement succeeded to the bishopric, who  
“ had seen the apostles, and laboured with them; and  
“ who had the preaching of the apostles still sound-  
“ ing in his ears, and their teaching before his eyes:  
“ nor was he the only one; for many were still re-  
“ maining, who had been taught by the apostles. No  
“ small dissension having arisen among the brethren  
“ at Corinth in the time of Clemens, the church at  
“ Rome sent a most seasonable letter to the Corin-  
“ thians, exhorting them to peace, and renewing  
“ their faith, and reminding them of the doctrine

“ which it had lately received from the apostles <sup>h</sup>.” There seems now to be no doubt whatever concerning the authenticity of the Epistle. It was not known to exist entire till the year 1628, when a copy of it was sent by Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, and afterwards of Constantinople, as a present to Charles the First <sup>i</sup>, from which manuscript it was printed by Patrick Young in 1633.

There is also a second Epistle ascribed to Clement: but since many persons have pronounced it to be spurious, I give no quotations from it, though it contains some express evidence of the divinity of Christ. There seems no reason to think that Clement suffered martyrdom.

Dr. Whitby, in his “ Reply,” to Dr. Waterland <sup>k</sup>, asserts of Clement of Rome, that “ he constantly “ separates Jesus Christ from that God whom he “ styles the true and only God, but never once calls “ him God.” I should wish the reader to bear this observation in mind, and to pronounce upon the truth of it after he has read the following quotations from the Epistle.

5. *Clementis* 1<sup>a</sup>. *Epistola*, c. 2. p. 147-8.

The construction of Clement’s words in the second chapter obliges us to apply the term *God* to Jesus Christ, who suffered upon the cross. The first sentence of the chapter is this: “ Ye have all “ been humble-minded, arrogant in nothing, sub-

<sup>h</sup> Iren. III. 3, 3. p. 176.

<sup>i</sup> This invaluable present consisted of the Alexandrian manuscript of the Old and New Testament, now in the British Museum, at the end of which the Epistle of Clement is writ-

ten. See the account in the first translation of this Epistle made by William Burton in 1647.

<sup>k</sup> Page 11. See Waterland’s Works, vol. III. p. 225.

“jected rather than subjecting, giving rather than receiving, being satisfied with the supplies sent from *God*: and paying careful attention to *His* words, ye have fixed them deeply in your minds, and *His* sufferings were before your eyes<sup>1</sup>.” The person, whose words and sufferings had made such an impression upon them, is said to be *God*: and it is equally evident that the *sufferings* were those of Jesus Christ, who was therefore considered by Clement to be *God*. See N<sup>o</sup>. 39. and 44.

6. *Clementis* 1<sup>a</sup>. *Epistola*, c. 16. p. 156. .

The following passage may remind us of St. Paul's words in Phil. ii. 6, 7. “For Christ belongs to the humble-minded, who do not exalt themselves over his flock. Our Lord Jesus Christ, the sceptre of the majesty of God, did not come in the pomp of splendour or of pride, although he might have done so, but humble,” &c. <sup>m</sup> This passage strongly confirms the usual interpretation of Phil. ii. 7. that the first humiliation of Christ consisted in his divesting himself of his divine nature and assuming the human. Clement expressly says, that Christ might have come in pomp and splendour, which power he could not have had, if he were a mere man, and had no existence prior to his human birth. Neither is it probable that Clement would have

<sup>1</sup> Πάντες τε ἐταπεινοφρονεῖτε, μηδὲν ἀλαζονεύμενοι——τοῖς ἐφοδίοις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀρκαύμενοι, καὶ προσέχοντες τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ἐπιμελῶς ἐστερνισμένοι ἢ τε τοῖς σπλάγγχοις, καὶ τὰ παθήματα αὐτοῦ ἦν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἡμῶν.

<sup>m</sup> Τὸ σκῆπτρον τῆς μεγαλωσύνης τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὃ Κύριος ἡμῶν Χριστὸς ἴη-

σοῦς, οὐκ ἦλθεν ἐν κόμπῳ ἀλαζονείας, οὐδὲ ἐπερηφανίας, καίπερ δυνάμενος ἄλλὰ ταπεινοφρονῶν. Jerom seems to have read καίπερ πάντα δυνάμενος, although he had power to do all things, or was omnipotent: for he translates it *cum posset omnia*. (In Esaiam lii.)



called a mere man *the sceptre of the majesty of God.*

The passage may remind us of similar expressions in the fathers: e. g. Justin Martyr <sup>a</sup>: “ God sent “ him to them: and was it, as we might suppose of “ a man in regal power, to awe and to confound? “ by no means: but in gentleness and meekness.” Irenæus <sup>o</sup>; “ For he might have come to us in his “ own incorruptible glory, but we could not have “ borne the greatness of his glory:” which words may remind us of the passage already quoted from Barnabas, at p. 3. N<sup>o</sup>. 2. and of a still stronger passage in Origen <sup>p</sup>: “ Who [the Word] being in the “ beginning with God—became flesh, that he “ might be comprehended by those who were not “ able to look at him, in that he was the Word, and “ was with God, and was God.” And in another place <sup>q</sup>, “ Coming down once to that which was not “ able to look at the dazzling brightness of his divi- “ nity, he became in a manner flesh.” Tertullian says <sup>r</sup>, “ God could not have entered into conversa- “ tion with men, unless he had assumed human feel- “ ings and affections, by which he could temper the “ greatness of his majesty, which would have been “ intolerable to human weakness, with a humility “ which might be unworthy of Him, but necessary “ for man.” See also Arnobius, N<sup>o</sup>. 344. It will perhaps be thought, that these later writers did not carry the doctrine of Christ’s divinity at all higher

<sup>a</sup> Epistola ad Diognetum. 7.  
p. 237.

<sup>o</sup> IV. 38, 1. p. 284.

<sup>p</sup> Cont. Cels. VI. 68. p. 684.

<sup>q</sup> Ib. IV. 15. p. 511.

<sup>r</sup> Adv. Marcion II. 27. p.  
395.

than it was maintained by Barnabas and Clement in the first century : to which I may add, that the fact of it having been optional with Christ to appear in the human or a superior nature, is as expressly maintained in the Epistle to the Hebrews, ch. ii. 16, 17, 18. as in the passages above quoted from the fathers. St. Paul certainly believed that Christ *assumed* the human nature : vid. Heb. iv. 15 : v. 2. Phil. ii. 7. Rom. viii. 3.

7. *Clementis* 1<sup>a</sup>. *Epistola*, c. 22. p. 161.

The preexistence of Christ, and his identity with the Jehovah of the Old Testament, is implied in the manner in which Clement quotes Psalm xxxiv. 11. Having given exhortations to moral conduct in the different relations of life, he says, “ But it is faith in “ Christ which confirmeth all these things : for *he* “ *himself* thus calleth us by the Holy Ghost, *Come* “ *ye children,*” &c.<sup>s</sup> He then quotes the Psalm from the 11th to the 19th verse.

It might perhaps be said, that the words in this Psalm were spoken by David, and not by God. This remark however does not affect the argument. Clement considered that they were spoken by God : and since he says in this place that they were spoken by Christ, it is evident that in the opinion of Clement it was indifferent whether he referred them to Jehovah or to Christ. It may be mentioned that Clement of Alexandria<sup>t</sup> makes a large extract from this part of the Epistle, and he quotes the passage before us thus : “ But it is faith in Christ which “ confirmeth all these things. *Come ye children,*

<sup>s</sup> Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα βεβαῖοι ἢ ἐν καλεῖται ἡμᾶς, Δεῦτε, κ. τ. λ. Χριστῷ πίστις. Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς διὰ  
<sup>t</sup> Strom. IV. 16, p. 612.  
 τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου οὕτως προσ-

“ saith the Lord, *harken unto me,*” &c. The extract is not given literally: but it is plain that Clement of Alexandria, as well as his namesake of Rome, made God the speaker of the words in Psalm xxxiv.; and we have an equal testimony to the divinity of Christ, whether we refer the term *Lord*, which is used by Clement of Alexandria, to Jehovah or to Christ. If he meant Jehovah, he clearly understood Christ to be one with Jehovah: because the passage before him, which he was quoting from Clement of Rome, attributes the words to Christ. If he meant Christ by the word *Lord*, he held the preexistence of Christ, and made him the source of inspiration to the Psalmist.

8. *Clementis* 1<sup>a</sup>. *Epistola*, c. 32. p. 166.

That Christ had another nature beside the human, is also clearly implied by the expression, that “ Christ came of Abraham *according to the flesh* <sup>u</sup>.” It is needless to adduce similar passages from St. Paul’s Epistles, such as Rom. i. 3. ix. 5. &c. &c. in all of which, the words *according to the flesh* must be taken to imply a descent from some other source which is not carnal.

9. *Clementis* 1<sup>a</sup>. *Epistola*, c. 36. p. 168.

We may observe also, that Clement says of Christ —“ Who being the brightness of His majesty is so “ much higher than the angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name <sup>x</sup> :” which words are evidently taken from Heb. i. 3, 4.; and confirm the remark of Eusebius <sup>y</sup>, that the style and

<sup>u</sup> Ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς τὸ ἀγγέλων, ὅσῳ διαφορώτερον ὄνομα κεκατὰ σάρκα.

<sup>x</sup> Ὁς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς μεγαλωσύνης αὐτοῦ τοσοῦτον μείζων ἐστίν

<sup>y</sup> H. E. III. 38.

expression of the two Epistles closely resemble each other, so that some persons had imagined that Clement translated the Epistle to the Hebrews into Greek, it having been originally written by St. Paul in Hebrew. Whether the words, "being the brightness of His majesty," are equivalent to an assertion of the divinity of Christ, has been often discussed by the commentators upon the Epistle to the Hebrews: but we cannot fail to observe, that Clement also agrees with that Epistle in saying, that Christ was higher than the angels: so that we may collect from all these passages, that Christ had an existence prior to his human birth, that it was one of celestial splendour, that he was higher than angels: and if all this did not amount to a declaration of his divinity, we have seen that Clement actually calls him God.

Eusebius, or rather an older writer quoted by him, in his Ecclesiastical History<sup>z</sup>, says that Justin, Miltiades, Tatian, and Clement, all called Christ God. Dr. Routh, in his *Reliquiæ Sacræ*<sup>a</sup>, is inclined to understand this of Clement of Rome rather than of Clement of Alexandria. Eusebius certainly says, that the above writers were older than the time of Victor: and, as Dr. Routh justly observes, Clement of Alexandria could not well be called older than the time of Victor, who was chosen to the see of Rome, A. D. 185. But the order, in which the names are given, seems rather to point out Clement of Alexandria. Had his namesake of Rome been intended, he should have been placed first, as being much the most ancient: and though Clement of

<sup>z</sup> V. 28.

<sup>a</sup> II. p. 21.

Alexandria survived Victor, yet he most probably published his earlier works before the year in which Victor succeeded Eleutherus in the bishopric of Rome.

HERMAS, A. D. 100.

The book ascribed to Hermas, entitled *the Shepherd*, has been rejected by most critics as a spurious work. But we may say of it, as we did of the Epistle of Barnabas, that though it may not have been really written by Hermas, yet it must have been written in the second century. We have in fact older testimony in favour of the Shepherd of Hermas than of the *Épistle* of Barnabas; for it is quoted by Irenæus, who wrote before Clement of Alexandria. The latter writer cites several passages from this work, ascribing it by name to Hermas: so that we cannot well suppose it to have been written later than the middle of the second century. If it was really composed by the person whose name it bears, it was probably written at the end of the first century, and this is the date which Lardner assigns to it. The learned have also disputed, whether the supposed author of this book was the Hermas mentioned by St. Paul, Rom. xvi. 14. Origen<sup>b</sup> thought that he was. Mosheim adopts the opinion of Muratori, that the Shepherd was written in the second century by Hermas, who was brother to Pius bishop of Rome<sup>c</sup>.

“ The Shepherd of Hermas was written in Greek :

<sup>b</sup> In Rom. l. X. vol. IV. p. 683. Among the testimonies which Coteler has quoted from Origen, in favour of Hermas, he has omitted one which may be found in his Commentary upon

Matth. vol. III. p. 872.

<sup>c</sup> Eccles. Hist. vol. I. p. 113. Mosheim refers to Muratori Antiq. Italic. medii ævi, tom. 3. diss. 43. p. 853.

“ but we have now only an ancient Latin version, “ beside some fragments of the Greek preserved in “ the ancient Greek authors who have quoted him. “ It consists of three books. In the first are four “ Visions ; in the second, twelve Commands ; in the “ third, ten Similitudes <sup>d</sup>.” The language of this book is so mystical and figurative, that I shall only bring one testimony from it, the literal meaning of which it seems impossible to misunderstand.

10. *Hermæ Pastor*, l. III. Simil. 9. §. 12. p. 118.

“ The Son of God is more ancient than any created thing, so that he was present in counsel with “ his Father at the creation <sup>e</sup>.” This passage not only maintains the preexistence of Christ, but assigns to him an uncreated nature : for had he been himself created, he would not have been older than all creation, but the oldest created thing : and the expression would have been similar to what is said of the church in this same work, that “ it was created “ the first of all things <sup>f</sup>.” The passage may remind us of that expression of St. Paul, in which he calls Christ *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως*, *the first-born*, or first-begotten *of every creature*. Col. i. 15. Had St. Paul said *πρῶτος*, *the first*, it might have been implied that Christ was himself created : but he uses a word which, while it signifies the nature of the relation between the Son and the Father, puts the Son above every creature, not only in degree, but in kind : he was *begotten* before any thing was *created*. Thus Justin Martyr expressly calls him “ the first-begot-

<sup>d</sup> Lardner, vol. II. p. 52.

condendam creaturam.

<sup>e</sup> Filius quidem Dei omni creatura antiquior est, ita ut in consilio Patri suo adfuerit ad

<sup>f</sup> Omnium prima creata est. I. Vis. 2. §. ult. p. 78.

“ten of God, and before all created things<sup>ε</sup> :” and again, “he was begotten of the Father, and was “with the Father before any thing was created<sup>h</sup>.” Origen makes God say of the Son, “I have begotten “thee before every reasonable creature<sup>i</sup> ;” and in another place he says, “the image of the invisible “God, begotten before every creature, is incapable of “death<sup>k</sup> ;” a position which would not be true, if Christ were created<sup>l</sup>. The Arians do not appear at first to have quoted this text, when they wished to prove that Christ was *a creature*, κτίσμα: for Eusebius, who denied this, notices all the passages of scripture which might seem to support the doctrine, but takes no notice of this<sup>m</sup>. It seems, however, that they afterwards quoted the text in support of their own doctrine<sup>n</sup>. See Waterland’s Works, vol. 3. p. 35.

#### IGNATIUS, A. D. 107.

Ignatius was bishop of Antioch. Theodoret<sup>o</sup> says that he was appointed by St. Peter, and the Apo-

<sup>ε</sup> Πρωτόκοκον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ πρὸ πάντων τῶν κτισμάτων. Dial. cum Tryph. 100. p. 195.

<sup>h</sup> Τοῦτο τὸ τῷ ὄντι ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς προβληθὲν γέννημα πρὸ πάντων τῶν ποιημάτων συνῆν τῷ πατρί. Dial. cum Tryph. 62. p. 159.

<sup>i</sup> Πρὸ πάσης λογικῆς φύσεως ἐγέννησά σε. In Psalm. cx. 3. vol. II. p. 787.

<sup>k</sup> Ἀνεπίδεκτος γὰρ ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀσράτου πρωτόκοκος πάσης κτίσεως θανάτου. In Joan. tom. XXVIII. 14. vol. IV. p. 392.

<sup>l</sup> Athanasius marks this distinction very plainly when he says, speaking of the text, Col.

I. 16, 17. ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐστὶ πρὸ πάντων—οὐ λέγει δὲ ὅτι πρὸ πάντων ἐκτίσθη, ἀλλ’ ὅτι πρὸ πάντων ἐστὶ τὸ γοῦν ἐκτίσθαι, ἐπὶ πάντων κεῖται· τὸ δέ, ἔστι πρὸ πάντων, μόνῃ τῷ υἱῷ ἀρμόττει. Expos. Fid. 2. vol. I. p. 100-1. Eriphanus has also the same sentiment:—μὴ συνημμένος τῇ κτίσει, ἀλλὰ πρὸ κτίσεως γεγεννημένος. οὐ γὰρ εἶπε, πρωτόκτιστος, ἀλλὰ πρωτόκοκος. Hæg. LXXVIII. 17. vol. I. p. 1049.

<sup>m</sup> Socrates, II. 21. p. 107.

<sup>n</sup> Athanas. Orat. II. cont. Arian. 63. p. 530-1.

<sup>o</sup> Dial. I.

stolical Constitutions<sup>p</sup> say that it was by St. Paul. However this may have been, it seems certain that he succeeded Euodius in the see of Antioch, and probably about the year 69 or 70: according to which date he might easily have conversed with the apostles, as Chrysostom expressly says that he did<sup>q</sup>. Some writers have repeated the foolish story of his having been the child whom our Saviour took in his arms, Matt. xviii. 2. and of his receiving the name of *Theophorus* from this circumstance. That he had this title is true, but Pearson<sup>r</sup> has unanswerably proved that the story is a fiction.

He was sent from Antioch to Rome, to be exposed to wild beasts in the amphitheatre: and if we could ascertain the precise year of his martyrdom, we should also fix the date of his Epistles; for they were all written while he was on his journey to Rome. Some writers have assigned this event to the year 107<sup>s</sup>: while others have thought that it did not take place till 116<sup>t</sup>. His Epistles are seven in number, addressed to the churches of Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralles, Rome, Philadelphia, and Smyrna, and to his fellow-martyr Polycarp. The genuineness of these Epistles has been called in question; but if ever there was a work, which from exhausting the subject and compelling conviction might be pronounced unanswerable and unanswered, it is the Vindication of these Epistles by bishop Pearson<sup>u</sup>. The same opinion has been entertained by I. Vossius,

<sup>p</sup> VII. 46.

<sup>q</sup> Tom. I. Hom. 42. in Ignat. p. 562.

<sup>r</sup> Vindic. Ignat. pars II. 12. (p. 411. ed. Coteler.)

<sup>s</sup> Du Pin, Tillemont, Cave,

Lardner.

<sup>t</sup> Pearson, Lloyd, Pagi, Le Clerc, Fabricius.

<sup>u</sup> Vindicix Epistolarum S. Ignatii, 1672.



Usher, Hammond, Petavius, Grotius, Bull, Cave, Wake, Cotelerius, Grabe, Du Pin, Tillemont, Le Clerc, Mosheim, Lardner, Horsley, &c. &c. These are great names, the authority of which can hardly be set aside by that of Salmasius, Blondel, and Dal-læus, who have rejected the Epistles, although we may add Dr. Priestley to the number, who has told us that “the genuineness of them is generally given up by the learned.” This presumptuous falsehood is chastised, as it deserved, by Horsley<sup>x</sup>, to whom the reader is referred for an account of the larger or interpolated edition of Ignatius, which was published for the first time in 1557, and of the shorter or genuine edition, which was published by I. Vossius in 1646. It may be added, that though Dr. Priestley made this unwarrantable assertion, he allowed that the proofs of our Lord’s divinity which Horsley ad-duced from Ignatius, were true *according to our present copies*.

11. *Ignatii Epist. ad Eph.* c. 1. vol. II. p. 11.

The first Epistle of Ignatius is addressed to the Ephesians, and the title of it contains the following words: “Ignatius—to the church at Ephesus—“which was preordained before the worlds—accord-“ing to the will of the Father and of Jesus Christ “our God<sup>y</sup>.” The same expression of “Jesus “Christ our God” occurs in the title of the Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans, p. 25.

The Epistle begins thus: “I approve in God of “the much beloved name which ye have justly ob-“tained, by faith and love in Jesus Christ our Sa-“viour. Being imitators of God, having animated

<sup>x</sup> Works, IV. p. 133.

<sup>y</sup> —ἐν θελήματι τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν.

“ yourselves by the blood of God, ye have performed “ perfectly the congenial work <sup>z</sup>.” In this passage the term *blood* obliges us to refer the annexed term *God* to Jesus Christ, who shed his blood for us. The *blood of God* is certainly a very strong expression: but it was not unusual with the Fathers; and seems to afford an additional confirmation of the received reading in Acts xx. 28. *feed the church of God, which He hath purchased with His own blood.*

Instead of Θεοῦ, *God*, in Acts xx. 28. some MSS. and other authorities read Κυρίου, *Lord*, and Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ, *Lord and God*: for the reading ἐκκλησίαν Χριστοῦ, *church of Christ*, being supported by no Greek MS. whatever, does not deserve to be considered. Of the two other readings, the only one which requires us to weigh the evidence is that of Κυρίου, *Lord*: for divinity will be equally attributed to Christ, whether St. Paul called him *God*, or *Lord and God*.

Of the two readings, *God* and *Lord*, it may be observed, that the Vatican MS. which is perhaps of the highest authority and antiquity of all, has Θεοῦ, *God*. The MS. was examined in this passage for the London edition of Griesbach's New Testament published in 1818, and is found to contain this reading <sup>a</sup>; of which the Unitarian translators appear not

<sup>a</sup> Ἀποδεξάμενος ἐν Θεῷ τὸ πολυ-  
ἀγάπητόν σου ὄνομα ὃ κέκτησθε φύσει  
δικαίᾳ, κατὰ πίστιν καὶ ἀγάπην ἐν  
Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τῷ σωτήρι ἡμῶν μι-  
μηταὶ ὄντες Θεοῦ, ἀναζωπυρήσαντες  
ἐν αἵματι Θεοῦ, τὸ συγγενικὸν ἔργον  
τελείως ἀπηρτίσατε. Commenta-  
tors have observed that the first  
word ἀποδεξάμενος stands alone

without any verb to complete the sense. But it may be read in conjunction with the title, Ἰγνάτιος — τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ — χυρίειν, ἀποδεξάμενος κ. τ. λ. I have put a stop after σωτήρι ἡμῶν, which seems to make the construction plainer.

<sup>a</sup> See Monitum ante Præf. p. ii.

to have been aware, who say in p. 331. of their *Improved Version*, "that the received text reads *God* "upon the authority of no MS. of note or value<sup>b</sup>." This is also the reading of the oldest MSS. of the Syriac version<sup>c</sup>, which is supposed to have been made early in the second century, if not at the end of the first. Thus, though the authority for *Κυρίου*, *Lord*, is also very respectable, the oldest MS. and the oldest version support the reading of *Θεοῦ*, *God*: to which it may be added, that the expression, *church of God*, occurs in not fewer than eleven passages of St. Paul's Epistles; whereas the phrase, *church of the Lord*, occurs *nowhere* in the New Testament.

It comes more within the object of the present work to shew what is the authority for either reading, according to the quotations which the Ante-Nicene Fathers have made of this passage. The usual statement is, that Ignatius and Tertullian

<sup>b</sup> Griesbach, as is well known, sums up the evidence decidedly against the reading of *Θεοῦ*: but it must be remembered, that he names many MSS. in his preface, of which he had no collations or very imperfect ones: and though he states that no good MS. reads *Θεοῦ*, it is probable that he must have qualified this assertion, if he had been better acquainted with some of his MSS. Thus he was ignorant of the fact, mentioned above, that the Vatican MS. reads *Θεοῦ*. He also takes no notice of the Florentine MSS. numbered by himself 84 and 89. Dr. Elmsley examined these at Florence, and both of them read *Θεοῦ*. Griesbach considers the

former to be of the tenth century, the latter of the eleventh. Dr. E. also examined those numbered 87 and 88, and found them to read *Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ*. A MS. in the library at Christ Church, which was considered by archbishop Wake to be 700 years old, reads *κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ*, and another which appears also to be of the eleventh century, reads *Θεοῦ*.

<sup>c</sup> I assert this on the authority of professor Lee, who has not yet published an account of his collations of Syriac MSS.: but he has stated it in some remarks, which may be seen in Dr. Wait's translation of Hug's Introduction, vol. I. p. 370.

support the received reading—*the church of God*, and that Irenæus quotes it *the church of the Lord*<sup>d</sup>. But the truth is, that Irenæus is the only one of the Fathers of the three first centuries who quotes the passage at length, and he certainly quotes it *the church of the Lord*<sup>e</sup>. We must remember however that the original Greek of Irenæus is lost, and all that remains is a Latin translation, which, although very ancient, is not sufficiently accurate for us to trust to it in the question of a various reading. For in some places, where fragments of the Greek have been preserved, we can prove that the translator confounded the terms *Lord* and *God*, *God* and *Christ*, &c. &c. and substituted one for the other. Thus at p. 296<sup>f</sup>, we read in the Greek, “the art and wisdom of *God* :” but in the Latin, “the wisdom of *the Lord*.” At p. 294<sup>g</sup>, the Greek has “the body and blood of *the Lord* :” but the Latin reads, “the body and blood of *Christ*.” At p. 3<sup>h</sup>, Irenæus speaks of “blasphemy against *Christ* :” but his translator renders it “blasphemy against *God*.” The translator being proved to have made these substitutions, we cannot make much use of his authority in deciding the proper reading of Acts xx. 28. and I cannot help quoting another passage from Irenæus, which shews what his own opinion was concerning the divinity of that Person, who redeemed us *by his blood*. He says<sup>i</sup>, “Remember then that “you have been redeemed by the flesh of our Lord,

<sup>d</sup> Horne's Introduction, II. p. 336. The editors of the *Improved Version* say, that “the word *Lord* is supported by citations from the early ecclesiastical writers.”

<sup>e</sup> III. 14, 2. p. 201.

<sup>f</sup> V. 3, 2.

<sup>g</sup> V. 2, 3.

<sup>h</sup> I. proœm.

<sup>i</sup> V. 14. 4. p. 311.

“ and restored by his blood, and *holding the head* “ *from which all the body of the church knit together increaseth*, (Col. ii. 19.) both confess him to “ be God, and firmly acknowledge his human nature<sup>k</sup>.”

There is however one passage quoted from a Post-Nicene Father, which, though it does not properly come within the scope of this work, may be noticed here, because, if the quotation were admitted, we could scarcely entertain a doubt, but that the expression *blood of God* was nowhere to be found in the scriptures. In a note to the *Improved Version* it is said, that “ the expression *the blood of God* is “ rejected with horror by Athanasius, as an invention of the Arians:” and we may understand the author of this note better by referring to Mr. Belsham’s “ *Calm Inquiry*,” published in 1817. At p. 141 of that work he has the following passage: “ Our scriptures, says Athanasius, nowhere mention “ the blood of God. Such impudent expressions are “ only used by Arians:” and in the note he gives the original thus; “ Οὐδαμοῦ δὲ αἷμα Θεοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς “ παραδεδώκασι αἱ γραφαί· Ἀρειανῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμήματα. “ Athanas. cont. Apollin. apud Wetstein. in loc.” This seems very strong and very decisive. But Mr. Belsham had better have looked into the works of Athanasius, than have copied from Wetstein. It is true that Wetstein, in his edition of the New Testament, does give the quotation in these words: but it is also true, that they are *not the words of Athanasius*. Wetstein inserted καθ’ ἡμᾶς from his own head, and left out the words δίχα σαρκός, upon which the

<sup>k</sup> Et Deum confitens, et hominem ejus firmiter excipiens.

whole meaning of the passage turns. In the Greek of Athanasius<sup>1</sup> it is thus; Οὐδαμοῦ δὲ αἷμα Θεοῦ δίχα σαρκὸς παραδεδόκασιν αἱ γραφαί, ἢ Θεὸν δίχα σαρκὸς παθόντα καὶ ἀναστάντα. Ἀρειανῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμήματα: which means in English, (Mr. Belsham will pardon my translating it,) “*The scriptures nowhere speak of the blood of God without flesh:*” i. e. without adding something which implies the incarnation of God; “*nor of God suffering and rising again without flesh: they are Arians who venture to use such expressions.*” Mr. Belsham was probably not aware, that this work of Athanasius was written against the Apollinarian heretics, who, though proceeding from different principles, arrived at the same erroneous conclusion with the Patripassians: they held, that Christ did not take a real body composed of flesh and blood, but that his body was uncreated and heavenly. Hence some of them believed with the Marcionites, Manicheans, &c. that Christ suffered in appearance only: but others affirmed, that the body, which suffered, was divine; or in other words, that it was the Deity which suffered in Christ. Athanasius asserts in this book, that the scriptures never speak of Jesus suffering as *God*, but in his *human nature*; or, as he says in the passage misquoted by Mr. Belsham, that “the scriptures never speak of the blood of God without mentioning or implying his flesh<sup>m</sup>.” and my read-

<sup>1</sup> Contra Apol. II. 14. p. 951.

<sup>m</sup> Thus Irenæus says, that “it was neither a mere man who saves us, nor yet without flesh.”—neque homo tantum erit qui salvat nos, neque sine

carne. III. 20, 4. p. 214. and again, that “we are not to think him merely a man, nor yet suspect him from his name Emma-nuel to be God without flesh,” uti non — nude solummodo eum hominem intelligeremus;

ers will hardly believe, that in the very next sentence he goes on to say—"but the holy scriptures "speaking of God in the flesh, and of the flesh of " God when he became man, do mention *the blood* " and sufferings and resurrection of the body of " God :?" αἱ δὲ ἅγιοι γραφαὶ ἐν σαρκὶ Θεοῦ καὶ σαρκὸς Θεοῦ ἀνθρώπου γενομένου αἷμα καὶ πάθος καὶ ἀνάστασιν κηρύττουσι σώματος Θεοῦ. So much for the accuracy of Mr. Belsham's quotation, and for the assertion of the Unitarian translators, that the expression "*the blood of " God* is rejected with horror by Athanasius <sup>¶</sup>!" to which I may add, that this passage of Athanasius makes directly against the Unitarians: for since that Father tells us, that the scriptures *do speak of the blood of God*, we ask, where else do they speak of it, except in Acts xx. 28? and what is more to the point, Athanasius himself quotes the passage from Acts xx. 28. more than once, and expressly reads *the church of God*°.

neque rursus per nomen Emmanuel sine carne eum Deum suspicaremur. III. 21, 4. p. 217.

¶ That Mr. Belsham borrowed his false quotation from Wetstein is quite evident: but I am sorry to add that Griesbach, who ought to have known better, has been guilty of the same mistatement. After mentioning the Fathers who support the reading αἷμα Θεοῦ, he adds, Sed nec defuerunt, qui tales formulas vituperarent et scripturam sic nunquam locutam esse contenderent: and afterwards he says more distinctly, Tantum vero abfuit, ut hoc telo adversarios suos conficerent, ut potius antiquiores

patres nonnulli, et inter hos vel ipse Athanasius c. Apollinar. in sacris literis αἷμα Θεοῦ legi negarent. We can hardly acquit Griesbach of a wilful mistatement in extending the remark from Athanasius to others of the Fathers. He clearly had not examined the passage in Athanasius; and he did not specify any other writer, because he was unable.

° In Epist. ad Serap. I. 6. vol. I. p. 653. the Benedictine edition has Θεοῦ, one MS. reads κυρίου, and three read Χριστοῦ. There seems to be an allusion to this text in his Commentary upon Psalm xcix. 3. γινώτε ὅτι κύριος αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, where

I cannot help also noticing an inconsistency in Mr. Belsham's mode of argument. In the passage before us he wishes us to read the church of *the Lord*; and by *the Lord* he means us to understand *Jesus Christ*. But it is singular that at Col. iii. 13. he wishes to read, not *as Christ has forgiven us*, but *as the Lord has forgiven us*, and there he interprets *the Lord* to mean *God*: so that at Acts xx. 28. he tries to evade an argument for the divinity of Christ by understanding *the Lord* to mean *Christ*; and at Col. iii. 13. he evades a similar argument by understanding *the Lord* to mean *God*!

We will now try the accuracy of another assertion of the Unitarian translators, that the expression "*the blood of God*" is not quoted by the earliest "ecclesiastical writers." We have already seen that Ignatius uses this expression in his Epistle to the Ephesians: and in his Epistle to the Romans he says, "I long for the bread of God, heavenly bread, "the bread of life, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, "the Son of God<sup>p</sup>, who was born in later times of "the seed of David; and I long for the cup of God, "his blood<sup>q</sup>."

he observes, οὗτος, φησὶν, ὁ κύριος ὁ τῆ ἰδίῃ αἱματι πᾶσαν λυτρῶσάμενος τὴν γῆν, αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ καὶ τοῦ ἡμετέρου ποιημάτων δημιουργός. vol. I. p. 1177. In the treatise ascribed to Athanasius, *de communi Essentia Patris et Filii*, all the MSS. read ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ. vol. II. p. 4. The emperor Jovian seems to allude to this text, and to confirm the received reading, when he says, in a letter to Athanasius, ἐπάνθι πάντων εἰς τὰς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας, καὶ πόμεινε τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ λαόν. Or.

Ath. vol. I. p. 779. Epiphanius quotes ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, and he adduces the passage in support of the divinity of Christ. Hær. LXXIV. 6. vol. I. p. 895.

<sup>p</sup> I believe the true translation to be—"Jesus Christ, the "Son, who is God, who was "born," &c. but since the words will bear the other construction, I do not wish to quote them as proving the divinity of Christ.

<sup>q</sup> Ἄρτον Θεοῦ θέλω, ἄρτον οὐράνιον, ἄρτον ζωῆς, ὃς ἐστὶ σὰρξ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ γενο-



There is a remarkable passage in Justin Martyr, which may be quoted in this place. Like the rest of the Fathers he refers Gen. xlix. 11. to Christ, which in the Septuagint version is thus: *πλυνεῖ ἐν οἴνῳ τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν αἵματι σταφυλῆς τὴν περιβολὴν αὐτοῦ* upon which Justin observes, "The words *blood of the grape* are used purposely to express, that Christ has blood, not from the seed of man, but from the power of God. For in the same manner that man does not produce the blood of the vine, but God; so also this passage foretold, that the blood of Christ was not to be of human origin, but from the power of God: and this prophecy shews, that Christ is not a man, begotten of men according to the common law of men<sup>r</sup>." Eusebius, speaking of the same text, says, that men are redeemed by the blood of the grape, which has God dwelling in it, and is spiritual<sup>s</sup>."

Clement of Alexandria speaks of "the power of God the Father and *the blood of God* the Son<sup>t</sup>."

Tertullian says; "I well know, we are not our own, but bought with a price: and what sort of price? *the blood of God*." It is this passage,

μένου ἐν ὑστέρῳ ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβίδ<sup>u</sup> καὶ πόμα Θεοῦ θέλω τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ. It might be said however that αὐτοῦ refers to Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. c. 7. p. 29.

<sup>r</sup> Τὸ δὲ αἷμα τῆς σταφυλῆς εἰπεῖν τὸν λόγον, διὰ τῆς τέχνης δεδήλωκεν, ὅτι αἷμα μὲν ἔχει ὁ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπου σπέρματος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμεως. "Ὅν γὰρ τρόπον τὸ τῆς ἀμπέλου αἷμα οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ἐγέννησεν, ἀλλὰ Θεὸς, οὕτως καὶ τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αἷμα οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπου γένους ἔσσεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐκ

Θεοῦ δυνάμεως προεμήνησεν. Ἡ δὲ προφητεία αὕτη ἀποδεικνύει, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ Χριστὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων γεννηθείς. Dial. cum Tryph. 54. p. 149—50.

<sup>s</sup> Dem. Evang. VIII. p. 380.

<sup>t</sup> Δυνάμει Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ αἵματι Θεοῦ παιδός. Quis Dives Salvetur? c. 34. p. 954.

<sup>u</sup> Quod sciam, non sumus nostri, sed pretio empti: et quali pretio? sanguine Dei. Ad Uxorem, II. 3. p. 168.

which has caused Tertullian to be named as reading *the church of God* in Acts xx. 28. but his words bear such a direct reference to another text, 1 Cor. vi. 19, 20, that we cannot say, whether he had the words of St. Paul to the Ephesians also in his mind.

Origen upon those words of Psalm lxxi. 19. "*Thy righteousness also, O God, is very high, who hast done great things,*" &c. remarks, "having given peace by *His blood* to the things in heaven and "in earth<sup>x</sup>." The pronoun *His* can only refer to *God, who had done great things*: but we may observe, that Origen's commentary is a manifest allusion to Col. i. 20. "*having made peace through the blood of his cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself: by him, whether they be things in earth, or things in heaven:*" in which passage it is difficult to decide the person to whom εἰρηνοποιήσας *having made peace*, and αὐτοῦ *his* are to be referred.

Origen, like other commentators, considered the Song of Solomon to refer to the union of Christ and his church; and upon those words, v. 10. "*My beloved is white and ruddy,*" he says, referring them to Christ; "*white, because he was very God: and ruddy, on account of the blood which was shed for the church.*" This passage might seem particularly to contain an allusion to Acts xx. 28. on account of *the church* being mentioned in connexion with *the blood of God*.

Dionysius of Alexandria says, "The holy *blood of our God Jesus Christ* is not corruptible, nor the

<sup>x</sup> εἰρηνοποιήσας διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς. II. p. 760.

<sup>γ</sup> λευκός, ἐπειδὴ ὁ Θεὸς ἀληθινός· πυρρός δὲ διὰ τὸ αἷμα τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας χυθέν. III. p. 98.

“ blood of a mortal man like ourselves, but of *very* “ *God*.” Epiphanius (if the treatise be genuine) speaks of the church, οὐκέτι αἵματι δουλικῷ φυρωμένη, ἀλλὰ αἵματι θεϊκῷ σφραγιζομένη. Serm. in Fest. Palm. vol. II. p. 254.

Having already mentioned the assertion of the Unitarian translators, that “ the *blood of God* is not “ quoted by the earliest ecclesiastical writers,” I leave the reader to draw his inference as to the accuracy of the remark ; and I only observe, that these passages alone might seem sufficient to prove, that the Ante-Nicene Fathers believed in the divinity of Christ. That they believed him, who shed *his blood* on the cross, to be *God* in some sense or other, cannot be denied : it is for our opponents to prove, that they did not believe him to be verily and essentially God.

12. *Ignatii Epist. ad Eph. c. 7. p. 13.*

In the same Epistle, having warned the Ephesians to beware of those who taught false doctrines, and whom he considered almost incurable, he says, “ There is one Physician, fleshly and spiritual, made “ and not made, God born in the flesh, true life in “ death, both of Mary and of God, first capable of “ suffering, and then incapable <sup>a</sup>.” There is little to

<sup>a</sup> οὐ φαρτὸν τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὔτε ἀνθρώπου καθ' ἡμᾶς θνητοῦ, ἀλλὰ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ. c. Paul. Samos. Quæst. IV. p. 237.

<sup>a</sup> Εἰς ἰατρὸς ἐστὶν σαρκικός τε καὶ πνευματικός, γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος, ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος Θεὸς, ἐν θανάτῳ ζωὴ ἀληθινή, καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ, πρῶτον παθητὸς καὶ τότε ἀπαθής. The commentators are in doubt whether to read γεννητὸς and

ἀγέννητος or γεννητὸς and ἀγέννητος in this place. There is no doubt, that after the council of Nice the difference between these two expressions was carefully observed ; but earlier writers sometimes confounded them. The difference seems to have been that γεννητὸς and ἀγέννητος meant *begotten* and *not begotten*, γεννητὸς and ἀγέννητος meant *made* or *created*, and *not made* or *not*

observe upon these words, which expressly assert the two natures of Christ, except that they may remind us of the passage in John i. 14. "*The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us:*" and they may also seem to support the received reading in 1 Tim. iii. 16. *God was manifest in the flesh*, which I shall have occasion to notice more at length in a future page.

created. See Damascen. I. 9. Epiphan. Hær. LXIV. 8. vol. I. p. 532. We should therefore say of the Son, that he was γεννητός not γενητός, i. e. he was begotten of the Father, not made or created: and that he was ἀγέννητος but not ἀγέννητος. In classical writers we meet with no such distinction. We might notice θεογενής and θητογενής in two consecutive lines of Sophocles, (Antig. 834-5,) where the metre evidently decides the omission or insertion of the ν. Cicero also in translating a passage from the Phædrus of Plato, ἀρχὴ δὲ ἀγέννητον, renders it, *principiū autem nulla est origo*, and ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀγέννητόν ἐστι, *quod si nunquam oritur*. (Tusc. Disp. I. 23.) In the same manner ecclesiastical writers sometimes confounded the terms: thus the Son was said to be ἀγέννητος, by which it was not meant that he was not begotten, but that he was not created: and Origen was greatly censured for calling the Son γεννητός Θεός though he certainly did not mean, that he was a created God; for in one of his works (c. Cels. VI. 17. p. 643.) he expressly calls him ἀγέννητον, un-

created. The fact is, that Origen, like the writers before and after him, used the terms without reflection, and it is probable that Ignatius did so in this place, where he wished to mark the antithesis of the two natures in Christ, according to one of which he might be said to be made, like any other man, but according to his divine nature, he was, like God, uncreated. Athanasius asserts that the Arians first insisted upon the exclusive application of ἀγέννητος to God the Father, meaning thereby to include the Son among γενητά. If this be true, it would account for the confusion of terms in the writers who went before him. De Decret. Syn. Nic. §. 28. vol. I. p. 233. cf. Orat. I. contra Arianos, 31. p. 435. 32. p. 437. De Synodis 46. p. 760. See Bull, Defens. Fid. Nic. II. 2. 6. and 9. 9. Huet. Origeniana, II. Quæst. 2. §. 23. Suicer in voc. ἀγέννητος and γενητός. Waterland, IV. p. 239, 260. and particularly Petavius de Trin. l. V. c. 1. Instead of ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος Θεός in the above quotation, Athanasius, Theodoret, and Gelasius read ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ Θεός.

13. *Ignatii Epist. ad Eph.* c. 18. p. 15.

After quoting from St. Paul, (1 Cor. i. 20.) “*Where is the wise, where is the disputer? where is the boasting of those who are called intelligent?*” he adds, “for our God Jesus Christ was conceived by Mary, according to the dispensation of God, of the seed indeed of David, but of the Holy Ghost <sup>b</sup>.”

14. *Ignatii Epist. ad Eph.* c. 19. p. 16.

In the next chapter he alludes to the star, which guided the wise men to Bethlehem, and mentions some extraordinary circumstances, which he conceived either figuratively or literally to have attended its appearance: “Then,” he says, “all magic art was destroyed, and every bond of iniquity was abolished; ignorance was put away, the old kingdom was destroyed, when God was manifested humanly for the newness of eternal life <sup>c</sup>.”

15. *Ignatii Epist. ad Magnes.* c. 6. p. 19.

The preexistence of Christ in union with the Father is asserted in the following passage, where, speaking of Christ, Ignatius adds, “who was with the Father before the worlds, and appeared at the end <sup>d</sup>.——”

16. *Ignatii Epist. ad Trall.* c. 7. p. 23.

Having warned the people of Tralles to beware of heretics, Ignatius has these words, “Keep yourselves then from such men: and you will do this, if ye are not puffed up, and if ye do not separate from God Jesus Christ <sup>e</sup>.”

<sup>b</sup> Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκκοφορήθη ὑπὸ Μαρίας κατ' οἰκονομίαν Θεοῦ, ἐκ σπέρματος μὲν Δαβὶδ, πνεύματος δὲ ἁγίου.

<sup>c</sup> — Θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερο-

μένου εἰς καινότητα αἰδίου ζῴης.

<sup>d</sup> — ὃς πρὸ αἰῶνων παρὰ πατρὶ ἦν, καὶ ἐν τέλει ἐφάνη.

<sup>e</sup> — καὶ οὐσιν ἀχωρίστοις Θεοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. I have tried to

17. *Ignatii Epist. ad Rom. c. 3. p. 26-7.*

The title of the Epistle to the Romans has been alluded to above at p. 16. In the third chapter he exhorts the Romans to pray for him, that he might be a Christian, not outwardly only; but inwardly; "That I may not only be called a Christian, but really proved to be so; for if I am proved, I may easily have the name, and may be faithful even when I make no appearance to the world; nothing that is seen is eternal: for the things which are seen are for a season only, but those which are not seen are eternal<sup>f</sup>: for our God Jesus Christ is rather seen by his existence in the Father<sup>g</sup>." This passage is somewhat obscure and difficult to be translated, but the meaning of Ignatius seems to have been this. Having said, that whatever is visible to the eye is not eternal, he was aware that it might be said, that Jesus Christ, since he became visible to us in the flesh, is not eternal. He therefore guards against such an inference by saying, that though Jesus Christ had been really and actually seen in his human nature, yet the only way in which we can fitly contemplate him is as existing in the Father: and thus his former remark holds good. Jesus Christ was seen in the flesh, for a season only: but as existing in the Father, and partaking of His godhead, he cannot be seen, and is eternal. In whatever manner we translate the sentence, Ignatius expressly says, that Christ is *God*, and that he is *in the Father*.

translate the last words literally: otherwise the *God Jesus Christ*, or our *God Jesus Christ*, would sound better in English.

<sup>f</sup> See 2 Cor. iv. 18.

<sup>g</sup> οὐδὲν φαινόμενον αἰώνιον· τὰ γὰρ φαινόμενα πρόσκαιρα· τὰ δὲ μὴ βλέπομενα αἰώνια· ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν πατρὶ ὧν μᾶλλον φαίνεται.

18. *Ignatii Epist. ad Rom. c. 6. p. 28-9.*

Being now on his journey to Rome, whither he was going that he might be exposed to wild beasts in the Amphitheatre, he tells his brethren at Rome not to make any interest for his life ; he was willing to die : “ Suffer me to catch the pure light ; when I am arrived thither, I shall be a man of God : permit me to imitate the suffering of my God<sup>h</sup>.” It need not be observed that he alludes to the sufferings of God the Son.

19. *Ignatii Epist. ad Smyrn. c. 1. p. 33.*

This Epistle begins with an express declaration of the divinity of Christ. “ I glorify Jesus Christ, the God who hath endued you with such wisdom<sup>i</sup>.”

20. *Ignatii Epist. ad Smyrn. c. 10. p. 37.*

“ As to Philo, and Rheus, and Agathopus, who have followed me in preaching the word of God, ye have done well in receiving them as ministers of Christ [our] God<sup>k</sup>.”

21. *Ignatii Epist. ad Polycarp. c. 3. p. 40.*

It is unquestionable that Ignatius refers the following expressions to Christ : “ Wait for him who is beyond all time, eternal, invisible ; who for our sakes became visible ; who was not tangible ; who was incapable of suffering, and for our sakes suffered ; who endured in various ways for us<sup>l</sup>.” It is equally certain, that these expressions maintain the eternity of Christ as well retrospectively as prospectively, and the union of the two natures in him.

<sup>h</sup> ἐπιτρέψατέ μοι μιμητὴν εἶναι πάθους τοῦ Θεοῦ μου.

<sup>i</sup> Δοξάζω Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ὄντως ἡμᾶς σοφίσαντα.

<sup>k</sup> ——— καλῶς ἐποιήσατε ὑποδεξάμενοι ὡς διακόνους Χριστοῦ Θεοῦ.

<sup>l</sup> Τὸν ὑπέρκαιρον προσδόκα, τὸν ἄχρονον, τὸν ἀόρατον, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ὄρατον, τὸν ἀψηλάφητον, τὸν ἀπαθῆ, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς παθητὸν, τὸν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπομείναντα.

Irenæus seems to have imitated this, when he says of Christ, "He is in all respects also a man, the creature of God; and therefore, summing up mankind in himself, the invisible became visible, the incomprehensible became comprehensible, the impassible became passible, and the Word became man<sup>m</sup>:" and in another place, "The Word, naturally invisible, who became palpable and visible amongst men, and descended even to death<sup>n</sup>."

*Ignatii Epist. ad Polycarp. c. ult. p. 42.*

He ends the Epistle to Polycarp with praying for his health "in our God Jesus Christ<sup>o</sup>."

Having now finished the quotations from what are called the apostolic Fathers, I cannot help bringing forward two assertions which have been made within the last half century by two writers of considerable note among the Unitarians. Lindsey, in p. 158. of his Apology, uses these words: "Those very early Fathers, Irenæus and Justin Martyr, although free from any thing bordering on such extravagancies, [those of the Docetæ,] did nevertheless contribute to bring into Christianity the Platonic doctrine of a *second God*, which they had learnt before their conversion to the faith." The passage is rather oddly worded; but the meaning of it is plain, that Justin (for he wrote before Irenæus) was the first of the Fathers who speaks of

<sup>m</sup> In omnibus autem est et homo, plasmatio Dei; et hominem ergo in semetipsum recapitulans eat, invisibilis visibilis factus, et incomprehensibilis factus comprehensibilis, et impassibilis passibilis, et Verbum homo. III. 16. 6. p. 206.

<sup>n</sup> Et hujus Verbum, naturaliter quidem invisibilem, palpabilem et visibilem in hominibus factum, et usque ad mortem descendisse. IV. 24. 2. p. 260.

<sup>o</sup> Ἐβρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς διὰ παντός ἐν Θεῷ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ εὐχομαι.



**Christ as God.** Dr. Priestley<sup>p</sup> expresses himself more plainly, and says, that “we find nothing like divinity ascribed to Jesus Christ before Justin Martyr.”

I do not wish to enter into any examination of these sentiments. I have laid before the reader, and I trust not unfairly, the words of those writers who lived before the time of Justin Martyr; and the reader will decide whether Mr. Lindsey and Dr. Priestley have given a true account of the doctrine of the apostolic Fathers. But there is another assertion of Dr. Priestley, which may be refuted more precisely. He says, “that Justin Martyr is the first writer who mentions the miraculous conception<sup>q</sup>.” The reader is referred to the words of Ignatius, given at N<sup>o</sup>. 12. and 13. which shew that this writer believed Mary to have been a virgin: and in another place<sup>r</sup> Ignatius says, that “the virginity of Mary was unknown to the prince of this world.” He also alludes to the star which appeared at the birth of Christ, which shews that he believed the beginning of St. Matthew’s Gospel to be genuine.

#### JUSTIN MARTYR. A. D. 150.

Justin Martyr was born in Flavia Neapolis, the place which was anciently called Sychem, in Samaria; and, according to Fabricius, his birth took place about the year 89, though others place it later. After having studied philosophy in various

<sup>p</sup> History of Corruptions, vol. I. p. 32. He says of the Epistle of Clement, that “it contains no such doctrine as those of the divinity or preexistence

“of Christ.” History of early Opinions, I. p. 93.

<sup>q</sup> History of early Opinions, vol. IV. p. 107.

<sup>r</sup> Ep. ad Eph. c. 19. p. 16.

schools, he was converted to Christianity, as some<sup>s</sup> think, about the year 133. The principal works of his, which have come down to us, are two Apologies, or Defences of Christianity, presented to Roman emperors; and a Dialogue, or Disputation, with Trypho, a Jew. The first Apology is supposed by some critics to have been presented to the emperor Antoninus Pius in the year 140, but others<sup>t</sup> bring it down to 150. After this, he went again to Asia, where he held his disputation with Trypho the Jew: and different dates have been assigned for the publication of this Dialogue. Scaliger<sup>u</sup> thought that it was written in the reign of Hadrian; but it is the opinion of Pearson, Du Pin, and almost every other critic, that it was published in the reign of Antoninus Pius, some<sup>x</sup> ascribing it to the year 140, others<sup>y</sup> to 155. Coming to Rome a second time, he presented his second Apology to the emperor M. Aur. Antoninus, probably about the year 162. That he died a martyr for the Christian faith, is an undoubted fact, as is shewn by the name which he always bears. His death is supposed by some<sup>z</sup> to have happened in 164, by others<sup>a</sup> in 168. Epiphanius is undoubtedly wrong, who says that he died at the age of 30, in the reign of Hadrian<sup>b</sup>.

These dates, though they differ so much from one another, sufficiently confirm the assertion of Methodius<sup>c</sup> and Eusebius<sup>d</sup>, that Justin was not far

<sup>s</sup> Tillemont. Cave.

<sup>t</sup> Tillemont. Grabe.

<sup>u</sup> Animadv. in Chron. Eus. p. 229.

<sup>x</sup> Pagi. Basnage.

<sup>y</sup> Massuet.

<sup>z</sup> Cave. Fabricius.

<sup>a</sup> Tillemont.

<sup>b</sup> This is demonstrated by Petavius in a learned and valuable note upon Epiph. Hær. XLVI. vol. II. p. 81.

<sup>c</sup> Photius, Cod. 234.

<sup>d</sup> H. E. II. 13.

removed from the apostolic times. His first work was written in the former part of the second century, when many persons must have been alive who had seen the apostles<sup>c</sup>; at all events the interval was not so great, as to allow the probability of his introducing any new doctrines of his own. We have seen that Mr Lindsey accused him of having done so, by "bringing into Christianity the Platonic doctrine of a *second God*." Had we found no traces of Jesus being called God either in the New Testament, or in the works of the apostolic Fathers, it would have been difficult, perhaps impossible, to refute this assertion. As it is, the truth or falsehood of it will appear by an examination of the writings of those who preceded him; and Mr. Lindsey himself must be cited as a witness to the fact, that Justin Martyr at least speaks of Christ as God. Dr. Priestley indeed says<sup>f</sup>, "We can hardly doubt (whether Justin confesses it or not) that the doctrine of the simple humanity of Christ must have been the prevailing one in his time." Now, with Dr. Priestley's permission, I would observe, that what he seems to treat as an unimportant point, viz. *whether Justin asserts it or not*, is a point of the greatest importance; or rather it is the only means which we have of judging of the accuracy of his statement. For his assertion reduces him to this alternative. If the simple humanity of Christ was the prevailing doctrine of Justin's days, the works of Justin must contain that doctrine. If he admits

<sup>c</sup> Quadratus, who wrote about A. D. 124, said that persons were alive even in his days who had been cured by Christ, Eus. H. E. IV. 3.

<sup>f</sup> History of early Opinions, III. p. 287.

that they do not, but contends that Justin did not speak the sentiments of his contemporaries, I then ask, how are we to know what was the doctrine of those days, when no other works of the first forty years of the second century have come down to us, except those of Justin Martyr? It must therefore be important to decide the fact, whether Justin did or did not believe in the simple humanity of Christ: and the following quotations may perhaps assist us in coming to a conclusion.

We may also remember the assertion of Eusebius, which has been before alluded to, that Justin, Miltiades, &c. all spoke of Christ as God: so that Eusebius at least was not of the same opinion as Dr. Priestley. But one of the most daring assertions ever uttered is made by Dr. Priestley in another place <sup>g</sup>, where, speaking of the miraculous conception, he represents Justin Martyr as saying to a Jew, "that he was at full liberty to think as he should see reason to do on that subject; and that he might be as good a Christian as the Ebionites were before him, though he should believe no more of the miraculous conception than they had done." This is an entire invention. Justin, throughout his Dialogue with Trypho, never makes any concession of the kind: on the contrary, he frequently insists on the miraculous conception as a necessary article of belief. References to the passages may be found in the note <sup>h</sup>.

The reader is also referred to Dr. Waterland for

<sup>g</sup> History of early Opinions, p. 163. c. 75. p. 172. c. 76. IV. p. 13. p. 173. c. 84. p. 181. c. 100.

<sup>h</sup> Dial. cum Tryph. c. 43. p. 195.  
p. 139, &c. c. 63. p. 160. c. 66.

an able exposition of the doctrine of Justin Martyr concerning the divinity of Christ. III. p. 249. &c.

23. *Justin. Apol.* 1<sup>a</sup>. c. 63. p. 81.

This first quotation is taken from the Apology or Defence which, as stated above, Justin Martyr presented in the year 140, or 150, to the emperor Antoninus Pius, and, in fact, to the senate and people of Rome.

Like many other of the Fathers, he conceived that it was Christ who talked with Moses out of the bush; and he condemns the Jews for confounding God the Father with His Son. "The Jews, who think that it was always God the Father who spoke to Moses, (whereas he who spoke to him was the Son of God, who is also called an Angel, and an Apostle <sup>i</sup>,) are justly convicted both by the prophetic spirit <sup>k</sup>, and by Christ himself, for knowing neither the Father nor the Son. For they, who say that the Son is the Father, are convicted of neither knowing the Father, nor of understanding that the God of the universe has a Son: who, being the first-born Word of God, is also God. And formerly he appeared to Moses and to the other prophets in the form of fire and an incorporeal image: and now in the time of your empire, becoming man by a virgin, accord-

<sup>i</sup> Αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀπαγγέλλει ὅσα δεῖ γνωσθῆναι, καὶ ἀποστέλλεται μνησῶν ὅσα ἀγγέλλεται. Justin. *ib.* When he says that Christ is called *an Angel*, he alludes to Exod. iii. 2. Isaiah ix. 6. (according to the Septuagint,) lxiii. 9. Mal. iii. 1. As to his being called *an Apostle*, he must allude to Heb. iii. 1. which is the

only place in the scriptures in which Christ is called an Apostle; though the promise of the *Shiloh*, or *the Sent*, must have made the Jews acquainted with this as one of the titles of the Messiah.

<sup>k</sup> In allusion to Isaiah i. 3. and Matt. xi. 27. as he himself tells us.

“ing to the Father’s will, he endured to be despised and to suffer for the salvation of those who believe in him <sup>1</sup>.”

We need not enter into the inquiry, whether Justin was right in considering it to have been Christ who spoke to Moses. The change of person from the Angel of the Lord to the Lord himself in this place, and in Gen. xix. and elsewhere, shews that something more was intended, than an ordinary revelation by one of the ministering and created spirits. The explanation given by Justin Martyr and the other Fathers *may* perhaps be the true one: but it is sufficient for our purpose that they held such a notion; which they could not have done, if they believed in *the simple humanity of Christ*. Could Christ have said, *I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob*, if he had not been very God, one with the Father? Or could he have spoken to Moses at all, if he had no existence previous to his birth at Bethlehem? Justin believed that it was Christ who spoke these words: he therefore believed that Christ was the Jehovah of the Old Testament; and as he says expressly in the passage quoted above, *being the first-born Word of God, he is also God*.

Having stated that all the early Fathers agreed

<sup>1</sup> Ἰουδαῖοι ὅν ἠγγισάμενοι ἀεὶ τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὄλων λελαληκέναι τῷ Μωσῆϊ, τοῦ λαλήσαντος αὐτῷ ὄντος υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ——δικαίως ἐλέγχονται καὶ διὰ τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύματος, καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς οὔτε τὸν πατέρα οὔτε τὸν υἱὸν ἔγνωσαν. οἱ γὰρ τὸν υἱὸν πατέρα φάσκοντες εἶναι ἐλέγχονται μήτε τὸν πατέρα ἐπιστάμενοι, μήθ’ ὅτι ἐστὶν υἱὸς τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὄλων γινώσκοντες.

ὃς καὶ Λόγος πρωτότοκος ὢν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Θεὸς ὑπάρχει. καὶ πρότερον διὰ τῆς τοῦ πυρὸς μορφῆς καὶ εἰκόνας ἀσωμάτου τῷ Μωσῆϊ καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις προφήταις ἐφάνη· νῦν δ’ ἐν χρόνῳ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς——διὰ παρθένου ἀνθρώπου γενόμενος, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς βουλὴν, ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν πιστευόντων αὐτῷ καὶ ἐξουθενηθῆναι καὶ παθεῖν ὑπέμεινεν.

with Justin Martyr in referring these manifestations of Jehovah in the Old Testament to God the Son, I must interrupt the series of quotations for a short time in order to prove this point: but the instances being so many, I shall only mention a few of them, marking the passages in the Old Testament, and giving references to the works of the Fathers, in which these interpretations may be found.

It was Christ who talked with Adam, Gen. iii. 8, 9. where the person is said to be *the Lord God*, v. Theophil. in Autol. II. 22. Tertull. adv. Prax. c. 16. p. 509. Irenæus, IV. 10. p. 239.

It was Christ who spoke to Noah, Gen. vi. 13. Irenæus, IV. 10.

It was Christ who went down to confound the tongues at Babel, Gen. xi. 5. where it is said that it was *the Lord*. Justin. M. Dial. cum Tryph. c. 127. p. 220. Tertull. adv. Prax. c. 16. p. 509. Novatian. c. 25. p. 723.

It was Christ who “*appeared to Abram, and said unto him, I am the Almighty God.*” Gen. xvii. 1. Justin. M. Dial. cum Tryph. c. 127. p. 220. Clem. Alex. Pæd. I. 7. p. 131.

It was Christ who appeared to Abraham in the plains of Mamre, Gen. xviii. 1. where he is called *the Lord*, and *the Judge of all the earth*, ver. 25. Justin. M. Dial. cum Tryph. c. 56. p. 152. Clem. Alex. Pæd. I. 7. p. 131. Tertull. adv. Marc. III. 9. p. 402. Origen. in Gen. Hom. IV. 3.

It was Christ who rained fire upon Sodom, Gen. xix. 24. The Fathers particularly mention the expression, “*then the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord.*” Justin. M. Dial. cum Tryph. c. 56. p. 152: c. 127.

p. 221. Irenæus, III. 6. p. 180. Tertull. adv. Prax. 13, 16. p. 507, 509.

It was Christ who tempted Abraham, Gen. xxii. Origen. in Gen. Hom. VIII. 8. Cyp. Test. II. 5. p. 286.

It was Christ who appeared to Jacob, Gen. xxviii. 13. where the person calls himself "*the Lord God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac.*" Justin. M. Dial. cum Tryph. c. 58. p. 156. Clem. Alex. Pæd. I. 7. p. 131.

It was Christ who spoke to Jacob in a dream, Gen. xxxi. 11, 13. where he calls himself *the God of Bethel.* (see Gen. xxviii. 13, 19.) Justin. M. Dial. cum Tryph. c. 58. p. 155. Cyp. Test. II. 5. Novatian. c. 27. p. 725.

It was Christ who wrestled with Jacob, Gen. xxxii. 24. where it is expressly said that he was God, ver. 28, 30. Justin. M. Dial. cum Tryph. c. 58. p. 155, 156. c. 125. p. 218. Irenæus, p. 239. Clem. Alex. Pæd. I. 7. p. 132. Concil. Antioch. (Reliq. Sacr. II. p. 470.)

It was Christ who appeared to Jacob, Gen. xxxv. 1, 9. Justin. M. Dial. cum Tryph. c. 58. p. 155. where he says, "he is called God, and is God, and "will be<sup>m</sup>." Cyp. Test. II. 6.

It was Christ who appeared to Moses in the bush, Exod. iii. 2. where the person calls himself "*the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.*" and at ver. 14. "*I am that I am.*" Justin. M. Apol. I. 62. p. 80. Dial. cum Tryph. c. 60. p. 157. Irenæus, IV. 10, 12. Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 7. Tertull. adv. Jud. c. 9. p. 194.

<sup>m</sup> Θεός καλεῖται, καὶ Θεός ἐστι, καὶ ἔσται.



It was Christ who said to Moses, (Exod. xx. 2.)  
 “ *I am the Lord thy God, which have brought  
 thee out of the land of Egypt.*” Clem. Alex. Pæd.  
 I. 7. p. 131.

It was Christ who spoke to Moses, Levit. vi. 1.  
 and consequently who delivered the whole of the  
 law. Origen. in Levit. Hom. IV. init.

It was Christ who appeared to Joshua near Je-  
 richo, Josh. v. 13. Justin. M. Dial. cum Tryph. c. 62.  
 p. 159-60.

These instances might be multiplied so as to make  
 a volume; but enough perhaps has been said to shew,  
 that all the Fathers agreed in entertaining the same  
 opinion<sup>n</sup>. I again repeat, that I am not concerned  
 to inquire into the soundness of this opinion: but  
 the Fathers, who held it, could not have believed  
 that Christ was a mere man, nor even an angel:  
 they assert over and over again, that the person who  
 appeared to the patriarchs could not be an angel,  
 because he is called God and Jehovah: and they as  
 expressly assert, that he who revealed himself as  
 God and Jehovah, was not the Father, but the Son.  
 See Bull, Defens. Sect. IV. 3. and Waterland’s Works,  
 II. p. 20. I may add, that the Arians openly pro-  
 fessed their belief that it was Christ, “ to whom the  
 “ Father said, *Let us make man, &c.* who was seen  
 “ by the patriarchs face to face, who gave the law,  
 “ and spake by the prophets, &c.” Eusebius, who  
 has been suspected of Arianism, devotes the fifth  
 book of his *Demonstratio Evangelica* to establishing  
 this point. See also the same work, I. 5. p. 11.

<sup>n</sup> St. Paul himself seems to give some countenance to this doctrine, 1 Cor. x. 9.      <sup>o</sup> Athanas. de Synodis, vol. I. p. 740. See also p. 743.

We will now return to the testimonies from Justin Martyr.

24. *Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. c. 34. p. 130.*

One of Justin's longest works is a Dialogue or Disputation which he held at Ephesus with a Jew, named Trypho, in the year 140 or 155. After having shewn that the Jews misinterpreted many passages of scripture, he brings forward the 72d Psalm, beginning with "*Give the king thy judgments.*" His words are, "Where it is said, *O God, give thy judgment to the king*, since Solomon was a king, "you think that the Psalm was spoken in honour "of him; whereas the words of the Psalm expressly "declare that it is spoken in honour of the eternal "King, that is, Christ: for Christ is declared to be "a King, and a Priest, and God, and Lord, and "Angel, and Man, and Chief-captain, and a Stone, "and a Child born; and first made capable of suffering, then returning into heaven, and again "coming hither with glory, and in possession of the "eternal kingdom, as I prove from all the scriptures<sup>p</sup>." He then quotes the whole Psalm; and having finished it, he shews that though Solomon was a great king, there are many expressions in the Psalm which did not apply to Solomon, and were never fulfilled in him.

All Christian writers, ancient and modern, have agreed in interpreting this prophetic Psalm of the reign of the Messiah: but what we have chiefly to

<sup>p</sup> — τῶν λόγων τοῦ ψαλμοῦ στρατήγος, καὶ λίθος, καὶ παιδίον διαβήθη κηρυσσόντων εἰς τὸν αἰώνιον γενόμενον, καὶ παθητὸς γενόμενος βασιλεία, ταυτέστιν εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν, πρῶτον, εἶτα εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνερχόμενος, εἰρησθαι. ὁ γὰρ Χριστὸς βασιλεὺς, καὶ πάντων παραγινόμενος μετὰ δόξης, καὶ ἱερὺς, καὶ Θεὸς, καὶ Κύριος, καὶ καὶ αἰώνιον τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχων κηρυσσόντων, καὶ ἄγγελος, καὶ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ἀρχικήρκεται.

observe in the comment of Justin Martyr is, that he not only calls Christ *the eternal King*, but he expressly calls him *God*; and when he speaks of his ascension into heaven, he not merely says that he went thither, but that he *returned* thither, as in John vi. 62. thereby clearly asserting the preexistence of Christ.

25. *Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. c. 35. p. 132.*

Trypho having objected the corrupt practices of some who called themselves Christians, Justin acknowledges, that there were persons whose doctrine and practice were wholly contrary to the religion which they professed: but he adds, that such persons were not owned or received by sound Christians. “ We hold no communion with them, knowing them to be impious, and irreligious, and unjust, and lawless; and instead of worshipping Jesus, they confess him only in name<sup>9</sup>.” Justin Martyr therefore, and all true Christians, worshipped Christ: and yet Mr. Lindsey argues at some length<sup>r</sup>, that Christ is not to be worshipped; and at p. 141-2. he says, “ the opinion and practice of the ancient Christians before the council of Nice has been often shewn from their writings;” by which he must mean, that it has been often shewn, that the Christians before the council of Nice did not worship Christ. Justin Martyr, as appears from the present quotation, does not support Mr. Lindsey’s assertion; and at p. 160. after quoting great part of the 45th Psalm, he draws this conclusion from it; “ Now that he, who is testified of by the

<sup>9</sup> Ὅτι οὐδενὶ κοινωνοῦμεν, οἱ γνωρίζοντες ἀθέους καὶ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἀδίκους καὶ ἀνόμους αὐτοῦς ὑπάρχοντας,

καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ τὸν Ἰησοῦν σέβειν, ὀνόματι μόνον ὁμολογεῖν.

<sup>r</sup> Apol. p. 136, &c.

“ doer of these things, is *to be worshipped*, and is “ God and Christ, the words of this Psalm plainly “ shew<sup>s</sup>.” And at p. 165. “ Do you think that any “ other person is mentioned in the scriptures, who “ is *to be worshipped*, and is Lord and God, except “ Him who is the Creator of the world, and Christ, “ who has been proved by so many texts to have “ taken a human nature ?” See also N<sup>o</sup>. 29. Such were the sentiments of Justin Martyr concerning the worship of Christ. In a future page we shall see what were the doctrines of other of the Fathers upon this point. See N<sup>o</sup>. 73.

26. *Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. c. 36. p. 133.*

Justin begins a new line of argument with these words: “ You must allow me in the first place to “ quote such prophecies as I please, to prove that “ Christ is called God, and Lord of Hosts<sup>u</sup>, and “ figuratively Jacob by the Holy Ghost<sup>x</sup>.” He then adduces the whole of the 24th Psalm, and makes this comment upon it; “ That Solomon is not the “ Lord of Hosts has been proved: but when our “ Christ rose from the dead, and ascended into

<sup>s</sup> “Οτι γοῦν καὶ προσκυνητός ἐστι καὶ Θεὸς καὶ Χριστὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ ταῦτα ποιήσαντος μαρτυρούμενος, καὶ οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι διαβήρηθην σημαίνουσι. Dial. cum Tryph. c. 63.

<sup>t</sup> Μὴ τι ἄλλον τινα προσκυνητὸν, καὶ Κύριον, καὶ Θεὸν λεγόμενον ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς νοεῖτε εἶναι, πλὴν τοῦ τοῦτο ποιήσαντος τὸ πᾶν, καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς διὰ τῶν τοσούτων γραφῶν ἀπεδείχθη ἡμῖν ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος; Dial. c. 68.

<sup>u</sup> I may here mention the ingenious remark of Athanasius, that the second and third Persons of the Trinity are each of

them called Lord of Hosts in the New Testament, which he proves thus: Isaiah speaks of the *Lord of Hosts* sending him to the people of Israel; (vi. 1, 3, 8, 9.) St. John says that the glory which Isaiah saw was that of *Christ*; (xii. 41.) St. Paul says that it was the Holy Ghost, who spoke to Isaiah. (Acts xxviii. 25.) *Ath. De Incarn.* 10. vol. I. p. 878.

<sup>x</sup> — εἰς ἐπίδειξιν ὅτι καὶ Θεὸς καὶ Κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ Ἰακώβ καλεῖται ἐν παραβολῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.

“ heaven, those whom God has appointed officers  
 “ in heaven are commanded to open the gates of  
 “ heaven, that he who is the King of Glory may  
 “ enter in, and, having ascended, may sit down at  
 “ the right hand of the Father, until He make his  
 “ enemies his footstool. For when the officers in  
 “ heaven saw him bearing an uncomely and undig-  
 “ nified and inglorious form, they did not recognise  
 “ him, and asked, *Who is this, the King of Glory?*  
 “ and the Holy Ghost answers them, either in the  
 “ person of the Father or in his own, *The Lord of*  
 “ *Hosts himself, he is the King of Glory.*” The  
 answer is also attributed to the Holy Ghost by Epi-  
 phanius<sup>2</sup>, but he supposed the question, *Who is*  
*this King of Glory?* to relate to his descent upon  
 earth. Eusebius supposes the words to have been  
 spoken by the angels, when Christ ascended<sup>3</sup>. In  
 another work, which has been ascribed to Epipha-  
 nius, the passage is applied to the descent of Christ  
 into hell<sup>b</sup>. Justin calls Christ the *Lord of hosts*  
 in another place<sup>c</sup>, where he says, “ Let us Gentiles  
 “ join in glorifying God, for He has visited us also :  
 “ let us glorify Him by the King of Glory, by the  
 “ Lord of Hosts.” I should not perhaps have ven-  
 tured to apply these expressions to Christ, if Justin

γ Ἀλλὰ ὁ ἡμέτερος Χριστὸς ὅτε ἐκ  
 νεκρῶν ἀνέστη καὶ ἀνέβαινεν εἰς τὸν  
 οὐρανὸν, κελεύονται οἱ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς  
 ταχθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄρχοντες  
 ἀνοῖξαι τὰς πύλας τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἵνα  
 εἰσέλθῃ αὐτὸς ὅς ἐστι βασιλεὺς τῆς  
 δόξης, καὶ ἀναβῆαι καθίσῃ κ. τ. λ.  
 —ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄρχον-  
 τες ἐώρων ἀειδῆ καὶ ἄτιμον τὸ εἶδος  
 καὶ ἀδοξον ἔχοντα αὐτὸν, οὐ γνωρί-  
 ζοντες αὐτὸν, ἐπυθάνοντο, τίς κ. τ. λ.  
 —καὶ ἀποκρίνεται αὐτοῖς τὸ πνεῦ-

μα τὸ ἅγιον ἢ ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ πα-  
 τρός, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου, Κύριος κ. τ. λ.  
 This passage is again applied to  
 Christ at p. 181-2.

<sup>2</sup> Physiol. vol. II. p. 190.

<sup>a</sup> Dem. Evang. VI. 2. p. 260.

<sup>b</sup> In Sepulchrum Christi, vol.  
 II. p. 272.

<sup>c</sup> Dial. cum Tryph. 29. p. 126.

Δοξάσωμεν αὐτὸν διὰ τοῦ βασιλείως  
 τῆς δόξης, διὰ τοῦ κυρίου τῶν δυνά-  
 μων.

had not so applied them in the passage quoted above; and at p. 182. he says that this Psalm and other passages of the scriptures declare him to be the *Lord of Hosts*. Compare Hippolytus, N<sup>o</sup>. 155.

The next passage which he quotes is Psalm xlvii. from ver. 5. to the end, “*God is gone up with a shout,*” &c. He makes no comment upon these words; but we may observe, that no passage in the whole of the Old Testament contains more express mention of God, the Lord of heaven and earth, than this Psalm: and Justin applies it to Christ.

The next quotation is the 99th Psalm, “*The Lord reigneth,*” &c. which he prefaces by saying, “The Holy Ghost also reproaches you in the 98th (99) Psalm, and shews that he, whom you will not have for your King, is King and Lord even of Samuel, and Aaron, and Moses, and all other persons whatever <sup>d</sup>.”

27. *Justin. Dial. cum Tryph.* c. 48. p. 143.

We may now give the sentiments of Justin Martyr in the words of Trypho. The Jew, after some time, addresses him thus: “I have heard your opinion upon these matters; resume the argument therefore where you left it off, and finish it; for it seems to me to be extraordinary, and one that cannot be demonstrated at all. For as to what you say, that this Christ had a previous existence, being God before the worlds, that he then endured even to become a man, and to be born, and that he is not man, born of man, this appears to me not only extraordinary, but absurd <sup>e</sup>.”

<sup>d</sup> Καὶ ἐν ἐνενηκιστῷ ὀγδοῦ ψαλμῷ ὀνειδίζει ἡμᾶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· καὶ τοῦτον ὃν μὴ θέλετε βασιλέα εἶναι, βασιλέα καὶ Κύριον καὶ τοῦ Σα-

μουήλ καὶ τοῦ Ἀαρὼν καὶ Μωϋσέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἀπλῶς ὄντα μνηύει. P. 134.

<sup>e</sup> Τὸ γὰρ λέγειν σε προὔπαρχειν

I need not state the manner in which Justin reconciles this seeming contradiction: but his own opinion concerning the divine nature of Christ is very strongly expressed; when, after confessing that some, who called themselves Christians, held Christ to be a mere man, he says, "With whom I do not agree, nor would I agree, even if the majority of those who now think with me were to say so<sup>f</sup>: for we are commanded by Christ himself not to follow the doctrines of men, but those which are preached by the blessed prophets, and taught by himself<sup>g</sup>." Justin therefore considered that the prophecies in the Old Testament, and the gospels in the New, plainly spoke of Christ as God<sup>h</sup>.

At the end of the 54th chapter, he again very strongly asserts, "that Christ was not a mere man born in the ordinary way of men<sup>i</sup>."

28. *Justin. Dial. cum Tryph.* c. 61. p. 157.

"I will give you another proof from the scriptures, that in the beginning, before all creatures,

Θεὸν ὄντα πρὸ αἰῶνων τοῦτον τὸν Χριστὸν, εἶτα καὶ γεννηθῆναι ἄνθρωπον γενόμενον ἰπομείναι, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἀνθρώπου, οὐ μόνον παράδοξον δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μωρὸν.

<sup>f</sup> Dr. Priestley's version of this passage is very ungrammatical—"with them I do not agree, nor should I do so, though ever so many, being of the same opinion, should urge it upon me." (History of early Opinions, III. p. 279.) But when he says that nearly the most literal rendering of the passage is, "Neither do I agree with the majority of Christians, who may have objected

"to my opinion," (p. 283.) we cannot acquit him of unfairness as well as inaccuracy.

<sup>g</sup> Καὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ τινες ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους ἐμολογοῦντες αὐτὸν Χριστὸν εἶναι, ἄνθρωπον δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενόμενον ἀπαραινόμενοι· οἷς ἡ συντίθεμαι, οὐδ' ἂν πλείστοι ταῦτά μοι δοξάσαντες εἶποιεν· ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀνθρωπεύεις διδάγμασι κεκελεύεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πείθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς διὰ τῶν μακαρίων προφητῶν κηρυχθεῖσι καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ διδαχθεῖσι. P. 144-5.

<sup>h</sup> This passage is vindicated by Bull. *Judicium*, c. 7.

<sup>i</sup> —ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ Χριστὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, κατὰ τὸ κείμενον τῶν ἀνθρώπων γενηθείς. P. 150.

“ God begat a certain reasonable power of himself, which is also called by the Holy Ghost *the Glory of the Lord*, and sometimes *Son*, sometimes *Wisdom*, sometimes *an Angel*, sometimes *God*, sometimes *Lord* and *Word*<sup>k</sup>.” He then quotes Prov. viii. 22. to the end, which many of the Fathers have considered to be spoken of Christ<sup>1</sup>. He also alleges Gen. i. 26. iii. 22. Joshua v. 13—15. as all of them shewing the preexistence of Christ in the Godhead.

29. *Justin. Dial. cum Tryph.* c. 68. p. 166.

The next passage is important, as shewing the opinion which the Jews entertained concerning their Messiah. Justin's words are these: “ As to the scriptures which we quote to them, (the Jews,) which expressly prove that Christ was to suffer and to be worshipped, and that he is God, they are compelled to allow that these were spoken concerning Christ, but they have the presumption to say that this (Jesus) is not the Christ: but they acknowledge that he was to come, and to suffer, and to be a King, and to be worshipped as God<sup>m</sup>.”

<sup>k</sup> Μαρτύριον δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν δόσα, ὅτι ἀρχὴν πρὸ πάντων τῶν κτισμάτων ὁ Θεὸς γεγέννηκε δύναμιν τινὰ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ λογικὴν, ἣτις καὶ δόξα Κυρίου ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου καλεῖται κ. τ. λ.

<sup>1</sup> “The Jews of old, and the Christian church from the beginning, understood that passage of a *Person*, the *substantial Wisdom of God*, (either the Word, or the Holy Spirit, but generally the former.) And this was no matter of dispute between the catholics

“ and Ariens formerly.” Watterland, III. p. 144-5. See Irenæus, IV. 20, 3. Clem. Alex. Strom. VII. 2. p. 832. Tertull. c. Hermog. c. 18: c. Prax. c. 6. Origen. in Johan. I. 11, 17. Cyprian. Test. II. 1. Epiphanius is, I believe, the earliest writer who remarks, that this passage is not quoted in the New Testament as referring to Christ. Hær. LXIX. 20, 21, 24. vol. I. p. 743, 745, 748. Ancor. 42, 43. vol. II. p. 48.

<sup>m</sup> Ἄς δ' ἂν λέγαμεν αὐτοῖς γραφὰς, αἱ διαβήθη τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ



According to the opinion of the Jews therefore, who ought to be the best interpreters of their own prophecies, the human nature, and the humble condition of Jesus, were not the obstacles to their believing him to be the Messiah: and it was their belief, as it is that of Christians, that the Messiah, who was to come, was God. Dr. Priestley was therefore entirely at variance with Justin Martyr when he said, that “the Jews expected that their Messiah would be a *mere man*, and even be born “as other men are.” If Justin reported the opinion of the Jews fairly, their expectations concerning the Messiah were directly opposite to these: and a remarkable expression of Philo Judæus may be quoted in this place, who, when he is speaking of the repugnance felt by the Jews to pay divine honours to Caligula, observes, that “they would more easily believe that God would change into man, than a man into God<sup>o</sup>.” Origen however certainly says, that all the Jews did not expect their Messiah to come as God, or Son of God<sup>p</sup>. We may observe also, that in this and other places already quoted, (see N<sup>o</sup>. 25. p. 42.) Justin expressly says, that Christ is *to be worshipped* as God; and yet he as plainly says in many places, that there is *only one God*.

Justin’s arguments in this chapter arose from the

παθητὸν καὶ προσκυνητὸν καὶ Θεὸν ἀποδεικνύουσιν——ταύτας εἰς Χριστὸν μὲν εἰρῆσθαι ἀναγκαζόμενοι συντίθενται, τοῦτον δὲ μὴ εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν τολμῶσι λέγειν· ἐλεύσεσθαι δὲ καὶ παθεῖν, καὶ βασιλεῦσαι, καὶ προσκυνητὸν γενέσθαι Θεὸν ὁμολογούσιν.

<sup>n</sup> History of early Opinions, I. p. 23.

<sup>o</sup> Θᾶττον γὰρ ἂν εἰς ἄνθρωπον θεὸν, ἢ εἰς θεὸν ἄνθρωπον μεταβαλεῖν. De Virtut. vol. II. p. 562.

<sup>p</sup> Cont. Celsum I. 49. p. 366. and IV. 2. p. 503.

following remark of Trypho, who said to him, “ You are attempting to demonstrate a thing which is incredible and almost impossible, that God submitted to be born and to become man <sup>q</sup>.” Justin however acknowledges the proposition, and proceeds to demonstrate it.

30. *Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. c. 71. p. 169.*

In the 71st chapter of this Disputation, Justin accuses the Jews of having expunged from the Septuagint version of the Scriptures “ many passages which expressly shewed that this Jesus, who was crucified, was spoken of as God and man, and crucified and dead <sup>r</sup>.” Being asked by Trypho to name these passages, he quotes one from the book of Ezra, which is not in our copies <sup>s</sup>: he also names Jerem. xi. 19. which he says that the Jews had expunged: and he accuses them of mutilating Psalm xcvi. 10. To consider whether these charges were just or no, might lead us into an inquiry foreign from our present subject. I have quoted the passage to shew, that in Justin’s opinion the scriptures spoke of Christ as God and man.

31. *Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. c. 113. p. 206.*

Having remarked some points of resemblance between Joshua and Jesus, he mentions the following: “ In the same manner that he, and not Moses, led the people into the Holy Land, and as he divided it by lot to those who entered in with him, so also will Jesus Christ turn back the dispersion of the

<sup>q</sup> Ἀπιστον καὶ ἀδύνατον σχεδὸν πρᾶγμα ἐπιχειρεῖς ἀποδεικνῆναι, ὅτι Θεὸς ὑπέμεινε γεννηθῆναι, καὶ ἀνθρώπος γενέσθαι.

<sup>r</sup> Καὶ ὅτι πολλὰς γραφὰς τέλειον περιείλον—ἐξ ὧν διαβρήθη αὐτος

αὐτὸς ὁ σταυρωθεὶς, ὅτι Θεὸς, καὶ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ σταυρούμενος, καὶ ἀποθνήσκων κεκηρυγμένος ἀποδεικνύται.

<sup>s</sup> Lactantius quotes this passage as from the book of Ezra, Inst. IV. 18. p. 324.

“ people, and portion out the good land to each ;  
 “ but not in the same way: for he (Joshua) gave  
 “ them a temporary inheritance, as not being Christ,  
 “ who is God, nor the Son of God: but He, after  
 “ the blessed resurrection, will give to us the ever-  
 “ lasting possession †.”

32. *Justin. Dial. cum Tryph.* c. 115. p. 208.

In this place also he speaks of “ Christ the Son of  
 “ the Father, our Priest and God<sup>u</sup> ;” and since the  
 context is not necessary to make the words intelli-  
 gible, I need not transcribe it.

33. *Justin. Dial. cum Tryph.* c. 125. p. 218.

Justin derives the word *Israel* from *Isra*, which  
 signifies *a conqueror*, and *el*, *strength*, “ Which it  
 “ was foretold that Christ would fulfil, when he be-  
 “ came man, by the mystery of Jacob’s wrestling  
 “ with one who was visible, inasmuch as he served  
 “ his father’s counsel; but was God, inasmuch as he  
 “ was His Son, begotten before the whole creation<sup>x</sup>.”  
 The true etymology of *Israel* seems to be that  
 pointed out in Gen. xxxii. 28. and which is noticed  
 by Clement of Alexandria, Strom. I. 5. p. 334.

34. *Justin. Dial. cum Tryph.* c. 126. p. 219.

The next passage requires to be given more at  
 length. He says to Trypho, “ If you had known  
 “ who this is, who is called *the Angel of great*

† Οὐκέτι δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ὁ μὲν  
 γὰρ πρόσκαιρον ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὴν  
 κληρονομίαν, ὅτε οὐ Χριστὸς ὁ Θεὸς  
 ὢν, οὐδὲ υἱὸς Θεοῦ· ὁ δὲ μετὰ τὴν  
 ἀγίαν ἀνάστασιν αἰώνιον ἡμῖν τὴν  
 κατάσχεσιν δώσει.

<sup>u</sup> ——— τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἱερέως, καὶ  
 Θεοῦ, καὶ Χριστοῦ, υἱοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς  
 τῶν ὄλων.

<sup>x</sup> Ὅπερ καὶ διὰ τοῦ μυστηρίου  
 τῆς πάλης ἦν ἐπάλαισεν Ἰακώβ μετὰ  
 τοῦ φαινομένου μὲν, ἐκ τοῦ τῆ τοῦ  
 πατρὸς βουλῆ ὑπηρετεῖν, Θεοῦ δὲ, ἐκ  
 τοῦ εἶναι τέκνον πρωτότακον τῶν ὄλων  
 κτισμάτων, ἐπεκροφήτευτο αὐτῶς καὶ  
 ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος ὁ Χριστὸς ποιή-  
 σεν.

“ *Counsel* <sup>y</sup>, and by Ezekiel a man, and by Daniel “ the Son of man, and by Isaiah a child, and by “ many Christ, and God who is to be worshipped, “ and David, and Christ, and a stone, and by Solo- “ mon Wisdom, and Joseph and Judah and a star “ by Moses, and by Zechariah the East, and by “ Isaiah subject to suffering, and Jacob, and Israel, “ and a staff, and a flower, and the head stone of “ the corner, and the Son of God,—I say, if you “ had known this, you would not have spoken blas- “ phemies against him who is already come, and has “ been born and suffered, and ascended into heaven ; “ who will also come again, and then your twelve “ tribes will mourn. For if you had understood “ what the prophets have said, you would not have

<sup>y</sup> Instead of “ *Wonderful, “ Counsellor, the mighty God,*” which we read from the Hebrew at Isaiah ix. 6. the Septuagint translation substituted *Angel of great Counsel*, μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος : and since most of the Fathers followed the Septuagint, we do not find this text quoted in proof of the divinity of Christ so often as we might expect. Irenæus however quotes it literally, *Consiliarius, Deus fortis*, IV. 33, 11. p. 273. and in III. 19, 2. p. 212. *mirabilis Consiliarius et Deus fortis*. Clem. Alex. also quotes it σύμβουλος, Θεὸς δυναστής : but the words μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος precede the other, so that his copies seem to have united the two readings : Pæd. I. 5. p. 112. Tertullian read *Magni Consilii Angelus*, de Carne Christi, c. 14. p. 319. but Dionysius of Alexandria says, that Isaiah foretold the mighty

*God, God a child, and a Virgin*, &c. Θεὸν ἰσχυρὸν, Θεὸν παιδίον, κ. τ. λ. which seems to be an allusion to this text, p. 207-8. and in another place, Θεὸς ἰσχυρὸς, ἔξουσιαστής, ἄρχων εἰρήνης, πατὴρ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, p. 238. Athanasius certainly unites both readings, μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος, Θεὸς ἰσχυρὸς, ἔξουσιαστής, πατὴρ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. In Mat. XI. 27. vol. I. p. 107. and μ. β. ἄ. θαυμαστός, σύμβουλος, Θεὸς ἰσχυρὸς, κ. τ. λ. De Incarn. 22. p. 889. So also Eusebius, μ. β. ἄ. ἄρχων εἰρήνης, Θεὸς ἰσχυρὸς, ἔξουσιαστής, πατὴρ κ. τ. λ. Dem. Evang. V. 10. p. 236 : and, at p. 336. he observes that the LXX read μεγ. β. ἄγγελος, but that some copies have θαυμαστός, σύμβουλος, Θεὸς ἰσχυρὸς, ἔξουσιαστής, ἄρχων εἰρήνης, πατὴρ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. This remark is confirmed by a collation of existing MSS.

“denied him to be God, Son of the only unbegotten  
“and ineffable God<sup>2</sup>.” He then quotes Exodus  
vi. 2. Gen. xxxii. 24, 30. xviii. 2, 13, 16, 17. Numb.  
xi. 23. Deut. xxxi. 2, 3. as all making mention of  
Christ, and identifying him with God.

35. *Justin. Dial. cum Tryph.* c. 127. p. 220.

He continues the same subject in the following  
chapter, and lays it down as a general rule, that  
wherever in the Old Testament God is said to have  
appeared, or to have conversed with any man, as in  
Gen. xvii. 22. xi. 5. and vii. 16. we are not to un-  
derstand that God the Father, who is invisible, came  
down to earth, but we are to interpret all these ex-  
pressions of “him who being also God is His Son  
“according to His will, and an Angel, inasmuch as  
“he ministers to His purpose; whom He also willed  
“to become man and be born of a Virgin; who also  
“once became fire in the conversation held with  
“Moses out of the bush. For unless we put this  
“interpretation upon the scriptures, there will be  
“times when the Father and Lord of the universe  
“was not in heaven, as it is said by Moses, *The*  
“*Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah*  
“*brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven,*  
“Gen. xix. 24.—Now that Christ is Lord, and  
“substantially God the Son of God, and in times  
“past appeared potentially as a man, and an angel,  
“and in fiery glory, as he appeared in the bush, and

<sup>2</sup> Τίς δ' ἐστὶν ὁστος ὃς καὶ ἄγγε-  
λος μεγάλης βουλῆς—καὶ Θεὸς  
προσκυνητὸς—κέκληται, καὶ υἱὸς  
Θεοῦ, εἰ ἐρνῶκετε, οὐκ ἂν ἐβλασφη-  
μεῖτε εἰς αὐτὸν ἧδη καὶ παραγενό-  
μενον, καὶ γεννηθέντα, καὶ παθόντα,

καὶ ἀναβάντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν.—  
ἐπεὶ εἰ νενοήκατε τὰ εἰρημμένα ὑπὸ  
τῶν προφητῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἐξηρνεῖσθε αὐ-  
τὸν εἶναι Θεὸν, τοῦ μόνου καὶ ἀγεν-  
νήτου καὶ ἀβήτου Θεοῦ υἱόν.

“ at the judgment of Sodom, has been proved by many arguments <sup>a</sup>.”

36. *Justin. Dial. cum Tryph.* c. 129. p. 222.

He again notices the text, Gen. xix. 24. and argues from it thus: “ When it is said, *The Lord rained fire from the Lord out of heaven*, the sacred text speaks of two in number, one who was on earth, who, he says, came down to see the cry of Sodom; and the other, who was in heaven; who is also Lord of the Lord that was upon earth, inasmuch as He is Father and God, and the cause of existence to him who is himself mighty and Lord and God <sup>b</sup>.” We must remember that when we read “ *the Lord rained fire from the Lord*,” Jehovah is the Hebrew word in each case; and Justin, like the other Fathers, supposes that the Jehovah mentioned in the beginning of the verse was Christ. Justin uses the same expression of the Father and the Son being two *in number*, or *numerically*, at p. 152, 221. His meaning was, that they are two distinct persons, and not two modes or energies of the same being.

37. *Justin. Epist. ad Diognetum.* c. 7. p. 237.

Diognetus had asked Justin to solve some doubts and difficulties which he entertained concerning Christianity. In compliance with his request, Justin

<sup>a</sup> Ἄλλ' ἐκείνον τὸν κατὰ βουλὴν τὴν ἐκείνου καὶ Θεὸν ὄντα ἰδὲν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀγγελὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὑπηρετεῖν τῇ γνώμῃ αὐτοῦ· ὃν καὶ ἄνθρωπον γεννηθῆναι διὰ τῆς παρθένου βεβούληται. ὃς καὶ πῦρ ποτε γέγονε κ. τ. λ. — Καὶ ὅτι Κύριος ὢν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ Θεὸς Θεοῦ υἱὸς ὑπάρχων, καὶ δυνάμει φαινόμενος πρότερον ὡς ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ἄγγελος, καὶ ἐν πυρὸς δόξῃ — ἀποδέ-

δεικται ἐν πολλαῖς τοῖς εἰρημένοις.

<sup>b</sup> — δύο ὄντας ἀριθμῷ μηνίει ὁ λόγος ὁ προφητικὸς τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ γῆς ὄντα, ὃς φησι καταβεβηκέναι ἰδεῖν τὴν κραυγὴν Σοδόμων· τὸν δὲ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχοντα· ὃς καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ γῆς Κυρίου Κύριός ἐστιν, ὡς πατὴρ καὶ Θεός, αἰτιὸς τε αὐτῶ τοῦ εἶναι καὶ δυνατῶ καὶ Κυρίῳ καὶ Θεῷ.

wrote this letter<sup>c</sup>: and speaking of the special revelation of His will, which God had made to Christians, he says, “ This is no earthly invention which “ has been handed down to them, neither is it a “ mortal notion which they are bent upon observing “ so carefully, nor have they a system of human “ mysteries committed to them : but the omnipotent “ and all-creative and invisible God hath Himself “ from heaven established the truth amongst men, “ and the holy and incomprehensible word, and “ rooted it in their hearts : not, as you might suppose, by sending to men any of His servants, either “ an angel, or a prince, or one of those who administer the affairs of earth, or one of those who “ have the management of heavenly things intrusted “ to them, but the Framer and Creator of the universe “ himself, by whom He created the heavens, by “ whom He shut up the sea in its own bounds<sup>d</sup>.”

We have here an express declaration that Jesus Christ was *the Framer and Creator of the world*. God created them by Jesus Christ, as is said in the Epistle to the Hebrews, i. 2. and if the words quoted above are not sufficiently strong to exclude the idea of God having employed any subordinate agent, we find in the very next chapter the expression of “ *God*

<sup>c</sup> I should mention, that some persons have doubted the authenticity of it, though few the antiquity. Tillemont thought it was older than Justin, and written before A. D. 70 ; Barattier ascribed it to Clemens Romanus ; Whiston to Timothy. See Fabricius Bibl. Gr. V. p. 58. Jortin's remarks on E. H. vol. I. p. 342, &c. Gallandius in Biblioth. ascribes it to Apollon.

<sup>d</sup> ——— ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ καὶ παντοκτίστης καὶ ἀόρατος Θεὸς αὐτὸς ἀπ' οὐρανῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὸν λόγον τὸν ἅγιον καὶ ἀπερινήθην ἀνθρώποις ἐνίδρυται, καὶ ἐγκατεστήριξε ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν· οὐ, καθάπερ ἂν τις εἰκάσειεν, ἀνθρώποις ὑπηρέτην τινὰ πέμψας, ἢ ἄγγελον, ——— ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τὸν τεχνίτην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων, ὃ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἔκτισεν, ὃ τὴν θάλασσαν ἰδίῳις ὄροις ἐπέκλεισεν.

“ the Lord and Creator of the universe, who made “ all things and arranged them in order<sup>e</sup>.” Thus, according to Justin’s own words, God created the world by His Son; and His Son, by whom He created them, was God.

This passage suggests two remarks: 1. It confirms our translation of Hebrews i. 2. “ *by whom also He made the worlds.*” δι’ οὗ καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας ἐποίησεν. The *Improved Version* translates this, “ for whom also he constituted the ages,” which perhaps does not convey any very distinct idea: and Mr. Belsham, “ with a view to whom he even constituted the former dispensations<sup>f</sup>.” Justin, it appears, did not understand the passage thus: and when he says ὅ τούς οὐρανούς ἐκτίσεν, ὅ τὴν θάλασσαν, κ. τ. λ. he clearly meant that Christ was the *instrumental* and not the *final* cause. Irenæus had the same notion, who says of Christ, *per quem constituit omnia* <sup>g</sup>: and Clement of Alexandria, ὅ τὰ πάντα δεδημιούργηται <sup>h</sup>; and Tertullian, “ tradidit omnia Filio “ Creator quæ *per eum* condidit<sup>i</sup>.” We may add, that in John i. 3. and Col. i. 16. both the *Improved Version* and Mr. Belsham translate the preposition διὰ *by* and not *for*. In 1 Cor. viii. 6. the *Improved Version* translates it *by*, and Mr. Belsham *through*:

<sup>e</sup> Ὁ δεσπότης καὶ δημιουργὸς τῶν ὅλων Θεὸς, ὁ ποιήσας τὰ πάντα καὶ κατὰ τάξιν διακρίνας. p. 238.

<sup>f</sup> The creation of *the worlds* would appear to be expressed still more plainly in Heb. xi. 3. πίστει νοούμεν κατηρτίσθαι τοὺς αἰῶνας ῥήματι Θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ μὴ ἐκ φαινομένων τὰ βλεπόμενα γεγονέναι. But Mr. Belsham translates the passage thus, “ By faith we understand that the ages were

“ arranged by the power of God, “ that so what is now seen did “ not arise from things which “ before appeared:” and he explains the meaning to be, “ By “ faith we learn that the moral “ dispensations of God to man- “ kind have a supernatural ori- “ gin.”

<sup>g</sup> IV. 20. 4. p. 254.

<sup>h</sup> Cohort. ad Gent. p. 7.

<sup>i</sup> Adv. Marc. IV. 25. p. 440.



and I may add, that in 1 Cor. xv. 21. where Mr. B. lays such stress on Jesus being called a mere man, his own reasoning would totally fail, if διὰ did not signify the instrumental cause. With respect to Heb. i. 2. Mr. Belsham follows Grotius, who says, that δι' οὗ is sometimes the same as δι' οὗ. It would be satisfactory to have some instances of it. He refers us to Thucyd. VI. 7. δι' οὗπερ πάντα ἐκινδύνεον, "*for whose sake they put every thing to hazard.*" The reference is wrong, for the words occur in the 57th chapter, and nothing can be more absurd or mistaken than Mr. Belsham's translation of them. They refer to the person who was suspected by Harmodius and Aristogiton to have betrayed the conspiracy to Hippias: "they wished therefore first "to avenge themselves upon the man who had injured them, καὶ δι' οὗπερ πάντα ἐκινδύνεον, *and through "whose treachery the whole plot was in danger of "failing.*" He refers also to 1 Cor. xiv. 19. where he translates διὰ νοῦς, "with a view to be understood:" but unless νοῦς means in this place *the understanding of the person who hears the words*, which it evidently does not, this interpretation is absurd: it means the mind or understanding *of the speaker*: and Mr. Belsham may learn the use of the preposition διὰ by observing, that Marcion, who altered this passage, as he did many others, read it thus,—θέλω πέντε λόγους τῷ νοί μου λαλῆσαι διὰ τὸν νόμον. Epiphanius did not censure him for altering διὰ τοῦ νοῦς μου to τῷ νοί μου, for he knew the expressions to be equivalent, and he only reproves him for adding the words διὰ τὸν νόμον<sup>k</sup>. Schleusner, to whom Mr. B.

<sup>k</sup> Epiphanius. Hær. XLII. vol. I. p. 361-2.

refers, gives *propter* as one of the meanings of *διὰ* with a genitive: but it is plain from his examples, that he meant to use *propter* as denoting the instrumental, not the final cause. Mr. Belsham's translation of *δι' οὗ* will appear still more extraordinary, if we turn to another passage in this same Epistle to the Hebrews, ii. 10. Ἐπρεπε γὰρ αὐτῷ, δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα καὶ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα——. Here we have both constructions of the preposition *διὰ*, and we can hardly think that St. Paul considered them as identical: nor did Mr. Belsham think them so in this place, where he translates *δι' οὗ* *by whom*, though in the former passage he contends that it ought to be rendered *for whose sake*. So also in Rom. xi. 36. where we read Ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα, Mr. B. translates, *For of him and through him and to him are all things*. It appears therefore that wherever the expression is applied to God the Father, he considers *διὰ* to mean *the instrumental cause*; but when it is applied to the Son, he understands it as sometimes denoting *the final cause*, and sometimes *the instrumental*<sup>1</sup>.

The instrumentality of the Son, in creating the world, has been expressed so clearly by many of the Fathers, beside the passages quoted above, that it seems quite useless to torture the words of the apostle to the Hebrews: thus Athenagoras says, πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐγένετο, ἐνὸς ὄντος τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ. p. 287. Hippolytus says, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐποίησεν,

<sup>1</sup> Philo Judæus may shew us how the prepositions were used in his time: πρὸς τὴν τινος γένεσιν πολλά δεῖ συνελθεῖν τὸ ὑφ' οὗ, τὸ ἐξ οὗ, τὸ δι' οὗ, τὸ δι' ὃ. καὶ ἔστι μὲν τὸ ὑφ' οὗ, τὸ αἰτίων· ἐξ οὗ δὲ ἡ ἐλη-

δι' οὗ δὲ τὸ ἐργαλείον δι' ὃ δὲ, ἡ αἰτία. De Cherubim. vol. I. p. 161-2. Eusebius, when illustrating John i. 3, says ἡ Διὰ πρόθεσις τὸ ἐπιηρητικὸν σημαίνει. Ecles. Theol. II. 14. p. 122.

which according to Mr. Belsham would mean, "that *all things* were made for the sake of Christ," a position which perhaps he would not be willing to allow. The council of Antioch, speaking of the Word, say, δι' οὗ ὁ πατήρ πάντα πεποίηκεν, οὐχ ὡς δι' ὀργάνου, οὐδ' ὡς δι' ἐπιστήμης ἀνυποστάτου<sup>m</sup>, which cannot have any possible meaning, if we adopt either the grammar or the doctrine of Mr. Belsham. Origen quotes Col. i. 16. δι' οὗ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, εἴτε ὀρατὰ, κ. τ. λ.<sup>n</sup>. where St. Paul wrote ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη; and Origen's substitution of δι' οὗ for ἐν αὐτῷ shews the meaning which he attached to the words. We may therefore conclude that St. Paul, unless all the Ante-Nicene Fathers misunderstood him, meant to say, that the Father and the Son together were engaged in creating the world: and yet we find God saying in Isaiah xlv. 24. *I am the Lord that maketh all things; that stretcheth forth the heavens alone, that spreadeth abroad the earth* by myself: a declaration which can only be reconciled with the other, by supposing that the Father and the Son are one.

2. The second remark which I have to make is, that Justin Martyr expressly calls the Son δημιουργὸς τῶν ὅλων, *Creator of the universe*; which is satisfactory, because a Socinian writer<sup>o</sup> has asserted, that "the titles of τοῦ παντὸς ποιητῆς, and τῶν ὅλων δημιουργός, "were such as the writers of the second century "always distinguished the Father from the Son by." This is an unfounded statement. Many of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, beside Justin Martyr, have applied

<sup>m</sup> Reliq. Sacr. II. p. 469.

<sup>o</sup> Dr. Whitby. See Water-

<sup>n</sup> In Jerem. Hom. XV. c. 6. land, II. p. 290.  
III. p. 226.

this very title to the Son. Thus Irenæus calls our Saviour, “the only-begotten Son of God, Maker of “all things <sup>p</sup>,” and “Maker of the world <sup>q</sup> ;” and “the Word of God, Framer and Creator and Maker “of all things <sup>r</sup> ; and he speaks “of the Son creating <sup>s</sup>.” Clement of Alexandria speaks of “the “Son in the Father, the Creator <sup>t</sup> ;” and says, that “the Son has boldness of speech, because he is God “and Creator <sup>u</sup> :” and again, “Such is the Word— “the Creator of the world and of man <sup>x</sup>.” At p. 593. he calls him “God the Creator <sup>y</sup> ;” and at p. 654. “the Word, the cause of Creation <sup>z</sup>.” Hippolytus calls him “the Creator of the universe <sup>a</sup>, and “the “Maker of all things <sup>b</sup>.” Gregory of Neocæsarea calls him “the Creator and Governor of all things <sup>c</sup>.” Lastly, Dionysius of Alexandria styles him “the

<sup>p</sup> Τὸν Θεοῦ μονογενῆ πάντων ποιητήν. I. 9. 2. p. 44.

<sup>q</sup> Κόσμου ποιητήν. ib.

<sup>r</sup> Τὸν τῶν πάντων κτιστὴν καὶ δημιουργὸν καὶ ποιητὴν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ. I. 15. 5. p. 79. The term κτιστὴς, which is here applied to Christ, is used by Athanasius to express the person who creates matter out of nothing, in opposition to τεχνίτης, or the person who only employs pre-existent matter. De Incarn. 2. vol. I. p. 49.

<sup>s</sup> Τοῦ υἱοῦ δημιουργοῦντος. IV. 38. 3. p. 285.

<sup>t</sup> Δημιουργὸν υἱὸν ἐν πατρὶ. Pæd. I. 8. p. 142. see also N<sup>o</sup>. 69.

<sup>u</sup> ——— παρῆσις δὲ, ὅτι Θεὸς καὶ δημιουργός. Pæd. I. 11. p. 156.

<sup>x</sup> Τοσοῦτος ὁ Λόγος ——— ὁ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δημιουργός. Pæd. III. c. ult. p. 310.

<sup>y</sup> ——— τῷ δημιουργῷ Θεῷ, τῷ καλέσαντι ἡμᾶς, καὶ εὐαγγελισαμένῳ ἐν σώματι. Strom. IV. 8.

<sup>z</sup> Ὁ Λόγος, δημιουργίας αἴτιος. Strom. V. 3.

<sup>a</sup> Ὁ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργός. c. Beron. et Hel. vol. I. p. 230.

<sup>b</sup> Τὸν πάντων κτιστὴν. In Theophan. 2. vol. I. p. 262.

<sup>c</sup> Τῷ πάντων δημιουργῷ καὶ κυβερνήτῃ. Orat. Panegy. in Orig. c. 4. This is the only quotation which I shall make from this Father, it being very doubtful whether the other works ascribed to him are genuine. He flourished about the year 240 ; and this quotation alone would make it highly improbable that he called Jesus Christ a creature, made, as Mr. Lindsey tells us that he did not hesitate to do. (Apology, p. 204.)

“ uncreated and Creator <sup>d</sup>,” and “ Creator together  
“ with his Father <sup>e</sup>.”

I have perhaps brought more instances than what were necessary to prove the doctrine of the Fathers upon this point; but since Mr. Belsham <sup>f</sup> and the modern Unitarians assert so positively, that the scriptures say nothing about the world being created by Christ, it becomes important to see what was the interpretation given to scripture by those writers, who were more likely than ourselves to preserve the doctrine of the apostles. But after all, if we may take Dr. Priestley as speaking the acknowledged sentiments of Unitarians, it is in vain to argue with them upon this point from the writings of the Fathers, or even of the New Testament: for he says, “ I do not see that we are under any obligation to believe it (the doctrine of Christ having “ made the world) merely because it was an opinion “ held by an apostle <sup>g</sup>.” Surely Dr. Priestley, when he wrote this sentence, was well convinced that there was *an apostle* who had maintained such a doctrine. I would also remind the followers of Dr. Priestley, that the Arians applied the title of *Creator* to Christ as unequivocally as their opponents. The Arians, it is true, believed Christ to be *a creature*; but then they always added that he was not like the other creatures: thus in their longer Confession of faith they say, “ We conceive him to have been made, not “ in the same manner with the creatures or produc-

<sup>d</sup> Τὸν ἄκτιστον καὶ δημιουργόν.  
P. 212.

<sup>f</sup> *Calm Inquiry*, p. 177, &c.

<sup>g</sup> *History of early Opinions*,

<sup>e</sup> Συυδημιουργὸν τῷ πατρὶ. P. I. p. 63.

“ tions which were made by him : for it is impious  
 “ and far removed from the ecclesiastical faith to  
 “ compare the Creator with the works created by  
 “ him <sup>b</sup>.” At the beginning of this Confession they  
 applied the same term *κτίστης*, *Creator*, to God the  
 Father.

38. *Justin. Epist. ad Diognet.* c. 11. p. 240.

Justin's words are equally strong for the eternal  
 duration of the Son, when he speaks of him in this  
 same Epistle, as “ he who was from the beginning  
 “ ——who existeth for ever, in these latter days ac-  
 “ counted a Son <sup>i</sup>.”

#### TATIAN. A. D. 165.

This writer was a native of Assyria, and is said  
 to have been converted to Christianity by reading  
 the books of the Old Testament ; but the precise  
 time of his conversion is not known. Irenæus, who  
 was his contemporary, says <sup>k</sup>, that he had been a  
 disciple of Justin Martyr, and that during Justin's  
 life his opinions were perfectly sound ; but after the  
 death of that martyr, (which happened about the  
 year 168,) he adopted many strange and heretical  
 opinions. The same is said by Epiphanius <sup>l</sup>. The  
 sect of the Encratites claimed him as one of their  
 principal supporters <sup>m</sup> ; and he is supposed to have  
 adopted in part the heresies of Marcion and Valen-

<sup>h</sup> Οὐχ ὁμοίως αὐτὸν τοῖς δι' αὐτοῦ  
 γενομένοις κτίσμασιν ἢ ποιήμασι γε-  
 γενῆσθαι νοούμεν' ἀσεβὲς γὰρ καὶ  
 τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς πίστεως ἀλλό-  
 τριον, τὸ τὸν κτίστην τοῖς δι' αὐτοῦ  
 κекτισμένοις δημιουργήμασι παραβάλ-  
 λειν. Ath. de Synodis. vol. I.  
 p. 741.

<sup>i</sup> Οὗτος ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ὁ καινὸς φα-  
 νείσ——αὐτος ὁ ἀεὶ, σήμερον υἱὸς λο-  
 γισθείς. The text is deficient in  
 this place.

<sup>k</sup> I. 28. p. 107.

<sup>l</sup> Hær. XLVI. vol. I. p. 391.

<sup>m</sup> Epiphanius. l. c.

tinus <sup>n</sup>. This however does not affect the authority of the only work which has come down to us from him, and which was certainly written before he had any heretical opinions <sup>o</sup>: to which I may add, that the heresies which he adopted were the very opposite of those which maintain the simple humanity of Jesus. He in fact became heretical, by carrying the notion of Christ's divinity too far, and not allowing him to have had a human nature <sup>p</sup>.

The work which has survived is an Oration directed against the superstitions of the heathen, and, according to Lardner, was written about the year 165. Eusebius informs <sup>q</sup> us that he wrote many books, but all the rest are lost: he also says, that Tatian spoke of Christ as God. V. 28.

39. *Tatian. Orat. c. Græcos.* c. 13. p. 255.

The opinion, which Tatian held concerning the divine nature of Christ, could not be more plainly expressed than by his calling the Spirit "the minister of God who suffered:" in which passage *God* must be referred to Christ, who suffered in his human nature.

40. *Tatian. Orat. c. Græcos.* c. 21. p. 262.

Nor is the following passage less express;—"We are not talking foolishly, nor do we relate idle tales, when we declare that God was born in the form of man <sup>s</sup>."

#### ATHENAGORAS. A. D. 170.

Little is known of this Father, except that he was

<sup>n</sup> Theodoret. Hær. Fab. I. 20. vol. IV. p. 208.

<sup>o</sup> Eusebius, in his Chronicle, says, that his heresy began about the year 172.

<sup>p</sup> Vid. Theodoret. ut supra.

<sup>q</sup> IV. 29.

<sup>r</sup> Τὸν διάκονον τοῦ πεπονητότος Θεοῦ.

<sup>s</sup> Οὐ γὰρ ματαινομεν, οὐδὲ λήρους ἀπαγγέλλομεν, Θεὸν ἐν ἀνθρώπου μορφῇ γεγονέναι καταγγέλλοντες.

converted to Christianity by reading the scriptures, and that he flourished under the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. He is also said to have been the master of Clement of Alexandria.

Only one of his works has come down to us, an Apology, or Defence of Christianity, which, in the opinion of some critics, was presented to M. Aur. Antoninus and L. Aur. Commodus; while others think that it was presented to M. Antoninus and L. Verus. These two opinions naturally cause a difference as to its probable date. Some assign it to the year 166; others, with whom Lardner agrees, to 177 or 178. There is no writer in the second century, who has left such express declarations of a belief in a Trinity, as Athenagoras: but at present I shall only quote from him one passage, which speaks of the divinity of the Son.

41. *Athenag. Legat. pro Christianis.* c. 30. p. 308.

Having before noticed the charge brought against the Christians of being atheists, Athenagoras uses these remarkable words; "That we are not atheists, "since we consider as God the Creator of this universe, and the Word, which is of Him, has been "proved, if not suitably to the subject, at least to "the utmost of my power<sup>t</sup>." By every rule of grammar and of sense we must refer the word Θεὸν, *God*, both to the Creator of the universe and to the Word. Athenagoras says, that Christians believed in both, but he speaks of them in the singular number, as *God*.

MELITO. A. D. 175.

Melito was bishop of Sardes in Asia, and pre-

<sup>t</sup> Ὡς μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐσμὲν ἄθεοι, παντὸς, καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ Λόγον Θεὸν ἄγοντες τὸν ποιητὴν τοῦδε τοῦ —ἐλλέγομαι.



sented an Apology to the emperor M. Antoninus. Cave considers him to have flourished about the year 170, Lardner in 177. A catalogue of his works may be seen in Eusebius<sup>u</sup>: but nothing has come down to us except a few fragments, which are collected by Dr. Routh in his *Reliquiæ Sacræ*. These fragments will perhaps be thought to confirm the impression which they had produced upon the mind of Eusebius<sup>x</sup>, who asks, "Who is ignorant of the "books of Irenæus and Melito, which declare Christ "to be God and man?"

Jerom as well as Eusebius mention a book to have been written by him, which was entitled, *Περὶ ἐνσωμάτου Θεοῦ*. We might naturally have considered this work to have treated of *the incarnation of Christ*; but some writers have charged Melito with heresy in the composition of this book, supposing him to have maintained the notion that God had a body such as we have. Coteler<sup>y</sup>, Grabe<sup>z</sup>, and Beau-sobre<sup>a</sup> are of this opinion, whose authority I do not venture to question: but it may be mentioned, that Anastasius Sinaïta, a writer of the sixth century, has given an extract from a work of Melito, called *Περὶ σαρκώσεως Χριστοῦ*, which contains, as will be seen, the most unequivocal assertions of the divinity of Christ. The writers above named did not however think that the work entitled *Περὶ ἐνσωμάτου Θεοῦ*, and that *Περὶ σαρκώσεως Χριστοῦ*, were the same.

42. *Melito ex Apol. (Rel. Sacr. vol. I. p. 112.)*

"We are not worshippers of senseless stones, but  
"of the only God, who was before all things, and is

<sup>u</sup> IV. 26.

<sup>x</sup> V. 28.

<sup>a</sup> Hist. de Manichée. vol. I.

<sup>y</sup> Clem. Hom. XVII. p. 738. p. 474.

<sup>z</sup> Annotata in Bull. Def. II. 5.

“ above all things : and also of his Christ, who was “ verily God, the Word, before the worlds <sup>b</sup>.” It may be said, that I have not translated these words fairly, and that Θεοῦ Λόγου means *the word of God*, and not *God the Word*. It is however only necessary to read the Fathers, to be convinced that these words can have but one meaning, which is to give the appellation of God to the Word. We find in a multiplicity of instances Θεὸς Λόγος, τῷ Θεῷ Λόγῳ, τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον, where there is no room for a difference of interpretation : and though I would not contend that Θεοῦ Λόγου cannot signify *the word of God*, it is surely not too much to say, that the position of the Greek words, standing as they do without any article, requires us to translate them as I have done. I consider them as equivalent to *God who was the Word*, or *the Word who was God*, for the idiom of our language compels us to add something to the simplicity of the Greek ; and, according to our form of expression, they contain a plainer and fuller assertion of Christ’s divinity than the more usual expression, which calls Christ *the Word of God*.

It has often been shewn, that the Logos, or Word, was understood by the Jews and Gentiles, as well as by Christians, to mean, not something created by God, and distinct from Him, but a coexistent and consubstantial emanation from the Deity <sup>c</sup> ; so that

<sup>b</sup> Οὐκ ἐσμὲν λίθον οὐδεμίαν αἰσθησιν ἐχόντων θεραπευταί, ἀλλὰ μόνου Θεοῦ, τοῦ πρὸ πάντων καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων· καὶ ἔτι τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὅπως Θεοῦ Λόγου πρὸ αἰώνων, ἔσμεν θρησκευταί.

<sup>c</sup> Philo Judæus often speaks of the Logos, or Word, per-

forming those acts of interposition in human affairs, which in the Old Testament are ascribed to God. This is observed by bishop Bull, *Defens.* I. 1. 16, &c. : and many instances are given by Townsend in his *Arrangement of the New*

when Christ was called *the Word of God*, the expression conveyed a more intelligible notion of his divinity in those early times than it does now. The Christians of those days had as full a notion of Christ being God, when they called him ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, *the Word of God*, as when they called him ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος, *God the Word*, or *the Word who was God*: but it is perhaps more satisfactory to us, as it is certainly more intelligible, to find the Fathers constantly applying to Jesus Christ the above expression ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος, *God the Word*, which it may be remembered is precisely what we read in the Gospel itself, where St. John says, *the Word was God*.

I have only one more remark to make upon the words of Melito, which is, that he expressly says that the Christians worshipped Christ, and yet he says that they worshipped only one God: which two assertions can only be reconciled by our concluding, that the unity of that Godhead which they worshipped, comprehended the Son as well as the Father.

43. *Melito ex l. de Incarn. Christi. (Rel. Sacr. vol. I. p. 115.)*

Whatever doubts may be entertained concerning the proper translation of the last passage, there can be no question whatever as to the doctrine which is contained in the example now to be produced. "To those persons, who have any sense, there is no necessity to prove, from the actions performed by

Testament, I. p. 10. Tertullian also tells the heathen, that their philosophers had ascribed the creation of the world to a Logos. Apol. c. 21. p. 19. See Lactantius, Instit. IV. 9.

“ Christ after his baptism, that he had a real and  
 “ not apparent soul and body, a human nature such  
 “ as ours<sup>d</sup>. For the actions performed by Christ after  
 “ his baptism, and particularly the miracles, shewed  
 “ and demonstrated to the world his divinity which  
 “ was hidden in the flesh. For he, being at once  
 “ perfect God and man, has demonstrated his two  
 “ substances to us; his divinity, by the miracles  
 “ worked in the three years which followed his bap-  
 “ tism; and his humanity, in the thirty years which  
 “ preceded his baptism: during which period, owing  
 “ to the imperfection which he had from the flesh,  
 “ the signs of his divinity were hidden, although he  
 “ was very God existing before the worlds<sup>e</sup>.”

44. *Melito ex l. de Passione. (Rel. Sacr. vol. I.  
 p. 116.)*

The same conclusion may be drawn from another expression of Melito, where he says, that “ God suffered by the right hand of Israel<sup>f</sup>.” These words can only allude to the sufferings, which Jesus Christ experienced from the children of Israel. The manner in which they are quoted by Anastasius shews that Melito was speaking of Christ, and they therefore prove to us that Melito considered Christ to be God.

<sup>d</sup> This work was written against Marcion, who believed that Christ had only an apparent body.

<sup>e</sup> Τὰ γὰρ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ πραχθέντα, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ σημεῖα, τὴν αὐτοῦ κεκρυμμένην ἐν σαρκὶ Θεότητα ἐδηλοῦν, καὶ ἐπιστοῦντο τῷ κόσμῳ. Θεὸς γὰρ ὢν ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος, τέλειος δὲ αὐτὸς, τὰς δύο αὐτοῦ οὐσίας ἐπιστάσασατο

ἡμῖν· τὴν μὲν Θεότητα αὐτοῦ διὰ τῶν σημείων ἐν τῇ τριετίᾳ τῇ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα, τὴν δὲ ἀνθρωπότητα αὐτοῦ, ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντα χρόνοις τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος· ἐν οἷς διὰ τὸ ἀτελὲς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα ἀπεκρίβη τὰ σημεῖα τῆς αὐτοῦ Θεότητος· καίπερ Θεὸς ἀληθῆς προαιώνιος ὑπάρχων.

<sup>f</sup> Ὁ Θεὸς πέπονθεν ὑπὸ δεξίας Ἰσραηλῆτιδος.

## IRENÆUS. A. D. 185.

Irenæus is supposed to have been a native of Asia; and he himself tells us<sup>g</sup>, that in his younger days he had seen Polycarp, who had been appointed to the bishopric of Smyrna by the apostles, and who had conversed with many persons who had seen Christ<sup>h</sup>. Polycarp suffered martyrdom about the year 166. It is probable therefore that Irenæus was born about the year 140, though some writers place his birth many years earlier. We are not informed what was the cause which brought him from Asia into Gaul; but we know that when Pothinus, bishop of Lyons, was martyred in the year 177, Irenæus was chosen to succeed him. The latest date assigned to his death is the year 202; and there is no reason to think that he suffered martyrdom.

Some of his writings are mentioned by Eusebius<sup>i</sup>, but the only one which has come down to us is his Work against Heresies, in five books. It was written in Greek, but we have only a translation in rather barbarous Latin, which is supposed to be as old as the second century. In a few places fragments of the original Greek have been preserved. Some writers have supposed that these five books against Heresies were written in the year 176; others bring down the composition of them to 192.

Irenæus having seen Polycarp, who was an im-

<sup>g</sup> III. 3. 4. p. 176. Fragm. p. 339.

<sup>h</sup> It was the opinion of Usher, that Polycarp was the angel or bishop of the church of Smyrna, addressed in the Revelations ii.

<sup>i</sup> 8. and he must have been so, if he was appointed by the apostles, i. e. by some one or more of the apostles who then survived.

<sup>i</sup> V. 20.

mediate disciple of St. John, and having left a work of such extent, and full of such varied information on doctrinal points, it becomes of great importance that we should ascertain his real sentiments concerning our Lord's divinity. The testimonies produced from him are consequently more numerous than those cited from any of the preceding Fathers. Eusebius, as already quoted, mentioned Irenæus among the writers who spoke of Christ as God: but a Socinian writer<sup>k</sup> asserts positively, that "he was certainly ignorant of the two natures in Christ." The truth or falsehood of this assertion may be tried by the following quotations.

In many passages of his work, Irenæus has shewn that it was customary in his day, as it had been before, to draw up short creeds or confessions of faith. He mentions that they were recited at baptism: and though in some he only expresses the belief in *God the Father, maker of heaven and earth*, it is plain from other instances, that these creeds also contained the name of the Son and the Holy Ghost.

Thus he speaks of people being driven from the truth "who do not hold firm the belief in one God "the Father Almighty, and in one Lord Jesus Christ "the Son of God<sup>l</sup>:" and having mentioned "the "invariable rule of truth which a person received "at baptism<sup>m</sup>," and "the certain truth which was

<sup>k</sup> Lindsey, Apology, p. 204. note.

<sup>l</sup> ——— τοὺς μὴ ἔδρασαν τὴν πίστιν εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, καὶ εἰς ἓνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ διαφυλάσσον-

τας. I. 3, 6. p. 18.

<sup>m</sup> Ὁ τὸν κανόνα τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκλιπῆ ἐν ἑαυτῷ κατέχων, ὃν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἴληφε . . . I. 9, 4. p. 46.

“preached by the church <sup>q</sup>,” he goes on to say, “The church, although dispersed through the whole world, even to the ends of the earth, has received from the apostles <sup>o</sup> and their disciples the belief in one God, the Father Almighty, who made the heaven and the earth, and the sea, and all things therein; and in Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who was incarnate for our salvation; and in the Holy Ghost, who proclaimed by the prophets the incarnation <sup>p</sup>, and the coming, and the birth from a virgin, and the suffering, and the resurrection from the dead, and the incarnate ascension into heaven of the beloved Christ Jesus our Lord, and his coming from heaven in the glory of the Fa-

<sup>q</sup> Βεβαίαν τὴν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κηρυσσομένην ἀλήθειαν. I. 9, 5. p. 47.

<sup>o</sup> Dr. Priestley (History of early Opinions, I. p. 306.) translates this—the churches planted by the apostles, which is a manifest inaccuracy, and would mislead the English reader, who might not think that Irenæus asserted this creed to have been handed down from the apostles.

<sup>p</sup> I have translated *οικονομίας* incarnation, which is the sense in which all the Fathers used the word. This is fully proved by Bull, (Defens. IV. 3, 12. and Animadv. in G. Clerke,) also by Waterland, (II. p. 296, &c.) St. Paul himself may have led the way to this meaning of the term by his use of it in Ephes. i. 10. If any person should still doubt, I would refer him to the examples collected in Suicer's Thesaurus.

Of four meanings, which [he gives to the word, he states the third to be *Ipsa Christi incarnatio*, sive *naturæ humanæ assumptio*: after which he says—IV. *tandem οικονομία non tantum incarnationis, sed etiam totius redemptionis mysterium, et passionis Christi sacramentum denotat*. I would rather have put the fourth signification before the third: *οικονομία* seems very naturally to mean *totius redemptionis mysterium*, i. e. *the whole economy or scheme pursued by God in perfecting our redemption*: and of this *the incarnation* of his Son formed a part. The word will generally be translated *incarnation* in the following pages. See No. 161. The Benedictine editor of Athanasius has strangely misunderstood and mistranslated the words *κατ' οικονομίαν* in vol. I. p. 247. §. 6.

“ther——that to Christ Jesus, our Lord and God  
“and Saviour and King, according to the pleasure  
“of the invisible Father, every knee may bow <sup>9</sup>,”  
&c.

In another place he speaks of “holding the rule  
“of the truth, which is, that there is one God, Al-  
“mighty, who created all things by his Word <sup>r</sup>.” At  
p. 176. he speaks of the faith which Clement of  
Rome held, as taught by the apostles, a belief in  
“one God, Almighty, maker of heaven and earth—  
“who was the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ <sup>s</sup>.”  
In the next chapter he speaks of distant nations  
“carefully observing the old tradition, believing in  
“one God, maker of heaven and earth, and of all  
“things therein, by Christ Jesus, the Son of God :  
“who, from his great love toward his creation, sub-  
“mitted to be born of a virgin, himself by himself  
“uniting man to God, and suffered under Pontius  
“Pilate, and rose again, and was received into  
“glory, who is to come in glory, the Saviour of

<sup>9</sup> Ἡ μὲν ἐκκλησία, καίπερ καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἕως περάτων τῆς γῆς διεσπαρμένη, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων μαθητῶν παραλαβούσα τὴν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν πεποιημένα τὸν οὐρανὸν, καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς πίστιν· καὶ εἰς ἕνα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν σαρκωθέντα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας· καὶ εἰς Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, τὸ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κεκηρυχὸς τὰς οἰκουμίας, καὶ τὰς ἐλευσεῖς, καὶ τὴν ἐκ παρθένου γέννησιν, καὶ τὸ πάθος, καὶ τὴν ἔγερσιν ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ τὴν ἔνσαρκον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνες ἀνάληψιν τοῦ ἡγαπημένου Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ

πατρὸς παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνεκεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἀναστήσασθαι πᾶσαν σάρκα πάσης ἀνθρωπότητος, ἵνα Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, καὶ Θεῷ, καὶ σωτῆρι, καὶ βασιλεῖ, κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἀοράτου, πᾶν γένος ἀπολαύσῃ εὐφρανίων. κ. τ. λ. p. 48.

<sup>r</sup> Cum teneamus autem nos regulam veritatis, id est, quia sit unus Deus Omnipotens, qui omnia condidit per Verbum suum. I. 22. p. 98.

<sup>s</sup> — annuntiantem unum Deum Omnipotentem, factorem cœli et terræ——Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi. III. 3. 3.



“ those who are saved, and the Judge of those who are judged †,” &c. In another place he speaks of the true belief being “ in one God Almighty, of whom are all things, and in the Son of God, Jesus Christ our Lord, by whom are all things †: and his incarnation, by which the Son of God became man—and in the Holy Ghost,” &c. This he calls “ true knowledge, the doctrine of the apostles, and the original form of the church throughout the world †.”

After reading these different passages, there can surely be no doubt but that in the days of Irenæus, and, according to him, from the time of the apostles, the creeds contained the same doctrine with that which we call the Apostles' Creed, a belief in God the Father Almighty, in Jesus Christ His Son our Lord, and in the Holy Ghost. We may also compare the creeds of Irenæus with that of Hippolytus, who was one of his hearers, and in his work against Noetus has the following passage: “ We truly acknowledge one God; we acknowledge Christ; we acknowledge the Son, who suffered, &c. who died, &c. and rose on the third day, and is on the right hand of the Father, and cometh to

† — in unum Deum credentes fabricatorem cœli et terræ, et omnium quæ in eis sunt, per Christum Jesum Dei Filium: qui propter eminentissimam erga figmentum suum dilectionem, eam quæ esset ex Virgine generationem sustinuit, ipse per se hominem adunans Deo, et passus sub Pontio Pilato, et resurgens, et in claritate receptus, in gloria venturus Sal-

vator eorum qui salvantur, et Judex eorum qui judicantur. III. 4, 2. p. 178.

† See 1 Cor. viii. 6.

‡ Εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν παντοκράτορα, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα, πῶστις ὀλόκληρος· καὶ εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ τὰς οἰκονομίας αὐτοῦ, δι' ὃν ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, πεισμονῇ βεβαλά· καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ— IV. 33, 7. p. 272.

“judge the quick and dead.” This is an evident allusion to some settled and prescribed form <sup>z</sup>.

The Unitarians, we know, object to the use of the Apostles' Creed; but I would ask them, does this creed go further in asserting our Lord's divinity than the creeds of Irenæus? Do not the creeds of Irenæus expressly say that Jesus Christ was *born of a Virgin* <sup>a</sup>? And do not the Unitarians themselves conceive that this miraculous birth proves him to be more than man? I ask them lastly, Will the Unitarians join in reciting the creeds of Irenæus? if they do, they confess that Jesus Christ is more than man: if they will not, how can they say that

<sup>y</sup> Καὶ ἡμεῖς ἓνα Θεὸν οἶδαμεν ἀληθῶς, οἶδαμεν Χριστὸν οἶδαμεν τὸν υἱὸν παθόντα, καθὼς ἔπαθεν, ἀπαθι- νόνητα καθὼς ἀπέθανεν, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ὄντα ἐν δεξίᾳ τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ ἐρχόμενον κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. 1. vol. II. p. 6.

<sup>z</sup> The reader may also compare the creeds given by Tertullian, N<sup>o</sup>. 133. and by Origen, N<sup>o</sup>. 259.

<sup>a</sup> We could hardly suppose Dr. Priestley to be serious when he says of this expression, “Even this might not be intended to describe the *birth* of Christ in such a manner as to exclude those who thought it natural, so much as to assert that he was really and properly *born*, in opposition to those Gnostics who said that he was not properly born, as he took nothing from his mother.” (History of early Opinions, I. p. 310.) It would seem as if Irenæus had purposely written to refute this assertion: for,

after having proved that Jesus was born of a Virgin, he proceeds (III. 22.) to consider *another opinion*, of those who say, “that he took nothing from the *Virgin*,” μηδὲν εἰληφέναι ἐκ τῆς παρθένου. If the miraculous conception of Christ was not an article of belief in the days of Irenæus, as Dr. P. would insinuate, that Father could not have chosen any form of words more likely to mislead his readers. In another place Dr. P. would persuade us, that what Irenæus says of the miraculous conception was inserted by himself, and that it did not form a part of the creed then used. (IV. p. 91.) This is entirely an assumption, and totally inconsistent with the words of Irenæus. The twenty-first chapter of the third book of Irenæus is exclusively occupied in proving that Jesus was born of a Virgin, and not begotten by Joseph.

the Fathers of the three first centuries were Unitarians ?

It is not the object of the present work to shew that baptism in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, or a profession of faith in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, necessarily implies the divinity of the second and third Persons as well as of the first. This subject has often been handled by the ablest writers ; and the point has been proved irresistibly by bishop Bull<sup>b</sup> and Dr. Waterland<sup>c</sup>. I do not presume to attempt to add any thing to their demonstrations ; but, confining myself to the testimony which Irenæus bears to our Lord's divinity, I have laid before the reader the creeds which he gives as universally professed in his time : and I must observe particularly, that he expressly calls Jesus Christ our Lord and *God* and Saviour and King.

In many other places Irenæus calls Christ God, without ever hinting that he used the term in an inferior or figurative sense : and whenever the reader finds our Saviour called God in the quotations made from this Father, I should wish him also to bear in mind the following passages, in which Irenæus explicitly asserts his belief in *only one God*. “ Neither “ would his disciples give to any other person the “ name of God, or call him Lord, except him, who “ was truly God and Lord of all<sup>d</sup>.” “ Neither the “ prophets nor apostles have named any other God,

<sup>b</sup> Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ.

<sup>c</sup> Eighth Sermon, III. p. 172. &c.

<sup>d</sup> Neque discipuli ejus alium

quemdam Deum nominarent, aut Dominum vocarent, præter eum, qui vere esset Deus et Dominus omnium. III. 5, 1. p.

179.

“ or called any one else Lord, except the true and  
 “ only God<sup>e</sup>.” “ Neither the Lord, nor the Holy  
 “ Ghost, nor the apostles, would ever have given to  
 “ him, who was not God, the name of God defini-  
 “ tively and absolutely, if he had not been really  
 “ God<sup>f</sup>.” “ He who has any one superior to him-  
 “ self, and is under the power of another, can nei-  
 “ ther be called God nor mighty King<sup>g</sup>.”

I would ask, after these express declarations, how could Irenæus possibly give to Christ the title of God, unless he thought Him substantially and essentially united to Him, whom he acknowledges as the only God? I would observe also, that Irenæus expressly says, what indeed appears a self-evident truth, that “ what is begotten by God is God<sup>h</sup>.” We may conceive God to *create* substances wholly heterogeneous from Himself: but Irenæus could not conceive God to *beget* a Son, however incomprehensible the mode of generation may be, unless that Son is also God. We should bear this in mind, when in the creeds quoted above, or in any other part of his writings, Irenæus speaks of Christ as the *Son* of God. He thought that such an expression necessarily implied the divinity of the Son.

46. *Irenæi* l. 2. c. 13. §. 8. p. 132.

Speaking of the absurd doctrines of some of the

<sup>e</sup> Nunquam neque prophetae, neque apostoli alium Deum nominaverunt, vel Dominum appellaverunt, præter verum et solum Deum. III. 8. p. 182.

<sup>f</sup> Neque igitur Dominus, neque Spiritus Sanctus, neque apostoli eum, qui non esset Deus, definitive et absolute Deum nominassent aliquando,

nisi esset vere Deus. III. 6. p. 180.

<sup>g</sup> Qui super se habet aliquem superiorem, et sub alterius potestate est, hic neque Deus, neque magnus Rex dici potest. IV. 2, 5. p. 229.

<sup>h</sup> Τὸ ἐκ Θεοῦ γεννηθὲν Θεὸς ἐστίν. I. 8. p. 41.

Gnostics, he says, that yet “they are more decent than those who transfer the generation of the word which men produce to the eternal Word of God, making a beginning and creation of the pro- duction, as they do of a word of their own. But, if so, in what will the Word of God, or rather God Himself, since He is the Word, differ from the word of men, if he is generated in the same order and process<sup>i</sup>?” This is evidently directed against those persons who believed Christ not to be a substantially existing person, but a mere quality or emanation of the Father.

47. *Irenæi* l. 2. c. 25. §. 3. p. 153.

Having observed that we must not expect to discover the causes of all things, since man must ever remain inferior to his Maker both in nature and in knowledge, he breaks out into this remarkable testimony to the divinity of Christ: “For thou art not uncreated, O man, nor didst thou always exist together with God, like His own Word: but through His great goodness thou now receivest the beginning of thy creation, and learnest gradually from His Word the ordinances of God, who made thee<sup>k</sup>.” The quotation which precedes this, shews, that when Irenæus called Christ *the Word of God*, he did not understand him to be merely an operation of the

<sup>i</sup> Decentiora autem magis quam hi, qui generationem prolative hominum verbi transfere- runt in Dei æternum Verbum, et prolationis initium donantes et genesis, quemadmodum et suo verbo. Et in quo distabit Dei Verbum, immo magis ipse Deus, cum sit Verbum, a verbo hominum, si eandem habuerit

ordinationem et emissionem generationis ?

<sup>k</sup> Non enim infectus es, O homo, neque semper coexistebas Deo, sicut proprium ejus Verbum: sed propter eminentem bonitatem ejus, nunc initium facturæ accipiens sensim discis a Verbo dispositiones Dei, qui te fecit.

mind or will of God, but he conceived him to have a personal and substantial existence. In the present passage he shews what sort of existence that was, viz. an eternal coexistence with God. The next quotation asserts the same thing.

48. *Irenæi* l. 2. c. 30. §. ult. p. 163.

“ The Son, who always coexisted with the Father,  
 “ in times past and from the beginning, always re-  
 “ veals the Father both to angels and archangels,  
 “ and to principalities and powers, and to all to  
 “ whom he wishes to reveal<sup>1</sup>.” See also N<sup>o</sup>. 57.

49. *Irenæi* l. 3. c. 6. §. 1. p. 180.

In this chapter Irenæus argues, that whenever the scriptures speak of God without any qualifying or restrictive epithet, they mean the one true God, and that they speak in this manner only of God the Father and God the Son, who are therefore the only one true God. His words are these ;—“ Neither the  
 “ Lord therefore, nor the Holy Ghost, nor the apo-  
 “ stles, would ever have given to him who was not  
 “ God, the name of God definitively and absolutely,  
 “ unless he were truly God : neither would they  
 “ have called any one Lord in his own person, ex-  
 “ cept him who is Lord over all, God the Father,  
 “ and His Son, who has received from his Father  
 “ authority over every creature, as the Psalmist says,  
 “ cx. 1. *The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at*  
 “ *my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy*  
 “ *footstool.* For he represents the Father speaking  
 “ to the Son ; who has given him the Gentiles for  
 “ his inheritance, and subjected all his enemies unto  
 “ him. Since therefore the Father is truly Lord,

<sup>1</sup> Semper autem coexistens semper revelat Patrem et an-  
 Filius Patri olim et ab initio gelis &c. &c.

“ and the Son truly Lord, the Holy Ghost has suit-  
 “ ably marked them with the appellation of Lord.  
 “ And again, in the overthrowing of Sodom, the  
 “ scripture says, (Gen. xix. 24.) *And the Lord*  
 “ *rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah fire and*  
 “ *brimstone from the Lord out of heaven.* For it  
 “ signifies in this place, that the Son, who had also  
 “ been conversing with Abraham, had received  
 “ power from the Father to judge the people of  
 “ Sodom on account of their iniquity. That is a  
 “ similar expression, *Thy throne, O God, is for*  
 “ *ever : the sceptre of thy kingdom is a right*  
 “ *sceptre. Thou hast loved righteousness, and*  
 “ *hated wickedness ; therefore God, thy God, hath*  
 “ *anointed thee* <sup>m</sup>. For the Spirit has marked each  
 “ with the appellation of God, both him who is  
 “ anointed, i. e. the Son, and Him who anoints, i. e.  
 “ the Father. And again, *God standeth in the con-*  
 “ *gregation of the gods ; He judgeth among the*  
 “ *gods* <sup>n</sup>. This is spoken of the Father and the Son,  
 “ and of those who have received adoption ; and  
 “ these are the church. For this is the congrega-  
 “ tion of God, which God, i. e. the Son himself, has  
 “ gathered together by himself. Of whom the Psalm-  
 “ ist says in another place, l. 1. *The God of gods,*  
 “ *the Lord hath spoken, and called the earth.*  
 “ What God? He of whom it is said, *God shall*  
 “ *manifestly come, our God, and shall not keep si-*  
 “ *lence,* (ver. 3.) i. e. the Son, who came manifestly  
 “ amongst men, who says, *I have appeared openly*  
 “ *unto them which seek me not* <sup>o</sup>. But of what God  
 “ [does the Psalmist speak,] to whom he says, *I*

<sup>m</sup> Psalm xlv. 6.

<sup>n</sup> Psalm lxxxii. 1.

<sup>o</sup> Isaiah lxx. 1.

“ *have said, Ye are gods, and all sons of the Most High* ? lxxxii. 6. to those *who have received the grace of adoption, by which we cry, Abba, Father* <sup>p</sup>. No other person therefore, as I said before, receives the name of God, or appellation of Lord, except He who is God and Lord of all, (who also said to Moses, *I am that I am : and thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you* <sup>q</sup>;) and His Son Jesus Christ, our Lord, who makes those who believe in his name to be sons of God : and in another place the Son speaks to Moses, saying, *I am come down to deliver this people* <sup>r</sup> : for it is he himself who descended and ascended for the salvation of men. It is by the Son therefore who is in the Father, and has the Father in himself, that he who is truly God has been manifested unto us, the Father bearing testimony to the Son, and the Son announcing the Father <sup>s</sup>.”

<sup>p</sup> Rom. viii. 15.

<sup>q</sup> Exod. iii. 14.

<sup>r</sup> Ib. 8.

<sup>s</sup> Neque igitur Dominus, neque Spiritus Sanctus, neque apostoli eum, qui non esset Deus, definitive et absolute Deum nominassent aliquando, nisi esset vere Deus : neque Dominum appellassent aliquem ex sua persona, nisi qui dominatur omnium, Deum Patrem, et Filium ejus, qui dominium accepit a Patre suo omnis conditionis, quemadmodum habet illud, *Dixit Dominus* &c.—Patrem enim Filio colloquutum ostendit, qui dedit ei hæreditatem &c.—Vere igitur cum Pater sit Dominus, et Filius

vere sit Dominus, merito Spiritus Sanctus Domini appellatione signavit eos.—Similiter habet illud, *Sedes tua, Deus* &c. Utrosque enim Dei appellatione signavit Spiritus, et eum, qui ungitur, Filium, et eum qui ungit, id est, Patrem. Et iterum, *Deus stetit* &c. De Patre, et Filio, et de his qui adoptionem perceperunt, dicit : Hi autem sunt ecclesia. Hæc enim est synagoga Dei, quam Deus, hoc est, Filius ipse per semetipsum collegit. De quo iterum dixit, *Deus deorum* &c. Quis Deus ? de quo dixit, *Deus manifeste veniet, Deus noster, et non silebit* : hoc est Filius, qui secundum manifestationem ho-



These words, which I have been obliged to give at length, require no comment. Not only do they expressly and literally make the Son to be one with the Father; but the whole course of the argument, of which they form a part, requires us to consider the Son as God, not officially or ministerially, but in his own nature, as being the one only God.

50. *Irenæi* l. 3. c. 8. §. 2. p. 183.

It seems impossible that Irenæus could have believed Jesus Christ to have been created by God. The object of this chapter is to prove that no other God is mentioned in scripture, but the one true only God: "Nor can any of those things which have been made, and are in subjection, be compared to the Word of God, *by whom all things were made*, who is our Lord Jesus Christ. For that angels,

minibus advenit, qui dicit, *Palam apparui* &c. Quorum autem deorum? quibus dicit, *Ego dixi* &c. Nemo igitur alius, quemadmodum prædixi, Deus nominatur, aut Dominus appellatur, nisi qui est omnium Deus et Dominus, qui et Moysi dixit, *Ego sum qui sum*. Et sic dices filiis Israel, *Qui est, misit me ad vos*: et hujus Filius Jesus Christus Dominus noster, qui filios Dei facit credentes in nomen suum. Et iterum loquente Filio ad Moysen, *Descendi*, inquit, *eripere populum hunc*. Ipse est enim qui descendit et ascendit propter salutem hominum. Per Filium itaque, qui est in Patre, et habet in se Patrem, is, *Qui est*, manifestatus est Deus, Patre testimonium perhibente Filio, et Filio annuntiante Patrem. The words, *qui est, manifestatus est*

*Deus*, are evidently a translation of ὁ ὢν πεφανέρωται Θεός, where ὁ ὢν is used in reference to those words in Exodus iii. 14. which we translate I AM, and which the Latins rendered *Qui est*. Thus Tertullian mentions *Qui est* among the titles of the Father, which are given also to the Son. (adv. Prax. c. 17. p. 510.) The Greek expression ὁ ὢν is the same as *Qui est*, and can hardly be translated: thus Clem. Alex. speaks of Christ as ὁ ἐν τῷ ὄντι ὢν, *Very God in very God*. (Cohort. p. 7.) Athanasius uses it in a still more peculiar manner, ὁ δὲ Θεὸς ὢν ἐστίν, καὶ οὐ σύνθετος διὰ καὶ ὁ τοῦτου λόγος ὢν ἐστίν, κ. τ. λ. Orat. c. Gent. 41. vol. I. p. 40. A consideration of this peculiar use of the words ὁ ὢν may explain the apparent solecism in Rev. i. 4. ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος.

“ or archangels, or thrones, or dominations, were appointed by Him, who is God over all, and made by His Word, John has thus told us; for after he had said of the Word of God, that he was in the Father, he added, *All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made*†.”

Before we finish this quotation I must observe, that Irenæus evidently understood John i. 3. of the creation of all things by Jesus Christ. The Unitarian translators say, that this was not the meaning of St. John; that *γίνομαι*, as used in the New Testament, never signifies to be *created*; and that the passage merely means, that *all things in the Christian dispensation were done by Christ*. Irenæus considered the passage as equivalent to that in Col. i. 16. which is also said by the Unitarians to have no reference to the creation, but *to that great change which was introduced into the moral world by the Gospel*. We may remember, that Irenæus himself wrote in Greek: and the account which has been given of his life would make it almost impossible that he should so grossly have mistaken the meaning of St. John. I may add, that all the Ante-Nicene Fathers interpret the words of St. John in the same sense as Irenæus. See N<sup>o</sup>. 229. We cannot wonder that the Unitarians should endeavour to explain away such texts as John i. 3. Col. i. 16.

† Sed nec quidquam ex his quæ constituta sunt, et in subjectione sunt, comparabitur Verbo Dei, *per quem facta sunt omnia*, qui est Dominus noster Jesus Christus. Quoniam enim sive angeli, sive archangeli, sive throni, sive dominationes, ab eo

qui super omnes est Deus et constituta sunt et facta per Verbum ejus, Joannes quidem sic significavit. Cum enim dixisset de Verbo Dei, quoniam erat in Patre, adjecit, *Omnia per eum facta sunt, et sine eo factum est nihil*.

Heb. i. 2. That a created being should himself create matter out of nothing, or even be employed as an instrument to do so, seems to our understandings impossible: if therefore the scriptures positively affirm that the world was created by Christ, his divinity follows of course. The argument is well treated by Athanasius, Orat. II. c. Arian. 20-2. vol. I. p. 487, &c.

This Father continues, after some other observations;—" But whatever has had a beginning, and " may admit dissolution, and is subject, and stands " in need of him who made it, must necessarily be " called by a different term even by those who have " only moderate sense in perceiving such things: so " that he who made all things can alone properly " be called, together with the Word, God and Lord: " but things which are made cannot partake of the " same term, nor properly bear that appellation, " which belongs to the Creator u."

That Christ was not created, has been already proved from Irenæus at N<sup>o</sup>. 46, 47. pp. 75, 76. and yet Dr. Priestley makes the strange assertion, that " it " had been the custom of the orthodox to speak of " the *generation* of the Son from the Father, as if " it had been a proper *creation*, and as if the Son " had stood in the very same relation to the Father, " with that in which other creatures stood to him<sup>x</sup>."

u Quæcunque autem initium sumperunt, et dissolutionem possunt percipere, et subjecta sunt, et indigent ejus qui se fecit, necesse est omnimodo ut differens vocabulum habeant apud eos etiam, qui vel modicum sensum in discernendo talia habent: ita ut is quidem,

qui omnia fecerit, cum Verbo suo juste dicatur Deus et Dominus solus; quæ autem facta sunt, non jam ejusdem vocabuli participabilia esse, neque juste id vocabulum sumere debere, quod est Creatoris.

x History of early Opinions, IV. p. 175.

51. *Irenæi* l. 3. c. 9. §. 2. p. 184.

Speaking of the offerings of the Magi, he says, "They shewed by the gifts which they presented, " who it was that was worshipped : *myrrh*, to shew " that it was he who died and was buried for man- " kind ; *gold*, to shew that he was a King, *of whose* " *kingdom there is no end* ; (Luke i. 33.) but *in-* " *cense*, that he was God, who *in Judah was well* " *known*, (Psalm lxxvi. 1.) *and manifest to those* " *who did not seek him*." (Isaiah lxxv. 1.) Similar interpretations of these three offerings may be found in other of the Fathers. Clement of Alexandria says, that " gold was brought to him when he was " born, as a symbol of a kingdom<sup>2</sup>." Origen observes, that " they brought gifts, which, if I may so " say, they offered symbolically to one compounded " of God and a mortal man ; *gold*, as to a king ; " *myrrh*, as to one who was to die ; and *incense*, as " to a god<sup>a</sup>." Peter of Alexandria says, that " they " presented gold and frankincense and myrrh, as to " a King and God and Man<sup>b</sup>."

52. *Irenæi* l. 3. c. 9. §. ult. p. 185.

Irenæus having spoken of the descent of the Holy Ghost upon Jesus at his baptism, quotes Isaiah xi. 1. and lxi. 1 ; upon which quotations he remarks, " In-

<sup>1</sup> Per ea quæ obtulerunt munera ostendisse, quis erat qui adorabatur : myrrham quidem, quod ipse erat, qui pro mortali humano genere moreretur et sepeliretur : aurum vero, quoniam Rex &c. thus vero, quoniam Deus, qui et notus in Judæa &c.

<sup>2</sup> Χρυσὸν αὐτῷ γεννηθέντι βασιλείας σύμβολον προσεκόμισαν οἱ Μάγοι. Pæd. II. 8. p. 206.

<sup>a</sup> Φέροντες μὲν δῶρα, ἃ (ἵν' εἴπωσιν ὀνομάσω) συνθέντι τινὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπου θνητοῦ προσήνεγκαν, σύμβολα μὲν, ὡς βασιλεῖ τὸν χρυσὸν, ὡς δὲ τεθηξομένῳ τὴν σμύρναν, ὡς δὲ Θεῷ τὸν λίβανον. Contra Cels. I. 60. p. 375.

<sup>b</sup> Προσφέροντες αὐτῷ καιριώτατα καὶ πρεπωδέστατα δῶρα, χρυσὸν καὶ λίβανον καὶ σμύρναν, ὡς βασιλεῖ καὶ Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ. Can. XIII. (Rel. Sacr. III. p. 341.)

“asmuch as the Word of God was man, of the root  
 “of Jesse, and son of Abraham, in this respect the  
 “Spirit of God rested upon him, and he was anointed  
 “to preach the Gospel to the humble. But inas-  
 “much as he was God, he did *not judge after the*  
 “*sight of his eyes, neither reprove after the hear-*  
 “*ing of his ears*: (Isaiah xi. 3.) for he *needed not*  
 “*that any should testify of man*: for he *knew*  
 “*what was in man*.” (John ii. 25.)

53. *Irenæi* l. 3. c. 11. §. 8. p. 191.

The following passage can only be explained on the hypothesis of the preexistence of Christ: “The  
 “Word of God conversed with the patriarchs before  
 “Moses in his divine and glorious character: to  
 “those under the law, he fulfilled the office of a  
 “priest: and after this, becoming man, he sent the  
 “gift of the Holy Ghost into all the earth, covering  
 “us with his own wings<sup>d</sup>.”

\* 53. *Irenæi* l. 3. c. 12. §. 9. p. 197.

Having quoted the passage in the Acts, ix. 20. where it is said that St. Paul after his conversion *preached Christ in the synagogues, that he is the Son of God*, Irenæus observes: “This is the mys-  
 “tery, which he says was made known to him by  
 “revelation, that he who suffered under Pontius Pi-  
 “late, the same is Lord of all, and King, and God,

<sup>c</sup> Nam secundum id quod Verbum Dei homo erat, ex radice Jesse, et filius Abraham, secundum hoc requiescebat Spiritus Dei super eum, et ungebatur ad evangelizandum humilibus. Secundum autem quod Deus erat, non secundum gloriam judicabat, neque secundum loquelam arguebat: non enim

opus &c.

<sup>d</sup> Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῖς μὲν πρὸ Μωϋσέως πατριάρχαις κατὰ τὸ θεῖόν καὶ ἔνδοξον ὡμίλει· τοῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἱερατικῆν—τάξιν ἀπένεμεν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνθρώπος γενόμενος τὴν δωρεάν τοῦ ἀγίου Πνεύματος εἰς πᾶσαν ἐξέπεμψε τὴν γῆν, σκεπάζων ἡμᾶς ταῖς ἐαυτοῦ πτέρυξιν.

“ and Judge “.” Irenæus appears to refer to Eph. i. 9. iii. 3. and other places.

54. *Irenæi* l. 3. c. 13. §. 1. p. 200.

“ And again, in the Epistle to the Corinthians, “ when he had mentioned all who saw God after “ his resurrection, he added, *Therefore, whether “ it were I or they, so we preach, and so ye “ believed*; (1 Cor. xv. 11.) declaring, that there “ was one and the same preaching of all those who “ saw God after his resurrection from the dead <sup>f</sup>.” It is needless to observe, that God means Jesus Christ.

55. *Irenæi* l. 3. c. 16. §. 2. p. 204.

The Gnostic heretics made Jesus and Christ two distinct persons. According to some of them, Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary, a mere man, born in the ordinary way, upon whom Christ descended. It was not therefore Christ who suffered, but merely the man Jesus, who was as it were the receptacle of Christ. Irenæus refutes this notion in the present chapter, and shews that Jesus Christ, who was born and crucified, was truly God and man.

Among other arguments he quotes the words of St. Matthew, i. 18. *Now the birth of Christ was on this wise*, and observes, that if Matthew had said, *the birth of Jesus*, the Gnostics might have claimed this passage as supporting their opinion: but since

<sup>e</sup> Τουτέστι τὸ μυστήριον, ὃ λέγει κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν ἐγνωρίσθαι αὐτῷ, ὅτι ὁ παθὼν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, αὐτός κύριος τῶν πάντων, καὶ βασιλεὺς, καὶ Θεός, καὶ κριτὴς ἐστίν.

<sup>f</sup> Et rursus in ea Epistola quæ est ad Corinthios, cum præ-

dixisset omnes qui Deum post resurrectionem viderunt, intulit, *Sive autem* &c. unam et eandem prædicationem confitens omnium eorum qui Deum viderunt post resurrectionem a mortuis.

the Evangelist speaks of *Christ*<sup>s</sup> being born and descended from Abraham, the union of the divine and human natures is proved: to which he adds, “and lest we should chance to think him a mere man, he is called *Emmanuel*, God with us<sup>h</sup>.”

These Gnostics did not in fact deny the divinity of Christ: they denied the union of the divine and human natures in one person. It was their conviction of the divinity of Christ, which made them decide that he could not become a man, as they knew Jesus to have been: they had therefore recourse to the absurd doctrine, which Irenæus here refutes. He goes on to shew, that St. Paul expressly mentioned the two natures of Christ: he quotes Rom. i. 3, 4. and then the controverted text, Rom. ix. 5. “*Whose are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever.*”

These words, as they are quoted by Irenæus, and as they are translated in our English Bibles, unequivocally assert that Christ is God: but since the Unitarians have tried to elude the force of this evidence, it will be necessary to examine, as briefly as we can, their statements and their reasoning.

In the *Improved Version* the passage is translated thus:—*and of whom by natural descent Christ came. God who is over all be blessed for ever.*

<sup>s</sup> It appears that the copies of St. Matthew which Irenæus used had only *Christ* in this place, and not *Jesus Christ*: for had he found the word *Jesus* also, he would certainly have brought it forward as strength-

ening his argument. Not. in Ed. Bened. The Vulgate also reads only *Christ*.

<sup>h</sup> — quoniam hic est Emmanuel, ne forte tantum eum hominem putaremus.

I shall not inquire into the propriety of the words *by natural descent*, nor consider whether the internal evidence does not require that the sentence should be read without this division: but I shall confine myself to shewing, what properly belongs to the present work, that this mode of construction was entirely unknown to the Ante-Nicene Fathers. It was in fact never heard of till the time of Erasmus: he is the first writer I can meet with, who suggested such a punctuation; and though the Unitarians refer to him as their authority, Erasmus does not say that he thought this mode of construction right. The note to *the Improved Version* adds, "In this sense it is probable that the early Christian writers understood the words, who do not apply them to Christ." Mr. Lindsey says<sup>i</sup>, and Mr. Belsham<sup>k</sup> means to assert the same, (for he quotes his words without qualifying or correcting them,) "that this clause was read so as not to appear to belong to Christ, at least for the first three centuries:" and Jones<sup>l</sup> observes, "had the original stood as it now does, the early Fathers would have cited this clause in proof of the divinity of Christ. But neither Justin (I believe) nor Irenæus nor Tertullian has quoted it with this view<sup>m</sup>."

This is coming to the point. We are here invited to meet our opponents on the ground which we have

<sup>i</sup> Sequel. p. 204.

<sup>k</sup> Translation of St. Paul's Epistles.

<sup>l</sup> Analysis of the Epistle to the Romans.

<sup>m</sup> Dr. Priestley only says, "Paul is supposed to say, that

"Christ was *God over all blessed for ever.*" (History of early Opinions, II. p. 425.) It would have been more ingenuous, if he had stated his own sentiments concerning this text.



marked out for ourselves; their statements are positive and precise: and I shall proceed without further comment to shew, in what manner and in what sense the passage was quoted by the Ante-Nicene Fathers.

In the first place it is difficult to understand, with what fair intention the name of Justin Martyr is mentioned: for since *he never quotes the passage at all*, we can of course infer nothing as to the sense in which he understood it. I should be willing to believe that Mr. Jones meant to say, that if Justin Martyr had known of a text, which contained such a direct assertion of the divinity of Christ, he could hardly have failed to quote it. But to this I should answer, 1. that this is to assume that the divinity of Christ was considered by Justin to be a controvertible point: and 2. the works which remain to us of Justin are addressed partly to the heathen, and partly to a Jew; neither of whom would have acknowledged the authority of St. Paul, if Justin had quoted this passage.

We have already seen, that Irenæus quotes the text as expressly asserting the divine and human natures of Christ. The Latin translation of Irenæus, which alone remains, and which reads, *ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, qui est Deus super omnes benedictus in sæcula*, cannot of course admit of the punctuation and division which the Unitarians propose: to which I would add, that Irenæus is to be cited, not only as giving his own opinion, but as the witness to a fact. He must often have read the passage himself; he must often have heard it read: it is perhaps not assuming too much to say, that he may have heard it read by Polycarp

himself, the immediate disciple of St. John. He must therefore have known the manner in which it was customary to read the sentence in the churches; and we have seen that he reads it, not so as to make the doxology at the end a separate and independent clause; but so as to affirm that Christ, who came of the Jews according to the flesh, was also God over all, blessed for ever. We may conclude therefore, that the text was always read in this way in the churches which Irenæus frequented.

Tertullian, the third of the Ante-Nicene Fathers mentioned by Mr. Jones, is the next in order of time whose writings we are to examine. He quotes the passage in two places. The first is where he is answering those persons, who accused the Christians of acknowledging more Gods than one: he shews from the Old Testament, that the term God is applied to more persons than to the Father, and then says, “Not that we ever name with our mouth two Gods or two Lords, although the Father is God, and the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God, and each is God;—and if the Father and the Son are to be mentioned together, for sake of distinction we call the Father God, and Jesus Christ Lord: but yet, speaking of Christ singly, I can call him God, as Paul did, *of whom is Christ, who, he says, is God over all, blessed for ever*.” The

ⁿ Duos tamen Deos et duos Dominos nunquam ex ore nostro proferimus; non quasi non et Pater Deus, et Filius Deus, et Spiritus Sanctus Deus, et Deus unusquisque—sed apostolum sequar, ut si pariter nominandi fuerint Pater et Filius, Deum

*Patrem* appellem, et Jesum Christum *Dominum* nominem. Solum autem Christum potero Deum dicere, sicut idem apostolus, *Ex quibus Christus, qui est, inquit, Deus super omnia benedictus in ævum omne.* adv. Prax. c. 13. p. 507.

next place is in the same treatise, c. 15. where he introduces the text with these remarkable words: "Paul also himself has called Christ God, *Whose are the fathers, and of whom according to the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever*."

I might perhaps be satisfied with having shewn the falsehood of the statement, that Irenæus and Tertullian do not quote the passage in proof of the divinity of Christ. But since Mr. Lindsey and Mr. Belsham extend the same remark to all the writers of the three first centuries, we must carry the investigation further.

The next writer in point of time who quotes the passage, is Hippolytus, who flourished about the year 220. He wrote a work against Noëtus, who adopted what is called the Patripassian heresy: i. e. he believed that Christ was actually God the Father, and that the Father appeared upon earth, and died on the cross. One of the means which he used to support this doctrine, was to cite all the texts which spoke of Christ as God: and after quoting many, he says, "Christ was God, and suffered for our sakes, being himself the Father, that he might save us. We cannot come to any other conclusion; for the apostle acknowledges one God, when he says, *Whose are the fathers, of whom according to the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever* P." Thus Noëtus evidently

<sup>o</sup> Christum autem et ipse (Paulus) Deum cognominavit, Quorum patres, et ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in ævum.

<sup>P</sup> Χριστὸς γὰρ ἦν Θεός, καὶ ἔπασχεν δι' ἡμᾶς αὐτὸς ὡς Πατήρ, ἵνα καὶ σῶσαι ἡμᾶς δυνηθῇ. "Ἄλλο δέ, φησιν, αὐτὸς δυνάμεθα λέγειν, καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀπόστολος ἕνα Θεὸν ὁμολογεῖ, λέγων, ὃν οἱ πατέρες, ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς

understood the passage as asserting the divinity of Christ<sup>9</sup>. But it may be objected that Noëtus was a heretic. We will therefore see what notice Hippolytus takes of this quotation. We need not follow him in his refutation of Noëtus; but he begins the 6th chapter thus: "As to the apostle saying, *Whose are the fathers, &c.* he declares the mystery of "the truth properly and plainly. He who is over "all is God: for he thus says boldly, *All things are delivered unto me of the Father,* (Matt. xi. 27.) "He that is God over all is blessed; and becoming "man is God for ever<sup>r</sup>."

Origen is the next writer, and nothing can be more decisive than his testimony in favour of the received interpretation; (in Rom. vii. 13. vol. 4. p. 612.) but I forbear to dwell upon it, because wherever the original Greek of Origen is lost, there is too much reason to suspect that additions and interpolations have been made by his translator Rufinus. There can be no doubt however that Origen noticed the passage, because he was writing a laboured commentary upon the whole Epistle: and though Rufinus may have added to the original, he would hardly have altered the whole tenor and spirit of it.

τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὃ ὦν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. c. Noët. c. 2. II. p. 7.

<sup>9</sup> Epiphanius also observes, that the followers of Noëtus quoted this text, Hær. LVII. vol. I. p. 481; and he could not himself have adopted the punctuation proposed by Erasmus, since in another place he finishes it with ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός, omitting

the remaining words. p. 487.

<sup>r</sup> Ὁ δὲ λέγει ὁ ἀπόστολος, ὃν οἱ πατέρες, κ. τ. λ. καλῶς διηγείται καὶ λαμπρῶς τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας μυστήριον· οὗτος ὃ ὦν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός ἐστιν, λέγει γὰρ οὕτω μετὰ παρρησίας, πάντα μοι παραδέδοται ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς· ὃ ὦν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός εὐλογητὸς γεγένηται, καὶ ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος Θεός ἐστιν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. c. 6. p. 10.

Cyprian, who wrote between the years 247 and 258, quotes the passage in his work entitled *Testimonies against the Jews*. The second book is almost entirely composed of texts, with little of Cyprian's own, except the short heads or titles to each chapter. The subject of the 6th chapter is *Quod Deus Christus*, That Christ is God: and after many other quotations, he says, without any further observation, "Also Paul to the Romans, *I could wish, &c. whose are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever.*" p. 286.

Novatian, who was accounted a heretic, but who had no heretical opinions concerning Christ, quotes the passage twice in his work upon the Trinity, which is supposed to have been written soon after the year 257. In c. 13. he is shewing, by a reference to many texts, that "the substances both of God and man were united in Christ<sup>3</sup>;" and after quoting this of St. Paul, without any comment, he concludes that "Christ is God." In c. 30. he argues, as Hippolytus did, against those who would not see that the Father is God and the Son God, yet there are not two Gods, but only one; and among many other texts which prove the divine and human nature of Christ, he quotes without any comment the one now before us.

Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, died in the year 264, and his works which remain to us were composed not long before. He may be supposed to allude to this passage, when speaking of Christ he

<sup>3</sup>—utramque istam substantiam in unam nativitatis Christi fœderasse concordiam. p. 715.

twice calls him "*God over all*," for in no other place of the New Testament do these words occur.

The last instance which I shall bring is a quotation of the passage in a letter written by the council of Antioch in the year 269. This council was convened against the heresy of Paul of Samosata; and the Fathers in their letter assert that the Son of God is essentially and substantially God. They prove this by many texts, and among the rest by this of St. Paul<sup>u</sup>.

I would now ask, what grounds can Mr. Belsham or any other person have for saying, "that this text "was read so as not to appear to belong to Christ, "at least for the first three centuries?" If it is ever quoted by the Ante-Nicene Fathers so as to support this assertion, I am not aware of the passage: I have looked carefully for it through all their writings, and I wish the reader to decide, whether there is any trace, even the remotest suspicion, of any of these Fathers having understood the passage in any other way, except as plainly declaring that Christ is God<sup>x</sup>.

I am sorry that Mr. Belsham should repeat the

<sup>t</sup> Ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός. p. 246. and 248.

<sup>u</sup> Reliq. Sacr. II. p. 467.

<sup>x</sup> The passage is quoted by the following Post-Nicene Fathers. Athanas. Orat. IV. c. Arian. 1. vol. I. p. 617. Ep. II. ad Serap. 2. p. 684. Epist. ad Epict. 10. p. 908. Cont. Apol. I. 10. p. 930. In a doubtful work, vol. II. p. 16. in another, p. 215. In the Homily in *Nativitatem Christi*, falsely ascribed to Athanasius, vol. II. p. 413.

In the fourth Dialogue *de Trinitate*, Ath. vol. II p. 531. Epiphanius, Hær. LVII. vol. I. p. 487. Hær. LXXIV. 6. p. 894. Hær. LXXVI. p. 977-8. Theodoret's quotation of the passage makes the Unitarian punctuation impossible: he stops at Θεός, and says, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ προσώπῳ τῶν δυὸ φύσεων τὸ διάφορον ἔδειξεν ἕξ Ἰουδαίων μὲν κατὰ σάρκα γεγενημένον, καὶ πάντων δὲ Θεὸν ὡς Θεὸν, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας εὐλογητόν. Hær. Fab. V. 14. vol. IV. p. 287.

exploded and refuted story of the word *God* being wanting in the copies of Cyprian, Hilary, and Chrysostom, in their quotations of this text. This is not true; at least if any MSS. of these authors do omit the word, it must be by accident, because they all introduce the passage where they are expressly arguing that Christ is God.

Mr. Belsham, in his own translation of St. Paul's Epistles, adopts another method of evading this plain text. He alters  $\acute{o} \acute{\omega}\nu$  into  $\acute{\omega}\nu \acute{o}$ , and translates it, "whose is the God over all, blessed for ever." I am not concerned with this alteration any further than to notice, what indeed the reader will have seen, that none of the Ante-Nicene Fathers countenance this transposition. It is in fact arbitrary, unauthorized, and presumptuous; and our astonishment at finding it in Mr. Belsham's translation will be increased, when we read in a work, published by himself only five years before, this very strong argument against admitting it; "This conjecture, ingenious and even probable as it is, not being supported by a single MS. version or authority, *cannot be admitted into the text*:" and yet he has himself admitted it! and being aware that the conjunction *and* after the word *fathers* seemed to denote the last clause of the sentence, whereas his own transposition has added another clause, he omits the conjunction altogether!

In the *Improved Version* it is also stated, that "the early Christian writers pronounce it to be rashness and impiety to say that Christ was God over all." This statement is probably borrowed

from Wetstein, who brings a great many quotations from the Fathers, in which it is said, that Christ is not ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός, *the God over all*. If we examine these quotations, it appears that they all refer to the Sabellian controversy, and that those persons, who had called Christ ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός, intended by the expression that he was God the Father. This of course was denied by the orthodox party, who contended, that Christ was not *over all* in this sense, for the Father is necessarily excluded from being subject to his Son, as is said by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 27. In this sense, and in this sense only, was it allowed and even asserted by the catholics, that Christ was not ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός. The early writers made a distinction between ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός, and ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός. The former is the expression used by St. Paul; and we find Athanasius, who was not concerned with the Sabellian controversy, expressly calling Christ, “the Saviour and mighty God over all<sup>z</sup>.” “The Word of God, who is over all<sup>a</sup>.” “God of God, and over all blessed for ever<sup>b</sup> :” and these expressions of Athanasius are more remarkable, because in other places he applies the same to God the Father<sup>c</sup>. Eusebius, who has been suspected of Arianism, represents the Christian martyrs in Phrygia as calling upon Christ *the God over all*<sup>d</sup>: and he him-

<sup>z</sup> Τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων σωτήρα καὶ δύ-  
νατον Θεὸν λόγον. De Incarn. 55.  
Vol. I. p. 95.

<sup>a</sup> . . . λόγον εἶναι τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν  
ἐπὶ πάντων ὄντα. Ad Episc. Ægypt.  
15. p. 285.

<sup>b</sup> Καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ Θεός ἐστι, καὶ ἐπὶ  
πάντων εὐλογημένος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.  
Or. I. c. Arian. 10. p. 414.

<sup>c</sup> Vol. I. p. 305. 696.

<sup>d</sup> Τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν Χριστὸν  
ἐπιβοηθούμενος. E. H. VIII. 11.  
Jortin would read — Θεὸν καὶ  
Χριστόν. (Remarks on Eccl.-Hist.  
vol. III. p. 174.) Dr. Clarke  
thinks the words τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων  
Θεὸν an interpolation; (Script.  
Doctrine of the Trinity;) and  
they are omitted in a MS. at  
Florence.



self speaks of the Son of God as ἐπὶ πᾶσι Χριστὸν Θεοῦ δύναμιν καὶ Θεοῦ σοφίαν<sup>e</sup>. But when writing against Marcellus, a Sabellian, he says that Christ is not τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν<sup>f</sup>, and he says expressly that the Sabellians taught that “the God who is over all, the “Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, was born of the “Virgin<sup>g</sup>.” I would observe, that our Saviour says, speaking of himself, *He that cometh from above is above all*, ὁ ἄνωθεν ἐρχόμενος ἐπάνω πάντων ἐστίν. John iii. 31.

56. *Irenæi* l. 3. c. 16. §. 7. p. 206.

In the same chapter he says of Christ, “He fulfils “the rich and vast will of his Father, he himself “being the Saviour of those who are saved, and the “Lord of those who are under his dominion, and “the God of the things which are made, and the “only-begotten of the Father, and Christ who was “foretold, and the Word of God, who became incarnate, when the fulness of time arrived, in which “the Son of God was to become the Son of man<sup>h</sup>.”

57. *Irenæi* l. 3. c. 18. §. 1. p. 209.

“Having clearly proved that the Word which in “the beginning was with God, by whom all things “were made, who also was always present with “mankind, in these last days, according to the time “prefixed by the Father, was united unto his own “creation, and became man capable of suffering: it

<sup>e</sup> Demonst. Evang. V. 1. p. 212.

<sup>f</sup> P. 8.

<sup>g</sup> De Eccles. Theol. II. 1. p. 104: 4. p. 107.

<sup>h</sup> Diviti enim et multæ voluntati Patris deservit, cum sit ipse Salvator eorum qui salvantur, et

Dominus eorum qui sunt sub dominio, et Deus eorum quæ constituta sunt, et unigenitus Patris, et Christus qui prædicatus est, et Verbum Dei, incarnatus cum advenisset plenitudo temporis, in quo Filium hominis fieri oportebat Filium Dei.

“ follows, that all contradiction is excluded of those  
 “ who say, *if Christ was born at that time, there-*  
 “ *fore he did not exist before.* For we have proved,  
 “ that the Son of God did not then begin to be, hav-  
 “ ing always existed with his Father; but when he  
 “ became incarnate, and was made man, he summed  
 “ up in himself the whole human race, giving us  
 “ salvation<sup>i</sup>,” &c.

58. *Irenæi* l. 3. c. 18. §. 7. p. 211.

He here continues the demonstration of Jesus Christ being God and man, and uses these remarkable words; “ Jesus therefore, as we have said be-  
 “ fore, united man with God. For if it had not  
 “ been a man who conquered the adversary of man,  
 “ the enemy would not have been rightly conquered.  
 “ And again, if it had not been God who gave sal-  
 “ vation, we should not have had it securely. And  
 “ if man had not been united to God, he could not  
 “ have partaken of immortality. For it was neces-  
 “ sary that the mediator between God and man, by  
 “ his own relationship to both, should bring both to  
 “ friendship and unanimity; that he should present  
 “ man to God, and make God known to men<sup>k</sup>.”

<sup>i</sup> Ostenso manifeste, quod in principio Verbum existens apud Deum, per quem omnia facta sunt, qui et semper aderat generi humano, hunc in novissimis temporibus, secundum præfinitum tempus a Patre, unitum suo plasmati, passibilem hominem factum, exclusa est omnis contradictio dicentium, *Si ergo tunc natus est, non erat ergo ante Christum.* Ostendimus enim quia non tunc cœpit Filius Dei, existens semper apud Patrem;

sed quando incarnatus est, et homo factus, longam hominum expositionem in seipso recapitulavit, in compendio nobis salutem præstans, &c. *Recapitulavit* is probably the translation of ἀνεκεφαλαιώσατο, the meaning of which verb is, *to bring many things under one head.* Irenæus frequently applies it to Christ, who represented the whole human race. V. 1 Cor. xv. 22.

<sup>k</sup> ἠγάσεν ὄν, καθὼς πρόεφραμεν, τὸν ἄνθρωπον τῷ Θεῷ. Εἰ γὰρ μὴ

Irenæus, with many other Fathers, whose names may be seen in the note, understood Christ to be *a mediator*, because he partook of both natures, the divine and the human.

59. *Irenæi* l. 3. c. 19. §. 2. p. 212.

In this chapter also having said, that those who believed Christ to be a mere man had no chance of eternal life<sup>1</sup>; he observes, that no one of all the sons of Adam is called in the scriptures God or Lord, and adds, that Jesus “above all men that ever lived” is called God and Lord and Eternal King, and “only-begotten, and the Incarnate Word, both by all the Prophets and the Apostles, and by the Holy Spirit himself. But the scriptures would not have testified this of him, if he had been merely a man, like all other men. But that he had in himself above all men that exalted birth, which is of the most high Father, and that he had also that exalted birth which is of a Virgin, both these points the divine scriptures testify of him: and that he was a man, *with no form nor comeliness*, “subject to suffering, sitting upon the foal of an

ἄνθρωπος ἐνίκησε τὸν ἀντίπαλον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, οὐκ ἂν δικαίως ἐνίκηθη ὁ ἐχθρός. Πάλιν τε, εἰ μὴ ὁ Θεὸς ἐδωρήσατο τὴν σωτηρίαν, οὐκ ἂν βεβαίως ἔσχομεν αὐτήν. Καὶ εἰ μὴ συνηνώθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῷ Θεῷ, οὐκ ἂν ἠδυνήθη μετασχεῖν τῆς ἀβρααμίας. Ἔδει γὰρ τὸν μεσίτην Θεοῦ τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων, διὰ τῆς ἰδίας πρὸς ἑκατέρους οἰκειότητος, εἰς φιλίαν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους συναγαγεῖν· καὶ Θεῷ μὲν παραστήσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀνθρώποις δὲ γνωρίσαι τὸν Θεόν. This may be compared with the quotation from Hippolytus at N<sup>o</sup>. 175. and from Cyrian at N<sup>o</sup>. 283.

The same is said by Clem. Alex. Pæd. III. 1. p. 251. Tertull. de Resur. Carnis, 51. p. 357. Novatian. XVIII. Lactant. Instit. IV. 13. p. 303. Athanasius, cont. Apol. I. 11. vol. I. p. 931. Epiphani. Ancor. 44. vol. II. p. 49.

<sup>1</sup> §. 1. Qui nude tantum hominem eum dicunt ex Joseph generatum — ignorantes autem eum, qui ex Virgine est, Emmanuel, privantur munere ejus, quod est vita æterna — §. 1.

“*ass*; that he had vinegar and gall to drink; that he was despised by the people, and condescended even to death; and that he is the holy Lord, and *wonderful Counsellor*, and beautiful in appearance, and *the mighty God*, coming on the clouds to judge all men—all these things the scriptures prophesied concerning him <sup>m</sup>.” Dr. Priestley endeavours to prove, that the Gnostics were the only persons who were considered as heretics for two or three centuries after Christ <sup>n</sup>: and he says of Irenæus, that though he mentions the Ebionites, he takes no notice at all of any Gentile Unitarians. The object of this remark is to persuade us that Irenæus did not consider the Unitarian doctrines as heretical: and yet we find Irenæus saying, as quoted above, that *those who believed Christ to be a mere man had no chance of eternal life*. Surely this is the Unitarian doctrine, and Irenæus as surely considered it to be heretical. It is plain also from his words at N<sup>o</sup>. 57, that he looked upon those persons as heretics, who denied the preexistence of Christ, which is also a doctrine of the modern Unitarians.

60. *Irenæi* l. 3. c. 20. §. ult. p. 214.

“Again, it was foretold that it was neither to be

<sup>m</sup> Quoniam autem ipse proprie præter omnes qui fuerunt tunc homines, Deus, et Dominus, et Rex æternus, et Unigenitus, et Verbum incarnatum prædicatur et a prophetis omnibus, et Apostolis, et ab ipso Spiritu, adest videre, &c.—Hæc autem non testificarentur Scripturæ de eo, si similiter ut omnes homo tantum fuisset. Sed quoniam præclaram præter omnes habuit in se eam, quæ est ab altissimo Patre, genituram, præ-

clara autem functus est et ea, quæ est ex Virgine, generatione, utraque Scripturæ divinæ de eo testificantur: et quoniam homo indecorus et passibilis, et super pullum, &c. &c.—et quoniam Dominus Sanctus, et mirabilis Consiliarius, et decorus specie, et Deus fortis, super nubes veniens universorum Judex, omnia de eo Scripturæ prophetabant.

<sup>n</sup> History of early Opinions, I. p. 237, and 274, &c.

“ a mere man who saves us, nor yet without flesh,  
 “ (Isaiah lxiii. 9.) and that he should begin to be a  
 “ real, visible man, although he was the Word giving  
 “ salvation, (ib. xxxiii. 20.) and that he was not  
 “ merely a man who died for us—and that the  
 “ Son of God, who is God, was to come from that  
 “ part which is to the south-west of the inheritance  
 “ of Judah; and that he who was of Bethlehem,  
 “ where the Lord was born, should send forth his  
 “ praise into all the world, as the prophet Habakkuk  
 “ says, (ch. iii. 3, 4.) manifestly shewing that he was  
 “ God, and that his advent was in Bethlehem, and  
 “ from mount Ephrem, which is to the south-west  
 “ of the inheritance, and that he was man<sup>o</sup>.” Ire-  
 næus had evidently a different version of some of  
 these texts, but this does not affect the truth of the  
 doctrine which he supposed to be deduced from  
 them.

61. *Irenæi* l. 3. c. 21. p. 215.

The divine and human nature of Christ are fur-  
 ther proved in this chapter by reference to the  
 prophetic declaration of the Lord to Ahaz; “ God  
 “ therefore became man, and the Lord himself saved

° Rursus quoniam neque ho-  
 mo tantum erit, qui salvat nos,  
 neque sine carne, (sine carne  
 enim Angeli sunt) prædicavit  
 enim, dicens, *Neque Senior, ne-  
 que Angelus, sed ipse Dominus  
 salvabit eos, quoniam diligit eos,  
 et parcat eis, ipse liberabit eos:*  
 (Esai. lxiii. 9.) et quoniam hic  
 ipse homo verus visibilis inci-  
 piet esse, cum sit Verbum sa-  
 lutare, rursus Esaias ait, *Ecce,  
 Sion civitas, salutare nostrum  
 oculi tui videbunt:* (xxxiii. 20.)

et quoniam non solum homo  
 erat, qui moriebatur pro nobis,  
 Esaias ait, — Et quoniam ex  
 ea parte, quæ est secundum  
 Africum hæreditatis Judæ, ve-  
 niet Filius Dei, qui Deus est—  
 sicut ait Habacuc Propheta,  
*Deus ab Africo veniet et Sanc-  
 tus de monte Effrem,* &c. mani-  
 feste significans, quoniam Deus,  
 et quoniam in Bethleem ad-  
 ventus ejus, et ex monte Effrem,  
 qui est secundum Africum hæ-  
 reditatis, et quoniam homo.

“ us, giving us the sign of the Virgin <sup>p</sup> :” and in §. 4. “ By the words now quoted, (Isaiah vii. 10.) the “ Holy Ghost has accurately signified his birth, “ which is of a Virgin, and his substance, that he is “ God : (for the name Emmanuel signifies this :) and “ he shews that he was a man, by saying, *butter “ and honey shall he eat*, and by calling him a “ *child*, and, *before he knew to choose good and “ evil*: for all these things are tokens of a human “ child. But that *he shall not consent to iniquity “ that he may choose the good*, this is peculiar to “ God; that by his eating butter and honey we “ might not suppose him to be a mere man, nor “ yet from the name Emmanuel suspect him to be “ God without flesh <sup>q</sup>.”

62. *Irenæi* l. 4. c. 5. §. 2. p. 232.

The object of this chapter, as of the fourth book in general, is to prove that there is only one true God, in opposition to the Valentinians, who held that the God of the Old Testament, the Creator of heaven and earth, was not the same as the Father of Christ. He shews, that the Law and the Prophets spoke only of one true God, who was also preached by Jesus Christ and his Apostles, and he concludes; “ He therefore who was worshipped by the Prophets,

<sup>p</sup> Ὁ Θεὸς οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς, δοὺς τὸ τῆς παρθένου σημεῖον.

<sup>q</sup> Diligenter igitur significavit Spiritus Sanctus per ea quæ dicta sunt generationem ejus, quæ est ex Virgine, et substantiam, quoniam Deus: (Emmanuel enim nomen hoc significat,) et manifestat quoniam homo, in eo quod dicit, *Butyrum et mel manducabit*: et in eo quod *infantem*

nominat eum, et priusquam cognoscat bonum et malum: hæc enim omnia signa sunt hominis infantis. Quod autem non consentiet nequitiae, ut eligat bonum, proprium hoc est Dei, uti non per hoc, quod manducabit butyrum et mel, nude solummodo eum hominem intelligeremus, neque rursus per nomen *Emmanuel* sine carne eum Deum suspicaremur.

“ the living God, He is the God of the living, and  
 “ His Word, who also spake with Moses, who also  
 “ refuted the Sadducees—Christ therefore with  
 “ the Father is the God of the living, who spake  
 “ with Moses, and was revealed to the patriarchs<sup>r</sup>.”

The testimony here borne to the divinity of Christ is so much the stronger, because Irenæus is contending that there is *only one God* mentioned in the Old Testament: and since he here argues that Christ is the God who is spoken of in the Old Testament, it follows, that he must have believed him to be of one substance with the Father, very and eternal God.

63. *Irenæi* l. 4. c. 6. §. 7. p. 234-5.

Valentinus and the Gnostics did not deny that Christ was God, but they said that he was not the same with the God of the Old Testament. Irenæus shews that the God, whom Christ preached, was the same with the God of the Old Testament, who created heaven and earth: hence he argues, from the confession of the Gnostics themselves, that Christ, since he was God, must be the same with the God of the Old Testament. “ He was one and  
 “ the same, the Father having subjected all things  
 “ unto him, and he has received testimony from all,  
 “ that he is truly man and truly God, from the Fa-  
 “ ther, from the Spirit, from angels, from creation  
 “ itself, from men, and from apostate spirits, and  
 “ from devils, and from the enemy, and lastly from  
 “ death itself<sup>s</sup>.”

<sup>r</sup> Qui igitur a Prophetis adorabatur Deus vivus, hic est vivorum Deus, et Verbum ejus, qui et loquutus est Moysi, qui et Sadduceos redarguit—Ipse

igitur Christus cum Patre vivorum est Deus, qui loquutus est Moysi, qui et Patribus manifestatus est.

<sup>s</sup> Non ergo alius erat qui

64. *Irenæi* l. 4. c. 11. §. 4. p. 240.

In continuation of the same subject, he says, “ If therefore the very same God is come, who was foretold by the prophets, our Lord Jesus Christ, and his coming has given a fuller grace and a greater distribution of gifts to those who received him, it is plain that it is the very same Father who was announced by the prophets ; and the Son, when he came, did not spread the knowledge of another Father, but of the same who was spoken of from the beginning †,” &c. &c. He argues from the mutual testimony which the prophets in the Old Testament, and Jesus Christ in the New, bore to each other. All that the prophets foretold was fulfilled in Jesus : whatever Jesus said of God his Father, agrees with what is said of God in the Old Testament. Jesus did not therefore reveal another God ; nor are there more Gods than one, but the Father and the Son, who are together one and the same God.

65. *Irenæi* l. 4. c. 20. §. 4. p. 254.

It is the object of this chapter to prove that there is only one God, viz. He, who made the world ; and he says, “ There is therefore one God, who made and arranged all things by His Word and Wisdom : but this is the Creator, who also gave this world to the human race ; who in His exceeding greatness was unknown to all those who were made by Him — But according to His love is known

cognoscēbatur, et alius qui dicebat, *Nemo cognoscit Patrem*, sed unus et idem, omnia subiciente ei Patre, et ab omnibus accipiens testimonium, quoniam vere homo, et quoniam vere

Deus, a Patre, a Spiritu, &c. &c.

† Si ergo idem ipse adest, qui prædicatus est a Prophetis, Deus Dominus noster Jesus Christus, et adventus ejus pleniorē, &c. &c.



“ always by him, through whom He ordained all things. But this is His Word, our Lord Jesus Christ, who in these last days was made man among men, that he might join the end to the beginning, i. e. man to God. And therefore the prophets, receiving the gift of prophecy from the same Word, foretold his coming according to the flesh, by whom the conjoining and communion of God and man was made according to the Will of the Father, the Word of God foretelling from the beginning, that God should be seen by men, and should live with them upon earth, and should converse with them, and be present with His creation, saving it, and capable of being perceived by it, and freeing us from the hands of all who hate us<sup>u</sup>,” &c.

In this passage the following points are asserted : that he who came to save us, who was seen on earth and conversed with man, was the same who inspired the prophets ; that by him God ordained all things, and that he was himself God and man.

66. *Irenæi* l. 4. c. 38. §. 1. p. 284.

“ For this reason also our Lord in the latter times,

“ Unus igitur Deus, qui Verbo et Sapientia fecit et aptavit omnia : hic est autem Demiurgus, qui et mundum hunc attribuit humano generi, qui secundum magnitudinem quidem ignotus est omnibus his, qui ab eo facti sunt — secundum autem dilectionem cognoscitur semper per eum, per quem constituit omnia. Est autem hic Verbum ejus, Dominus noster Jesus Christus, qui novissimis temporibus homo in hominibus factus est, ut finem conjungeret

principio, id est, hominem Deo. Et propterea Prophetæ ab eodem Verbo propheticum accipientes charisma prædicaverunt ejus secundum carnem adventum, per quem commixtio et communio Dei et hominis secundum placitum Patris facta est, ab initio prænuntiante Verbo Dei, quoniam videbitur Deus ab hominibus, et conversabitur cum eis super terram, et colloqueretur, et adfuturus esset suo plasmati, salvans illum, et perceptibilis ab eo, &c.

“ having summed up every thing in himself, came  
 “ unto us, not as he might have come, but as we  
 “ were able to behold him ; for he might have come  
 “ to us in his incorruptible glory : but we could  
 “ never have borne the greatness of his glory <sup>x</sup>.”  
 Compare N<sup>o</sup>. 6. p. 7.

67. *Irenæi* l. 5. c. 17. §. 3. p. 314.

The following words belong to a different argument, but they require no introductory remarks to make them plain. “ Jesus therefore by remitting  
 “ sins cured men, and manifestly shewed himself  
 “ who he was : for if no one can remit sins except  
 “ God alone, but the Lord remitted these and cured  
 “ men, it is plain that he was the Word of God,  
 “ being made the Son of man, receiving from the  
 “ Father the power of the remission of sins, that he  
 “ was man, and that he was God ; that like as he  
 “ suffered with us as man, he had compassion upon  
 “ us as God <sup>y</sup>.”

68. *Irenæi* l. 5. c. 19. §. 1. p. 316.

The expression of Irenæus, that the Virgin Mary  
 “ received the glad tidings by the word of the angel,  
 “ that she should conceive God <sup>z</sup>,” is a very strong  
 proof of the doctrine which we are maintaining, and

<sup>x</sup> Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν καιρῶν ἀνακεφαλαιωσάμενος εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα, ἦλθε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, οὐχ ὡς αὐτὸς ἠδύνατο, ἀλλ' ὡς ἡμεῖς αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν ἠδυνάμεθα· αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἀφθάρτῃ αὐτοῦ δόξῃ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν ἠδύνατο· ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οὐδεπώποτε τὸ μέγεθος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ βαστάζειν ἠδυνάμεθα.

<sup>y</sup> Peccata igitur remittens hominem quidem curavit, semetipsum autem manifeste ostendit quis esset. Si enim nemo pot-

est remittere peccata, nisi solus Deus, remittebatur autem hæc Dominus, et curabat homines : manifestum, quoniam ipse erat Verbum Dei, Filius hominis factus, a Patre potestatem remissionis peccatorum accipiens, quoniam homo, et quoniam Deus ; ut quomodo homo compassus est nobis, tamquam Deus miseretur nostri, &c.

<sup>z</sup> Per angelicum sermonem evangelizata est, ut portaret Deum.

reminds us of the epithet of Θεοτόκος, *Mother of God*, which many of the Fathers have applied to the Virgin Mary.

Socrates indeed tells us <sup>a</sup>, that Nestorius publicly condemned the use of this word, as involving an impossibility, that God should be born of a human being like Mary. Nestorius was accused of separating the nature of Christ into two distinct persons, as if one person had performed the actions suitable to the divine nature, and a different person had suffered, &c. as man : and it might be supposed, that he objected to the term *Mother of God*, because he believed Jesus Christ to be a mere man. He was in fact charged with this heresy by his enemies <sup>b</sup> : but Socrates, who was contemporary with Nestorius, tells us, that the charge was false, and that Nestorius did not believe Jesus to have been a mere man ; and that it was only the words *Mother of God*, to which he objected. We must remember also, that the dispute about this term was not heard of till the fifth century, when, as Socrates tells us, the prohibition issued by Nestorius was received with the greatest alarm by the clergy and laity, “ who had been taught from ancient times to consider Christ as God, and by no means to separate him as a man, on account of his incarnation, from the Godhead <sup>c</sup>.”

<sup>a</sup> H. E. VII. 32.

<sup>b</sup> The same charge is made by Tillemont, Mem. tom. I. p. 123 : but Jortin appears to be correct in saying, “ In the Nestorian controversy, the contending parties seem to have been all of one opinion as to the doctrine of the Trinity, in opposition to the

“ Arians, and to have held the consubstantiality, coeternity, and natural coequality of the three divine Persons or Hypostases.” Remarks, vol. IV. p. 278.

<sup>c</sup> Ἦσαν γὰρ πάλαι διδασκόμενοι θεολογεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν, καὶ μηδαμῶς αὐτὸν τῆς οἰκονομίας, ὡς ἄνθρωπον, χωρίζουν ἐκ τῆς θεότητος. P. 380.

It has been asserted, that the title of Θεοτόκος, or *Mother of God*, was not given to the Virgin till the time of the third council of Ephesus, A. D. 430<sup>d</sup>: but this is a mistake. The Fathers convened at that council, who approved of the use of the term, expressly said, that the holy Fathers before them did not hesitate to use it<sup>e</sup>. Evagrius, who agrees with Socrates in relating the controversy, says<sup>f</sup>, that the word had been used by many celebrated Fathers; and John bishop of Antioch, who wrote to Nestorius upon the subject, asserts the same thing<sup>g</sup>. Socrates expressly names Eusebius and Origen as having used the term: and accordingly we find it in the Life of Constantine<sup>h</sup> and in the treatise against Marcellus<sup>i</sup>, written by Eusebius; and in Origen's Commentaries upon Deut. xxii. 23<sup>k</sup>. and upon Luke<sup>l</sup>. Socrates says, that it was used by Origen in the first volume of his Commentary upon the Epistle to the Romans: but the Latin translation of this Commentary by Rufinus, which is all that

<sup>d</sup> See Præf. Benedict. in Origen. II. p. ii.

<sup>e</sup> Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, who presided at the council, has these words: "Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἡ Θεοτόκος φωνὴ καὶ αὐτοῖς γέγονε συνήθης τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν ἀγίοις πατράσιν, οἱ καὶ ἐπ' ὀρθῇ θαυμάζονται πίστει, καὶ εἰς δεῦρο πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνα πάσαν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τὴν ἐπ' οὐρανὸν, δεῖν φήθησαν ἀληθῶς ἀποφῆναι. Ep. ad Regin.

<sup>f</sup> I. 2.

<sup>g</sup> Tom. I. Concil. Hard. col. 1329. Theodoret's words are particularly strong: τῶν πάλαι καὶ πρόπαλαι τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως κηρύκων κατὰ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν παράδοσιν Θεοτόκον διδαξάντων ὀνομάζειν,

καὶ πιστεύειν τὴν τοῦ κυρίου μητέρα. Hær. Fab. IV. 12. vol. IV. p. 245.

<sup>h</sup> III. 43.

<sup>i</sup> II. i. p. 32.

<sup>k</sup> II. p. 391.

<sup>l</sup> The word does not appear in the Benedictine edition of 1740, but the fragment which is published there, III. p. 979-80. is also published by Gallandus, IV. Append. p. 87; and after the words σύμφωνα τῷ υἱῷ φθέγγεται we are to supply ἡ Ἐλισάβετ ἀναξίαν ἐαυτὴν τῆς παρουσίας τῆς Θεοτόκου λέγουσα, ὡς περ καὶ ὁ Ἰωάννης τῆς πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν παραστάσεως κ. τ. λ.

remains, does not contain any indication of the word <sup>m</sup>.

We have another instance of it being used in the time of Constantine by Alexander bishop of Alexandria, in a letter which he wrote to his namesake of Constantinople <sup>n</sup>.

In the Disputation between Archelaus and Manes <sup>o</sup>, which was held about the year 277, we find the words *Maria Dei Genitrice*; and since the work, now extant, is merely a translation from the Greek, we may suppose that the word Θεοτόκου existed there. Beausobre <sup>p</sup> would have us believe that Archelaus did not really use this expression, and that it is an interpolation: but he assigns no reason beyond his own opinion; and upon questions of opinion Beausobre is a dangerous guide.

Dionysius, who was bishop of Alexandria from 247 to 264, in a work which he wrote a short time before his death, applies this title to the Virgin several times <sup>q</sup>; and in one place he calls her literally ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Θεοῦ, p. 265 <sup>r</sup>.

But Origen, as we have seen, had already used the term: and even before the time of Origen, there is reason to think that it had been adopted by Hippolytus, who flourished about the year 220 <sup>s</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> It has been thought that it existed there in I. 5. (IV. p. 466.)

<sup>n</sup> Theodoret. I. 4. p. 20.

<sup>o</sup> Published by Dr. Routh in the Reliquiæ Sacræ. IV. p. 219.

<sup>p</sup> Hist. de Maniché, vol. I. p. 111.

<sup>q</sup> P. 211, 238, 240, 245, 261, 264, 274.

<sup>r</sup> So Athanasius, in a work of

which we have only a Latin translation, speaks of *Deum paritura Maria*. De Trin. et Sp. Sancto. vol. I. p. 974.

<sup>s</sup> It is in a fragment preserved by G. Syncellus, Chronogr. p. 219. Part of this fragment is given in the edition of Hippolytus referred to in this work, I. p. 272; but not the latter part of it, which contains

It is not improbable, that the original Greek of Irenæus contained this word : and the passage quoted above, of which we have now only a Latin translation, may have been οὕτως καὶ αὐτὴ διὰ τοῦ ἀγγελικοῦ λόγου εὐγγέλθη ὡς Θεοτόκος οὔσα.

We may observe also, that Ignatius, who lived so much earlier than any of these writers, made use of an expression equally strong; "Our God Jesus Christ " was conceived by Mary<sup>t</sup>:" and Tertullian says, that "God suffers himself to be born in his mother's " womb<sup>u</sup>."

Thus we may trace the same idea, though not perhaps the same words, in regular succession, through the following writers; Ignatius, Irenæus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Origen, Dionysius of Alexandria, Archelaus, Alexander of Alexandria, Eusebius: and of these we may observe, that Dionysius was pupil of Origen, as Origen was of Hippolytus, and Hippolytus of Irenæus; so that we might naturally expect to meet with similar expressions in their writings<sup>x</sup>.

The term Θεοτόκος, or *Mother of God*, could only have been used by those who believed in the highest sense of the doctrine that Jesus Christ was God. That God should have been born of a woman, seems

the word Θεοτόκος. It may be seen in Reliquiæ Sacræ, II. p. 215. In vol. II. of Hippolytus, p. 32. there is another fragment, in Latin, which contains the word *Deipara*.

<sup>t</sup> Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς δὲ Χριστὸς ἐκνοφερήθη ἐπὶ Μαρίας. ad Eph. §. 18. p. 15.

<sup>u</sup> Nasci se Deus in utero patitur matris. De Patientia c. 3. p. 140.

<sup>x</sup> Between the time of the council of Nice and the council of Ephesus, other Fathers used the term Θεοτόκος. e. g. Athanas. Orat. III. c. Arian. 14. vol. I. p. 563. ib. 29. p. 579. ib. 33. p. 583. Orat. IV. 32. p. 642. De Incarn. 8. p. 875. 22. p. 889. Cont. Apol. I. 4. p. 924. 12, 13. p. 932. In Psalm lxxxv. 11. p. 1151.

so incomprehensible to our limited faculties, that some other form of conveying the same sentiment would have been chosen, if the early Fathers had not believed that Jesus was verily and substantially God. But being convinced of this doctrine, they felt no offence at the word: they did not seek to explain the mystery, but, finding it in the revealed word of God, they expressed it by a term which implied the mystery in its most inexplicable form, and left no room for their own belief to be called in question.

I may close this discussion by observing, that the expression itself is almost literally to be found in the words of Elizabeth to Mary, (Luke i. 43.) "*Whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me?*" The meaning which Elizabeth attached to the word *Lord* may be seen by comparing verses 25 and 45 of this chapter <sup>γ</sup>.

Having finished the quotations from Irenæus, I may observe, that Dr. Priestley seems entirely to have forgotten the writings of this Father, when he says, that Justin Martyr is the first Christian writer *who adopted the doctrine of the permanent personality of the Logos*<sup>z</sup>: by which he means, that till that time the *Logos* was understood to mean merely the word or power of God. But Irenæus evidently interpreted the beginning of St. John's Gospel in the same manner that we do: he repeatedly speaks of Jesus as the Logos; which proves

<sup>γ</sup> Athanasius appears to have understood the words of Elizabeth in this sense, when he says in the Life of Antony, *καὶ ὁ Ἰωάννης, γενομένης φωνῆς παρὰ τῆς Θεο-*

*τόκου Μαρίας, ἐσκίρτησεν ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει.* §. 36. vol. I. p. 824.

<sup>z</sup> History of early Opinions, II. p. 46. and in many other places.

that he believed in the personality of the Logos; and though the writings of Irenæus are of a later date than those of Justin Martyr, yet his acquaintance with Polycarp, the disciple of St. John, makes it almost certain that the apostle used the term *Logos* in this sense.

CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS. A. D. 194.

The name of this Father, written at length, was Titus Flavius Clemens. It is disputed whether he was a native of Alexandria or of Athens; but his long residence in the former city has given him the name, by which he is distinguished from Clement of Rome. From an expression in Eusebius<sup>a</sup>, he appears to have been converted at an early age from heathenism. He became president of the Catechetical School of Alexandria about the year 190; and one of his hearers there was the celebrated Origen. Du Pin thinks that he did not die before the year 220.

The works which have come to us entire, or nearly so, as written by him, are, an Exhortation to the Gentiles; the *Pædagogus*, or Instructor, in three books; and eight books of *Stromata*, or Miscellanies. There is also a short treatise, which seems unquestionably to be his, entitled, *What rich man can be saved?* Dodwell thought that all his works were written between the years 193 and 195.

69. *Clementis Cohort. ad Gentes*, c. 1. p. 6, 7.

The object of this work of Clement is nearly explained in the title. He wrote it, that he might persuade the different nations of the world to be-

<sup>a</sup> Præp. Evang. II. 2. p. 61.



lieve the Gospel: and he accordingly gives in this treatise a summary of all that Christians believed concerning the Founder of their religion. Not far from the beginning of the work he has these words: "The Word therefore, that is, Christ, is the cause of our original being, for he was in God; and he is also the cause of our well-being; since this same Word, who is alone both God and man, hath appeared unto men as the cause of all good things to us: by whom we are instructed in living well, and conducted to eternal life. For, according to the inspired apostle of our Lord, (Tit. ii. 11.) *The grace of God that bringeth salvation to all men<sup>b</sup> hath appeared, teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.* "This is the new song<sup>c</sup>, the appearance, which has now shone forth among us, of the Word who was in the beginning, and preexisted; the Saviour, who was before, hath appeared lately: he hath appeared, who is in Him who is<sup>d</sup>, because he is the Word who was with God: the Teacher hath appeared, by whom all things were made; the Word, who also in the beginning gave life when he formed us, as the Creator, hath taught us to live well, appearing as a Teacher, that he might afterwards give us eternal life, as God<sup>e</sup>."

<sup>b</sup> I have coupled *πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις* with *σωτήριος* in the translation, rather than with *ἐπεφάνη*.

<sup>c</sup> He had before alluded to the fabulous songs of Orpheus, Amphion, &c. and invited men

to listen to *the songs of Sion*.

<sup>d</sup> See p. 80. note.

<sup>e</sup> Οὕτως (l. αἴτιος) γούν ὁ Λόγος ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ τοῦ εἶναι πάλας ἡμᾶς, ἦν γὰρ ἐν Θεῷ καὶ τοῦ εἶναι νῦν δὴ ἐπεφάνη ἀνθρώποις αὐτὸς αὐτός ὁ

I have translated this passage at length, not only as containing such plain and repeated attestations of the divinity of Christ, but on account of the quotation from Titus ii. 13. It has often been said, that in these words of St. Paul, Jesus Christ is called *the great God* as well as *our Saviour*, though other interpreters refer the expression of *the great God* to God the Father. The passage is, "*looking for the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ*;" προσδεχόμενοι τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. In our authorized version, the words certainly do not necessarily imply that *our Saviour Jesus Christ* is *the great God*; but if we were to translate them, as we are equally authorized in doing<sup>f</sup>, "*the glorious appearing of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ*," it would be obvious to every reader, that the expression *great God* referred to Jesus Christ<sup>g</sup>.

It is surely not too much to say, that the reason for which Clement quotes the passage, as well as his commentary upon it, leads us to infer, that he gave this interpretation to the apostle's words. He says expressly, that our Saviour, who has appeared, is

Λόγος, ὁ μόνος ἄμφω, Θεός τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ἀπάντων ἡμῶν αἴτιος ἀγαθῶν· παρ' οὗ τὸ εὖ ζῆν ἐκδιδασκόμενοι εἰς αἰδίων ζωῶν παρακεμηπόμεθα. Κατὰ γὰρ τὴν θεσπέσιον ἐκείνον τοῦ Κυρίου Ἀπόστολον, ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ κ. τ. λ. τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ φῶμα τὸ καυὸν, ἡ ἐπιφάνεια ἡ νῦν ἐκλάμψασα ἐν ἡμῶν τοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντος καὶ προόντος Λόγου· ἐπεφάνη δὲ ἑναγχος ὁ προὖν Σωτήρ· ἐπεφάνη ἔ ἐν τῷ ὄντι ὡν, ὅτι ὁ Λόγος, ὅς ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν·

Διδάσκαλος ἐπεφάνη, ᾧ τὰ πάντα δεδημιούργηται· Λόγος, ὁ καὶ τὸ ζῆν ἐν ἀρχῇ μετὰ τοῦ πλάσαι παράσχων, ὡς δημιουργός, τὸ εὖ ζῆν ἐδίδαξεν, ἐπιφανείς ὡς διδάσκαλος, ἵνα τὸ αἰεὶ ζῆν ἕσπερον ὡς Θεός χορηγήσῃ.

<sup>f</sup> Dr. Clarke allowed that this construction is grammatical. Scripture Doctrine, p. 88. N<sup>o</sup>. 541.

<sup>g</sup> See Waterland, III. p. 128, &c.

God: so that if he did not actually understand St. Paul to call Jesus Christ *the great God*, he at least calls him so himself.

Many scholars and biblical critics have contended, that the words of St. Paul ought to be translated as here proposed: and if we follow the rule which they have given<sup>h</sup>, that “when two or more personal nouns “of the same gender, number, and case, are connected by the conjunction *and*, if the first has the “definite article, and the second, third, &c. have “not<sup>i</sup>, they all relate to the same person:” we shall be authorized in translating the following passages of the New Testament so as to present the strongest demonstration of the divinity of Christ.

Eph. v. 5. in the kingdom of Christ, who is also God<sup>k</sup>.

2 Thess. i. 12. according to the grace of our God and Lord Jesus Christ<sup>l</sup>.

1 Tim. v. 21. before the God and Lord Jesus Christ<sup>m</sup>.

2 Pet. i. 1. through the righteousness of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ<sup>n</sup>.

<sup>h</sup> Horne's Introduction, II. p. 509.

<sup>i</sup> This distinction, concerning the repetition of the definite article, may be illustrated by a reference to 1 Thess. iii. 11. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς κατευθύναι κ. τ. λ.

<sup>k</sup> Ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ. The Homily in *Nativ. Christi*, falsely ascribed to Athanasius, gives a various reading not noticed by Griesbach, βασιλείᾳ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ, and the text

is quoted to prove that Christ is God. vol. II. p. 413-4.

<sup>l</sup> Κατὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

<sup>m</sup> Ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

<sup>n</sup> Ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Griesbach gives some various readings in this passage; but he does not mention that of the *Synopsis Scripturæ*, ascribed to Athanasius, ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. vol. II. p. 129.

Jude 4. and denying our only Master, God and Lord, Jesus Christ °.

I would observe also, that the text, Titus ii. 13. is very like to 2 Tim. iv. 1. where we read, “ *I charge thee therefore before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and dead at his appearing<sup>p</sup>;*” or, as we might translate it, “ *before the God and Lord Jesus Christ,*” &c. In this text the word *appearing* evidently belongs to Christ, and so we contend that it does in Titus ii. 13. and in each case the *appearing* is coupled with the mention of God and Jesus Christ. The word ἐπιφάνεια, *appearing*, is used five times in the New Testament. At 2 Tim. i. 10. it means the appearance of Christ in the flesh: but in all the other instances it means his second appearance to judge

° Καὶ τὸν μόνον δεσπότην Θεὸν καὶ Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀρνούμενοι, where the propriety of applying these epithets to Jesus Christ, and not to God the Father, may be confirmed by referring to the Second Epistle of St. Peter, which, as is well known, closely resembles the Epistle of St. Jude; and in the parallel passage of St. Peter's Epistle, ii. 1. we find τὸν ἀγοράσαντα αὐτοὺς δεσπότην ἀρνούμενοι, where there can be no doubt that δεσπότην relates to Christ. Athanasius certainly referred δεσπότην Θεὸν to Christ, when he spoke of the Jews τὸν δεσπότην καὶ Θεὸν ἀρησάμενοι, προσκλίναντες ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Βασιλεῖ. In Psalm lxxvii. 9. vol. I. p. 1141. If the treatise *de Communi Essentia Patris, Filii et Spiritus Sancti* be genuine, Athanasius expressly quotes the

text to prove that the Son is called the great God. vol. II. p. 16. It is quoted with the same intent in the Homily in *Nativitatem Christi*, which has also been ascribed, but without reason, to Athanasius. Ib. p. 413. Epiphanius quotes the text among many others which prove the divinity of Christ, Hær. LXXIV. 6. vol. I. p. 894. Theodoret also evidently referred the words *great God* to Christ, Hær. Fab. V. 22. vol. IV. p. 298—300. Eusebius might be thought to allude to this text, when he speaks of the ἐπιφανείας τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Præp. Evang. II. 5. p. 69.

P — ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ μέλλοντος κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν αὐτοῦ.

the world, and is always applied to Jesus Christ, never to God the Father.

The words in Titus ii. 13. are only quoted by one of the Ante-Nicene Fathers beside Clement of Alexandria: and the first passage rather contains an allusion to them than an express quotation. Hippolytus, in his book *de Antichristo* (c. 64.) says, "What is left, but the appearing of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ who is God from heaven?" According to the argument of the Unitarians, we should refer the word *Lord* here not to Jesus Christ, but to God the Father; which seems absurd, because God is mentioned afterwards. If therefore Hippolytus meant the word *Lord* to refer to Christ, it is probable that in Titus ii. 13. where the construction is similar, he would have referred the words *great God* to Christ; and this probability is increased by his expressly applying the title of God to Christ in this place. In the last chapter of the same work he quotes the text thus: "looking for that blessed hope and the appearing of our God and Saviour, at which he will raise up those of us which are holy, and will rejoice with them, glorifying the Father"; in which passage he seems undoubtedly to have intended the coming of the Son and not of the Father. At p. 261. he begins a homily with these words, "All the creations of our God and Saviour are good and very good." The Unitarians would trans-

<sup>9</sup> Τί περιλείπεται, ἀλλ' ἡ ἢ ἐπιφάνεια τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀπ' οὐρανῶν; vol. I. p. 31.

<sup>r</sup> Προσδεχόμενος τὴν μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ἐν ᾗ ἀναστήσας τοὺς

ἀγίους ἡμῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς εὐφρανθήσεται, δοξάζων Πατέρα. p. 33.

<sup>s</sup> Πάντα μὲν καλὰ, καὶ καλὰ λὺαν τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν δημιουργήματα. In Theophan. I. p. 261.

late, "All the creations of God and our Saviour," &c. and according to the analogy of construction in Titus ii. 13. they must refer the term *Saviour* to Christ: so that if Hippolytus did not here call our Saviour God, he must at least have ascribed to him δημιουργήματα, or *works of creation*, together with God the Father. It would perhaps not be going too far to say, that, except in passages which affect a point of doctrine, no person would think of opposing the construction which I am supporting. Who for instance would hesitate to apply the whole of the following sentence to one and the same person, τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν Θεόν<sup>†</sup> ἢ ὅτι τὴν κατὰ τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν I. X. τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ οἰκονομίαν<sup>‡</sup>.

Dr. Routh, in his *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, (vol. II. p. 26.) has advanced many convincing arguments for the construction here maintained.

70. *Clementis Cohort. ad Gentes.* c. 1. p. 8.

Shortly afterwards he quotes Phil. ii. 6. "*who being in the form of God thought it not robbery to be equal with God,*" and instead of adding simply, as St. Paul does, *but made himself of no reputation, or divested himself*, (which would be a better translation of the original,) he says, "but the *compassionate God divested himself<sup>x</sup>*;" by which words it is plain that Clement applied to God what is said of Christ, or in other words he considered Christ to be God.

Since the words in Phil. ii. 5-11. have been explained away by the Unitarians, who contend that there is nothing in the passage which shews the

<sup>†</sup> Euseb. Præp. Evang. I. 1. <sup>x</sup> Ἐκένωσεν δὲ ἑαυτὸν ὁ φιλοκτίρμων Θεός.

p. 4.

<sup>‡</sup> Ib. 3. p. 6.

divinity or preexistence of Christ, I shall bring together some of the passages in the works of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, where allusion is made to this text : and I shall undertake to prove the following points :

That they understood the whole passage to speak of two humiliations of Christ ; the first, when he divested himself of his divinity and assumed the human nature ; the second, when being in our human nature he became obedient to death.

This is the general meaning of the whole passage. With respect to the several parts of it, I shall endeavour to shew,

1. That *being in the form of God* means, that he was essentially and substantially God.

2. That *he thought it not robbery to be equal with God* means, that he did not tenaciously adhere to his equality with God : and *equality* means here a real equality, not a resemblance.

3. That *he made himself of no reputation* means, that to outward appearance he emptied or divested himself of his Godhead.

4. That the two clauses, *he took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men*, should be taken together, as explaining each other. They should be translated, *he took upon him the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men* : i. e. *the form of a servant*, which he assumed, means our human nature.

5. That the exaltation, which followed his humiliation, was merely his returning to the glory which he had before.

In shewing that the Ante-Nicene Fathers attached this meaning to each of the respective clauses, I shall

do little more than bring quotations from their writings to establish each point separately. The quotations will be arranged chronologically according to the time in which each writer lived; which will enable us to see whether the Fathers differed from one another in their interpretations of this passage, or whether they all agreed in viewing it in the same light.

1. The words *being in the form of God*, as applied to Christ, mean that he was essentially and substantially God.

This we have already seen to be asserted by Clement of Alexandria, when he says, in allusion to this text, that "the compassionate God divested himself."

In another place he says, speaking of Christ, "Our Instructor is like to God his Father, whose Son he is, without sin, irreprehensible, and without passion in his soul: God *in the form of man*, undefiled, ministering to his Father's will, God the Word, who is in the Father, who is on the right hand of the Father, and *in form also God*."

Tertullian argues, that *the form of a servant* must mean that Christ was really a man, because *being in the form of God* means that he was really God. He is arguing here against the Marcionites, who allowed the divinity of Christ, but denied the reality of his human body. "The Marcionites think that the apostle supports their opinion about the sub-

Υ' Ἐοῖκεν ὁ Παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν τῷ ματι διάκονος, Λόγος Θεός, ὁ ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ Θεῷ, ὅπερ ἔστιν Πατρὶ, ὁ ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς, σὺν υἱὸς ἀναμάρτητος, ἀνεκίλητος, καὶ καὶ τῷ σχήματι Θεός. Ρῆδ. I. 2. ἀπαθὴς τὴν ψυχὴν' Θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώπου p. 99. σχήματι, ἄχραντος, πατρικῷ θελή-



“ stance of Christ, that there was merely an appear-  
 “ ance of flesh in Christ, when he says, that *being in*  
 “ *the form of God, he thought it not robbery to be*  
 “ *equal with God, but exhausted himself, taking*  
 “ *the form of a servant, not the reality*: and in the  
 “ *likeness of man, not in man*: and being found a  
 “ man in *figure*, not in *substance*, i. e. not in flesh:  
 “ as if figure and likeness and form were not also  
 “ parts of substance. But it is well that elsewhere  
 “ (Col. i. 15.) he calls Christ *the image of the invi-*  
 “ *sible God*: and does he here also place him as *in*  
 “ *the form of God*? In the same manner Christ will  
 “ not be really God, if he was not really man, when  
 “ *in the form of man*. For reality must be excluded  
 “ in each place, if the form and likeness and figure  
 “ are to be ascribed to a mere appearance. But if  
 “ he was declared to be in the form and image, as  
 “ being the Son of the Father, who is really God, he  
 “ was also really found to be a man, in the image  
 “ and form of man, as being the Son of man; for he  
 “ used the word *found* intentionally, i. e. *most as-*  
 “ *surely* a man: for that which is found, is proved  
 “ to be. So also he was found to be God by his  
 “ power, as by his flesh to be man <sup>7</sup>.”

That Marcion himself interpreted this text of

<sup>7</sup> It is not necessary to transcribe this long passage in the original. The reader will remember that Tertullian is not here proving the divinity of Christ but his humanity, and the argument will be equally valid if we reverse it. In the language of Tertullian, if Christ were really and truly man, when *in the form of man*, he was also

really and truly God, when *in the form of God*. adv. Marc. V. 20. p. 486. Athanasius uses the same argument (c. Apol. II. 1. vol. I. p. 940.) ὡςπερ ἡ μορφή τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς τοῦ λόγου θεότητος νοεῖται, οὕτως καὶ ἡ μορφή τοῦ δούλου, ἢ νερὰ τῆς ἀνθρώπων συστάσεως φύσις, σὺν τῇ ὀργανικῇ καταστάσει ὁμολογεῖται.

God descending from His divine nature, is evident also from the following remark of Tertullian. Marcion believed in two Gods, one of whom was superior to the other: and Tertullian says to him, "If God, and indeed the higher God, lowered the greatness of His majesty by such humility, that *he became subject to death, even the death of the cross*"<sup>a</sup>——"

Hippolytus observes; "After that the only-begotten Word of God, who is God of God, *divested himself* according to the scriptures, lowering himself voluntarily to what he was not, and clothed himself with this inglorious flesh"——<sup>b</sup>"

Origen, after having noticed and admired the answer of Abraham to his son, "*God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering,*" thus continues, "For the Lord himself provided a lamb for himself in Christ——and He himself *humbled himself even unto death*"<sup>c</sup>;" where it is plain that Origen considered the person who humbled himself to be the same person who is called God by Abraham.

In another place he says; "If any one therefore despising the humility of Christ, who for our sakes when he was God became man, and *humbled himself even unto death*"<sup>d</sup>," &c. &c.

<sup>a</sup> Si enim Deus, et quidem sublimior, tanta humilitate fastigium majestatis suæ stravit, ut etiam morti subiceret, et morti crucis——. ib. II. 27. p. 395.

<sup>b</sup> Ἐπειδὴ ὁ μονογενὴς τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος, Θεὸς ὑπάρχων ἐκ Θεοῦ, κενώκεν ἑαυτὸν κατὰ τὰς γραφάς, καθείς ἐθελοντῆς ἑαυτὸν εἰς ὑπερ οὐκ ἦν, καὶ τὴν ἄδοξον ταύτην σάρκα

ἠμπέσχετο——E Com. in. Gen II. p. 29.

<sup>c</sup> Ipse namque sibi Dominus ovem providebat in Christo——et ipse *se humiliavit usque ad mortem*. in Gen. Hom. VIII. §. 6. p. 82.

<sup>d</sup> Si quis igitur Christi humilitate contempta, qui propter nos cum Deus esset homo factus

Speaking of the Transfiguration, he says; “ You will ask whether, when he was transfigured before those who were taken up by him to the high mountain, he was seen by them *in the form of God* in which he existed before: since to those who were below he had *the form of a servant*, but to those who followed him after six days to the high mountain, he had not that, but *the form of God*.”

Novatian quotes the whole passage, and has a dissertation upon it: and at those words, *being in the form of God*, he says, “ If Christ were merely a man in the likeness of God, he would not have been spoken of as *in the form of God*: for we know that man is made after *the likeness*, not after *the form* of God — And he was truly said to be *in the form of God*, since he himself is over all things, and has divine power over every creature, and is God like his Father, though he obtained this from his Father, that he should be God and Lord of all, and God after the form of God the Father, begotten and produced by Him <sup>f</sup>.”

est, et humiliavit se usque ad mortem — in Jud. Hom. III. §. 1. p. 464.

<sup>e</sup> Ζητήσεις δὲ εἰ ὅτε μετεμορφώθη ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ ἀναχθέντων εἰς τὸ ὑψηλὸν ὄρος, ἔφθη αὐτοῖς ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ, ἣ ὑπῆρχε πάλαι· ὡς τοῖς μὲν κάτω ἔχον τὴν δούλου μορφῆν, τοῖς δὲ ἀκολουθήσασιν αὐτῷ μετὰ ἕξ ἡμέρας εἰς τὸ ὑψηλὸν ὄρος, οὐκ ἐκείνην, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ. In Matt. tom. XII. §. 37. pag. 5 58.

<sup>f</sup> Si homo tantummodo Christus, in *imagine* Dei, non in

*forma* Dei relatus fuisset: hominem enim scimus ad *imaginem*, non ad *formam* Dei factum — Et merito in *forma* pronuntiatum est Dei, dum et ipse super omnia, et omnis creature divinam obtinens potestatem, et Deus est exemplo Patris; hoc ipsum tamen a Patre proprio consecutus, ut omnium et Deus esset, et Dominus esset, et Deus ad formam Dei patris ex ipso genitus atque prolatus. De Trinitate, c. 17. p. 717.

Dionysius of Alexandria says ; “ But *the form of God* is His Word, and Wisdom is acknowledged “ to be the Son of God, and God himself, being always one person and one substantial person <sup>g</sup>.”

In another place he says ; “ He that endured the “ cross *thought it not robbery to be equal with God*, “ who is the Word of the Father, and our Lord “ God, the Lord of hosts, who was lifted up upon “ the cross <sup>h</sup>.”

This same Father has a long dissertation upon the whole passage, which will be given more at length, when we come to quote from him. He says at p. 254, “ By Christ *being in the form of God*, is meant that the Father is in His Son Christ “ the Word, and Christ in the Father <sup>i</sup>.” At p. 260. “ God disfigured himself, and heard the prayer of “ His suppliants, and *He bowed the heavens and “ came down* (Psalm xviii. 9.) to free us, being free, “ as God, and Lord of glory, Jesus Christ <sup>k</sup>.”

The letter of the council of Antioch (which was held A. D. 269.) contains the following passage : “ The same God and man Jesus Christ was foretold “ in the Law and the Prophets, and is believed in “ the whole church under heaven to be God who “ *divested himself* from being equal with God <sup>l</sup>.”

<sup>g</sup> Ἡ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ μορφή ὁ Λόγος αὐτοῦ, καὶ σοφία υἱὸς Θεοῦ, καὶ Θεὸς αὐτὸς ἀμολόγηται, ἐν πρόσωπον ὧν αἰεὶ, καὶ μία ὑπόστασις προσώπου. p. 209.

<sup>h</sup> Οὐχ ἀρκαγμὸν ἠγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ ὁ σταυρὸν ἵπομείνας· ὅς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς Λόγος, καὶ υἱὸς, ἡμῶν δὲ Θεὸς Κύριος, ὁ ἐπὶ σταυροῦ ἠψωθεὶς Κύριος σαβαώθ. p. 229.

<sup>i</sup> — πῶς ὁ Πατὴρ ἐν τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ Χριστῷ Λόγῳ, καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ, ὁ ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ἵκάρων.

<sup>k</sup> Ἐαυτὸν γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ἐδυάπησε, καὶ ἐπήκουσε τῆς δεήσεως τῶν ἱκετῶν αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐκλίενε οὐρανοῦς, καὶ κατέβη, ἐξελεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς, ἐλευθερὸς ὧν, ὡς Θεὸς, καὶ Κύριος τῆς δόξης, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.

<sup>l</sup> Ὁ αὐτὸς Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος

2. I have not met with the phrase *οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἠγείσθαι* in the writings of any of the Fathers of the three first centuries. But in the letter written by the churches of Vienna and Lyons, in which they recount their sufferings and persecution <sup>m</sup>, there is a passage which may explain the sense in which they understood the words. Speaking of their brethren, who had been persecuted, and who though they had not actually died were called martyrs, they say of them, "They were so entirely imitators of Christ, *who being in the form of God thought it not robbery to be equal with God*, that though they had attained to that glory, (of martyrdom,) and not once or twice only but several times had borne witness, (*μαρτυρήσαντες*,) yet did not call themselves martyrs, nor suffer us to address them under that name." Now since these men were literally martyrs or witnesses, but gave up their right to such a title; and in doing so considered themselves to be imitators of Christ, *who thought it not robbery*, &c. they must have conceived that Christ gave up his right to something, or laid aside something, which he was actually in possession of. This was his being *in the form of God*, or being *equal with God*. I therefore understand the words *he thought it not robbery*, &c. to mean, he was not ostentatious of this equality, he acted as if he had it not, he laid it aside. We may perhaps trace the same idea in those words of our Saviour, *He that findeth his life shall lose it.* (Matt. x. 39.) A person, who *finds* a

Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς προφητεύετο ἐν νόμῳ καὶ προφήταις, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν πάσῃ πεπιστευταί Θεὸς μὲν κενώσας ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ

εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ. Rel. Sacr. II. p. 473.  
<sup>m</sup> Euseb. V. 1. &c. Rel. Sacr. I. p. 292.

treasure, *eagerly catches at it*, ἀρπαγμὸν ἡγεῖται τὸν θησαυρόν· but our Saviour is evidently speaking of a person who *clings tenaciously* to his life, preferring it even to the gospel. The expression is perhaps taken from those places in the Old Testament, where a man's life is said to be given *for a prey*: e. g. Jer. xxxviii. 2. xxxix. 18. xlv. 5. The Septuagint translates εἰς εὔρημα.

We cannot learn much from the translation of the words by the Latin Fathers: for they generally render them literally as we do. Tertullian has *non rapinam existimavit esse se æqualem Deo*<sup>n</sup>, and—*pariari Deo*<sup>o</sup>. Cyprian<sup>p</sup> and Novatian<sup>q</sup> both read, *Non rapinam arbitratus est esse se æqualem Deo*. But Rufinus, in his translation of Origen's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, says<sup>r</sup>, that the words mean, *non sibi magni aliquid deputat quod ipse quidem æqualis Deo, et unum cum Patre est*: i. e. he did not think it any great thing that he was equal with God. I conceive this to be the true meaning of the words, which had acquired a sort of proverbial use among ancient writers<sup>s</sup>. Christ being

<sup>n</sup> Adv. Prax. c. 7. p. 504.

<sup>o</sup> Adv. Marc. V. 20. p. 486.  
et de Resurrect. Carnis. c. 6.  
p. 329.

<sup>p</sup> Test. II. 13. p. 290.

<sup>q</sup> De Trinitate, c. 17. p. 717.

<sup>r</sup> V. 2. Vol. IV. p. 553.

<sup>s</sup> Ἀρπαγμα is oftener used than ἀρπαγμὸν in this phrase, and it has been contended that ἀρπαγμὸν ἡγεῖσθαι has not the same meaning as ἀρπαγμα ἡγεῖσθαι. But it is not probable that St. Paul would have observed this distinction, and we may compare his expression

with the following: Ἀρπαγμα τὸ βῆθὲν ἐποιήσατο ἡ Ἀρσάκη. *Arsace eagerly caught at what was said*. Heliod. Æthiop. VIII. 7. τὸν θάνατον ἀρπαγμα θίμενοι τῆς τῶν δυσσεβῶν μοχθηρίας, *thinking death a great prize on account of the savageness of their wicked enemies*. Euseb. H. E. VIII. 12. οἷον ἀρπαγμα τὶ τὴν ἐπάνοδον ποιησάμενοι, *thinking their return home a great prize*. ib. de vita Const. II. 31. Ἄλιον uses a similar phrase, ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ τὴν σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀπραγμοσύνην καὶ τὸν τῆς ἡσυχίας ἔρωτα καὶ ἀρπάσαιμι ἐπι-

by nature equal with the Father did not think highly of this, as he would have done, if he had been raised to such equality from an inferior state, but he even laid it aside<sup>1</sup>: *he divested himself of it*; which is the proper translation of the word *ἐκένωσεν*, and is an allusion to the *pleroma* or divine fulness which St. Paul mentions, Eph. i. 23. Col. i. 19. ii. 9. I shall therefore proceed to the third point, which was proposed to be proved: for Christ's *divesting himself* was a consequence of his *not thinking it robbery*, i. e. not thinking it any great thing *to be equal with God*: and if we can ascertain what the Fathers understood by his *divesting himself*, it will also explain what they understood by *he thought it not robbery to be equal with God*.

3. Irenæus says, that the apostles of the Gentiles had to teach that there was one God, "and that "His Word, who by nature was invisible, became "palpable and visible among men, and *humbled himself unto death, even the death of the cross*."

*δραμὸν, I should think myself very lucky if I could share their ease and tranquillity.* V. H. III. 17. Josephus has the expression, *τὴν ἰκεσίαν ἀρπάζαντες, eagerly catching at this entreaty.* B. J. ii. 18, 10. We may also compare the following expression in Latin:—*non enim aut gravitati senatus congruebat omnia simul deferre, aut bono principi raptum ire tot simul dignitates. A good prince ought not to shew a great eagerness to enjoy so many dignities at once.* Lamprid. Al. Sev. 1. In all these places we may perceive the same sense which Rufinus ex-

presses by *magni aliquid deputare.*

<sup>1</sup> The Pseudo-Athanasius explains the phrase thus: *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Θεὸς βουλευθεὶς καταβῆναι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ σαρκωθῆναι, οὐκ ἐφοβήθη καταβῆναι τοῦ ἀξιώματος: οὐ γὰρ εἶχεν ἐξ ἀρπαγῆς τὴν θείτητα, ὥσπερ τις ἔχει πρᾶγμα ἐξ ἀρπαγῆς, καὶ φοβεῖται ἀπολέσσαι αὐτό.* I conceive this writer to have been certainly mistaken in his allusion to the word *ἀρπαγμὸν*, but his commentary shews that the preexistence of Christ, as God, was supposed to be declared in this passage.

"Et hujus Verbum, naturali-

Origen observes, "That which came down among men was *in the form of God*, and out of benevolence *divested himself*, that he might be comprehended by men: but the change was not to him from good to evil, for *he did no sin*; nor from honour to dishonour, for he did not know sin; nor from happiness did he come to unhappiness: but *he humbled himself*, and yet was no less happy, even when he humbled himself for the benefit of mankind. — But he who healed the wounds of our souls by God the Word that was in him, he was incapable of receiving any harm. But if the Word, the immortal God, by taking a mortal body and soul, seems to Celsus to be changed and transformed, let him know, that the Word continued substantially the Word, nor does it suffer any of the things which the body and soul suffer; but coming down once to that which was not able to look at the dazzling brightness of his divinity, becomes in a manner flesh, speaking corporeally, until he, who receives him as such, being shortly exalted by the Word, is able to contemplate his own, and if I may so say, his primary *form* x."

ter quidem invisibilem, palpabilem et visibilem in hominibus factum, et usque ad mortem descendisse, mortem autem crucis. IV. 24. 2. p. 260.

x Τὸ δὲ καταβεβηκὸς εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ἦρχε· καὶ διὰ φιλανθρωπίας ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν, ἵνα χωρηθῆναι ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων δυναθῆ. οὐ δῆπου δ' ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ εἰς κακὸν γέγονεν αὐτῷ μεταβολή, ἀμαρτίαν γὰρ οὐκ ἐποίησεν· οὐδ' ἐκ καλοῦ εἰς αἰσχρὸν, οὐ γὰρ ἔγνω ἀμαρτίαν· οὐδὲ ἐξ εὐδαιμονίας ἦλθεν εἰς κακοδαιμονίαν· ἀλλ'

ἑαυτὸν μὲν ἐταπεινώσεν, οὐδὲν δ' ἤττον μακάριος ἦν, καὶ ὅτε συμπερόντως τῷ γένει ἡμῶν ἑαυτὸν ἐταπεινῶ. — ὁ δὲ τραύματα τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν θεραπεύων διὰ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ Λόγου Θεοῦ, αὐτὸς πάσης κακίας ἀπαράδεκτος ἦν· εἰ δὲ καὶ σῶμα θνητὸν καὶ ψυχὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀναλαβὼν ὁ ἀθάνατος Θεὸς Λόγος δοκεῖ τῷ Κέλσῳ ἀλλάττεσθαι καὶ μεταπλάττεσθαι, μανθανέτω ὅτι ὁ Λόγος τῆ οὐσίας μένων Λόγος οὐδὲν μὲν πάσχει ὄν πάσχει τὸ σῶμα, ἢ ἡ ψυχὴ· συγκатаβαίνων δ' ἐσθ' ὅτε τῷ μὴ δυνα-



Dionysius of Alexandria says to the heretic Paul of Samosata; “How can you say that Christ is “merely a conspicuous man, and not very God, “worshipped by every creature together with the “Father and the Holy Ghost, who became incarnate “of the blessed Virgin Mary the mother of God? “for he submitted for our sakes to be born of a “woman: whence also he submitted to suffering “for our sakes, having *divested himself, and humbled himself unto death, even the death of the “cross, being equal with God*.” After which he says, “*He thought it not robbery to be equal with “God,* means—that he was not like those who by “virtue and labour, and trouble and contests, take “the kingdom of God by force: it was not thus that “the very Christ Jesus, who was not made perfect “by the exercises of virtue, gained his equality with “God: but *His glory covered the heavens, and “the earth was full of His praise, and His brightness was as the light:* (Hab. iii. 3, 4.) and he himself who truly existed eternally in the Father bears “witness, saying, *I am the light of the world:* “(John viii. 12.) i. e. Lord of the world, having in “himself the Father and the quickening and Holy “Spirit. — *He divested himself:* he was not

μένω αὐτοῦ τὰς μαρμαρυγὰς καὶ τὴν  
λαμπρότητα τῆς θεότητος βλέπειν,  
αἰὼνι σὰρξ γίνεται, σωματικῶς λα-  
λούμενος, ἕως ὃ τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν παρα-  
δεξάμενος κατὰ βραχὺ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λό-  
γου μετεωριζόμενος διηθῆ αὐτοῦ καὶ  
τὴν (ἴν' οὕτως ὀνομάσω) προηγουμέ-  
νην μορφήν θεάσασθαι. c. Cels. IV.  
§. 15. p. 510.

Ὡς σὺ λέγεις ἄνθρωπον κατ-  
εξάρτερον τὸν Χριστὸν, καὶ οὐ Θεὸν

ὄντα ἀληθινόν, καὶ προσκυνούμενον  
παρὰ πάσης κτίσεως σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ  
ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι, τὸν σαρκωθέντα ἐκ  
τῆς ἀγίας παρθένου, καὶ Θεοτόκου  
Μαρίας; δι' ἡμᾶς γὰρ κατεδέξατο  
γενέσθαι ἐκ γυναικός· ἴδεν καὶ τὸ  
πάθος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατεδέξατο, κενώ-  
σας ἑαυτὸν, καὶ ταπεινώσας ἕως θά-  
νάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ, ἴσα Θεοῦ  
ἰκάρχει (i. ἰκάρχων.) p. 210-11.

“ contained in us by leaving the Father : God forbid ! but I will quote to you the words of God himself, which say, *I and the Father will come and make our abode with him*, (John xiv. 23.) “ that believeth on me. — Christ Jesus, who *divested himself*, having in himself the Head, which is the Father, for *the head of Christ is God*, (1 Cor. xi. 3.) *hath shewed strength with his arm, and exalted the humble*, (Luke i. 51.) “ that the Highest might be contained in them, and “ might dwell in us on account of his mercy and “ goodness wherewith he loved us. This is the “ divesture of the right hand of the Most High. So “ that the divesture does not imply his change : God “ forbid ! but a renovation to us by his divesture, “ which he who divested himself gave to us. The “ Holy Spirit which was poured out on all flesh “ remains full : as does the holy and vivifying blood, “ which was shed from the depth of the divine side : “ Jesus Christ who *divested himself* continues full, “ who poured out the incorruptible blood : he continues to live, who poured out his blood which “ gives us life <sup>z</sup>.”

<sup>z</sup> P. 254. Οὐχ ἀρκαγμὸν κ.τ.λ. τούτο λέγει, ὅτι οὐ καθάπερ οἱ δι' ἀρετῆς καὶ πόνων καὶ θλίψεων καὶ ἀγώνων ἀρπάξουσι τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ—οὐχ οὕτως ὁ ὢν Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, οὐ πόνους ἀρετῆς τελειωθείς ἐκέρδανε τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ. ἀλλ' ἐκάλυψε κ.τ.λ. καὶ μαρτυρεῖ αὐτὸς ὁ ἀληθῶς αἰεὶ ὑπάρχων ἐν τῷ πατρὶ, λέγων, ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου· ὃς ἐστὶ δεσπότης τοῦ κόσμου, ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸ ζῶσιον καὶ Κύριον Πνεῦμα· ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν—p. 255. οὐ λικῶν τὸν πατέρα, ἐχωρήθη ἐν ἡμῖν· μὴ

γένοιτο· ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ σοι παραστήσω φωνήν, λέγουσαν, ὅτι ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐλευσόμεθα κ.τ.λ.— p. 256. ὁ κενώσας αὐτὸν Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν κεφαλὴν τὸν πατέρα, κεφαλὴ γὰρ Χριστοῦ ὁ Θεός, ἐποίησε κράτος κ.τ.λ. ἵνα χωρηθῆ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁ ὑψίστος, καὶ ἐνοικήσῃ ἐν ἡμῖν διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φιλοανθρωπίαν καὶ ἀγαθότητα, ἣν ἠγάπησεν ἡμᾶς· αὐτὴ ἡ κένωσις τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ ὑψίστου· ὥστε οὐκ ἡ κένωσις οὐ τραπεὴν αὐτῷ σημαίνει, μὴ γένοιτο, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν ἀνακαινισμόν διὰ τῆς κενώσεως αὐτοῦ, ἧς ἐχαρίσατο ἡμῖν ὁ κενώσας

Peter of Alexandria says, "The Word was made flesh by the Will of God, and *being found in fashion as a man* was not bereft of his divinity. "For this was not done that he who was rich, by becoming poor, might give up his power and glory; but that he might submit to death for us sinners <sup>a</sup>."

After these quotations, I cannot help noticing the following assertion of Dr. Priestley, who tells us, "That Christ emptied himself of his former glory and power, and did not sustain the world during his abode on earth, is quite a modern opinion; and on that account only can never be received as the original and genuine doctrine of Christianity <sup>b</sup>." It would be charitable to think that Dr. Priestley had never studied the early Fathers; but his own repeated assertions forbid us to justify his mistatements on these grounds.

4. We might think that Tatian alluded to this text, and conceived *the form of a servant* to mean the form of man, when he says, as quoted at p. 62. that "God was born *in the form of man*."

Clement of Alexandria says, "The Word himself is a mystery revealed, God in man, and man God—but since the flesh is *a servant*, as Paul bears witness, how can any one with reason adorn *a servant*? For that the flesh is *in the form of a*

ἑαυτὸν ἐκχεόμενον τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα μένει πλήρης, καὶ ἐκχεθέν τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν αἷμα ἐκ βάθους τῆς θεϊκῆς πλευρᾶς μένει πλήρης ὁ κενώσας ἑαυτὸν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐκχέας τὸ ἄφθαρτον κ. τ. λ.

<sup>a</sup> Θελήματι Θεοῦ ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ γενόμενος, καὶ σχήματι εὔρεθεις ὡς ἄνθρωπος, οὐκ ἀπελείφθη τῆς Θεότη-

τος. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἵνα τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ ἡ δόξης τελείας ἀποστῆ πτωχεύσας πλούσιος ὢν τοῦτο ἐγένετο· ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ τὸν θάνατον ἰπὲρ ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν ἀναδέξηται. Rel. Sacr. III. p. 344.

<sup>b</sup> History of early Opinions, I. p. 59.

“ *servant*, the apostle tells us, speaking of the Lord, “ that *he divested himself, taking the form of a servant*: he calls the outward man a servant, before that the Lord became a servant, and bore our flesh: but God hath himself freed the flesh, having suffered with it: he hath rescued it from corruption, and the deadly and bitter slavery, and clothed it with immortality <sup>c</sup>.”

Hippolytus makes the river Jordan say, in answer to the question, *What ailed thee, O Jordan, that thou wast driven back?* “ We saw the Creator of all things *in the form of a servant*, and not knowing the mystery of the incarnation, we are driven back through fear <sup>d</sup>.” Hippolytus is treating of the baptism of Christ in the river Jordan.

In another place he says, that David “ wrote prophetic Psalms upon the true Christ our God, and evidently declared all the things which happened to him in his suffering from the Jews, how that Christ *humbled himself and put on the form of the servant Adam* <sup>e</sup>,” &c. And again, after quoting

<sup>c</sup> Λόγος γὰρ αὐτὸς μυστήριον ἐμφανὲς, Θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ ὁ ἀνθρώπος Θεός—— δούλης δὲ οὔσης τῆς σαρκὸς, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Παῦλος μαρτυρεῖ, πῶς ἂν τις εὐκρίτως τὴν θεραπείαν κοσμῶν, προαγωγῷ δίκην; ὅτι γὰρ δούλου μορφὴν τὸ σαρκικόν, ἐπὶ τοῦ Κυρίου φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος, ὅτι ἐκέλευσεν ἑαυτὸν μορφὴν δούλου λαβῶν τὸν ἐκτὸς ἀνθρώπον δούλον προσειπὼν, πρὶν ἢ δουλεῦσαι καὶ σαρκοφορῆσαι τὸν Κύριον· ὁ δὲ συμπαθὴς Θεὸς αὐτὸς ἠλευθέρωσεν τὴν σάρκα τῆς φθορᾶς καὶ δουλείας τῆς θανατηφόρου καὶ πικρᾶς ἀπαλλάξας, τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν περιέθηκεν αὐτῇ, ἅγιον τοῦτο τῇ σαρκὶ καὶ ἀδιότητος καλ-

λόπισμα περιθεῖς, τὴν ἀθανασίαν. Pæd. III. 1. p. 251.

<sup>d</sup> —— αὐτὰ δὲ ἀποκριθέντα εἶπον, τὸν πάντων κτιστὴν ἐν μορφῇ δούλου εἶδομεν, καὶ τὸ μυστήριον τῆς οἰκονομίας ἀγνόησαντες, ἀπὸ τῆς δειλιάς ἐλαυνόμεθα. Hom. in Theophan. c. 2. I. p. 262.

<sup>e</sup> Οὗτος ψάλλων τινα προφητικῶς εἰς τὸν ἀληθῆ Χριστὸν τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν ἐμελέησεν διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, πάντα τὰ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων εἰς αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ πάθει γινόμενα σαφῶς καταγγέλλατο, ἐν ᾧ Χριστὸς ὁ ταπεινώσας ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὴν μορφὴν τοῦ δούλου Ἄδὰμ ἐνδυσάμενος—— cont. Jud. c. 2. II. p. 2.

the 69th and other Psalms as spoken in the person of Christ, he says, "Christ uttered all these prayers "incarnately as man, being very God. But, as I "said before, it was *the form of the servant*, which "said and suffered these things<sup>f</sup>."

Origen quotes the text, Phil. ii. 6, 7, and observes, "He took *the form of a servant*, and though he was "of an invisible nature, as being equal to the Fa- "ther, he yet took a visible appearance, and was "found in appearance *as a man*<sup>g</sup>." And in another place he says, "*To come*, when applied to him, "does not mean to change his place, but that he "appeared, who before was not seen: for being in- "visible, by being *the image of the invisible God*, "by *taking the form of a servant*, and being born, "the Word was seen as flesh, that by appearing "thus he might lead us by this perception to see "also his glory, *the glory of the only-begotten of "the Father*<sup>h</sup>." And again, "The scriptures some- "times call him *a servant*, and sometimes *Son*: a "servant, on account of *the form of a servant*, and "as of the seed of David; but Son of God, on ac- "count of his first-born essence<sup>i</sup>."

<sup>f</sup> Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα Χριστὸς οἰκο-  
νομικῶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἤχρητο, Θεὸς ὢν  
ἀληθινός. Ἄλλ' ὡς φθάσας εἶπον, ἡ  
μορφή τοῦ δούλου ἦν ταῦτα λέγουσα  
καὶ πάσχουσα. ib. c. 4. p. 3.

<sup>g</sup> Formam namque servi ac-  
cepit, et cum ipse invisibilis sit  
naturæ, utpote æqualis Patri,  
habitum tamen visibilem susce-  
pit, et repertus est habitu ut  
homo. In Gen. Hom IV. §. 5.  
p. 72.

<sup>h</sup> Τὸ γὰρ ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν οὐ τὸπον  
ἐστὶν ἀμεῖψαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιφανῆναι,  
πρότερον οὐχ ὁρώμενον· ἰσάκρων γὰρ

ἀόρατος, τῷ εἶναι εἰκὼν Θεοῦ ἀόρατου,  
μορφήν δούλου λαβὼν, καὶ γενόμενος  
ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ᾤφθη, ἵν' οὕτω φανεῖς  
χειραγωγῆσθαι ἡμᾶς διὰ ταύτης τῆς  
κατανόησεως εἰς τὸ καὶ τὴν δόξαν  
αὐτοῦ θεάσασθαι, δόξαν κ. τ. λ. in  
Psalm cxviii. 27. p. 795.

<sup>i</sup> Αἱ ἀγίαί προφητεῖαι ἔπου μὲν  
δοῦλον, ἔπου δὲ υἱὸν αὐτὸν ἀναγορεύ-  
ουσι· δοῦλον μὲν, διὰ τὴν δούλου μορ-  
φήν, καὶ τὸν ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ·  
υἱὸν δὲ Θεοῦ, κατὰ τὴν πρωτότοκον  
αὐτοῦ δυνάμιν. In Joan. X. §. 4.  
p. 165.

Novatian's words are perhaps the most express :  
 " He was content to take *the form of a servant*, i. e.  
 " to become man and the substance of flesh and  
 " body——at which time also he divested himself,  
 " while he did not refuse to take the human weak-  
 " ness of our nature. But if he had been merely  
 " born as a man, he would not by that have divested  
 " or emptied himself : for *a man*, when he is born,  
 " is increased, not diminished. For when he begins  
 " to be that which he could not have had when he  
 " was not, he is not made empty, but is rather in-  
 " creased and enriched. But if Christ is made empty,  
 " by being born, by *taking the form of a servant*,  
 " how is he merely a man? of whom it would be  
 " more correct to say, that he became rich when he  
 " was born, not that he became empty <sup>k</sup>."

5. The following passages may explain what St. Paul meant, when he said of Christ, that "*God hath highly exalted him.*" (Phil. ii. 9.)

Hippolytus says, " The expression *grown up*<sup>1</sup>,  
 " signifies the progress of the glory naturally inhe-  
 " rent in him, and its return to what it was from

<sup>k</sup> Ut formam servi susciperet contentus fuit, hoc est, hominem illum fieri et substantiam carnis et corporis——quo tempore se etiam exinanivit, dum humanam conditionis fragilitatem suscipere non recusavit. Quoniam si homo tantummodo natus fuisset, per hoc exinanitus non esset : homo enim nascens augetur, non exinanitur : nam dum incipit esse quod, cum non esset, habere non potuit, ut diximus, non exinanitur, sed potius augetur atque ditatur.

Ac si Christus exinanitur in eo quod nascitur, formam servi accipiendo, quomodo homo tantummodo est? de quo verius dictum fuisset locupletatum illum esse tunc quum nasceretur, non exinanitum. De Trinitate, c. 17. p. 717.

<sup>1</sup> Instead of "*Joseph is a fruitful bough*," which we read at Gen. xlix. 22. Hippolytus translates, *Joseph is a son grown up*, which he applies to Christ. He follows the LXX.

“ the beginning—For after that the only-begotten  
 “ Word of God, who is God of God, divested him-  
 “ self according to the scriptures, lowering himself  
 “ voluntarily to what he was not, and clothed him-  
 “ self with this inglorious flesh, he is afterwards said  
 “ to be *highly exalted*, and receives *the name which*  
 “ *is above every name*, according to St. Paul’s words,  
 “ as if on account of his human nature he had it  
 “ not, and almost like a favour. But in real truth  
 “ it was not a gift, as of things which originally did  
 “ not naturally belong to him; very far from it: it  
 “ should rather be considered a returning and recur-  
 “ rence to what belonged to him originally and sub-  
 “ stantially, and so as not to be lost. Therefore he  
 “ said, when he had incarnately submitted to the  
 “ meanness of the human nature, *Father, glorify*  
 “ *me with the glory which I had*, &c. (John xvii. 5.)  
 “ for he was always in divine glory, existing toge-  
 “ ther with his own Father before all age and time  
 “ and the foundation of the world <sup>m</sup>.”

Origen uses the same language in commenting upon John xiii. 31. “ *Now is the Son of man glorified, and God is glorified in him.*” His words are, “ The glory, which followed death for man’s

<sup>m</sup> Ἐπειδὴ ὁ μονογενὴς τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος Θεὸς ὑπάρχων ἐκ Θεοῦ κεκένωκεν ἑαυτὸν κατὰ τὰς γραφάς, καθὲς ἐθελούτης ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἕπερ οὐκ ἦν, καὶ τὴν ἀδοξίαν ταύτην σάρκα ἡμπίσχετο, λοιπὸν καὶ ὑπεριϋῶσθαι λέγεται καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἔχων διὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον μονονυχὶ καὶ ἐν χάριτος μοίρᾳ λαμβάνει τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πάντων ὄνομα, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου φωνήν. Ἄλλ’ ἦν τὸ χρῆμα καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς αὐτῷ ὡς ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν οὐκ ἐνότων αὐτῷ φυσικῶς, πολ-

λοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ νοοῖτο δ’ ἂν μᾶλλον ἀναφοίτησις καὶ ἀναδρομὴ πρὸς τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ οὐσιωδῶς καὶ ἀναποβλήτως ὑπάρχον αὐτῷ. Τοιγάρτοι καὶ ἔφασκεν ὁ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος τὸ συμκροπεπὲς ὑποδοῦς οἰκονομικῶς, Πάτερ, δόξασόν με τῇ δόξῃ ἣ εἶχον, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· αἰεὶ γὰρ ἦν ἐν δόξῃ θεοκρεπέϊ τῷ ἰδίῳ συνυπάρχων γεννητορὶ πρὸ παντὸς αἰῶνος καὶ χρόνου καὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου καταβολῆς. In Gen. II. p. 29.

"sake, did not belong to the only-begotten Word, who by nature cannot die, nor to Wisdom and Truth, and all the other divine attributes which are in Jesus; but to the man, who was also Son of man, born of the seed of David according to the flesh——It was the same, I imagine, whom God hath highly exalted when he became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. For the Word, who in the beginning was God with God, does not admit of higher exaltation: but the higher exaltation of the Son of man, which happened to him when he glorified God in his death, was not by his being different from the Word, but the same with it; for if *he that is joined to the Lord is one Spirit*, so that it can no longer be said of such an one and of the Spirit, that they are two; how should we not rather say, that the human nature of Jesus became one with the Word, when the Word, *who thought it not robbery to be equal with God*, was highly exalted, and yet remained in his own exaltation, or rather was restored to it, when he was once more *with God the Word, who is God and man*?" His words are equally plain and more

<sup>n</sup> Πλὴν ἡ διὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων θάνατον δόξα οὐ τοῦ μὴ κεφυκότος ἀποθνήσκειν ἦν μονογενοῦς Λόγου, καὶ σοφίας, καὶ ἀληθείας, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα εἶναι λέγεται τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ θειωτέρων, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὃς ἦν καὶ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, γενόμενος ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ τὸ κατὰ σάρκα——τοῦτον ὄφθαλμοι καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἐπερίψωσε γενόμενον ἐπίσκοπον κ. τ. λ. ὁ γὰρ Λόγος ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν Θεός, οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται τὸ ἐπεριψωθῆναι. Ἡ δὲ ἐπερίψωσις τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου

γενομένη αὐτῷ δοξάσαντι τὸν Θεὸν ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ θανάτῳ, αὕτη ἦν μηκέτι ἕτερον αὐτὸν εἶναι τοῦ Λόγου, ἀλλὰ τὸν αὐτὸν αὐτῷ——πῶς οὐχὶ μᾶλλον τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ μετὰ τοῦ Λόγου λέγομεν γεγενῆσθαι ἐν, ἐπεριψωμένου μὲν τοῦ μὴ ἀρπαγμὸν ἠγασμένου τὸ εἶναι Ἰσα Θεῶν, μένοντος δὲ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ ὕψει, ἢ καὶ ἀποκαθισταμένου ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦ Λόγου, ὅτε πάλιν ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, Θεὸς Λόγος ἐν καὶ ἄνθρωπος; In Joan. XXXII. §. 17. p. 446.



concise when he says, that “ He divested himself, “ coming down hither, and having divested himself, “ he received again those things from which he “ divested himself, having divested himself voluntarily °.”

Novatian writes thus: “ He received *a name which is above every name*, which we understand to be “ no other than the name of God. For since it belongs to God alone to be above all things, it follows, “ that that name is above every thing, which belongs “ to Him who is above all things, i. e. God—For “ if Christ were not also God, *every knee* would not “ *bow at his name, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and under the earth*, visible and invisible; nor would every created thing be subject “ or inferior to a man, since they would have remembered that he before had been a man. Wherefore since Christ is said to be *in the form of God*, “ and is proved *to have divested himself*, so as to “ be born according to the flesh, and is declared to “ have received that name from the Father *which is above every name*—and all this is asserted “ to contribute *to the glory of God the Father*, it “ follows, that he is not only man, because *he became obedient* to his Father, *even to the death of the cross*; but from these very circumstances, “ which declare the divinity of Christ, he is proved “ to be the Lord Christ Jesus and God P.”

° Κενώσας ἑαυτὸν ἐλάβανε πάλιν ταῦτα ἀφ’ ὧν ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν, ἐκῶν κενώσας ἑαυτὸν. Hom. I. in Jerem. p. 129.

P Accepit enim nomen quod est super omne nomen, quod utique non aliud intelligimus esse,

quam nomen Dei. Nam quum Dei sit solius esse super omnia, consequens est, ut nomen illud sit super omne, quod est ejus, qui super omnia est, Dei.—Neque enim si non et Deus esset Christus, omne se in nomine ejus ge-

Methodius gives his interpretation of the text thus: "The Son of God came from the fulness of the Godhead into life: for *being divested*, and having taken *the form of a servant*, he was again fully restored to his own perfection and rank. For being diminished in himself, and dissolved in his own parts, he was again restored from his own diminution and his own parts to his own fulness and magnitude, never having been diminished so as not to be perfect<sup>9</sup>."

These are some of the passages in which the Ante-Nicene Fathers allude to the text, Phil. ii. 6. &c<sup>r</sup>: and when the reader has compared them together, I would ask the simple question, whether he thinks that the Fathers agreed with the Unitarians in saying, that "this text admits of a fair interpretation consistent with the proper humanity

*nu flecteret, caelestium, terrestrium et infernorum, nec visibilia aut invisibilia, aut rerum omnium omnis creatura homini esset subjecta sive substrata, quæ se ante hominem esse meminisset. Ex quo dum in forma Dei esse Christus dicitur, et dum in nativitatem secundum carnem se exinanisse monstratur, et dum id accepisse nomen a Patre quod sit super omne nomen exprimitur,—et hoc ipsum in gloriam Dei Patris succurrere asseritur, consequenter non ex illò tantum homo est, quia obediens Patri factus est usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis, sed ex his etiam rebus superioribus divinitatem Christi sonantibus, Dominus Christus Jesus et Deus mon-*

*stratur. c. 17. p. 717.*

<sup>9</sup> — εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀπὸ τοῦ πληρώματος τῆς θεότητος εἰς τὸν βίον ἐληλυθὸς. κενωθείς γὰρ καὶ τὴν μορφὴν τοῦ δούλου προσλαβὼν, εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τελειότητα πάλιν ἀνεπληρώθη καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐν ἑαυτῷ σμικρυνθεὶς, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μέρεσιν ἀναλυθεὶς, ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σμικρότητος καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ μερῶν εἰς τὴν συμπλήρωσιν πάλιν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος κατέστη, οὐδέποτε τοῦ τέλειος εἶναι μειωθείς. Sympos. p. 115.

<sup>r</sup> Of the Post-Nicene Fathers, who have noticed this text at any length, see Athanasius, Orat. I. c. Arian. 40. vol. I. p. 444. Epiphanius, Ancor. 45. vol. II. p. 50. Eusebius, de Eccles. Theolog. I. p. 94.

“ of Jesus Christ ?” The Unitarians understand the text to mean—that Jesus Christ being endued with the power of working miracles, so as to resemble God, did not lay claim to this power as his own by right, nor ostentatiously display it for his own advantage; but voluntarily submitted to the labours and the indignities and the punishment of a slave. He appeared like any other mortal, and at length was crucified; wherefore God has made him superior to all former prophets, that all mankind of every condition and degree should be taught by Jesus Christ the worship of the true God<sup>1</sup>.

Whether this was the sense in which the Fathers understood the passage, the quotations given above may serve to shew. The great difference between the two interpretations is this: The Unitarians understand the whole passage to relate to the conduct of Christ while he was upon earth: we conceive that it speaks of two humiliations: one, when the Son of God left the bosom of his Father, to take upon him our human nature; the second, when, being found in fashion as a man, he submitted to die upon the cross. In addition to the former quotations, I may adduce Cyprian as conceiving this to be the general meaning of the passage, when he

<sup>1</sup> Belsham's *Calm Inquiry*, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> Improved Version of the New Testament. Belsham's *Calm Inquiry*, and his Translation of St. Paul's Epistles. Mr. Belsham's translation of the words *ὄχι ἀρπαγμὸν ἠγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ* is unquestionably wrong. He renders them,—*did not peremptorily lay claim to this resemblance of God.* But

the article *τὸ* prefixed to *εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ* shews that this equality was something which he already actually possessed, not something to which he only made a claim. The *Improved Version* is not chargeable with this error. The phrase may be compared with that of Origen, *ἄνθρωπος γεγονὼς οὐκ ἀπέβαλε τὸ εἶναι Κύριος ὁ Θεός.* See No. 231.

brings it as one of the testimonies to prove "that Christ was to come humble at his first advent"; and at N<sup>o</sup>. 284. there will be found another quotation from Cyprian, which, if it does not expressly allude to the present text, at least contains the same doctrine which we are endeavouring to deduce from it. Clement of Rome also, the fellow-labourer of St. Paul, who is mentioned under that title in this very Epistle to the Philippians, might be thought to have had the apostle's words in view, when he said, as quoted at N<sup>o</sup>. 6. "Christ belongs to the humble minded, who do not exalt themselves over his flock. Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Sceptre of the majesty of God, did not come in the pomp of splendour or of pride, although he might have done so, but humble."

I cannot conclude this long discussion better, than by giving the meaning of the passage in the words of Milton, who as an Arian would certainly not have been overzealous to support the divinity of Christ.

Because thou hast, though *thron'd in highest bliss*  
*Equal to God*, and equally enjoying  
 Godlike fruition, *quitted all*, to save  
 A world from utter loss; and hast been found  
 By merit more than birthright Son of God,  
 \_\_\_\_\_ because in thee  
 Love hath abounded more than glory abounds;  
 Therefore thy *humiliation* shall exalt  
 With thee thy manhood also to this throne.

*All knees to thee shall bow, of them that bide*  
*In heaven, or earth, or under earth in hell.*

P. L. III. 305.

<sup>u</sup> Testimon. II. 13. Quod humilis in primo adventu suo venit. p. 289.

71. *Clementis Cohort. ad Gent.* c. 1. p. 9.

Speaking of John the Baptist, he says, "John the herald of the Word—exhorted them to prepare for the coming of God the Christ<sup>x</sup>." This assertion of the divinity of Christ is very plain, since it evidently refers to the words spoken by John in the wilderness: and it also enables us to illustrate two passages in the New Testament, Matt. iii. 3. and xi. 10.

Matthew iii. 3. as well as Mark i. 3. and Luke iii. 4. quote Isaiah xl. 3. thus, "*Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.*" In the Hebrew it is, "*Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God.*" St. Luke also gives the remainder of the quotation, "*and all flesh shall see the salvation of God,*" which, though different from the Hebrew, agrees with the Septuagint. In these words of Isaiah it is God, Jehovah, for whom a way is to be prepared: but the evangelists make John to have fulfilled the prophecy, when he came to prepare the way for Jesus Christ. It follows therefore, as Clement says expressly in the present quotation, that Christ is God.

The other passage is Matt. xi. 10. "*Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee.*" This is a quotation from Malachi iii. 1. which Clement may also have had in view, when he said, that "John exhorted them to prepare for the coming of God the Christ." In Malachi it is, "*I will send my mes-*

<sup>x</sup> Ὁ μὲν Ἰωάννης ὁ κήρυξ τοῦ λόγου ταύτη πη παρεκάλει ἐτοίμους γίνεσθαι εἰς Θεοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίαν.

“ *senger, and he shall prepare the way before me:*” i. e. the messenger was to prepare the way *before God*: for it is God, Jehovah, who speaks. (ver. 6.) All the three evangelists agree in saying — *who shall prepare thy way before thee*, i. e. before Christ; so that the evangelists considered Christ to be the same with God. Commentators have been perplexed to account for the difference between the original prophecy, as delivered by Malachi, and the words given by the three evangelists: but there seems no occasion for our trying to reconcile them. The evangelists probably quoted from memory in this case, as they certainly did sometimes: and if they had no other notion of Christ, but that he was God, it would be indifferent to them whether they represented God as saying, *before me*, as speaking of himself, or *before thee*, as speaking of Christ. They did not intend to make any alteration in the words, and they knew that they were making no alteration in the sense. Thus the evangelists, as well as Clement, tell us, that the person, before whom John was sent to prepare a way, was God, our Saviour Jesus Christ.

72. *Clementis Cohort. ad Gent. c. 9. p. 72.*

Having mentioned some of the exhortations in the New Testament, by which Christ and his apostles invited men to receive the Gospel, he adds these remarkable words; “ Are you so secure, or rather so incredulous, and will you not be persuaded either by the Lord himself, or by Paul, even when *he entreats you for Christ’s sake*, and taste and see that Christ is God?” This testi-

γ — μήτε αὐτῷ πειθόμενοι τῷ ἰπὲρ Χριστοῦ δεομένῳ, γέυσασθε, καὶ Κυρίῳ, μήτε τῷ Παύλῳ, καὶ ταῦτα ἴδετε ὅτι Χριστὸς ὁ Θεός;

mony is valuable, not only as giving the sentiments of Clement himself concerning the divinity of Christ, but as conveying to us the important fact, that in his opinion St. Paul openly exhorted men to believe in Christ as God.

The latter words are an evident allusion to Psalm xxxiv. 8. *O taste and see that the Lord is good; γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ Κύριος*: which passage is referred to in 1 Peter ii. 3. and we must not suppose that, in Clement's quotation, Χριστὸς, *Christ*, is put for χρηστὸς, *good*, by mistake. In two other places<sup>2</sup>, Clement quotes the same words, and in each he says, *taste and see that the Lord is Christ*. The early Christians were fond of this play upon the words, and of remarking, that *Christus* (Christ) and *Chrestus* (good or meek) so nearly resembled each other. Justin Martyr says, "As far as appears from the name which is objected against us, we are *most meek*:" (χρηστότατοι<sup>a</sup>;) and again, "we are accused of being Christians: but it is not right that what is *meek* should be hated<sup>b</sup>." Tertullian alludes to the resemblance thus: "The word *Christian* is derived from *anointing*: but when you pronounce the word improperly, it is derived from *suavity or benignity*<sup>c</sup>." Theophilus makes use of a different resemblance, and says<sup>d</sup>, "I acknowledge that I am a Christian, and I bear this name which is beloved by God, hoping to be serviceable (εὐχρηστος) to God." It is probable, that *Christus* and *Chrestus* differed very little from each other as pro-

<sup>a</sup> Pæd. I. 6. p. 124. Strom. V. 10. p. 685.

<sup>a</sup> Apol. I. 4. p. 45.

<sup>b</sup> Ib.

<sup>c</sup> Apol. c. 3. p. 4. see Lactant. IV. 7. p. 287.

<sup>d</sup> Ad Autol. I. 1. p. 338. and still more at length p. 345.

nounced by the ancients; and Suetonius certainly speaks of *Chrestus* when he meant to name our Saviour<sup>c</sup>.

73. *Clementis Cohort. ad Gent. c. 10. p. 84.*

Equally, or even more forcible, is the following exhortation; “Believe, O man, in him who is man and God: believe, O man, in him who suffered, and is worshipped, the living God: believe, ye that are enslaved, in him who was dead: all ye men believe in him, who alone of all men is God<sup>f</sup> ;” of which words it is only necessary to remark, that they exclude every other interpretation or inference, but that which makes Jesus Christ to be verily and substantially God: he who was man, who suffered and died, is to be worshipped as *the living God*.

In the next quotation Clement again speaks of Christ as being worshipped: and at p. 311. he addresses a prayer to the Word, as to God<sup>g</sup>. At p. 851. he says, “We are commanded, that we ought to worship and honour him, convinced that he is the Word and Saviour and Governor, and by him the Father,<sup>h</sup>” &c. When we find Clement thus expressly asserting that Christ is to be worshipped, we should remember, that in many places he protests against all creature-worship. At p. 59.

<sup>c</sup> Claud. c. 25. A Dissertation upon the words *Christus* and *Chrestus* was published by Michael Rossal. See also Huetius Demonstr. Evang. Prop. III. §. 20. Kortholt. in Pagano Obrectatore, p. 713.

<sup>f</sup> Πίστευσον, ἄνθρωπε, ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ Θεῷ· πίστευσον, ἄνθρωπε, τῷ παθόντι, καὶ προσκυνουμένῳ Θεῷ

ζῶντι. πιστεύσατε, οἱ δούλοι, τῷ νεκρῷ· πάντες ἄνθρωποι, πιστεύσατε μόνῳ τῷ πάντων ἀνθρώπων Θεῷ.

<sup>g</sup> Pæd. III. c. ult.

<sup>h</sup> Σέβειν δὲ δεῖν ἐγκελευόμεθα καὶ τιμᾶν τὸν αὐτὸν, καὶ Λόγον σωτῆρᾶ τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἡγεμόνα εἶναι πεισθίεντες, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὸν Πατέρα— Strom. VII. 7.



after condemning the idolatry of the heathen, he says, "I long for the Lord of the spirits, I seek after the Lord of the fire, the Creator of the world, God who gave to the sun its light, not after the works of God<sup>i</sup>." At p. 809. he says, that "the first commandment taught the Jews to abstain from the idolatry of created things, placing all their hope in Him who was truly God:" and that the second commandment taught them "not to give the name of God to things that were created<sup>k</sup>." If Clement really held these sentiments, how could he worship Christ, and yet believe him to have been a man created by God?

We have already seen, p. 65, that Melito also spoke of Christ as an object of worship. Tertullian must also have held the same doctrine, when he says, "This patience of the body recommends us when we are praying, strengthens us when we are deprecating; it opens the ears of Christ our God<sup>l</sup>." In another place he says, "The kingdom and name of Christ is extended every where, is believed every where, is had in reverence by all the nations enumerated above, reigns every where, is worshipped every where<sup>m</sup>." Origen observes, that the cave was still shewn at Bethlehem, "in which Jesus was born, who is worshipped and ad-

<sup>i</sup> Τὸν Κύριον τῶν πνευμάτων καθῶ — οὐ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Θεοῦ. Cohort. ad Gent. c. 6.

<sup>k</sup> — ἀπιστῶνται τῆς τῶν γενητῶν εἰδωλολατρίας — μηδὲ ἐπιφέρειν τὸ μεγαλεῖον κράτος τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ ὄνομα — ἐπὶ τὰ γενητὰ καὶ μάταια. Strom. VI. 16.

<sup>l</sup> Hæc patientia corporis preces commendat, deprecaciones

affirmat, hæc aures Christi Dei aperit. De Patientia c. 13. p. 147.

<sup>m</sup> Christi regnum et nomen ubique porrigitur, ubique creditur, ab omnibus gentibus supra enumeratis colitur, ubique regnat, ubique adoratur. adv. Judæos, c. 7. p. 189.

“mired by the Christians <sup>n</sup>.” He also asserts, that “the Christians abhor worshipping any thing else than God who is over all, and *the firstborn of every creature*, who is His Word and God <sup>o</sup> :” and again, “Christ is to be worshipped on account of the Word of God that is in him <sup>p</sup>.” Cyprian tells us, that “God the Father has commanded that His Son should be worshipped <sup>q</sup>.” Dionysius of Alexandria uses the very strong expressions, that “Christ is to be worshipped by every creature with the Father and the Holy Spirit <sup>r</sup> :” and “that the multitude of the blessed spirits above worship Christ <sup>s</sup>.” Lastly, Arnobius informs us of the fact, that Christ “was worshipped with daily supplications <sup>t</sup>,” and “worshipped in the highest degree <sup>u</sup>.”

<sup>n</sup> Ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ τούτῳ ὁ ὑπὸ Χριστιανῶν προσκυνούμενος καὶ θαυμαζόμενος γεγέννηται Ἰησοῦς. Cont. Cels. I. 51. p. 367.

<sup>o</sup> — ἐκτρεπομένων ἄλλο τι σέβειν παρὰ τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεόν, καὶ τὸν πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως Λόγον αὐτοῦ καὶ Θεόν. Contra Cels. VII. c. ult. p. 744.

<sup>p</sup> Ὁ Χριστὸς προσκνητὸς διὰ τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ Λόγον Θεοῦ. In Ps. xcix. 5. p. 780. Notwithstanding these expressions, Dr. Priestley tells us, that “Origen, in a large treatise on the subject of prayer, urges very forcibly the propriety of praying to the Father only, and not to Christ :” from which he argues, that “in his time petitions to Christ were unknown in the public assemblies of Christians.” (History of early Opinions, I. p. 37. see also III. p. 419) This negative argu-

ment is surely overthrown by the positive evidence of Origen himself. See also another passage from Origen at N<sup>o</sup>. 205.

<sup>q</sup> Pater Deus præcepit Filium suum adorari. De bono Patientiæ, p. 255.

<sup>r</sup> — προσκυνούμενον παρὰ πάσης κτίσεως σὺν Πατρὶ, καὶ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι. P. 211.

<sup>s</sup> Τίον δὲ λέγει, ὃν προσκυνεῖ ἡ τῶν ἄνω ἀγίων πνεύματων πληθὺς. P. 244.

<sup>t</sup> He represents the heathens objecting to the Christians—“et Deum fuisse contenditis, et superesse adhuc creditis, et quotidianis supplicationibus adoratis.” I. p. 20.

<sup>u</sup> Inficiaturos arbitramini nos esse, quam maxime illum a nobis coli, et præsidem nostri corporis nuncupari? I. p. 24. We may add the words of Athanasius, in a work written before

These are some of the places in which the Ante-Nicene Fathers speak of religious worship being paid to Christ: and they surely are sufficient to decide the fact of such worship being paid, however some persons may question the propriety of paying it. We are at present concerned in investigating the fact: and we shall perhaps pause before we accuse all the Fathers of the three first centuries, of either not understanding the first principles of their religion, or wilfully perverting them. Though Eusebius wrote rather later than the period, which I have prescribed for this work, his testimony is valuable, as that of a man who was suspected of Arianism; and he says, "that all nations had become disciples of Christ, who is God, the Word, and acknowledged that they worship him as God<sup>x</sup>:" and again, "wherefore we have learnt to honour, and reverence, and worship him alone, as Lord, and Saviour, and God<sup>y</sup>." Dr. Priestley urges it as a very strong argument against the divinity of Christ, that he was not worshipped by the early Christians; whereas they must have worshipped him, if they had believed him to be God<sup>z</sup>. If the examples given above have any weight, we may turn Dr. Priestley's argument against himself, and conclude, that the early Christians did believe Christ to be God, because they paid

the Arian controversy arose, probably about the year 319: τὴν μὲν τῶν εἰδῶλων δεισιδαιμονίαν καταλιμπάνουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν καταφεύγουσι, καὶ Θεὸν αὐτὸν προσκυνῶντες. De Incarn. 46. vol. I. p. 88; and again, ὃν δὲ ἐχλείαζον ἐσταυρωμένον, τοῦτον προσκυνῶσι Χριστὸν, Θεὸν αὐτὸν ὁμολογῶντες. Ib. 53. p. 93-4.

<sup>x</sup> Οἷτινες Θεὸν Λόγον ὄντα τὸν Χριστὸν μεμαθηκότες, ὡς Θεὸν προσκυνεῖν αὐτὸν ὁμολογοῦνται. Demonstr. Evang. VIII. 1. p. 377.

<sup>y</sup> Διὸ καὶ τιμᾶν καὶ σέβειν καὶ προσκυνεῖν μόνον αὐτὸν, οἷα κύριον καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ Θεὸν, μεμαθήκαμεν. De Eccles. Theol. I. 10. p. 69.

<sup>z</sup> History of early Opinions, I. p. 40, &c.

him religious worship. If the testimonies of the Fathers upon this point are not thought sufficient, we have the evidence even of a heathen, that the Christians worshipped Jesus Christ. I allude to Lucian, who lived in the second century, about the time of Clement of Alexandria: and he says of the Christians, that they “denied the gods of the Greeks, “and *worshipped* their crucified teacher, and lived “according to his laws<sup>a</sup>.” Porphyry also, who was such a violent opponent of Christianity, at the end of the third century, in a work which is now lost, quoted some oracles which had spoken favourably of Christ, and makes this remark upon one of them; “Here it was said that he was a very religious man, “and that his soul, like that of other persons, became immortal after his death: and this the Christians in their folly worshipped<sup>b</sup>.” We may form our own opinions concerning these oracles, which were received as genuine by Porphyry: but that the Christians of his day were conceived by him to worship Christ, is a fact which cannot be denied.

74. *Clementis Cohort. ad Gent.* c. 10. p. 86.

Having appealed to the astonishing progress which the gospel had then made in the world, as a proof of its divine origin, he says, “For the Lord could “not have accomplished so vast a work in so short “a time without divine Providence—the Lord, “who in person was despised, though in reality “worshipped; he who was truly a Purifier, a Sa-

<sup>a</sup> Ἐπειδὴν ἀπαξ παραβάντες οἱ Χριστιανοὶ θεοὺς μὲν τοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς ἀπαρτήσωνται, τὴν δὲ ἀνασκολοπισμένον ἐκεῖνον σοφιστὴν αὐτῶν προσκινῶντι, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐκεينوῦ νόμους

βιώσι. De Morte Peregrini.

<sup>b</sup> . . ἦν σέβειν ἀνοῶντας τοὺς Χριστιανούς. Apud Eus. Dem. Evang. III. 6. p. 134.

“viour, and Placable<sup>c</sup>; the divine Word, who was “truly and most manifestly God, who was equal to “the Lord of the universe, because he was His Son, “and the Word was in God<sup>d</sup>.” The expression of Christ being *truly* God, ὄντως Θεός, is the more remarkable, because it is one which Clement in several places<sup>e</sup> applies to God the Father, styling him *the only real God*, μόνος ὄντως Θεός.

75. *Clementis Pædagog.* l. I. c. 5. p. 112.

The object of this chapter is to shew, that God considers us all as children, both in providing for us, and in teaching us. Clement also produces those passages in which Jesus himself is called *a child*, particularly that of Isaiah ix. 6. where the child that was to be born is said to be *Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father*: after which magnificent prophecy, Clement very justly exclaims, “O the mighty God! O the perfect “Child! the Son in the Father, and the Father in “the Son — John bears witness to this child, “*Behold the Lamb of God!* For since the scripture calls infant children *lambs*, it calls God the “Word, who was made man for us, who was willing in all things to be like unto us, *the Lamb of “God, the Son of God, the Child of the Father* <sup>f</sup>.”

<sup>c</sup> These were three epithets of Jupiter; and I have endeavoured to give the meaning of Clement, which is, that they applied much more properly to Jesus Christ.

<sup>d</sup> Οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτως ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τοσούτων ἔργων ἄνευ θείας κηδεμονίας ἐξήνυσεν ὁ Κύριος, ὅφει καταφρονούμενος, ἔργῳ προσκυνούμενος, ὁ Καθάρσιος καὶ Σωτήριος καὶ Μειλί-

χιος, ὁ θεῖος Λόγος, ὁ φανερώτατος ὄντως Θεός, ὁ τῷ Δεσπότῃ τῶν ἔλων ἐξισωθεὶς, ὅτι ἦν υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἦν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ.

<sup>e</sup> P. 45, 55, 60, 81, 92, 150.

<sup>f</sup> Ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ ὁ τοῦ τελείου παιδίου υἱὸς ἐν πατρὶ, καὶ πατὴρ ἐν υἱῷ — ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἄρνας ὀνομάζει ἡ γραφὴ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς νηπίους, τὸν Θεὸν τὸν Λόγον, τὸν δι' ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπον γενόμενον, κατὰ πάντα

76. *Clementis Pædagog.* l. I. c. 6. p. 113.

In order to introduce the next example, we may give a remarkable instance of the manner in which the Fathers quoted from memory. Clement gives the words which were spoken from heaven at the baptism of Jesus in the following manner; "Thou art my beloved Son, *this day have I begotten thee.*" Matthew, (iii. 17.) Mark, (i. 11.) and Luke (iii. 22.) all give the words with little variation, "*Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased.*" Instead of the last clause, Clement supplies the words of Psalm ii. 7. Perhaps we ought not to say in this instance that he quoted from memory. There is good reason to suppose, that in some MSS. the passage was read in this way, and the Cambridge MS. actually contains this reading. Justin Martyr, who lived before Clement, quotes it so twice <sup>g</sup>, as do Methodius <sup>h</sup> and Lactantius <sup>i</sup>. Augustin expressly says, that some copies of St. Luke read, "*Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee,*" though the words were not in the older Greek MSS. He seems to have thought it not improbable, that the latter words were actually spoken <sup>k</sup>. Epiphanius gives an extract from the Gospel of the Ebionites, in which the words are said to have been, "Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: this day have I begotten thee <sup>l</sup>."

Clement follows up the quotation with these

ἡμῶν ἀπεικάζεσθαι βουλόμενον, ἀμὸν  
κέκληκε τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ,  
τὸν ἡγίον τοῦ Πατρὸς.

<sup>g</sup> Dial. cum Tryph. c. 88.  
p. 186. et 103. p. 198.

<sup>h</sup> Sympos. p. 112.

<sup>i</sup> IV. 15. p. 310.

<sup>k</sup> De Cons. Evang. II. 14.

<sup>l</sup> Hær. XXX. vol. I. p. 138.

words; "Let us then ask these wise people, is Christ, who is begotten again this day, already perfect, or, which is most absurd, is he deficient? if the latter, there must be something which he has yet to learn: but it is unreasonable that there should be a single thing for him yet to learn, since he is God<sup>m</sup>." Clement accordingly concludes, that Christ is "perfect, born of the Father who is perfect<sup>n</sup>:" and yet at p. 129. he says, that he has proved "that the Father alone is perfect;" which two statements can only be reconciled by our believing the Father and the Son to be one; and this is asserted by Clement in the very next sentence, "for the Son is in Him, and the Father in the Son<sup>o</sup>."

77. *Clementis Pædagog.* l. I. c. 6. p. 118.

It is well known, however, that the Fathers often quoted passages of scripture from memory. We must not therefore always found a various reading upon the mere authority of such quotations, if it is not supported by other evidence. I mention this, because the following example contains a quotation from St. Paul, in which Clement makes a remarkable variation from the received text. In quoting Gal. iv. 7. he gives it thus; "*Wherefore thou art no more a servant, but a son; and if a son, then an heir through God.*" Our received version says, "*an heir of God through Christ,*" κληρονόμος Θεοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ, though Griesbach would merely read κληρονόμος, without the other words. I do not wish

<sup>m</sup> ——— ἀλλὰ προσμαθεῖν μὲν αὐτὸν εἰκὸς οὐδὲ ἔν, Θεὸν ὄντα.

<sup>n</sup> ——— τὸν Λόγον τέλειον ἐκ τελείου φῦντα τοῦ Πατρὸς.

<sup>o</sup> Ἀπεδείξαμεν ——— μόνον εἶναι τέλειον τὸν Πατέρα τῶν ὄλων· ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ὁ υἱός, καὶ ἐν τῷ υἱῷ ὁ Πατήρ. Pæd. I. 7.

to contend that the copies which Clement used contained κληρονόμος διὰ Θεοῦ, though two of the best MSS. and some later Fathers, support the reading; he perhaps quoted from memory: but the way in which he writes the words surely proves, that he was in the habit of considering Christ as God, and that he thought it indifferent which term he used. When he said, *an heir through God*, he certainly did not mean God the Father, for such a form of expression is never to be met with in the New Testament or in the Fathers: we are heirs *through* Christ: and Clement, whether he quoted from memory, or made his choice between different readings, certainly saw nothing unscriptural or extraordinary in substituting the term God for Christ.

78. *Clementis Pædagog.* l. I. c. 7. p. 131.

In this chapter he names some of the most celebrated tutors and instructors who are mentioned in ancient history, and shews how defective they were in many points. He then says of Jesus Christ, “But our Instructor, the holy God Jesus, the Word, who is the Leader of the whole human race, the merciful God himself, is our Instructor P.”

79. *Clementis Pædagog.* l. I. c. 7. p. 131.

Every page of this treatise shews, that Clement intended Jesus Christ by the *Pædagogus*, or Instructor: and yet it is equally certain, that he attributes to this Instructor many sayings and actions, which in the Old Testament are ascribed to God. Thus, immediately after the last quotation, he says, that the passage in Deut. xxxii. 10-12. is spoken of him, i. e. the Instructor, or Jesus Christ, though

P Ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος Παιδαγωγός, θρωπότητος καθηγεμὼν Λόγος, αὐτὸς ὁ ἅγιος Θεὸς Ἰησοῦς, ὁ πάσης τῆς ἀν- φιλόφιλανθρωπος Θεός ἐστι Παιδαγωγός.



it is expressly spoken of Jehovah. He continues ;  
 “ Again, when he speaks in his own person, he confesses himself to be an Instructor, *I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt.* (Exod. xx. 2.) Who then hath power to lead in and out? Is it not the Instructor? He was seen by Abraham, and said to him, *I am thy God, walk before me.* (Gen. xvii. 1.)—But it is Jacob, of whom he appears most evidently to be the Instructor : he says to him, *Behold, I am with thee, and will keep thee in all places whither thou goest, and will bring thee again into this land ; for I will not leave thee, until I have done that which I have spoken to thee of.* (Gen. xxviii. 15.) It is with him also that he is said to wrestle : *and Jacob was left alone, and there wrestled a man with him, the Instructor, until the breaking of the day.* (Gen. xxxii. 24.)—But to shew that it was the Word who wrestled with Jacob, and the Instructor of mankind, it says, *he asked him, and said unto him, Tell me thy name : and he said, Wherefore is it that thou dost ask after my name ?* (v. 29.) for he kept the new name for the new people, his children. As yet God the Lord was without a name<sup>9</sup>, not yet having become man. Still further, *Jacob called the name of the place, the face of God, (Penuel ;)* for, he said, *I have seen God face to face, and my life*

<sup>9</sup> Clement in another place mentions it as one of the peculiar distinctions of God, that He is *ἀνονόμαστος*, without a name : he couples this with His other attributes of immensity, infinity, &c. ; and in this place

he gives the same attribute to Christ, whom he calls God, the Lord. Lactantius quotes a saying of Hermes Trismegistus, *ἔστι γὰρ ὁ ἄν ἄνονόματος.* Instit. I. 6. p. 23.

“ *is preserved.* The face of God is the Word, by whom God is made manifest and known. Then also he was called Israel, when he saw God, the Lord. This is God, the Word, the Instructor, who said to him again afterwards, *Fear not to go down to Egypt.* (Gen. xlvi. 3.)<sup>1</sup>”

There are two things which can hardly be denied, that Moses in Gen. xxxii. 24—30. is speaking of God, (Hosea says, that it was *the Lord God of Hosts*, xii. 5.) and that Clement refers the same transaction to Jesus Christ. He seems in fact to have had the identity of God and Christ so firmly impressed upon his mind, that he considered the two terms to be convertible, and that whatever was predicated of the one, belonged also to the other. We may observe further, that Clement quotes the words in Exod. xx. 2. as spoken by Christ *in his own person*, which refutes the argument of the Unitarians, that Christ spoke in the person of God. Thus it has been stated to be “the unanimous opinion of all antiquity, that Christ appeared and spake in the person of God the Father<sup>s</sup>.” But this, as we see from Clement, is not true. If we believed

<sup>1</sup> Πάλιν δὴ ὅταν λέγῃ διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου προσώπου, ἐαυτὸν ὁμολογεῖ Παιδαγωγόν· Ἐγὼ Κύριος κ. τ. λ. Τίς ὄν ἔχει ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ἄγειν εἰσω τε καὶ ἔξω; οὐχὶ ὁ Παιδαγωγός; οὗτος ἄφθθ τῷ Ἀβραάμ, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Ἐγὼ εἴμι κ. τ. λ.—Τοῦ δὲ Ἰακώβ ἐναργέστατα Παιδαγωγός εἶναι φαίνεται. λέγει γοῦν αὐτῷ Ἰδοῦ, ἐγὼ μετὰ σοῦ κ. τ. λ. Τούτῳ δὲ καὶ συμπαλαίειν λέγεται· ὑπελείφθη δὲ, φησὶν, Ἰακώβ κ. τ. λ. Ὅτι δὲ ὁ Λόγος ἦν ὁ ἀλείπτῃς ἄμα τῷ Ἰακώβ, καὶ Παιδαγωγός τῆς ἀνθρωπώ-

τητος, ἠρώτησε, φησὶν, αὐτὸν κ. τ. λ. ἐτήρει γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ καινὸν τῷ νέφ λαῶ, τῷ νηπίῳ. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀνονόμαστος ἦν ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Κύριος μηδέπω γεγενημένος ἄνθρωπος—πρόσωπον δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ Λόγος, ᾧ φωτίζεται ὁ Θεός, καὶ γνωρίζεται. τότε καὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπωνόμασται, ὅτε εἶδε τὸν Θεὸν τὸν Κύριον. Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Θεός, ὁ Λόγος, ὁ Παιδαγωγός, ὁ φήσας αὐτῷ πάλιν ὑστερον, μὴ φοβοῦ καταβῆναι εἰς Αἴγυπτον.

<sup>s</sup> See Waterland, II. p. 24. &c.

it to be so, we must necessarily allow the preexistence of Christ, though we might say that he was inferior to the Father: but it may be clearly proved, that the same words, which are ascribed in the Old Testament to God the Father, are quoted by many early writers as spoken by Christ in his own person. Thus Tertullian says, that the words in Isaiah i. 18. were spoken “in the person of the Lord himself<sup>t</sup>;” and he explains by the context that *the Lord* means Christ. Irenæus also, as quoted at p. 102. says, that “Christ with the Father spoke to Moses;” and in the same chapter he says, that “Christ manifested *himself* to be the God of the Fathers<sup>u</sup>.” So far therefore from it being said that Christ spoke in the person of the Father, we must conclude, unless we hold the union of the Father and the Son, that the Father spoke in the person of the Son. For the writers of the Old Testament say, that *God spake*: the Ante-Nicene Fathers say, that the same words were spoken by Christ in his own person.

80. *Clementis Pædagog.* l. I. c. 8. p. 135.

The manner in which Clement quotes Psalm ciii. 14. shews that he conceived the Godhead of the Father to comprehend that of the Son. There can be no doubt that this Psalm is addressed to God Almighty: every verse of it shews this; and the name Jehovah leaves no doubt: and yet Clement refers it to Christ. He says, “Here some rise up and say, that the Lord is not good on account of his rod, and his threats, and his terror—forgetting the greatness of his mercy, that for our sakes he became man: and indeed the prophet prays

<sup>t</sup> Adv. Marc. IV. 10. p. 420. Deum Patrum IV. 5. 2. p. 232.

<sup>u</sup> Et manifestavit se esse

“ to him in a more familiar manner in these words,  
 “ *Remember us, that we are but dust*: i. e. Have  
 “ a fellow-feeling for us, because by thy own suffer-  
 “ ings thou hast experienced the weakness of the  
 “ flesh <sup>x</sup>.”

Whether Clement was right or no, in thus commenting upon the Psalmist's words, is a different question: but it seems undeniable that Clement considered Jehovah and Christ to be one God: indeed he expressly says so in this same page, “ No-  
 “ thing therefore is hated by God, nor yet by the  
 “ Word, for both are one, God: for he says, *In the*  
 “ *beginning the Word was in God, and the Word*  
 “ *was God* <sup>y</sup>.”

81. *Clementis Pædagog.* l. I. c. 11. p. 155.

In this chapter he shews that it was Jesus who discharged his office of Instructor by the Law and the Prophets: and at the end he says, “ The divine  
 “ Instructor is worthy to be believed, being adorned  
 “ with three of the noblest things, knowledge, good-  
 “ will, boldness of speech <sup>z</sup>; with knowledge, because  
 “ he is the Wisdom of the Father: *all Wisdom is*  
 “ *from the Lord, and is with Him for ever* <sup>a</sup>: with  
 “ boldness of speech, because he is God and Creator:  
 “ for *all things were made by him, and without him*

<sup>x</sup> Ἐνταῦθα ἐπιφύονται τινες, οὐκ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι φάμενοι τὸν Κύριον διὰ τὸν βῆβρον, καὶ τὴν ἀπειλήν, καὶ τὸν φόβον—ἐκλαθόμενοι δὲ τὸ μέγιστον αὐτοῦ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας, ὅτι δι' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο. καὶ δὴ οἰκειότερον αὐτῷ ὁ προφήτης προσεύχεται, διὰ τούτων, Μνήσθητι ἡμῶν, ὅτι χυῖς ἐσμὲν· τουτέστι, Συμπάθησον ἡμῖν, ὅτι τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοπαθῶς ἐπέειρασας.

<sup>y</sup> Οὐδὲν ἄρα μσεῖται ὑπὸ τοῦ

Θεοῦ· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λόγου· ἐν γὰρ ἅμφω, ὁ Θεός· ὅτι εἶπεν, Ἐν ἀρχῇ ὁ Λόγος κ. τ. λ.

<sup>z</sup> These three requisites are probably borrowed from Aristotle, who names φρόνησις, ἀρετὴ and εἵννοια as necessary to make an orator believed. Rhet. II. i.

<sup>a</sup> These words are not to be found in the Old Testament: there is something like them in Prov. ii. 6.

“*was not any thing made*<sup>b</sup>: and with good-will, “because he alone gave himself as a sacrifice for “us<sup>c</sup>.” We must observe, that in this passage Cle-

<sup>b</sup> Clement read this passage like many other of the Fathers: he put a stop after οὐδὲ ἐν, and coupled ὁ γέγονεν with what follows. He quotes it thus in so many passages, that it is useless to specify them: but in Pæd. II. 9. p. 218. he expressly quotes ὁ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζῶν ἦν, as do Irenæus (I. 8, 5. p. 41.) and the fragments of Theodotus. (ad fin. Clem. Alex. p. 968, 973.) Origen also has ὁ γέγονεν ἐν τῷ Ἀγγυ ζῶν ἦν. (c. Cels. VI. 5. p. 632. and in Joan. II. 6. p. 64.) The quotation in Cyprian, p. 285, might be pointed in either way. Epiphanius in the fourth century objected to the division being made after οὐδὲ ἐν, and proposed one which differed from both the others—οὐδὲ ἐν ὁ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ. Ζῶν ἦν κ. τ. λ. (Ancorat. c. 74, 75. p. 80.) and yet in different parts of his works he uses both the other modes of punctuation. Chrysostom (A. D. 398.) condemns the ancient division as heretical, and expressly says that we are to read ἐν αὐτῷ ζῶν ἦν. (Hom. V. in Joan. vol. VIII. p. 35.) so that it appears to have been between the time of Athanasius and Chrysostom that the difference came to be noticed. Amelius, the celebrated Platonist, who lived in the third century, divided the passage as the early Fathers. (Eus. Præp. Evang. XI. 19.) Eusebius did the same. Dem. Ev. p. 150. Eccles. Theol. II. 14. p. 123. I

have not met with one exception to this mode of dividing the sentence in any undoubted writing of the three first centuries: and it may be mentioned, as an additional proof, that the work “*De recta in Deum* “*fide*” is falsely ascribed to Origen, that it contains the modern division χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲν ἐν ὁ γέγονεν. I. p. 850. The same may be said of the *Synopsis Scripturæ*, which is ascribed to Athanasius, and contains the modern division of this text; vol. II. p. 129. whereas Athanasius appears always to have divided it otherwise: and also of the *Sermo contra omnes Hæreses* p. 230, though in the same treatise the words are twice quoted without ὁ γέγονεν. The Homily in *Nativitatem Christi* is generally considered spurious, and it contains the modern division of the text: ib. p. 412. Griesbach mentions three of the oldest MSS. as connecting ὁ γέγονεν with what follows: he might have added the Alexandrian MS. which has a point after ἐν. Wiclif’s translation certainly agreed with this, though in the edition of 1810 it is pointed otherwise: it ought to be “. . . and withouten him “was maad no thing. That “thing that was maad in him “was lyf. . . .”

<sup>c</sup> Ἀξιόπιστος ὁ θεῖος Παιδαγωγός, τρισὶ τοῖς καλλίστοις κεκοσμημένος, ἐπιστήμη, εὐνοία, παρρησία. ἐπιστήμη μὲν, ὅτι σοφία ἐστὶ πατρική·

ment calls Jesus Christ *God and the Creator*: he was not a ministering spirit, by whom the Father created all things; but he created them by himself as God.

82. *Clementis Pædagog.* l. II. c. 3. p. 190.

This chapter is directed against the use of costly and luxurious furniture: and Clement enforces his arguments by the example of our blessed Saviour; “He ate out of a homely dish, and made his disciples sit down on the ground upon the grass: the unpresuming God and Lord of the world washed their feet, having girded himself with a towel<sup>d</sup>.”

83. *Clementis Pædagog.* l. II. c. 8. p. 214.

In pursuance of the same subject he condemns the use of crowns, or garlands, which were generally worn at feasts and sacrifices. He prohibits them as being an appendage to luxury or superstition, and therefore unworthy of Christians. This leads him to mention the crown of thorns which the Jews put upon Jesus, meaning it as an insult, but in fact crowning him as a King. “The people being in error knew not the Lord: they were not circumcised in their understanding: their darkness was not enlightened: they saw not God: they denied the Lord: they lost the true character of Israel<sup>e</sup>: they persecuted God: they hoped to insult the Word: and him whom they crucified as a malefactor, they crowned as a king. For this reason the Lord, whom they did not believe as man, they shall know as the merciful and just Lord God<sup>f</sup>.”

—παρήσια δὲ, ὅτι Θεὸς καὶ δημιουργός—εὐνοία δὲ, ὅτι μόνος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἱερεῖον ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδέδωκεν.

<sup>d</sup> Καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἔνιπτεν αὐτῶν

σαβάνῃ περιζωσάμενος ὁ ἄνθρωπος Θεὸς καὶ Κύριος τῶν ὕλων.

<sup>e</sup> i. e. seeing God.

<sup>f</sup> Οὐκ ἔγνω τὸν Κύριον ὁ λαὸς ὁ

84. *Clementis Pædagog.* l. III. c. I. p. 251.

At page 130 I have given an extract from this chapter, which begins thus: "The Word himself is "a mystery revealed, God in man, and man God ε:" and I quote the words again, because they seem to give some support to the received reading in 1 Tim. iii. 16. In our English version the passage is thus: "*Without controversy great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifest in the flesh.*" In the Greek it is ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον Θεὸς ἐφανέρωθη ἐν σαρκί. With respect to the meaning of these words in the translation or in the original, there can be no doubt. Jesus, who was manifested in the flesh, is expressly called *God*. But it is known to all biblical scholars, that there is a difference of opinion concerning the true reading of this passage. Instead of Θεὸς ἐφανέρωθη, *God was manifest*, some MSS. read ὃς ἐφανέρωθη, *he who was manifest*, or ὃ ἐφανέρωθη, *that which was manifest*. If we adopt either of the latter readings, the passage is merely this, *he who was manifest in the flesh was justified in the Spirit, &c.* which, though it makes an intelligible sense, certainly does not contain any *great mystery*, which the words of St. Paul would lead us to expect.

The question however is one altogether of testimony: at least before we have recourse to any other arguments, we must inquire what is the reading of the oldest MSS. Griesbach is decisive upon this

πεπλανημένος—οὐκ εἶδεν τὸν Θεόν. τὸν Κύριον ἠρνήσατο· ἀπολώλεκεν τὸ εἶναι Ἰσραὴλ· ἐδίωξεν τὸν Θεόν· καθυβρίζειν ἤλπισε τὸν Λόγον· καὶ ἂν ἐσταύρωσεν ὡς κακοῦργον, ἀνέστησεν ὡς βασιλέα· διὰ τοῦτο τοι εἰς ὃν οὐκ

ἐπίστευσαν ἄνθρωπον, τὸν φιλόνηρον Θεὸν ἐπυγνώσονται Κύριον, καὶ δίκαιον.

<sup>ε</sup> Λόγος γὰρ αὐτὸς μυστήριον ἐμφανές· Θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος Θεός.

point: he observes, that though all the later MSS. read  $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ , yet all the older read  $\delta\varsigma$  or  $\delta'$ : and accordingly he excludes  $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$  from the text<sup>h</sup>. I shall not say any thing more as to this decision, except to state, that one MS. in the Bodleian library, of the eleventh century, of which Griesbach had no notice, confirms the reading  $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ <sup>i</sup>: the MS. which he calls 74 Wakii 2, and which is in the library at Christ Church, reads  $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ . Griesbach had a very imperfect collation of this MS. and states it to be of the thirteenth century. The same reading of  $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$  is found in another MS. of the same library, which archbishop Wake considered to be 700 years old; and in three others which appear also to be of the eleventh century.

The object of the present work leads me more immediately to consider, what is the evidence furnished by quotations of the passage in the writings of the Fathers. Upon this part of the question Griesbach observes, that  $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$  "is not supported by any ancient document older than the end of the fourth century," and that "all the Latin Fathers read *quod*." I must observe here, that in proving the latter point, he quotes no Father who wrote prior to the council of Nice. As to the Greek Fathers, he says, that "the oldest of them very seldom quote the passage:" but his reasoning is surely most strange, when he says, that the few who speak of "*God* being manifest in the flesh," may have used the word *God* because they thought that the passage applied to Christ; but that we cannot infer

<sup>h</sup> See a Critical Dissertation upon this text by Berriman, Lond. 1741.

<sup>i</sup> Canonici MS.



from hence, that they found Θεός in their copies! Mr. Belsham tells us<sup>k</sup>, that Θεός is not cited by any early Greek writer, nor by any Latin writer whatever: and Dr. Clarke is quoted by him as saying, “that all the ancient Fathers, though the copies of “many of them have now Θεός, yet from the tenor “of their comments must always have read ὁς or ὄ.” Such are the statements of those who wish to exclude Θεός from the text; the accuracy of which we will now proceed to examine.

In conducting the investigation, I shall note down in order some of the places where the Ante-Nicene Fathers have spoken of “God or Christ being *manifest in the flesh*.” In some instances we perhaps cannot decide whether they had the words of St. Paul in view or no: wherever the expression is coupled with the mention of a *mystery*, the probability is increased, that they intended to quote the passage: and though the word *God* may not be mentioned, yet the authority will be of value, if the context shews, that Christ’s coming in the flesh implied that he had also another and a higher nature.

Barnabas says, that under the character of Joshua “Jesus was typically *manifested in the flesh*, “not as the Son of man, but the Son of God<sup>l</sup>.” See also p. 4. of this work, N<sup>o</sup>. 3. Ignatius speaks of Jesus as “*God born in the flesh*<sup>m</sup>,” and of “*God “being manifested humanly,*” which he reckons as one of three *mysteries*, the two others being the death of Jesus, and the virginity of his mother<sup>n</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> Calm Inquiry, p. 144.

<sup>l</sup> Ἰησοῦς οὐχ ὁ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἀλλ’ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθείς. c. 12. p. 41.

<sup>m</sup> Ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος Θεός. ad Eph. c. 7. p. 13.

<sup>n</sup> Θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερομένου. Ib. c. 19. p. 16.

We have seen that Clement speaks of “the Word as “a *mystery made manifest, God* in man :” and at p. 812. he says, that Christ “*was manifested God* “in the *flesh* °.” Hippolytus observes of Christ, that “when he came into the world, he *was manifested* “as *God* and man :” and “when he came into the “world, he *was manifested God* in the body †.” The passage itself appears in Rufinus’ translation of Origen’s Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, (I. 4. p. 465.) but he merely quotes *manifestatus est* without any nominative. Dionysius of Alexandria says, that Christ was “invisible as God and became “visible : for *God was manifest in the flesh* ‡.”

This last seems to be the only instance in which we can say with certainty, that the words of St. Paul are expressly quoted : nor shall I venture to pronounce whether the allusion is sufficiently strong in the other passages to lead us to the conclusion, that the Fathers found Θεός in their copies. I must however make two observations: 1. that when Griesbach says, that all the Latin Fathers of every century read *quod*, the remark is incorrectly, if not unfairly, expressed : for no Latin Father of the first three centuries quotes the text at all : and Mr. Belsham is surely not warranted in saying, that though some of the ancient Fathers quote the passage with Θεός, yet it appears from their comments, that they

° — φανῆ Θεός ἐν σαρκίφ. Strom. VI. 16.

† Οὗτος ὁ προελθὼν εἰς τὸν κόσμον Θεός καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐφανερώθη. In Psalm ii. I. p. 268. Θεός ἐν σώματι ἐφανερώθη. c. Noëtum, c. 17. II. p. 19. He may also have had the controverted text in view, when, after noticing Rom.

ix. 5. he says, that St. Paul “has “well explained the *mystery* of “*truth* :” for the Ethiopic version seems to have read ἀληθείας instead of εἰσεβείας at 1 Tim. iii. 16.

‡ Θεός γὰρ ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί. c. Paul. Samos. p. 211.

always read ὁς or ὅς. I have no hesitation in saying, that *in no single instance* do their comments lead to any such conclusion. 2. I must observe, that whether the passages quoted above do or do not allude to 1 Tim. iii. 16. it is certain that the Ante-Nicene Fathers, when they spoke of Jesus *being manifested in the flesh*, did not merely mean that he was *really a man*, but that he who was invisible as God became visible and manifest as man.

I may mention, that there is another variation in this place, though unconnected with the controverted reading Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη. Our translators wrote—*which is the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth. And without controversy, &c.* Griesbach, after some commentators <sup>r</sup>, divides the passage thus—“*which is the church of the living God. The pillar and ground of the truth, and without controversy great, is the mystery,*” &c. I can see no reason for this new punctuation; nor does the sense seem so good. Origen quotes the words five times <sup>s</sup>, and in each case he connects *the pillar and ground of the truth* with *the church of the living God*. This seems decisive as to the practice of Origen; and Athanasius may be supposed to have read the passage in the same way, when he says<sup>t</sup>, στήλοι τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ οἱ ἄγιοι ἀπό-

<sup>r</sup> Camero, Crocius, Schmidius, H. Ursinus, &c. This punctuation was adopted in the edition of the Greek Testament printed at Basle in 1540. See a dissertation upon this subject by Imm. Weber, in the *Theaurus Theol. Philol.* attached to the *Critici Sacri*, tom. II. p. 653.

<sup>s</sup> C. Cels. V. 33. p. 602. in *Cant. Cant.* vol. III. p. 69, 85. in *Joan.* tom. X. 16. p. 184. XXVIII. 4. p. 373.

<sup>t</sup> In Psalm lxxiv. 4. vol. I. p. 1135. I may mention, that the words Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη κ. τ. λ. are expressly cited in the tract *De Incarnatione Verbi Dei*, which has been ascribed to Athana-

στόλοι, κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον, στύλος καὶ ἑδραῖωμα τῆς ἀληθείας. Epiphanius also divided it so <sup>u</sup>.

85. *Clementis Paedagog.* l. III. c. 7. p. 277.

This chapter is directed against domestic luxury, and it is not necessary for me to quote much of it in order to explain the following words: "He who hath the Almighty God, the Word, is in want of nothing <sup>x</sup>." There is perhaps no passage in the writings of the Fathers, where the expression *Almighty God*, the attribute of Jehovah alone, is more unequivocally referred to Jesus Christ. We may also add other passages from Clement himself. At p. 148. he speaks of Christ, as "the Almighty and paternal Word <sup>v</sup>." At p. 547. in allusion to 2 Cor. xi. 2. *for I have espoused you to one husband, that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ*; instead of using the name of *Christ*, he explains the one husband by *the Almighty God* <sup>z</sup>. At p. 624. he quotes Eph. iv. 11, 12. *He gave some, apostles, &c.* where *He* evidently means Christ, who is named just before: but it is remarkable that Clement begins the quotation thus; "The Almighty God hath given <sup>a</sup>," &c. At p. 646-7. he speaks of

sus, and which was certainly written in the fourth century. vol. II. p. 34: and in an anonymous work (apud Ath. vol. II. p. 575.) there appears a plain allusion to this text in the words, ἡμᾶς ἡ χάρις ἐδίδαξε Θεὸν ἀόρατον ἐν ὁραμένη φανερωθῆναι σαρκί.

<sup>u</sup> Hær. XL. vol. I. p. 298. He read ὡς ἐφανέρωθη. Hær. LXXIV. 6. p. 894: but he quotes the passage as proving the divinity of Christ.

<sup>x</sup> Ἄνευθεῖς γὰρ ὁ τὸν παντοκράτορα Θεὸν Λόγον ἔχων.

<sup>y</sup> Τοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ πατρικοῦ Λόγου. Pæd. I. 9.

<sup>z</sup> — τῶν τὰς αἱρέσεις μετιόντων, καὶ πορευθεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνδὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀναπειθόντων, τοῦ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ. Strom. III. 12.

<sup>a</sup> Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ παντοκράτωρ Θεὸς αὐτὸς ἔδουκεν κ. τ. λ. Strom. IV. 21. If we compare Eph. iv. 11. with 1 Cor. xii. 28. it appears that St. Paul himself considered it to be indifferent whether he attributed the same act to God or Christ.

the Word as "the Almighty power and omnipotent " Will <sup>b</sup>."

These instances may answer the question proposed by G. Clerke in his *Antenicensimus*, as to *where it can be found that any ancient doctor ever called Christ by the name of God Almighty* <sup>c</sup>. Dr. Clarke also was rather inclined to argue, that "*Almighty* " was by the Ancients taken for *the Father* <sup>d</sup>." We have seen that the quotations from Clement contradict these statements. Tertullian also says, "The " names of the Father, *God Almighty*, most high, " &c. these we say belong also to the Son <sup>e</sup>." Hippolytus, upon those words of St. John, (Rev. i. 8.) *which is, and which was, and which is to come, God, the Almighty*, observes, "he properly calls " Christ Almighty <sup>f</sup>:" and Cyprian applies to Christ the words of the same book, (xix. 6.) *The Lord God omnipotent reigneth* <sup>g</sup>. Lactantius very properly observes, when arguing against a plurality of Gods, that "none of them can be called omnipotent, " which is the true title of God <sup>h</sup>:" he saw, as indeed is plain to every one, that if the Father and the Son are both omnipotent, they must be one in mind and will. I may add, that Eusebius argues from Zech. ii. 8, 9. (where the LXX read *Κύριος παν-*

<sup>b</sup> Ὁ γὰρ τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν ὄλων Λόγος, οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ προφορικὸς, σοφία δὲ καὶ χρηστότης φανερωτάτη τοῦ Θεοῦ, δύναμις τε αὐτοῦ παγκρατῆς, καὶ τῶν ὄντων θεία· οὐδὲ τοῖς μὴ ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀκατονόητος, θέλημα παντοκρατορικόν. Strom. V. 1.

<sup>c</sup> See Bishop Bull's Answer to G. Clerke, §. 9. vol. VI. p. 378.

<sup>d</sup> Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity p. 63. and the author

of the *Modest Plea* asserted the same thing: see Waterland, II. p. 320. III. p. 136-8. 168.

<sup>e</sup> Sed et nomina Patris, Deus Omnipotens, Altissimus, Dominus Virtutum, Rex Israelis, &c. hæc dicimus et in Filium competisse. adv. Prax. c. 17. p. 510.

<sup>f</sup> Καλῶς εἶπεν παντοκράτορα Χριστόν. c. Noët. c. 6. II. p. 10.

<sup>g</sup> Test. II. 19. p. 293.

<sup>h</sup> Epit. Instit. c. 2. II. p. 3.

τοκράτωρ,) that the Father and the Son are both called Almighty<sup>i</sup>.

86. *Clementis Strom.* l. II. c. 4. p. 436.

In this part of his treatise, Clement discourses very deeply and philosophically upon the nature of faith. He shews that faith, i. e. a firm conviction, goes beyond knowledge or scientific demonstration; and that we never proceed from knowledge to action, unless we believe fully what has been demonstrated. Christian faith therefore must lead to Christian obedience; and if we obey Christ, it is the strongest proof that we believe in him. Clement's words are these: "To be obedient to the Word is to believe " in him, opposing him in nothing: for how is it " possible to set ourselves against God<sup>k</sup>?"

87. *Clementis Strom.* l. IV. c. 7. p. 584.

Clement quotes at full length 1 Pet. iii. 14—17; and it is remarkable, that instead of the words, *Sanctify the Lord God in your hearts*, Κύριον τὸν Θεὸν ἀγιάσατε, he has, *Sanctify the Lord Christ*, Κύριον τὸν Χριστὸν ἀγιάσατε. As I have observed in a former instance, I would not contend that the copies, which Clement used, actually read Χριστὸν for Θεὸν, though some of the best MSS. support the reading. If he only quoted from memory, it is evident that he applied the words *Lord God to Christ*, and considered it indifferent which term he used. No writer would substitute *Christ for God*, unless he considered the two terms to be identical and convertible.

It may be mentioned, that the passage from St.

<sup>i</sup> Dem. Evang. VI. 16. p. 281. ἀντιβαίνοντα· πῶς γὰρ οἶόν τε ἀντι-  
<sup>k</sup> Τὸ δὲ πείθεσθαι τῷ Λόγῳ, αὐτῷ ἐπίστασθαι τῷ Θεῷ;  
 ἐκείνῳ πιστεῦσαι ἔστι, κατ' οὐδὲν

Peter is quoted with the same alteration in another work which is ascribed to Clement. This is a short Commentary upon the first Epistle of St. Peter; which, together with Commentaries upon 1 and 2 John, and St. Jude, is published at the end of the works of Clement, p. 1007. We have only a Latin translation of these Commentaries, and we there read, *Dominum vero Christum sanctificate.*

88. *Clementis Strom.* l. IV. c. 8. p. 593.

In order to understand the following quotation, it is only necessary to know that Marcion maintained that the God, who created the world, was not the same with the God who was the Father of Christ. He considered the *Demiurgus*, or Creator, not to be a good Principle. Clement, having quoted at full length Coloss. iii. 12—15. which ends with—*and be ye thankful*, says, “There is no reason why we should not often quote the same scripture, to put Marcion to shame, if he can possibly be persuaded to change, having learnt that a believer ought to be thankful to God, the Creator, who has called us, and preached the Gospel to us in a [human] body<sup>1</sup>.”

89. *Clementis Strom.* l. IV. c. 26. p. 640.

We have already seen, that the alterations which Clement makes in quoting from the New Testament shewed his own conviction of the divinity of Christ. It is in vain to argue that this part of his testimony must be set aside, because he cites the words of scripture erroneously. His testimony is valid as far as it goes; i. e. with respect to his own opinions. We may not be authorized, as was observed above,

<sup>1</sup> Εὐχάριστον δεῖν μαθῶν τὸν πικρὸν Θεὸν εἶναι τῷ δημιουργῷ Θεῷ, τῷ καλέσαντι ἡμᾶς, καὶ εὐαγγελισαμένῳ ἐν σώματι.

in correcting the received text from these quotations: but he certainly believed the doctrine, which was contained in the quotations, *as he himself quotes them*. If he trusted to his memory, and was thereby led to use expressions which differed from those of the apostles themselves, he must have used the expressions, because the doctrines which they conveyed were impressed upon his own mind. A person who quotes from memory, though he may not give the original words exactly, will hardly make them differ from what he considers to be the meaning and spirit of his author: and if he quote them in support of any argument of his own, he will certainly not alter them, so as to contradict his own opinions. Though St. Paul therefore may not have written the exact words which Clement quotes, Clement himself must assuredly have held the doctrine which those words convey.

These remarks may be illustrated by the following example. St. Paul, in 2 Cor. v. 8—10. has these words: *We are confident, and willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be present with the Lord: wherefore we labour, that, whether present or absent, we may be accepted of him: for we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ*. In which passage there can be no doubt, that *to be present with the Lord* means to be present with *Christ*; and *we may be accepted of him* means, we may be accepted of *Christ*. Clement quotes the passage thus: “We are willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be present with *God*: wherefore we labour, that whether present or absent, we may be accepted of him; that is, the one God, whose work and creation all things are,



“ the world, and the things above the world <sup>m</sup>.” The Codex Bezzæ, and another MS., and some versions read *God* instead of *Lord*.

90. *Clementis Strom.* l. V. c. 12. p. 695.

The next quotation is perhaps more closely connected with the subject of various readings. In quoting John i. 18. Clement makes a very remarkable variation. Instead of, *No man hath seen God at any time: the only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared Him*, Clement reads, “ the only-begotten *God*.” Here, as in the last instance, we may observe, that Clement, before he could have made such a substitution, must fully have believed Christ to be God. But there has certainly been a diversity of readings in this text from very early times; and it is not improbable, that Clement did not quote *the only-begotten God* merely from memory, but that he found it in his MSS. At p. 956. he evidently alludes to the same text, and unites both readings, “ And then “ shalt thou behold the bosom of the Father, whom “ God the only-begotten *Ŝon* hath alone declared <sup>n</sup>.” The reading of Θεός, *God*, is preserved in another work, which some have ascribed to Clement, but which seems to have been abridged, if not written, by Theodotus. He expressly says, p. 968, that the words ὁ μονογενῆς Θεός, *the only-begotten God*, are in the Gospel, and the context shews that he really meant Θεός, *God*. Irenæus also preserves both readings, and even in the same chapter °. In one place

<sup>m</sup> ——— εὐάρεστοι εἶναι αὐτῶ, τῷ πον τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὃν ὁ μονογενῆς υἱὸς ἰνὶ δηλονότι Θεῶ, αὐτὰ πάντα ἔργων Θεὸς μόνος ἐξηγήσατο. Quis Dives τε καὶ κτίσις, ᾧ τε κόσμος καὶ τὰ Salvetur? c. 37.

° IV. 20. p. 255 and 256.

<sup>n</sup> Καὶ τότε ἐποπτεύσεις τὸν κόλ-

he has *unigenitus Filius*, the only-begotten Son; in the other, *unigenitus Deus*, the only-begotten God; and in a third place he quotes it with still a further difference, *unigenitus Filius Dei*, the only-begotten Son of God<sup>p</sup>. We could hardly suppose that Irenæus could have been so inaccurate even in the same chapter, and the variations may perhaps have arisen from the circumstance of the Latin translation being alone preserved.

The different works of Origen present a great variety of readings. In two places<sup>q</sup> he reads Θεός, *God*, and in another<sup>r</sup>, some copies have Θεός, some υἱός. In vol. IV. p. 102<sup>s</sup>, Huet printed υἱός Θεός, *God the Son*, but the Benedictines give υἱός τοῦ Θεοῦ, *Son of God*. If Rufinus translated him accurately, he had also υἱός Θεοῦ, *Son of God*, in another place<sup>t</sup>: and we also find him writing μονογενῆς Θεός υἱός τοῦ Θεοῦ, *the only-begotten God, Son of God*<sup>u</sup>.

Tertullian, Hippolytus, the letter of the council of Antioch, and the disputation of Archelaus and Manes, read υἱός, *Son*. The Syriac version has Θεός, *God*. Of Post-Nicene writers, Eusebius appears to have known of both readings; for in quoting the whole passage he writes, ὁ μονογενῆς υἱός ἢ μονογενῆς Θεός<sup>x</sup>: and in another place ὁ υἱός μονογενῆς Θεός<sup>y</sup>: but he also quotes only υἱός<sup>z</sup>. Epiphanius quotes ὁ μονογενῆς Θεός, but he appears by his commentary to have united both readings. Hær. LXV. 5. vol. I. p. 612. At p. 614, he speaks of Θεός υἱός μονογενῆς.

<sup>p</sup> III. 11. 6. p. 189.

<sup>q</sup> In Joan. tom. II. 29. p. 89.  
et XXXII. 13. p. 438.

<sup>r</sup> C. Cels. II. 71. p. 440.

<sup>s</sup> In Joan. tom. VI. 2.

<sup>t</sup> In Cant. Cant. IV. p. 91.

<sup>u</sup> C. Cels. VII. 43. p. 725.

<sup>x</sup> De Eccles. Theol. I. 9.  
p. 67.

<sup>y</sup> P. 175.

<sup>z</sup> P. 86.

At p. 818, he expressly quotes ὁ μονογενῆς Θεός<sup>ς</sup> and at vol. II. p. 7, he seems to have read Θεός, though it is not in the present copies: his words are, Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τίνα; ἀληθινὸν Θεόν. εἰ δὲ Θεὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὡς λέγει περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἰωάννης, Ὁ μονογενῆς, ὁ ὢν κ. τ. λ. and in the next page he expressly says that St. John called Christ μονογενῆ Θεόν.

91. *Clementis Strom.* l. VI. c. 16. p. 812.

In this section Clement makes some rather absurd remarks upon certain numbers, such as 6, 7, 8, &c. and the example, which I am about to give, is obscure from other trifling allusions which it contains. To make it intelligible by a literal translation is almost impossible. I shall therefore only attempt to give the meaning of it, leaving out what is unnecessary for our present subject, or paraphrasing it so as to give the same sense in different words. He has been speaking of the number 8, and adds, “ There  
“ are three persons beside our Lord, when he goes  
“ up into the mount to be transfigured: there are  
“ then five beside him, and he becomes surrounded  
“ with a spiritual light, having displayed his ma-  
“ jesty to view, as far as it was possible to be beheld  
“ by those who were chosen to see it: he is then  
“ proclaimed to be the Son of God by the voice,  
“ which makes the seventh person; that his disciples  
“ might have rest, being now convinced concerning  
“ him; and that he, by the birth which had been  
“ proclaimed, becoming a new person, i. e. an eighth,  
“ might appear as God in the flesh, having revealed  
“ his majesty, reckoned as a man, but concealing  
“ who he really was <sup>a</sup>.”

<sup>a</sup> Ταύτη ται ὁ Κύριος τέταρτος φωτὶ περιλάμπεται πνευματικῶ, τὴν ἀναβάς εἰς τὸ ὄρος ἕκτος γίνεταί, καὶ δύναμιν τὴν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ παραγυμνώ-

The passage, as I observed before, is sufficiently puerile in its allusions: but it shews the nature of Clement's belief, as much as the gravest and most judicious dissertation. It not only expressly says, that Christ was *God manifest in the flesh*, but by reckoning him twice over, both as number 6 and number 8, it marks his divine and human nature: and by counting the voice as number 7, it also shews the Father and the Son to be two persons.

92. *Clementis Strom.* l. VII. c. 2. p. 831.

Having remarked that obedience should always follow faith, he says, that a religious man is the best of all earthly things, as angels are the best of all things in heaven: "But the most perfect, and most  
 " holy, the highest and most commanding, the most  
 " royal and beneficent nature is that of the Son,  
 " which is most closely connected with Him who is  
 " alone Almighty. This is the greatest supremacy,  
 " which arranges all things according to the Will of  
 " the Father, and directs every thing in the best  
 " manner, performing every thing with an unwearied  
 " and inexhaustible power: it is thus that it acts,  
 " contemplating its own hidden counsels; for the  
 " Son of God never departs from his own watch-  
 " tower; not divided, not separated, not changing  
 " from place to place, but every where at all times,  
 " and circumscribed nowhere, wholly intelligence,  
 " wholly paternal light, wholly eye, seeing all things,  
 " hearing all things, knowing all things — to him  
 " the whole host of angels and gods is subject, to

σας, εἰς ὅσον οἶόν τε ἦν ἰδεῖν τοῖς  
 ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐκλεγεῖσιν· δι' ἐβδόμησιν ἀνακηρυσ-  
 σόμενος τῆς φωνῆς υἱὸς εἶναι Θεοῦ·  
 ἵνα δὴ οἱ μὲν ἀναπαύσωνται πεισθέν-  
 τες περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὁ δὲ διὰ γενέσεως, ἦν

ἐδήλωσεν ἡ ἰσχὺς ἐπίσημος, ὀρθοῶς  
 ὑπάρχων, φανῆ Θεὸς ἐν σαρκί, τὴν  
 δύναμιν ἐνδεικνύμενος· ἀριθμούμενος  
 μὲν ὡς ἄνθρωπος, κρυπτόμενος δὲ ὡς  
 ἦν.

“ the paternal Word, who has undertaken the holy  
“ dispensation on account of Him, who subjected  
“ them to him <sup>b</sup>.”

This passage is rather mystical, but it is sufficiently intelligible to shew the exalted notion which the writer conceived of the divinity of the Son. It effectually excludes the idea of Christ being a corporeal or even an angelic being: it identifies him with the essence of the Father, and ascribes to him those attributes which can only belong to God. If any person should doubt what was Clement's meaning, when he spoke of Christ as *the Son* of God, I would refer him to the following passage, which shews that he understood him to be Son, not by adoption, but by nature, begotten of the substance of the Father. “ We are not as the Lord; for we  
“ wish to be so, but cannot: for no disciple is above  
“ his master; but it is enough, if we can become as  
“ the master; not in substance, (or essence,) for that  
“ which is by adoption cannot possibly be equal in  
“ its existence to that which is by nature; but it is  
“ possible for us to become eternal, and to under-  
“ stand the contemplation of things, and to be called  
“ sons, and to see the Father only from his essential  
“ attributes <sup>c</sup>.”

<sup>b</sup> Τελειωτάτη δὴ καὶ ἀγιωτάτη, καὶ κυριωτάτη καὶ ἡγεμονικωτάτη, καὶ βασιλικωτάτη, καὶ ἐνεργητικωτάτη ἡ υἱοῦ φύσις, ἢ τῆς μόνῃ παντοκράτορι προσεχιστάτη. αὕτη ἡ μεγίστη ὑπεροχὴ, ἣ τὰ πάντα διατάσσεται κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἄριστα οἰακίξει, ἀκαμάτῳ καὶ ἀτρίτῳ δυνάμει πάντα ἐργαζομένη, δι' ἧν ἐνεργεῖ τὰς ἀποκρίφους ἐννοίας ἐπιβλέπουσα. οὐ γὰρ ἐξίσταται ποτε τῆς αὐτοῦ περιωπῆς ὁ υἱός

τοῦ Θεοῦ· οὐ μερίζομενος, οὐ ἀποτεμνόμενος, οὐ μεταβαίνων ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον, πάντῃ δὲ ὡν πάντοτε, καὶ μηδαμῆ περιεχόμενος, ὅλος νοῦς, ὅλος φῶς πατρῶος, ὅλος ἀφθάλμιος, πάντα ὄρων, πάντα ἀκούων, εἰδὼς πάντα — τοῦτω πᾶσα ὑποτέτακται στρατιὰ ἀγγέλων τε καὶ θεῶν, τῷ Λόγῳ τῆς πατρικῆς τῆν ἀγίαν οἰκονομίαν ἀναδεδεγμένην διὰ τὸν ὑποτάξαντα.

<sup>c</sup> Οὐκ ἐσμὲν ὡς ὁ Κύριος, ἐπειδὴ βουλόμεθα μὲν, οὐ δυνάμεθα δέ· οὐ-

93. *Clementis Strom.* l. VII. c. 2. p. 832.

The arguments, by which Clement proves the providence of God, shew also that he believed Jesus Christ to be God. “ The Lord either does not care “ for all men : and if not, it must be either from “ want of power, (which we cannot believe, for it “ would be a sign of weakness,) or from want of “ will, though he has the power ; but this would not “ be the case with a good being : he cannot there- “ fore be negligent from laziness, who for our sakes “ took upon him flesh, which exposed him to suffer- “ ing : or else he does care for all men ; which pro- “ perly belongs to him, who was made Lord of all “ things ; for he is the Saviour of all men, not of a “ part—Neither does envy affect the Lord, who “ without beginning has been free from passion— “ neither can we say, that the Lord had no wish to “ save man owing to ignorance, because he did not “ know how to provide for each : for ignorance does “ not affect God, who shared his Father’s counsels “ before the foundation of the world ; for this was “ the Wisdom in which the Almighty God rejoiced : “ for the Son is the Power of God, being the su- “ preme Word of the Father, and His Wisdom, be- “ fore all existing things <sup>d</sup>.”

δεις γὰρ μαθητῆς ἑκέρ τον διδάσκαλον ἀρκετὸν δέ, ἐὰν γενώμεθα ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος, οὐ κατ' οὐσίαν, ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἴσον εἶναι πρὸς τὴν ὑπαρξιν τὸ θέσει τῷ φύσει· τὸ δὲ αἰδίου γεγονέναι, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων θεωρίαν ἐγνωκέναι, καὶ υἱὸς προσηγορεῖσθαι, καὶ τὸν Πατέρα ἀπὸ τῶν οικείων καθορᾶν μόνον. *Strom.* II. 17. p. 469.

<sup>d</sup> Ἦτοι γὰρ οὐ φροντίζει πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὁ Κύριος, καὶ τοῦτο, ἢ τῷ μὴ δύνασθαι πάθοι ἂν ἔπερ οὐ θεμι-

τόν ἀσθενείας γὰρ σημείων ἢ τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι, δυνάμενος· οὐκ ἀγαθῷ δὲ τὸ πάθος· οὐκ οὐκ ἐπὶ τρυφῆς ῥέθιμος, ὁ δὲ ἡμᾶς τὴν παθητὴν ἀναλαβὼν σάρκα ἢ κήδετα τῶν συμπάντων, ἔπερ καὶ καθήκει τῷ Κυρίῳ πάντων γενομένῳ σωτῆρ γὰρ ἐστὶν οὐχὶ τῶν μὲν, τῶν δ' οὐ, — ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄπτεται τοῦ Κυρίου ἀπαθοῦς ἀνάγκως γενομένου φθόνος — καὶ μὴ οὐθ' ἐπὶ ἀγνοίας ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν μὴ βούλεσθαι σώσειν τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα τὸν Κύριον,

These are the usual arguments by which the providence of God is shewn from His attributes of omniscience and omnipotence: but they are applied here to the Son. The God, who cannot be limited in power or will, *took upon him our flesh*: God is assumed to have a care for His creation, but it is the God who *shared His Father's counsels before the foundation of the world*. We may observe also, that Clement calls the Son *the Wisdom of God*. This is a common expression with the Fathers. Clement says in another place, "He is called Wisdom by all the prophets<sup>e</sup>." Irenæus speaks of "God making all things by Himself, i. e. by the Word and by His Wisdom<sup>f</sup>." Tertullian also having used the word *Wisdom* explains it to mean, "the Son who is Christ, the Wisdom and Power of God<sup>g</sup>." It seems natural to suppose, that all those writers borrowed this expression from St. Paul, who in 1 Cor. i. 24. calls *Christ the Power of God and the Wisdom of God*: Athanasius appeals to this text as proving Christ to be the *Wisdom* of God. (De Decret. Syn. Nic. 15. vol. I. p. 220 :) and the apostle seems to have attached the same mysterious idea to the word, when he says, *In him are hid all the treasures of Wisdom and knowledge*. (Col. ii. 3.) It may be remarked also, that our Saviour says in Matt.

διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶδέναι ὅπως ἐκάστου ἐπι-  
 μελητέον, ἀγνοία γὰρ οὐχ ἀπτεται  
 τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου  
 συμβούλου γενομένου τοῦ Πατρὸς.  
 αὕτη γὰρ ἦν σοφία ἣ προσέχαιρεν ὁ  
 παντοκράτωρ Θεός· δύναμις γὰρ τοῦ  
 Θεοῦ ὁ υἱός, ἅτε πρὸ πάντων τῶν  
 γενομένων ἀρχικώτατος Λόγος τοῦ  
 Πατρὸς καὶ σοφία αὐτοῦ.

<sup>e</sup> Σοφία δὲ οὗτος εἴρηται πρὸς

ἀπάντων τῶν προφητῶν. Strom. VI.  
 7. p. 769.

<sup>f</sup> —qui fecit ea per semet-  
 ipsum, hoc est, per Verbum et  
 per Sapientiam suam. II. 30. 9.  
 p. 163.

<sup>g</sup> Præter Sophiam autem, præ-  
 ter Filium dicit, qui est Christus,  
 Sophia et Virtus Dei. adv. Prax.  
 c. 19. p. 511.

xxiii. 34. *Behold, I send unto you prophets, &c.* but St. Luke reports him to have said, *Therefore also said the Wisdom of God, I will send them prophets, &c.* xi. 49. The passage, in which St. Paul appears most plainly to personify Wisdom, and to identify it with Christ, is perhaps 1 Cor. ii. 6—8.

I have already had occasion to remark, p. 47. that the Fathers understood the Son of God to be intended, when it is said in the book of Proverbs, (iii. 19.) that *the Lord by Wisdom hath founded the earth: that He possessed me in the beginning of His way, before His works of old.* (viii. 22.) Though the correctness of this interpretation might be doubted, it is quite clear, that when the Fathers called Christ *the Wisdom of God*, they meant to express his union and consubstantiality with the Father. In the same manner that the Wisdom of a man is not the man himself, and yet is not separated from him, so they meant that the Son is not the Father, and yet is inseparable from the Father. It was the same idea which caused the application of the term *Logos*, Reason, or Word, to the Son. All attempts to explain the coexistence of the Father and the Son in human language must necessarily fail: no illustration of such incomprehensible union can be perfect in all its parts; but when the Fathers say that Christ is the Wisdom of God, and that the Wisdom of God is God Himself; we are at no loss to understand their religious belief, though we may find ourselves equally unable to express it in suitable terms. The object of these pages is to prove what was the belief of the early Fathers: and no one, who reads the present example, can doubt, but that they held the Father and



the Son to be as inseparably connected as the soul of man is with the wisdom or intelligence which emanates from it. The reader will observe, that in the above quotation Christ is said to be without beginning; and in another place Clement speaks of the Son as “the beginning and first-fruits of existing things, without time and without beginning<sup>h</sup>.”

94. *Clementis Strom.* l. VII. c. 10. p. 866.

Clement having described the progress of a Christian from faith to knowledge, and from knowledge to charity, by which he means the practical exercise of all Christian graces, quotes a passage from the 24th Psalm to support his observation. The quotation differs from the Hebrew, but agrees with the Septuagint version. *Who shall ascend unto the hill of the Lord, or who shall stand in his holy place? He that hath clean hands and a pure heart; who hath not lifted up his soul unto vanity, nor sworn to deceive his neighbour. He shall receive blessing from the Lord, and mercy from God his Saviour. This is the generation of them that seek the Lord, that seek the face of the God of Jacob.* ver. 3—6. Upon which words Clement makes the following observations: “The prophet has given a brief description of the man of knowledge. David has shewn to us cursorily, as it appears, that the Saviour is God, calling him *the face of the God of Jacob*, who has given us glad tidings and instructions concerning the Spirit: wherefore also the apostle<sup>i</sup> has called the Son

<sup>h</sup> Τὴν ἄρχονον καὶ ἀναρχον ἀρχὴν τε καὶ ἀπαρχὴν τῶν ὄντων τὸν υἱόν. *Strom.* VII. 1. p. 829.

<sup>i</sup> He alludes to the Epistle to the Hebrews, i. 3. and we may

observe, that Clement expressly quotes this Epistle as the work of St. Paul, *Strom.* VI. 8. p. 771. Eusebius tells us, (H. E. VI. 14.) that Clement conceived it

“ *the express image of his Father’s glory, who hath taught us the truth concerning God, and expressly declared that God the Father is one and alone, the Almighty, whom no man knoweth, save the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal Him.* (Matt. xi. 27.) He signifies that God is one by the expression, *them that seek the face of the God of Jacob*, whom our Saviour and God describes as being alone good, God the Father<sup>k</sup>.”

This passage becomes more intelligible, when we remember, that Clement calls Christ *the face of the Father*. It was his opinion, as it was of all the early Fathers, that whenever God was said in the Old Testament *to be seen*, as he was by Jacob (Gen. xxxii. 30.) and by Moses, (Exod. xxxiii. 11.) *face to face*, it was not God the Father, but God the Son, who appeared: and thus they called the Son *the face of the Father*, or that form under which he chose to reveal himself to man<sup>l</sup>. Thus in the passage already quoted, at p. 153. he says, “ The face of God is the Word, by whom God is made manifest and known :” and in another place, “ The Son

to have been written by St. Paul in Hebrew, and translated by St. Luke. According to Photius, (Cod. 121.) Irenæus did not think that it was written by St. Paul; nor did Hippolytus: but we find no such observation in the works of those Fathers now extant. Tertullian says that it was written by Barnabas. (de Pudicitia, c. 20. p. 572.) Origen quotes it as the work of St. Paul, and wrote a treatise to prove that it was so: see Epist. ad Afric. vol. I. p. 20. The Arians did

not ascribe it to St. Paul. Epiphani. Hæc. LXIX. 37. vol. I. p. 760.

<sup>k</sup> Συντόμως, οἶμαι, τὸν γνωστικὸν ἐμήνησεν ὁ Προφήτης κατὰ παραδρομὴν, ὡς εἴκειν, ἡμῖν Θεὸν εἶναι τὸν σωτῆρα ἀπέδειξεν ὁ Δαβὶδ, πρόσωπον αὐτὸν εἰπὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰακώβ, τὸν εὐαγγελιστάμενον καὶ διδάξαντα περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος—ἐνα δὲ εἶναι τὸν Θεὸν διὰ τῶν ζητούντων τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰακώβ μεμήνηται ὃν μόνον ὄντα Θεὸν πατέρα ἀγαθὸν χαρακτηρίζει ὁ σωτῆρ ἡμῶν καὶ Θεός.

<sup>l</sup> See 2 Cor. iv. 6.

“ is called the face of the Father, the Word who “ took our flesh, and revealed that which belongs “ peculiarly to the Father <sup>m</sup>.” Origen also has used the same expression : upon those words, Ps. lxxx. 7. *Cause thy face to shine, and we shall be saved*, he says, “ he here calls Christ *the face* : for he is “ *the image of the invisible God* <sup>n</sup> :” and upon Ps. cxix. 58. which he translates, “ *I entreated thy face “ with my whole heart*,” he says, “ The face of God “ is the express image of His substance, as I have “ often observed <sup>o</sup>.”

Clement therefore conceived David to have intended Christ, when he speaks of *the face of the God of Jacob* ; and, according to this interpretation, David makes our Saviour to be God, as Clement observes : and yet he also says, that there is only one God, in proof of which he quotes the declaration of *our Saviour who is himself God*. Unless we believe Clement to have considered the Son to be united in the Godhead with the Father, the whole of this passage is unintelligible : but if we admit the idea of two persons in one Godhead, the meaning of it is perfectly plain, though we may perhaps not think the reasoning altogether judicious.

95. *Clementis Quis Dives Salvetur?* c. 6. p. 939.

Beside the works from which I have already made many quotations, Clement also wrote a short treatise, entitled, *What rich Man can be saved?*

<sup>m</sup> Πρόσωπον εἶρηται τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ Υἱός, σαρκοφόρος γενόμενος ὁ Λόγος ὁ τοῦ πατρῷου μηνυτῆς ἰδιώματος. Strom. V. 6. p. 665. Athanasius has the same expression, πρόσωπον τοῦ πατρὸς ὁ υἱός. In Psalm xxi. 6. p. 1035-6.

<sup>n</sup> Πρόσωπον ἐνταῦθα τὸν Χριστὸν ἀνόμασεν, εἰκὼν γὰρ κ. τ. λ. II. p. 772.

<sup>o</sup> Πρόσωπον Θεοῦ ὁ χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ, ὡς πολλακίς εἴρηται. p. 803.

and not far from the beginning of it he gives a long extract from St. Mark's Gospel, x. 17, &c. Among other remarks which he makes upon the question put to our Saviour, he says, that Jesus "knew beforehand, as God, what questions were about to be put to him, and what answers were about to be made. For who could know it better than the Prophet of prophets, and the Lord of every prophetic spirit?" Thus it was Jesus who inspired the prophets, and he knew the thoughts of men beforehand: either of which powers must prove, in the opinion at least of Clement, that he considered Christ to be God, even if he had not expressly called him so.

96. *Clementis Fragmentum.* p. 1014.

We may finish the quotations from Clement of Alexandria with two fragments preserved from his lost works. In the first is a commentary upon the Gospel of St. Matthew. "*The pearl* is the resplendent and most pure Jesus, whom the Virgin bore from the heavenly illumination: for as a pearl, when in flesh and in the shell and in the water, seems to be a liquid and transparent body full of light and spirit, so also God the Word having become flesh, is an intellectual light, shining through light and a pure body<sup>9</sup>."

Ρ Προεΐδε δὲ ὡς Θεὸς καὶ ἃ μέλλει διερωτηθῆσθαι, καὶ ἃ μέλλει τις αὐτῷ ἀποκρίνεσθαι. Τίς γὰρ καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ὁ προφήτης προφητῶν, καὶ Κύριος παντὸς προφητικῷ πνεύματος;

<sup>9</sup> Ἐστὶ μαργαρίτης καὶ ὁ διαυγὴς καὶ καθαρῶτατος Ἰησοῦς, ὃν ἐξ ἀστραπῆς τῆς θείας ἢ παρθένου ἐγέννησεν ὡς περὶ γὰρ ὁ μαργαρίτης ἐν σαρκὶ καὶ ὀστρεῖφ καὶ ἐν ὑγροῖς γε-

νόμενος σῶμα ἔοικεν εἶναι ὑγρὸν καὶ διειδὸς φωτὸς καὶ πνεύματος γέμον, οὕτω καὶ ὁ σαρκωθείς Θεὸς Λόγος φῶς ἔστι νοερὸν, διὰ φωτὸς καὶ ὑγροῦ ἐκλάμψας σώματος. The word ἀστραπή in this passage may be illustrated by an absurd account of the manner in which pearls are formed by lightning, in the 19th Question of the Pseudo-Athanasius. vol. II. p. 341-2.

97. *Clementis Fragmentum, (in editione Hippolyti, vol. II. p. 73.)*

This is said to be taken from a work of Clement written against Judaizing Christians. “Solomon, “the son of David, in the Book of Kings, understanding, that the building of the true temple was “not only heavenly and spiritual, but also related “to the flesh [the fleshly tabernacle] which the Son “and Lord of David was about to build, and to his “coming, where he intended to establish himself “like a kind of animated statue †, and to the church “which was to be raised according to the agreement of faith, speaks thus, *Will God indeed dwell “with man on the earth?* 1 Kings viii. 27. But “he dwells on the earth, being clothed with flesh, “and his dwelling is with men in the agreement “and harmony among the righteous—But in his “body, which the Lord consecrated to himself as a “holy place confined by limits, he says, *Destroy “this temple, and in three days I will raise it up.* “John ii. 19<sup>s</sup>.”

TERTULLIAN. A. D. 200.

Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus was born

Irenæus speaks of τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σῶμα καθαρὸν καὶ διανγές. *Fragm. p. 342.*

† The heathen temples had lifeless statues in them: Christ was in the Jewish temple as a living statue: he was the very God himself.

Ἔσολομῶν ὁ τοῦ Δαβὶδ παῖς— τὴν τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ νεῶ κατασκευὴν συνεῖς οὐ μόνον ἐπουράνιον εἶναι καὶ πνευματικὴν, ἥδη δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν σάρκα διαφέρειν ἣν ἐμελλεν οικοδο-

μεῖν ὁ τοῦ Δαβὶδ υἱός τε καὶ Κύριος, εἰς τε τὴν αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν, ἔσθα καθιδρῖσθαι, καθάπερ τι ἄγαλμα ἔμψυχον, διεγνώκει—λέγει, εἰ ἀληθῶς ἅρα κατοικήσει Θεὸς μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; Κατοικεῖ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς σάρκα περιβαλλόμενος, καὶ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων αὐτῷ κατοικήσις γίνεται ἐν τῇ κατὰ τοὺς δικαίους συνθέσει τε καὶ ἀρμονίᾳ.—Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ σώματος ὃ κατὰ περιγραφὴν τόπων ἔσθεον ἑαυτῷ καθιέρωσεν ἐπὶ γῆς ὁ Κύριος, Λύσατε, εἶπε, τὸν ναὸν κ.τ.λ.

at Carthage about the middle of the second century. He appears at first to have been a heathen, and is supposed to have been converted about the year 185, and to have been ordained in 192. There is no doubt, that after a time he fell into the heresy of Montanus, who fancied himself the Paraclete, and laid down rules of great rigour and austerity. The works which Tertullian wrote were very voluminous, many of which have come down to us. Some of them appear to have been written after he became a Montanist : but there is no reason to think, that his peculiar opinions at all affected his belief concerning the divinity of Christ, or any vital tenets of Christianity. It is expressly said by Epiphanius †, that Montanus himself agreed with the catholic church in his opinions concerning the Trinity. The same is also asserted by Theodoret ‡ concerning the Montanists generally, though he adds that some of them adopted Sabellianism.

He is supposed to have become a Montanist about the year 200, and to have died either in 230, as Cave thinks, or, according to Tillemont, in 245.

In the course of the following quotations Tertullian will be found often to call Jesus Christ God : and since doubts have been raised as to the sense in which this title was referred to Christ by the Fathers, the following passages may explain the meaning which Tertullian attached to the word.

“ What we worship is one God, who formed this “ universe out of nothing †.

† Hær. XLVIII. vol. I. p. 402.

‡ Hær. Fab. III. 2. vol. IV. p. 227.

\* Quod colimus Deus unus est, qui totam molem istam — de nihilo expressit. Apol. c. 17. p. 16.

“ *God* is a name of the very substance, i. e. of divinity: *Lord* does not imply substance, but shews, that the substance of power always existed together with his own name, which is God, and afterwards *Lord* <sup>γ</sup>.”

“ No person must be called *Gød*, because none can be believed to be so, except the Supreme—— Say that he is not God at all, if you call him an inferior God <sup>z</sup>.”

“ I am commanded not to call any one else God; not to make any other God even in speech, not by my tongue any more than by my hand: not to worship any other, or pay any kind of homage, except to that only God, who gives these commands <sup>a</sup>.”

98. *Tertull. Apol. c. 21. p. 19.*

Tertullian published his Apology, or Defence of Christianity, in the reign of Septimius Severus, in what is generally called the fifth persecution, about the year 198. Having alluded to the generally prevailing opinions, that the Christians were merely a sect of the Jews, and that they paid religious worship to a human being, he says, “ It is necessary therefore, that I should say a few words concerning Christ, as being God <sup>b</sup>.” He then mentions,

<sup>γ</sup> Deus substantiæ ipsius nomen, id est, divinitatis: Dominus vero non substantiæ, sed potestatis substantiam semper fuisse cum suo nomine, quod est Deus, postea Dominus. adv. Hermog. c. 3. p. 234.

<sup>z</sup> Deus non erit dicendus, quia nec credendus, nisi summum magnum——Nega Deum, quem dicis deteriorem. adv.

Marc. I. 6. p. 368.

<sup>a</sup> Præscribitur mihi ne quem alium Deum dicam; ne vel dicendo, non minus lingua quam manu Deum fingam; ne quem alium adorem, aut quoquo modo venerer, præter unicum illum qui ita mandat. Scorp. c. 4. p. 490.

<sup>b</sup> Necessè est igitur pauca de Christo, ut Deo. Apol. c. 21.

that even the heathen writers had conceived an idea of the Logos as a creative Spirit; after which he explains the Christian notion of the Logos, and says, "We believe it to have been produced from God, and to be begotten by production, and therefore called the Son of God, and God from the unity of substance<sup>c</sup>:" and when he has finished, he says, "Inquire therefore, whether this divinity of Christ is true<sup>d</sup>."

99. *Tertull. de Patientia*, c. 3. p. 140.

He begins this treatise by inculcating the duty of patience from the example of God himself, *who sends rain upon the just and upon the unjust*, who forbears to punish idolatrous nations, and who tolerates such a variety of wickedness. In this he evidently alludes to the one true God, the Lord of heaven and earth, whom we call God the Father: and yet he goes on to say, "These are the examples of divine patience, of which we may form some notion as being at a distance and above us: but what shall we say of that which has appeared openly upon earth among men, and been as it were handled by them? God permits himself to be born in the womb of his mother, and waits, and when he is born endures to grow to manhood, and when grown up takes no pleasure in being recognized, &c. &c."<sup>e</sup> In this passage Tertullian not only

<sup>c</sup> Hunc ex Deo prolatum dicimus, et prolatione generatum, et idcirco Filium Dei, et Deum dictum ex unitate substantiæ. Ib.

<sup>d</sup> Quærite ergo, si vera est ista divinitas Christi. Ib. p. 21.

<sup>e</sup> Et hæc quidem diviniæ patientiæ species, quasi de longin-

quo, fors ut de supernis æstimate-  
tur. Quid illa autem quæ inter  
homines palam in terris quodammodo manu apprehensa est?  
Nasci se Deus in utero patitur  
matris, et expectat, et natus  
adolescere sustinet, et adultus  
non gestit agnosci.



calls Christ God, but he clearly shews, that he considered him to be one with the Father. The God who forbears to punish the wicked, is the same who was born of the Virgin Mary.

So also at c. 4. he gives to Christ by implication the title of *living God*. Having enumerated several instances of Christ's great patience, which he exhibited while on earth, he draws the conclusion, that we, who are his servants, ought to imitate our Master in this respect. "If we see good and honest servants form their conduct according to the temper of their masters, how much more ought we to be found to mould ourselves after the pattern of the Lord! we, who are servants of the living God, who will reward his servants, not with the chain or the cap<sup>f</sup>, but with an eternity of punishment or of salvation<sup>g</sup>." The title *living God* must be applied to Christ in this passage, or the reasoning fails. We are servants of the living God, and are therefore to imitate him: and Tertulian here exhorts us to imitate him in patience: but all the examples of patience which he gives are taken from the life of Christ: it follows therefore, that Christ, whose servants we are, and whom we are to imitate, is *the living God*.

The sentence with which he finishes this part of the argument is equally strong; "Who then can treat at sufficient length of the advantage of that

<sup>f</sup> In allusion to the custom of putting *fetters* upon bad servants, and rewarding good ones with the *cap* of liberty, i. e. emancipating them.

<sup>g</sup> Igitur si probos quosque servos et bonæ mentis pro ingenio dominico conversari vide-

mus—quanto magis nos secundum Dominum moratos invenire oportet? Servos scilicet Dei vivi, cujus judicium in suos, non in compede aut pileo vertitur, sed in æternitate aut pœnæ aut salutis.

“patience, which God, the Lord of all good men, who tries and accepts them, carried about in his own person<sup>h</sup>?” The Lord God is here evidently Jesus Christ.

100. *Tertull. de Virg. Velandis, init.* p. 172.

Tertullian wrote this treatise to enforce the propriety of young women having their heads covered, and to condemn them for having broken the rule. He says, that *Truth*, by which he seems to mean the eternal fitness of things, required this rule to be observed; and that this Truth cannot be altered by lapse of time, nor by any prescription of person or country or custom. He adds, “Christ our Lord has called himself *Truth*, (John xiv. 6.) not custom. “If Christ has been always and is before all things, Truth is equally eternal and ancient<sup>i</sup>.” This passage compels us to believe in the eternal existence of Jesus Christ, at least according to Tertullian’s creed. For let us suppose him to have had no existence previous to his birth from the Virgin: still there never was a time when Truth did not exist, according to Tertullian’s idea of Truth, and indeed according to any sense of the word Truth. But Tertullian proves the eternity of Truth, from Christ having given that name to himself. Tertullian therefore must have believed that Christ was as eternal as Truth.

101. *Tertull. adv. Judæos, c. 7.* p. 189.

Among other arguments, by which he proves Je-

<sup>h</sup> Quam ergo Dominus omnium bonorum et demonstrator et acceptator Deus in semetipso circumtulit, quis de bono ejus late retractet?

<sup>i</sup> Dominus noster Christus

veritatem se non consuetudinem cognominavit. Si semper Christus, et prior omnibus, æque veritas sempiterna et antiqua res.

sus to be the Messiah, he appeals to the prophets who foretold his universal empire; and he shews, that these predictions were completed by the Gentiles believing in Jesus, and by Christianity being spread over the whole world. This is the earliest passage, which I remember to have seen, in which the Gospel is expressly said to have been preached in Britain. Tertullian wrote this treatise early in the third century: and he says, that “parts of Britain, which the Romans had never reached, were “now subject to Christ.” This testimony of Tertullian concerning the conversion of Britain is questioned by Mosheim, (Com. de Reb. ante Const. cent. II. init.) but apparently without reason. Assertions of the wide diffusion of the Gospel among barbarous nations may be found in Justin Martyr, Dial. cum Tryph. 117. p. 210-1. and Irenæus, I. 10, 2. p. 49. Tertullian shews, that all the other empires of the world had been limited, “but the kingdom and name “of Christ is extended every where, is believed “every where, is had in reverence by all the nations enumerated above, reigns every where, is “worshipped every where—he is to all a King, “to all a Judge, to all God and Lord<sup>k</sup>.”

102. *Tertull. adv. Judæos*, c. 9. p. 192.

It appears, that the Jews had objected to the Christians, that whereas Isaiah had predicted that the Messiah should be called *Emmanuel*, Jesus had never borne that name, and therefore could not be the Messiah. Tertullian answers this objection in

<sup>k</sup> Christi autem regnum et ubique regnat, ubique adoratur nomen ubique porrigitur, ubique creditur, ab omnibus gentibus supra enumeratis colitur, —omnibus Rex, omnibus Judex, omnibus Deus et Dominus est.

this treatise, which was written expressly against the Jews, and again in his work against Marcion, III. 12. In each place he uses almost the same words; and since they contain a very strong assertion of Christ's divinity, I shall refer to them both in giving a summary of Tertullian's argument. He says, that where this prophecy is claimed as being fulfilled in Jesus, there is added an interpretation of the word *Emmanuel*, viz. *God with us*: so that we are to consider not merely the sound of the word, but its signification. For the Hebrew word *Emmanuel* is peculiar to Isaiah's own nation: but the meaning, *God with us*, is common to all nations, i. e. it may be expressed in corresponding words in all languages. We are therefore to see, whether the idea which is contained in these words has been applied to Christ: i. e. whether by us who believe in Jesus he has really been called and considered *God with us*. Tertullian then appeals to those Jews who had been converted to Christianity; and he observes, that when they said in their own language *Jesus is God with us*, they did actually pronounce the very word *Emmanuel*; so that Isaiah's prophecy was literally fulfilled by the Jews themselves.

The followers of Marcion also used the Hebrew word *Emmanuel*, when speaking of Jesus: but all nations whatever fulfilled the meaning of the prophecy, when each in their respective language called Jesus *God with us*. "But if Emmanuel means "*God with us*, but the God, who is with us, is "*Christ, who is also in us, (for as many of you as have been baptized unto Christ have put on Christ, Gal. iii. 27.)* it as much belongs to Christ "*in the signification of the name, which is God*

“ *with us*, as in the sound of the name, which is “ Emmanuel. And thus it is evident, that he is “ already come, who was prophesied of as Emma- “ nuel: because that which Emmanuel signifies is “ come, viz. God with us<sup>1</sup>.”

In a few words, Tertullian’s argument is this; Isaiah foretold that the Messiah should be called *God with us*: Jesus was always considered and called God by the Christians: Jesus is therefore the Messiah foretold by Isaiah. But we may draw some other important conclusions from this passage. Not the Christians only, but the Jews, applied this prophecy of Isaiah to the Messiah: so that if Jesus was born of a virgin, and worshipped as God, we have the authority even of the Jews themselves for believing him to be the Messiah. Again, Tertullian not only tells us in express words, that Jesus was worshipped as God by the Christians, but it is plain from his words, that the Jews were aware of his being so worshipped. The Jews did not say, that Isaiah’s prophecy was inapplicable to Jesus, because he was not considered as God, but merely because the very Hebrew word *Emmanuel* was not applied to him. By the same arguments they might contend, that Jesus cannot be the Messiah, because he does not bear the Hebrew name, which signifies *the Lord our Righteousness*; (Jer. xxiii. 6.) or they might say, that we do not worship the one true God,

<sup>1</sup> Quod si Emmanuel nobiscum Deus est, Deus autem nobiscum Christus est, qui etiam in nobis est: *quotquot enim* &c. tam proprius est Christus in significatione nominis, quod est nobiscum Deus, quam in sono

nominis, quod est Emmanuel. Atque ita constat venisse jam illum qui prædicabatur Emmanuel, quia quod significat Emmanuel venit, id est, nobiscum Deus. adv. Marc. III. 12. p. 403.

because we do not pronounce His name with those Hebrew sounds, which express His title I AM.

But Tertullian's own testimony is particularly valuable, since he tells us, that whatever name might be given to Christ, he was in fact worshipped as God: and we may introduce here a passage somewhat similar from his treatise upon the Resurrection of the Flesh, c. 20. where he is censuring those persons who interpret all the prophecies figuratively: and he observes very properly, that there cannot be a figure without a reality, as there cannot be a reflection without a body to be reflected, nor a shadow without a substance. He then says, speaking of the same prophecy of Isaiah, "the Virgin conceived in the womb—not figuratively: and brought forth Emmanuel, Jesus, who is God with us—not metaphorically<sup>m</sup>."

103. *Tertull. adv. Judæos.* c. 12. p. 198.

In this same treatise he again appeals to the universal diffusion of Christianity as a completion of prophecy, and an evidence of Jesus being the Messiah. The same passage is also to be found nearly word for word in the work against Marcion, III. 20. His words are, "Behold all nations emerging from the gulf of human error to the Lord God the Creator, and to God His Christ<sup>n</sup>."

104. *Tertull. De Præscript. Hæret.* c. 20. p. 208.

I give the following quotation, as shewing, that even many heretics did not deny the divinity of Jesus, but only disputed upon certain modifications

<sup>m</sup> Nam et Virgo concepit in utero, non figurate: et peperit Emmanuelem, nobiscum Deum Jesum, non oblique. p. 337.

<sup>n</sup> Aspice universas nationes

de voragine erroris humani exinde emergentes ad Dominum Deum Creatorem, et ad Deum Christum ejus.

of the doctrine. Tertullian wrote this treatise purposely to convict the heretics of error: and having mentioned the corruptions of scripture which certain sects had introduced, he proposes to consider the whole history of the evangelical and apostolical writings, that he might discover what persons were most likely to have preserved the Christian doctrine pure and genuine. He begins thus; "Christ Jesus our Lord, whoever he be, if he will allow me to speak thus of him, of whatever God he is the Son; man and God, of whatever matter; of whatever faith he be the teacher; of whatever reward he be the promiser; himself declared, while he was upon earth, either openly to the people, or separately to his disciples, what he was, what he had been, what Will of his Father he was executing, what he appointed for man to do °."

The beginning of this sentence seems to shew, that the points then chiefly in dispute were in what manner Christ was the Son of God, and in what manner his human nature was united to the divine. Tertullian waves the consideration of these points for the present, but he seems to feel himself at liberty to assume from the concession even of his opponents, that in some way or other Christ was God, and that in some way or other the divine nature was united to the human. This is an important fact: for with whatever qualifications and restric-

° *Christus Jesus Dominus noster, permittat dicere interim, quisquis est, cujuscunque Dei filius, cujuscunque materiæ homo et Deus, cujuscunque fidei præceptor, cujuscunque mercedis repromissor, quid esset, quid*

*fuisset, quam Patris voluntatem administraret, quid homini agendum determinaret, quamdiu in terris agebat, ipse pronuntiabat, sive populo palam, sive discentibus seorsum.*

tions the term *God* may have been applied to the Son, the heretics must have seen very strong reasons for applying it at all, or they would have withheld it altogether. In what sense Tertullian used the term, we have seen at the beginning of these quotations.

105. *Tertull. de Præscript. Hæret. c. 48. p. 221.*<sup>p</sup>

We may also learn Tertullian's own sentiments by observing what he says of the tenets of heretics. Among others he mentions Cerinthus, who lived in the time of St. John; and Tertullian tells us, that this heretic "taught that Christ was begotten in "the ordinary way by Joseph, and that he was a "mere man without any divinity<sup>q</sup>." Tertullian of course selected those points in which Cerinthus differed from the catholic church and from himself: it follows therefore from this passage, that the catholic church did not believe Christ to be a mere man, but it believed in his divinity: and since Cerinthus was considered a heretic in his own time, it is not too much to quote this passage as a proof of Christ's divinity being believed by Christians not only in Tertullian's days, but during the lifetime of the apostle St. John, which in fact carries us up to the very fountain and spring of the gospel doctrine.

106. *Tertull. De Præscript. Hæret. c. ult. p. 223.*

He mentions also another heretic called Theodo-

<sup>p</sup> When I published the first edition of this work, I was rather inclined to look upon the whole of this treatise as genuine. I now think that the latter part, from the forty-sixth chapter, was probably not written by Tertullian: but as some per-

sons still doubt, I have suffered the testimonies taken from it to remain.

<sup>q</sup> Christum ex semine Joseph natum proponit, hominem illum tantummodo sine divinitate contendens.



tus, who lived at Constantinople, and he says of him, "that after being apprehended as a Christian, "and denying his religion, he never ceased speaking blasphemies against Christ: for he introduced "a doctrine, by which he called Christ a mere man, "but denied him to be God: he held indeed that "he was born of a virgin by the Holy Ghost, but "that he was nothing but a mere man, with no authority above other men, except that of righteousness only<sup>1</sup>." This passage also shews, that Tertullian did not consider Christ to be a mere man; but that he believed him to be God, and considered the denial of this doctrine to be a blasphemous heresy. I have already alluded to the assertion of Dr. Priestley, that the early Fathers mention no heretics except the Gnostics; and he wishes us to believe, that *Tertullian did not consider Unitarians as heretics*<sup>2</sup>. If the Unitarians agree with Theodotus in calling Christ a mere man, and denying him to be God, then Tertullian did consider the Unitarian doctrines to be heretical; and it matters little whether Tertullian was speaking of the Gnostics or no, if part of the Gnostic creed was the same as that of the Unitarians. Dr. Priestley himself speaks of Theodotus as an Unitarian, and Tertullian in express terms speaks of him as a heretic. We may observe also, that Theodotus must have found irre-

<sup>1</sup> Accedit his Theodotus hæreticus Byzantius: qui postquam Christi pro nomine comprehensus negavit, in Christum blasphemare non destitit: doctrinam enim introduxit, qua Christum hominem tantummodo diceret, Deum autem illum

negaret: ex Spiritu quidem Sancto natum ex virgine, sed hominem solitarium atque nudum, nulla alia præ cæteris, nisi sola justitiæ auctoritate.

<sup>2</sup> History of early Opinions, I. p. 289.

sistible evidence for the miraculous conception, or he would never have admitted what was so entirely contrary to the other parts of his new creed. He certainly must have been convinced of the beginning of St. Matthew's and St. Luke's Gospels being genuine, or he would never have admitted a doctrine which exposed him so palpably to the charge of inconsistency and self-contradiction.

Attempts have been made of late years to prove those parts of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, which relate the miraculous conception, to be spurious: and in *the Improved Version* these passages are printed in Italics. These attempts have been refuted by several writers. It is allowed even by the Unitarians, that the passages, to which they object, are found in every MS. and every version: and when we remember that the Syriac version was made early in the second century, if not at the end of the first, we must allow that the imposture was at least extremely old. The only reason for questioning their authenticity is taken from the fact, that the Ebionites, one of the earliest heretical sects, omitted this part of St. Matthew's Gospel, as Marcion, a heretic of the second century, rejected the beginning of St. Luke.

In the Introduction to *the Improved Version* it is asserted, that "they are treated by Marcion with "the most contemptuous ridicule: see Tert. de "Carn. Chr. sect. 2." But the writer of this passage had either not read Tertullian, or did not understand him. The *contemptuous ridicule* is Tertullian's, not Marcion's: Tertullian, in a strain of irony and sarcasm, represents Marcion's objections, and

ends with saying, "Such, I imagine, are the arguments by which you have dared to destroy the "original documents of Christ<sup>†</sup>." The Unitarians seem to conclude, that Marcion rejected these passages from reasons of criticism: but this is an unfounded assumption, or rather the perversion of a fact. Marcion rejected them, not because he denied the miraculous conception, but because he denied the proper humanity of Christ: he denied that Christ had been born at all, and contended that his body was a mere phantom; but he never pretended that his own Gospel was the genuine composition of St. Luke: he did not even call it by the name of that evangelist<sup>‡</sup>: he did not style it the genuine or improved version of St. Luke, but he was more honest and more consistent, he called it simply the Gospel. It must be remembered also, that the Gospel of St. Luke was not the only part of the scriptures which Marcion mutilated. He entirely rejected four of St. Paul's Epistles, the two to Timothy, and those to Titus and the Hebrews; and he arranged the others in an order totally different from that which was generally followed. Even those Epistles, which he retained, were altered and mutilated by himself or his

<sup>†</sup> His, opinor, consiliis tot originalia instrumenta Christi delere, Marcion, ausus es.

<sup>‡</sup> Contra Marcion Evangelio, scilicet suo, nullum adscribit auctorem, quasi non licuerit illi titulum quoque adfingere, cui nefas non fuit ipsum corpus evertere. Et possem hic jam gradum figere, non agnoscendum contendens opus, quod non erigat fontem, quod nullam con-

stantiam præferat, nullam fidem repromittat de plenitudine tituli, et professione debita auctoris. Tertul. adv. Marc. IV. 2. p. 414. See also Irenæus, III. 11. 7. p. 190. and c. 12. p. 198. Origen. in Joan. tom. X. vol. IV. p. 165. quoted at N<sup>o</sup>. 256. Lactantius, N<sup>o</sup>. 364. There are some judicious remarks upon this subject in Hug, vol. I. p. 72. (Translation.)

successors<sup>x</sup>. He also rejected the Apocalypse<sup>y</sup>: and according to Theodoret, he rejected the whole of the Old Testament<sup>z</sup>. It would be trifling to ask, whether any part of St. Luke's Gospel is to be pronounced spurious upon the authority of such an audacious innovator as this: nor does there seem any good reason, why the Unitarians should follow the example of Marcion in one instance and reject it in the others: they ought, if they wish to be consistent, either to admit the whole of St. Luke's Gospel, as they admit St. Paul's Epistles; or if they agree with Marcion in mutilating St. Luke, they should go all lengths with him, and mutilate St. Paul also. The original passage in Epiphanius<sup>a</sup> will shew what credit ought to be given to Marcion's authority in rejecting the beginning of St. Luke's Gospel. "I will now come to his (Marcion's) writings, or rather his audacities. For he admits a Gospel, that of Luke and no other, which is mutilated at the beginning, on account of the conception of our Saviour, and his appearing in the flesh. Nor was it the beginning only which was mutilated by this corruptor of himself rather than of the Gospel: but at the end also and in the middle he cut out many parts of the words of truth: he also added others beside what is there written." Epiphanius afterwards informs us that Marcion's gospel began with those words, "In the fifteenth year of Tiberius &c."

<sup>x</sup> See Iren. I. 27. 2. p. 106. Tertul. adv. Marc. IV. 5: V. 17. 21. Origen. in Rom. l. X. §. 43. p. 687. Hieron. Procœm. in Epist. ad Tit. Epiphani. Hær. XLII.

<sup>y</sup> Tertul. adv. Marc. IV. 5.

<sup>z</sup> Theodoret. Hær. Fab. I. 24. p. 210. See also Athanasius, ad Episc. Æg. et Lyb. 4. vol. I. p. 273. Epiphani. Hær. XLII. 4. vol. I. p. 305.

<sup>a</sup> Hær. XLII. vol. I. p. 309.

and *the Improved Version* adopts this as the beginning of what it conceives to be the authentic writing of St. Luke, except that it also receives as genuine the four first verses of the first chapter. Epiphanius however expressly tells us, that Marcion rejected these four verses: so inconsistent are the Unitarian translators in following the authority of Marcion!

The Unitarians might also have referred to Tatian, as an authority for mutilating the Gospels: for Theodoret tells us<sup>b</sup>, that "Tatian composed the gospel called Diatessaron, having expunged the genealogies, and every thing else which proves the Lord to have been born of the seed of David according to the flesh." This exactly agrees with what was said above of Marcion having rejected part of St. Luke's Gospel, not because he denied the divinity of Christ, but because he denied his humanity. After the death of his master Justin, Tatian adopted the heresy of those Gnostics, who believed the body of Jesus to have been unsubstantial: and I may add, that in the opinion of Theodoret, the Diatessaron of Tatian was decidedly an heretical book.

Again, the writer of the above passage says, that Marcion objected to "the prefatory chapters of Matthew and Luke:" which is another misstatement. Marcion never noticed St. Matthew's Gospel at all: he appears not to have admitted any of the Gospels, except that of St. Luke; and this, as we have seen, he mutilated and altered according to his own opinions. The only evidence, which we have against the authenticity of the beginning of St. Mat-

<sup>b</sup> Hær. Fab. I. 20. vol. IV. p. 208.

thew's Gospel, is contained in the fact mentioned above, that the Ebionites rejected it : but if we read the extract from the Ebionite gospel, which Epiphanius has preserved, it is plain that what these heretics called the Gospel of St. Matthew<sup>c</sup>, was a composition, or rather a compilation of their own, which in some points differed totally from the Gospel of St. Matthew : they altered, omitted, or inserted whatever they pleased ; so that no argument whatever can be drawn, concerning the genuineness of any particular passage in the received Gospel, from the fact of the Ebionites not having retained it : beside which, we learn from Theodoret<sup>d</sup>, that it was only one branch of the Ebionites who thought Jesus to have been a mere man, and who used the Gospel according to the Hebrews : another branch of them believed that Jesus was born of a Virgin, and used only the Gospel of St. Matthew : it is plain therefore that these latter Ebionites used the whole of St. Matthew's Gospel : and the Cerinthians, who were prior to the Ebionites, are expressly said to have admitted the genealogy in that Gospel<sup>e</sup> : so that the argument against the genuineness of the first part of it rests entirely and solely upon one division of the Ebionites ; and yet the Unitarians would persuade us that the authority of these heretics and of Marcion is to prevail against that of all the writers of the three first centuries. For it must be remembered that these very chapters are alluded to by Ignatius, Justin Martyr, Hegesippus, Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, Tertullian, &c. &c. All these Fathers undoubtedly believed the beginning of the

<sup>c</sup> Hær. XXX. p. 138.

<sup>e</sup> Hær. XXVIII. p. 113. 138.

<sup>d</sup> Hær. Fab. II. 1. p. 218.

two Gospels to be genuine: they must therefore have believed the doctrine which these passages contain: and the Unitarians themselves will inform us what that doctrine is; it expressly declares the divinity of Christ: all these Fathers therefore must have believed the divinity of Christ, whether these chapters are genuine or no. It is well observed also by Hug<sup>f</sup>, that Celsus, who lived in the second century, and wrote against Christianity, had seen the genealogies in Matthew and Luke, and knew that the Christians believed them to be true. The passage is in Origen. c. Cels. II. 32. vol. I. p. 413.

107. *Tertull. de Anima*, c. 41. p. 295.

In this treatise upon the soul, Tertullian considers the soul to contain a mixture of good and evil. The good comes to it from God; the evil from the Devil. The good principle may be obscured, but cannot be extinguished: and in all persons there is some mixture of these two principles: and hence the difference of good and bad men, according as one or the other prevails. "For God alone is without sin: and the only man without sin is Christ: because Christ is also God<sup>g</sup>." In this sentence it might appear at first, that Tertullian calls Christ a man in opposition to God: but he is evidently speaking of the human nature, which was united to the divine in Christ. If he had considered him a mere man, and said that he was without sin, he would have contradicted what he had said immediately before, that God alone is without sin; which words must of course exclude every human being. So that when

<sup>f</sup> Introduction to the N. T. translated by Wait. vol. I. p. 46.

<sup>g</sup> Solus enim Deus sine pec-

cato, et solus homo sine peccato Christus, quia et Deus Christus.

he says afterwards, that the only man without sin is Christ; he cannot mean that he was a man like other human beings; but his meaning is, that the only human being, who was ever without sin, was not absolutely a man, but he was God with a human nature joined to the divine.

108. *Tertull. de Anima*, c. 55. p. 303.

Tertullian is here considering the difficult question, what becomes of the soul after its departure from the body. Having given the opinion of some heathen philosophers, he says, "Christians believe " hell <sup>h</sup> to be, not a mere hollow place, nor a kind of " sink of the world, open to the air: but a vast space " in a cleft of the earth, and low down, and a depth " buried in its very bowels: since we read that " Christ passed the three days of death in the heart " of the earth; i. e. in an inner and internal recess, " covered up in the earth itself, and shut up within " it, and raised upon still lower abysses. But if " Christ, who is God, in consequence<sup>e</sup> of his being " man, died according to the scriptures, and was " buried according to them, and also fulfilled this " law, having observed the form of human death in " hell; nor did he ascend to the higher parts of " heaven, before he had descended into the lower " parts of the earth, that he might there make him- " self known to the patriarchs and prophets — " you have grounds for believing in the subterraneous " region of hell, and for refuting those who think, " proudly enough, that the souls of the faithful are " not deserving of hell <sup>i</sup>."

<sup>h</sup> I have translated *infernus* *hell*, because it is the word used in the Creed, and in some pas-

sages of the Bible.

<sup>i</sup> *Nobis inferi non nuda cavositas, nec subdivalis aliqua*



We need not trouble ourselves with examining Tertullian's opinion concerning the nature and locality of the abode of departed spirits. If he erred, it was from taking too literally the words of scripture, where our Saviour speaks of *the heart of the earth*, (Matt. xii. 40.) and St. Paul of *the lower parts of the earth*, (Eph. iv. 9.) and of *the deep*, Rom. x. 7. He at least reasons correctly in asserting, that there must be such a place *somewhere*, because Jesus Christ passed part of three days in that place: and this is all which he wishes to prove. What he says concerning Christ making himself known to the patriarchs and prophets is evidently taken from the expressions of St. Peter, iii. 19. and iv. 6. Tertullian delivers the same opinion in c. 7. of this treatise, and many of the other Fathers agreed with him<sup>k</sup>.

What we have to observe in this passage is the expression, that "Christ, who is God, died and was buried, and descended into hell, because he was

mundi sentina creduntur: sed in fossa terræ et in alto vastitas, et in ipsis visceribus ejus abstrusa profunditas. Siquidem Christo in corde terræ triduum mortis legimus expunctum, id est, in recessu intimo et interno, et in ipsa terra operto et intra ipsam clauso, et inferioribus adhuc abyssis superstructo. Quod si Christus Deus, quia et homo, mortuus secundum scripturas, et sepultus secus easdem, huic quoque legi satisfecit, forma humanæ mortis apud inferos functus; nec ante ascendit in sublimiora cœlorum, quam descendit in inferiora terrarum, ut illic patriarchas et prophetas com-

potes sui faceret; habes et regionem inferûm subterraneam credere, et illos cubito pellere, qui satis superbe non putant animas fidelium inferis dignas.

<sup>k</sup> Hermas, III. Simil. 9. 16. Irenæus, IV. 27. 2. p. 264. Clem. Alex. Strom. III. 4. p. 526. VI. 6. p. 762. Theodotus ad fin. Clem. Alex. p. 973. Hippol. de Antichristo, §. 26, 45. Origen. c. Celsum, II. 43. In Exod. Hom. 6. §. 6. in Reg. Hom. II. vol. II. p. 497. in Psalm. p. 553. Eusebius, Dem. Evang. p. 377. 501. Athanas. vol. I. p. 905. 933. 946. 1113. 1154. 1191. Epiphani. vol. I. p. 394. 789.

“man.” The union of the two natures in Christ could not have been more strongly expressed. Tertullian is wishing to prove that the souls of all men go to an intermediate place: and he proves it, because Christ, who wished to submit to all the consequences of mortality, went thither. If Christ had been a mere man, the reasoning would be perfectly inconclusive: it would involve a *petitio principii*: but since Christ was not obliged to die and to descend into hell, and yet submitted to all these things because he submitted to become man, it follows that one of the consequences of mortality must be, that the soul, when it leaves the body, goes into a separate place. Tertullian must therefore have believed, that the human nature was adventitious to Christ, or, as he says expressly in this passage, that Christ was God.

109. *Tertull. de Carne Christi*, c. 3. &c. p. 308.

The cause, which led Tertullian to write this treatise, is itself a very strong argument for the divinity of Christ. He wrote it against the heresies of Marcion and his disciples Apelles and Valentinus. These heretics were so far from denying the divinity of Christ, that they denied his humanity; i. e. they could not believe that God could be born and be subject to all the accidents and infirmities of humanity. Marcion was the leader of this sect. He maintained that Christ was not born, and that he did not really bear our human flesh, but merely the semblance of it. His disciple Apelles admitted the reality of his flesh, but denied his nativity. Another disciple, Valentinus, admitted the reality of his flesh and his nativity, but still would not allow that he was a man, like other human beings. It is obvious,

that the beginnings of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke must have been fatal to Marcion's hypothesis: he therefore adopted the easy expedient, already mentioned, of pronouncing them spurious; though Tertullian tells us, that he had before acknowledged them to be genuine.

• The object of Tertullian in this treatise is to prove, in opposition to these heretics, that Christ did really take upon him our human flesh. It was the opinion of Tertullian, as of most of the early Fathers, that we shall rise again with our bodies, exactly as they are now: and he brings as an argument the identity of Christ's body before and after his resurrection. Now if Marcion's hypothesis were true, that Christ had not a real body, the argument of Tertullian would of course fail; because he could not reason from the apparent body of Christ to the real body of man. Tertullian therefore labours to prove in this treatise, that Christ did actually take upon him our human flesh, not the semblance of flesh: and he begins with refuting Marcion concerning the reality of his nativity.

“ According to your notion, you must either think  
“ it impossible or unsuitable to God to be born. But  
“ nothing is impossible to God, except what He does  
“ not wish. We must therefore consider, whether  
“ he did not wish to be born. If there had been any  
“ reason why God did not wish to be born, he would  
“ not have made himself appear like a man. For  
“ who, that sees a man, would say that he was not  
“ born? So that whatever God did not wish to be,  
“ he would not wish to seem to be.— You cannot  
“ say, that His reason for not wishing it was, lest if  
“ He had been born, and really put on man, he would

“ have ceased to be God, by losing what He was and  
 “ becoming what He was not. For God is in no  
 “ danger of losing His condition. But you say, I  
 “ deny that God was so changed into man, as to be  
 “ born and to do works in the flesh, because he who  
 “ is without end must necessarily be also unchange-  
 “ able: for to be changed into something else is the  
 “ end of that which it was before. Change there-  
 “ fore is incompatible with Him, with whom end is  
 “ incompatible.”

Tertullian answers, that this is true as to all cre-  
 ated things; “ but nothing is like to God: his nature  
 “ is different from the condition of all things. If  
 “ therefore those things, which are different from  
 “ God, and from which God is different, when they  
 “ are changed, lose that which they were before,  
 “ where will be the difference between the Deity  
 “ and those things, unless the contrary hold good;  
 “ i. e. unless God can be changed into all things, and  
 “ yet continue what he was? — You have read  
 “ and believed that angels have been changed into  
 “ a human form, and borne such a reality of body,  
 “ that Abraham washed their feet, and Lot was  
 “ rescued from the men of Sodom by their hands.  
 “ — What was possible for angels, who are in-  
 “ ferior to God, that they might be changed into a  
 “ human body and yet continue angels, will you  
 “ deny this power to God, who is more powerful, as  
 “ if Christ were not able really to put on man, and  
 “ yet continue God<sup>1</sup>?”

<sup>1</sup> Necessè est quatenus hoc  
 putas arbitrio tuo licuisse, ut  
 aut impossibilem aut inconve-  
 nientem Deo existimaveris nati-  
 vitatem. Sed Deo nihil impos-

sibile, nisi quod non vult. An  
 ergo noluerit nasci, (quia si  
 voluit, et potuit, et natus est,) consideremus. Ad compendium  
 decurro. Si enim nasci se Deus

Having thus proved that it was neither impossible for God to be born, nor dangerous to His divinity, he shews that all the sufferings and weaknesses of a newborn infant were not unworthy of God, because the men, whom he came to redeem, must all have passed through those sufferings and weaknesses. He quotes the words of St. Paul, *God has chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise*, (1 Cor. i. 27.) and observes that there can be nothing imagined, which would appear so *foolish* to the world, as the idea “that God should “be born, and of a virgin, and that he should be “come flesh<sup>m</sup>.” He then very justly reproaches Marcion for denying the nativity of Christ, but allowing his crucifixion, as if the latter was not as unworthy of God as the former. “There are other

noluisse quacumque de causa, nec hominem se videri præstitisset. Nam quis hominem videns eum negaret natum? Ita quod noluisse esse, nec videri omnino voluisset.—Non potes dicere, ne si natus fuisset et hominem vere induisset, Deus esse desisset, amittens quod erat, dum fit quod non erat. Periculum enim status sui Deo nullum est. Sed ideo, inquis, nego Deum in hominem vere conversum, ita ut et nasceretur et carne corporaretur: quia qui sine fine est, etiam inconvertibilis sit necesse est: converti enim in aliud, finis est pristini: non competit ergo conversio ejus, cui non competit finis.

Sed nihil Deo par est: natura ejus ab omnium rerum conditione distat. Si ergo quæ a Deo distant, a quibus Deus distat, cum convertuntur, amit-

tunt quod fuerunt: ubi erit diversitas divinitatis a cæteris rebus, nisi ut contrarium obtineat? id est, ut Deus et in omnia converti possit, et qualis est perseverare?—Angelos Creatoris conversos in effigiem humanam aliquando legisti et credidisti, et tantam corporis gestasse veritatem, ut et pedes eis laverit Abraham, et manibus ipsorum ereptus sit Sodomitis Loth—Quod ergo Angelis inferioribus Deo licuit, uti conversi in corpulentiam humanam angeli nihilominus permanent, hoc tu potentiori Deo auferes, quasi non valuerit Christus vere hominem indutus Deus perseverare?

<sup>m</sup> — non erit tam stultum quam credere in Deum natum, et quidem ex virgine, et quidem carneum. c. 4. p. 310.

“ things [which the world think] equally foolish,  
 “ which relate to the indignities and sufferings of  
 “ God. Or perhaps it might seem wisdom to the  
 “ world, that God should be crucified! Deny this,  
 “ Marcion, even rather than the other. For which  
 “ is more unworthy of God? which would He be  
 “ more ashamed of, to be born or to die? to bear  
 “ our flesh or the cross?—But answer me this,  
 “ Was not God really crucified? was He not really  
 “ dead, as He was really crucified?—Our faith  
 “ therefore is vain; and all that we hope in Christ  
 “ is a phantom. Thou most wicked of men! who  
 “ furnishest excuses to the murderers of God<sup>n</sup>! For  
 “ Christ suffered nothing from them, if he did not  
 “ really suffer—Christ would not be called man,  
 “ without flesh; nor the Son of man, without some  
 “ human parent: as he would not be called God,  
 “ without the Spirit of God; nor the Son of God,  
 “ without God for his Father. Thus his affinity to  
 “ each substance rendered him God and man; on  
 “ one side born, on the other not born: on one side  
 “ fleshly, on the other spiritual: on one side weak,  
 “ on the other passing strong: on one side dying,  
 “ on the other living. Which peculiarity of condi-  
 “ tions, the divine and human, with an equal reality  
 “ of each nature, is proved by the same test of  
 “ spirit and flesh. His miracles proved the Spirit of  
 “ God: his sufferings proved the flesh of man. If  
 “ the miracles were not without the Spirit, the suf-  
 “ ferings were not without the flesh. If the flesh  
 “ with the sufferings was feigned, therefore the Spi-

<sup>n</sup> This strong expression is also used by Dionysius of Alexandria as quoted at N<sup>o</sup>. 314.

“ rit with the miracles was false. Why do you halve  
 “ Christ by a lie? He was altogether reality —  
 “ if not, he was a phantom even after his resur-  
 “ rection — he tricks, and deceives, and deludes  
 “ the eyes of all, the senses of all, the approach and  
 “ touch of all. You ought not to have made Christ  
 “ come from heaven, but from some company of  
 “ jugglers: and not a God beside being man, but a  
 “ mere man and a conjuror °.”

I have been obliged to give this long extract, because it contains so many and such positive assertions of the divinity of Christ. Tertullian speaks of God being born and crucified in the same manner that we should speak of Jesus or Christ being born

° Sunt plane et alia tam stulta, quæ pertinent ad contumelias et passiones Dei: aut Prudentiam dicant, Deum crucifixum. Aufer hoc quoque, Marcion, immo hoc potius. Quid enim indignius Deo? quid magis erubescendum, nasci an mori? carnem gestare, an crucem? — Sed jam hinc responde, interfector veritatis, Nonne vere crucifixus est Deus? nonne vere mortuus, ut vere crucifixus? — Falsa est igitur et fides nostra: et phantasma erit totum quod speramus a Christo. Scelestissime hominum, qui interemptores excusas Dei. Nihil enim ab eis passus est Christus, si nihil vere est passus. — Aliter non diceretur homo Christus sine carne: nec hominis filius, sine aliquo parente homine: sicut nec Deus sine Spiritu Dei: nec Dei filius sine Deo patre. Ita utriusque substantiæ census hominem et Deum ex-

hibuit: hinc natum, inde non natum: hinc carneum, inde spiritalem: hinc infirmum, inde præfortem: hinc morientem, inde viventem. Quæ proprietates conditionum, divinæ et humanæ, æqua utique naturæ utriusque veritate dispuncta est eadem fide, et spiritus, et carnis. Virtutes Spiritum Dei, passiones carnem hominis probaverunt. Si virtutes non sine Spiritu, perinde et passiones non sine carne. Si caro cum passionibus ficta, et Spiritus ergo cum virtutibus falsus. Quid dimidias mendacio Christum? Totus veritas fuit. — Fuit itaque phantasma etiam post resurrectionem — Ecce fallit, et decipit, et circumvenit omnium oculos, omnium sensus, omnium accessus et contactus. Ergo jam Christum non de cælo deferre debueras, sed de aliquo circulatorio cœtu: nec Deum præter hominem, sed magum hominem.

and crucified. It is plain also that he meant the one only God, uncreated and unchangeable. We learn further, that Marcion never thought of disputing the divinity of Christ. It is true that he made a difference between Christ and the God of the Old Testament; but that does not affect the present argument. No person would now defend the absurd notions of Marcion concerning the two or the three principles: it is sufficient for our purpose, that Marcion considered Christ to be God: and so convinced was he of his divinity, that he even ran into the wild hypothesis of Christ having an unsubstantial and only apparent body. The Gospel history compelled him to acknowledge, that the attributes of God and man were given to Christ: but he chose to imagine, that the human functions were discharged by him not really, but only in appearance.

110. *Tertull. de Carne Christi*, c. 14. p. 319.

He goes on to shew, in opposition to Marcion, that there was a reason why Christ should assume the body of a man, viz. because it was man who had fallen, and it was man who was to be saved. But there was not the same reason why he should assume an angelic body, as Marcion supposed: for though some angels have fallen, yet no promise of restitution was made to them. It might perhaps be said, that Christ assumed an angelic body in order to accomplish the salvation of man. Tertullian therefore asks, "Why then did he descend to do that, which he meant to perform by an angel? If it was to be done by an angel, why did he do it himself? and if he did it by himself, why was the angel also employed? It is true indeed that he was called *the Angel of great Counsel*, that is,



“ the Messenger, which title he had by office, not by nature. For it was he, who was to announce to the world the great intent of his Father, concerning the restoration of man. Not that it is therefore to be understood, that he is such an angel as Gabriel or Michael. For the Son is also sent to the husbandmen by the Lord of the vineyard, like the servants were, to ask for the fruits. But the Son will not on that account be reckoned one of the servants, because he succeeded the servants in their office. I could therefore bring myself more easily to speak of the Son himself as an angel, that is, a messenger of his Father, than of an angel in the Son. But when it is said of the Son himself, *Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels*, (Psalm viii. 5. Heb. ii. 7, 9.) how can it seem that he assumed the person of an angel, who was made so much lower than the angels, while he was man, inasmuch as he was flesh and soul and the Son of man? But inasmuch as he is the Spirit of God, and the Power of the Most High, he cannot be reckoned lower than angels, because he is God and the Son of God <sup>P</sup>.”

<sup>P</sup> Cur ergo descendit ad id quod per angelum erat expediturus? Si per Angelum, quid et ipse? Si per se, quid et Angelus? Dictus est quidem *magni consilii Angelus*, id est, Nuntius, officii non naturæ vocabulo. Magnum enim cogitatum Patris, super hominis scilicet restitutione, annuntiaturus sæculo erat. Non ideo tamen sic angelus intelligendus, ut aliqui Gabriel aut Michael. Nam et Filius a Domino vineæ mittitur ad cultores, sicut et famuli, de

fructibus petitur. Sed non propterea unus ex famulis deputabitur Filius, quia famulorum successit officio. Facilius ergo dicam, si forte, ipsum Filium angelum, id est, nuntium Patris, quam angelum in Filio. Sed quum de Filio ipso sit pronuntiatum, *Minuisti eum modicum quid citra angelos*, quomodo videbitur angelum induisse, sic infra angelos diminutus, dum homo sit, qua caro et anima et Filius hominis? qua autem Spiritus Dei et Virtus

All this reasoning about angels seems to be introduced, because Tertullian was aware of Jesus being spoken of in the Old Testament as the Angel or Messenger of the covenant. To those who believe, as all the early Fathers believed, that the Angel of the covenant was no other than God himself, this will be sufficient to prove, that Tertullian acknowledged the divinity of Christ. But if any should disbelieve this, we would urge to them, that Tertullian here expressly asserts that Christ is superior to angels: and we would ask, what being is there between the ministering spirits and God himself, of whose existence we know any thing from scripture? Beside which, Tertullian finishes the above quotation by expressly saying that Christ is God.

111. *Tertull. de Carne Christi*, c. 15. p. 320.

The following short passage is merely brought to shew that Marcion, with all his strange opinions, acknowledged the divinity of Christ. Tertullian concludes an argument against the Marcionites by saying, "They acknowledge the man united to the God, and they deny the man <sup>9</sup>."

112. *Tertull. de Carne Christi*, c. 17. p. 320.

After other arguments to prove that Christ had really and tangibly a human body, Tertullian shews that he must have received a carnal existence from his mother: and he points out how worthy it was of the counsels of God that Christ should be born of a virgin. "He who was to consecrate a new birth, ought to have been born in a new way: concerning which the Lord was to give a sign, as Isaiah

Altissimi, non potest infra An- <sup>9</sup> Agnoscunt hominem Deo  
gelos haberi, Deus scilicet et mixtum, et negant hominem.  
Dei Filius.

“declared: What is that sign? *Behold a virgin shall conceive in her womb, and bear a Son.* “The virgin accordingly conceived and bore Emmanuel, *God with us.* This is the new birth, “when a man is born in God, in which man God “was born<sup>r</sup>.” The union of the divine and human nature in the person of Christ could hardly be declared more plainly.

Pursuing the same argument, he shews the divine and human natures of Christ from these words, *That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit*<sup>s</sup>: (John iii. 6.) for Christ was born of the flesh, inasmuch as he was born of Mary: and he was born of the Spirit, inasmuch as he was born of God. Against this the Valentinians brought another passage of St. John’s Gospel, (i. 13.) where he says of those who believe in Christ, that they *are born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God*: from which they argued, that Christ was not born of the flesh, but of God only. Tertullian replies by appealing to the fact, that all believers are born of blood and of the will of the flesh, and of man by the common law of our nature: but of

<sup>r</sup> Nove nasci debebat, novæ nativitatæ dedicator: de qua signum daturus Dominus ab Esaia prædicabatur. Quod est istud signum? Ecce virgo concipiet in utero, et pariet filium. Conceptit igitur virgo et peperit Emmanuelem, nobiscum Deum. Hæc est nativitas nova, dum homo nascitur in Deo: in quo homine Deus natus est.

<sup>s</sup> Tertullian quotes—Spiritus

est, quia Deus Spiritus est, et de Deo natus est. It was quoted with the same addition at the 7th council of Carthage. Cypr. p. 331. I may add, that Griesbach omits to mention Athanasius, who reads *quia Dominus spiritus est* in the tract de Trinitate et Spiritu Sancto, of which a Latin translation only is extant. p. 974. See Routh, Rel. Sac. III. p. 156.

Christ it is said in a peculiar manner, that he was born of God: "for Christ is the Word of God, and "with the Word he is the Spirit of God; and in the "Spirit he is the Power of God, and whatever be- "longs to God<sup>t</sup>." We may again observe, that if Christ were a mere man, born in the ordinary way, all these numerous arguments to prove his bodily substance would never have been used. But the heretics denied his bodily substance; and Tertullian, who acknowledged it, did not believe that he was born in the ordinary way. Upon either hypothesis therefore his divine nature was a fundamental article of belief.

113. *Tertull. de Resurrectione Carnis*, c. 39.  
p. 348.

This treatise was written to prove, that we shall rise again *with our bodies*. With the truth or falsehood of this doctrine we are not at present concerned: and in the following quotation Tertullian only observes, that the apostolical writings invariably enforce the doctrine of the resurrection, but with this difference; that to the Jews it was preached, not as a new doctrine, but one in which they all, with the exception of the Sadducees, believed. "The "apostles had nothing to do, when preaching to the "Israelites, but to unseal (i. e. to explain) the Old "Testament, and to seal (i. e. to prove or confirm) "the New: and particularly to preach God in "Christ<sup>u</sup>." This therefore was the leading doc-

<sup>t</sup> — quia Verbum Dei, et cum Verbo Dei Spiritus, et in Spiritu Dei Virtus, et quicquid Dei est Christus. p. 322.

<sup>u</sup> Apostolis nullum aliud ne-

gotium fuit, dumtaxat apud Israelem, quam veteris Testamenti resignandi, et novi consignandi, et potius jam Dei in Christo concionandi.

trine in the Gospel according to Tertullian, that *God was in Christ.*

114. *Tertull. de Resurrectione Carnis, c. 44.*  
p. 351.

We must again remember, that we are not at all concerned with the accuracy of Tertullian's reasoning about the resurrection *of the flesh*: we have only to inquire whether he believed Christ to be God. Having quoted 2 Cor. iv. 10. *Always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our body*, he asks, "Shall then the "life of Christ, which is eternal, unceasing, incorrupt, which is the life of God, be made manifest "in a thing which is unconnected with salvation, "in a substance doomed to perpetual dissolution \*?" He means to infer, that if the life of Christ is to be made manifest in our bodies, those bodies must certainly be eternal: and one reason why he draws this conclusion is, because the life of Christ is the life of God; i. e. because Christ is God.

115. *Tertull. de Resurrectione Carnis, c. 45.*  
p. 352.

In Eph. iv. 32. we read—*forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you.* The original is—καθὼς καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἐν Χριστῷ ἐχαρίσατο ὑμῖν, which would be literally, *as also God in Christ hath forgiven you*; and there seems no reason why the passage should not be so translated. Tertullian renders it, "sicut et Deus "vobis donavit *in Christo*," which can hardly mean

\* In re ergo aliena salutis, in æterna, jugis, incorrupta, jam et substantia perpetuæ dissolutionis, manifestabitur vita Christi Dei vita?

*for sake of Christ.* It is singular that there should be so many various readings in this passage. Tertullian himself quotes it in another place<sup>y</sup>, “sicut “et Christus donavit nobis:” some MSS. read it so: some read, *as God hath forgiven you*; some, *as the Lord hath forgiven you*; which seems rather to shew that the passage was understood, not as we translate it, *for sake of Christ*, but as if God and Christ were really the same. That St. Paul considered it to be indifferent, whether he said that *God has forgiven us*, or *Christ has forgiven us*, seems evident, if we compare his words at Eph. iv. 32. with those at Col. iii. 13. The two passages are exactly similar; but in the former he says, ὁ Θεὸς ἐν Χριστῷ ἐχαρίσατο ὑμῖν; in the latter, ὁ Χριστὸς ἐχαρίσατο ὑμῖν. It might be thought that Tertullian in the second passage alluded to above, (de Pud. 2.) quoted Col. iii. 13. rather than Eph. iv. 32; but his words are more like the latter text, and we may observe that when St. Paul exhorted the Colossians to forgive one another, *as Christ had forgiven them*, he could not mean to speak of him as a mere man. Christ, as a mere man, could forgive the Jews who crucified him; but in no sense, literal or figurative, could he have forgiven the Colossians, to whom St. Paul was writing, unless we conceive him to have been more than man<sup>z</sup>. There are other places in the Epistles of St. Paul, where the expression Θεὸς ἐν Χριστῷ is deprived of its force by our translation. We render Rom. vi. 10, 11. *For in that he died, he died unto sin once: but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God. Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be*

<sup>y</sup> De Pudicitia, c. 2. p. 556.

<sup>z</sup> See what is said of Col. iii. 13. at p. 23.

*dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord.* I would rather render it, *For in that he died, he died by sin once: but in that he liveth, he liveth by God.* Christ died, because he was *made sin for us*: (2 Cor. v. 21.) he died therefore by, or in consequence of, the sin, i. e. the sinful nature, which was in him: and this is the meaning of ἀπέθανε τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, not that he died *unto sin*, which has no definite meaning at all. If this be correct, the next clause must be translated in the same way; ζῆ τῷ Θεῷ, *he liveth by God*; i. e. by the God, or divine nature, which was in him. His human nature caused him to die; his divine nature caused him to live. The next verse I would translate thus; *Likewise reckon ye also yourselves as dead by sin, but living by God in Christ Jesus our Lord.* A similar expression occurs in ver. 2. οἵτινες ἀπεθάνομεν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, πῶς ἔτι ζήσομεν ἐν αὐτῇ; which we render, *How shall we that are dead to sin, live any longer therein?* But I would rather render it, *How shall we that have been dead through sin, live any longer therein?* i. e. Having felt the deadly effects of sin, viz. that we were all under condemnation, if Christ had not freed us, shall we live any longer in sin<sup>a</sup>?

It may be doubted, whether ἀποθνήσκειν ἁμαρτίᾳ can signify *to die unto sin*<sup>b</sup>. Schleusner quotes Rom. xiv. 8.: but the whole passage may be as well trans-

<sup>a</sup> See Rom. vi. 16. δοῦλοι— ἁμαρτίας εἰς θάνατον, ἢ ὑπακοῆς εἰς δικαιοσύνην. Also viii. 10. τὸ μὲν σῶμα νεκρὸν δι' ἁμαρτίαν, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζῶν διὰ δικαιοσύνην.

<sup>b</sup> The words, as they are rendered in our English version, are generally understood to

mean, *to renounce sin, to commit it no more*: but this seems to have been expressed by a different construction, as in Col. ii. 20. εἰ οὖν ἀπεθάνετε σὶν τῷ Χριστῷ ἀπὸ τῶν στοιχείων τοῦ κόσμου, κ. τ. λ.

lated, *For none of us liveth by, or of himself: and no man dieth of himself: for whether we live, we live by the Lord*, (i. e. by the will of the Lord,) *and whether we die, we die by the Lord*. In each place I conceive the dative to signify the thing which causes or ordains that we die<sup>c</sup>. Schleusner also quotes Ajax 985. (ed. Musg.) θεοῖς τέθνηκεν οὗτος, which is exactly in point; for it can only mean, *he died by the decree of the gods*. Gal. ii. 19. may be translated, *For in consequence of the law, I died by the law, that I might live by God*: in other words, The very nature of the law caused that by following the law I became dead, (i. e. I was subject to condemnation,) that I might live (i. e. I might be restored to spiritual life) by the grace of God. So also I would translate 1 Pet. iii. 18. *Being put to death by the flesh*, (i. e. being made subject to death by his human nature,) *but quickened by the Spirit*<sup>d</sup>; (i. e. raised to life again by his divine nature,) which is nearly the same expression with 2 Cor. xiii. 4. *Though he was crucified through weakness, yet he liveth by the power of God*; where the construction ἐξ ἀσθενείας and ἐκ δυνάμεως Θεοῦ has the same force which I would give to the dative case in all the above instances; and Hippo-

<sup>c</sup> Our translators have mistaken the force of the dative in other instances: thus bishop Bull points out that in Eph. iv. 23. ἀνανεοῦσθαι τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ νοῦς ὑμῶν should be translated, *to be renewed by the spirit of your mind*. Chrysostom explains it by τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἐν τῷ νῷ. (Discourse on the state of man before the fall. Works,

vol. II. p. 97.) Compare Eph. i. 13.

<sup>d</sup> Athanasius must have understood the dative case in this sense, when he said, probably in allusion to this text, διὰ τοῦτο Θεὸς ὢν ὁ λόγος γέγονε σὰρξ, ἵνα θανατωθεὶς σαρκὶ ζωοποιήσῃ πάντας τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμει. Orat. I. c. Arian. 44. vol. I. p. 449.



lytus quotes it as meaning, that Christ rose in consequence of the divine nature which was in him <sup>e</sup>. So also in 1 Pet. ii. 24. we should translate ἵνα ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις ἀπογενόμενοι τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ ζήσωμεν, *that we who were dead by sins, (in consequence of our sins,) should live by righteousness*, or, by his righteousness, i. e. the righteousness of Christ: and in Gal. v. 25. εἰ ζῶμεν πνεύματι, πνεύματι καὶ στοιχοῦμεν may be translated, *If we live by the Spirit*, i. e. if it be the Holy Spirit which gives us life, *let us walk by* or according to *the Spirit*. (See Rom. viii. 1, 2. 13<sup>f</sup>.) If this reasoning be correct, it follows, that when St. Paul says of Christ, ζῆ τῷ Θεῷ, he meant, that *he lived by God*, i. e. God was the cause of his being raised to life: and as the sin, which caused him to die, was the human nature residing in him; by a parity of reasoning and of construction we infer, that that which raised him to life was God, or the divine nature residing in him.

I was led into this discussion by having observed, that the doctrine of God being in Christ seems to be asserted by St. Paul, Eph. iv. 32. and by Tertullian's translation of it. We have the same expression in the passage already quoted, Rom. vi. 11. *living by God in Christ Jesus our Lord*: which I conceive to mean, restored to life by God who was in Christ Jesus. In 2 Cor. v. 19. St. Paul expressly says, *God was in Christ, reconciling the world*

<sup>e</sup> Δύναμις γὰρ ὦν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατὴρ ὁ υἱὸς τὸν ἴδιον αὐτοῦ ἐζωογονεῖ πάντων. In Gen. vol. II. p. 27-8. Athanasius interprets it in the same manner, de Incarn. 21. vol. I. p. 888; as does the anonymous Author apud Ath.

vol. II. p. 625.

<sup>f</sup> The reader may try the applicability of this construction to the following passages: Rom. viii. 24. 2 Cor. v. 15. x. 4. 1 Pet. iv. 6.

unto himself. In 2 Cor. ii. 17. and xii. 19. he says, *We speak before God in Christ*: and his assertion is stronger, if we understand it to mean, We speak in the presence of that God whom we know to be in Christ. In Phil. iii. 14. St. Paul says, that he *presses toward the prize of the high calling of that God who is in Christ Jesus*, τῆς ἁγίας κλήσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. In Col. ii. 2. the received text reads τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, *of the mystery of God, and of the Father and of Christ*: but the number of various readings is quite astonishing, and most of them remarkably support the notion of Christ's divinity. Thus Clement of Alexandria twice<sup>s</sup> quotes it τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ, *the mystery of God in Christ*: others read, *of God who is Christ*; others, *of God Christ*; others, *of God the Father in Christ*. A similar expression occurs in Col. iii. 3. *your life is hid with Christ in God*. I may finish this discussion by observing, that the expression *Deus in Christo*, God in Christ, occurs very frequently in the works of Tertullian.

116. *Tertull. de Resurrectione Carnis*, c. 49.

p. 356.

It might be expected, that those words of St. Paul, *flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God*, (1 Cor. xv. 50.) would present some difficulty to Tertullian in his attempt to prove the resurrection of the flesh: nor need we examine how he removes the objection. But in the course of his argument, after noticing the preceding words, *As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy; and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are*

<sup>s</sup> Strom. V. 10. p. 683. V. 12. p. 694.

*heavenly*, he says, “ If Christ, who alone is really “ heavenly, nay more than heavenly, yet being a “ man, inasmuch as he was flesh and blood, is not “ distinguished, as far as those substances are con- “ cerned, from the earthly quality ; it follows, that “ those who are called heavenly by St. Paul, are un- “ derstood to be so called, not with reference to their “ present substance, but to their future glory <sup>h</sup>.” His reasoning is this : If Christ, whose nature was really divine, could yet be called *earthy*, inasmuch as he partook of flesh and blood, it follows, that if any men are called heavenly, it must be with reference to some future state of glory : for in this present life, being made of flesh and blood, they must be earthy.

This passage clearly proves that Tertullian conceived of Christ, that his human nature was assumed, and that he was himself heavenly, *nay more than heavenly* : by which he must have meant, superior to angels. But nothing is superior to angels, except the divine nature itself.

117. *Tertull. de Resurrectione Carnis*, c. 51.

p. 357.

One of the arguments, which he brings to prove the resurrection of the flesh, may appear a strange one : but the terms of it contain an express declaration of the divinity of Christ. He says, “ But one “ argument may stand in the place of all the rest, “ and I have reserved it to close the whole, that I

<sup>h</sup> Si enim Christus solus vere cœlestis, immo et supercœlestis, homo tamen, qua caro atque anima, nihilo ex ista substantiarum conditione a choica

qualitate discernitur ; proinde et qui cœlestes secundum illum, non de substantia præsentis, sed de futura claritate cœlestes prædicari intelliguntur.

“ may really convict the apostle himself of the great-  
 “ est want of consideration, if shutting his eyes so  
 “ hastily, as some think, without distinction, with-  
 “ out condition, he excludes all flesh and blood of  
 “ every sort from the kingdom of God, i. e. from  
 “ the palace of heaven itself: when Jesus still sits  
 “ there, at the right hand of the Father, as man  
 “ though God; as the last Adam, although the  
 “ Word, who was in the beginning <sup>i</sup>.” If Christ  
 were a mere man, exalted by the power of God, this  
 argument would of course fail: it would involve a  
*petitio principii*. Tertullian could not then have  
 known whether Jesus was in heaven or no: but he  
 assumes, that the man Jesus is in heaven, because  
 he is God.

118. *Tertull. adversus Marcionem*, l. II. c. 16.

p. 389.

Marcion was charged with believing that there  
 were two Gods, one the author of good, who was re-  
 vealed in Jesus Christ; the other the author of evil:  
 that the latter was the Creator of the world, and in-  
 ferior to the former. Among other objections which  
 the Marcionites brought against the God of the Old  
 Testament, was his cruelty; and as an instance of this  
 they alleged his severity in inflicting punishment.  
 Tertullian very properly answers, that Justice is an  
 attribute of God as well as Goodness; and that the

<sup>i</sup> Sed pro omnibus jam sta-  
 bit, quod in clausulam reserva-  
 vimus, etiam pro apostolo ipso  
 revera maximæ inconsiderantiæ  
 revincendo, si tam abrupte, ut  
 quidam volunt, clausis (quod  
 aiunt) oculis, sine distinctione,  
 sive conditione, omnem passim

carnem et sanguinem a regno  
 Dei extrusit, utique et ab ipsa  
 regia cœlorum; quum illic ad-  
 huc sedeat Jesus ad dexteram  
 Patris, homo, etsi Deus; Adam  
 novissimus, etsi Sermo prima-  
 rius.

nature of a Providence implies His correcting what is evil in the world. He says, "We have learnt our notions of God from the prophets and from Christ, not from philosophers, nor from Epicurus: we, who believe that God ever lived upon earth, and took upon him the humility of the human form, for sake of the salvation of man, are far removed from the opinions of those (the Epicureans) who think that God cares for nothing. Hence the heretics have drawn the following conclusion: If God is angry, and is jealous, and is excited and provoked, therefore he is subject to corruption; and therefore he is mortal. But it is well to believe, as the Christians do, that God even died, and yet that he lives for ever and ever<sup>k</sup>." The Marcionites thought that they proved God to be mortal, which is of course absurd: and yet, as Tertullian says, there is no absurdity in believing with the Christians, that God submitted to death, when he took upon him our flesh.

119. *Tertull. adv. Marc.* l. II. c. 27. p. 395.

The following passage is given at length, as shewing not only the doctrine of Tertullian concerning Christ's divinity and his union with the Father, but as proving also, that Marcion himself fully believed that Christ, who appeared upon earth, was really God. Tertullian indeed could not put the divinity

<sup>k</sup> Deum nos a prophetis et a Christo, non a philosophis, nec ab Epicuro erudimur. Qui credimus Deum etiam in terris egisse, et humani habitus humilitatem suscepisse ex causa humanæ salutis, longe sumus a sententia eorum qui nolunt Deum curare quidquam. Inde

venit ad hæreticos quoque definitio ejusmodi: Si Deus irascitur, et æmulatur, et extollitur, et exacerbatur, ergo et corrumpetur, ergo et morietur. Bene autem quod Christianorum est, etiam mortuum Deum credere, et tamen viventem in ævo ævorum.

of Christ higher than Marcion did, who, while he believed in the existence of two Gods, believed that Christ was the better and greater of these, who had revealed himself in a human form. It appears, as in the last article, that Marcion had thought to prove the inferiority of the God of the Old Testament by the fact of his being represented as subject to anger, jealousy, &c. of his having talked to men, and performed other acts which imply humanity. Tertullian observes, "that God could not have entered into conversations with men, unless he had assumed human feelings and affections, by which he could temper the greatness of his majesty, that would have been intolerable to human weakness, with a humility which might be unworthy of him, but necessary for man, and so far therefore worthy of God, because nothing is so worthy of God as the salvation of man. I should treat of this at greater length, if I was dealing with heathens, although the dispute is not very different when held with heretics. Inasmuch as you yourselves already believe that God has sojourned in the form, and the other circumstances, of human nature, you will not require to be persuaded more at length, that God has conformed himself to humanity: but you are refuted by your own belief. For if God, and indeed the higher God<sup>1</sup>, lowered the eminence of his majesty by such humility, that he submitted to death, even the death of the cross, why cannot you think that some degradations were compatible also with our God<sup>m</sup>, which were even

<sup>1</sup> Marcion acknowledged of good.  
 Christ to be the higher God, <sup>m</sup> i. e. the Creator of the  
 inasmuch as he was the author world, the God of the Old Tes-

" more tolerable than Jewish reproaches and crosses  
 " and sepulchres? Are these the degradations, which  
 " are to prove that Christ, who was subject to hu-  
 " man passions, did not belong to that God, whom  
 " you reproach with having human feelings? For  
 " we hold, that Christ always acted in the name of  
 " God the Father; that he conversed with him from  
 " the beginning; that it was he who talked with  
 " the patriarchs and prophets, the Son of the Crea-  
 " tor, His Word, whom He made His Son by pro-  
 " ducing out of Himself, and thence placed him  
 " over the whole of His dispensation and will, *mak-*  
 " *ing him a little lower than the angels*, as David  
 " writes; (Psalm viii. 5.) by which lowering he  
 " was also ordained by the Father to perform those  
 " things which you object to as human, that he  
 " might learn even from the beginning what was  
 " that human nature, which in the end he was to  
 " be. It is he who came down: it is he who asks:  
 " it is he who inquires: it is he who swears. But  
 " that the Father is seen by no man, even the com-  
 " mon Gospel<sup>n</sup> will testify, when Christ says, *No*  
 " *man knoweth the Father, save the Son*: (Matt.  
 " xi. 27.) for he himself in the Old Testament had  
 " declared, *No man shall see God and live*<sup>o</sup>: but  
 " he shews that the Father is invisible, in whose  
 " authority and name he himself, who was seen, the  
 " Son of God, was God.—Therefore whatever you

tament, whom Marcion ac-  
 knowledged to be a God, but  
 accused him of being the au-  
 thor of evil.

<sup>n</sup> That is, not Marcion's Gos-  
 pel, but those which are com-  
 monly received by all Christians.

<sup>o</sup> This is taken from Exodus  
 xxxiii. 20. *No man shall see me*  
*and live*; which words were  
 spoken by Jehovah to Moses;  
 but Tertullian says, that they  
 were spoken by Christ.

“ require as worthy of God, will be found in the Fa-  
 “ ther who is invisible, and not to be talked with,  
 “ and free from passions, and (if I may use the ex-  
 “ pression) the God imagined by philosophers. But  
 “ whatever you object to, as unworthy of God <sup>p</sup>, will  
 “ be found in the Son, who was seen and heard,  
 “ and conversed with, the judge and minister of his  
 “ Father, uniting in himself man and God: in his  
 “ mighty acts, God: in his degradations, man: so  
 “ that as much as he takes from God, he confers  
 “ upon man: in short, all that you consider as dis-  
 “ graceful to my God <sup>q</sup> is the pledge of human sal-  
 “ vation. God conversed with man, that man might  
 “ be taught to act divinely. God placed himself on  
 “ an equality with man, that man might put himself  
 “ upon an equality with God. God was found in a  
 “ degraded state, that man might be in the most  
 “ exalted state. If you disdain such a God as this,  
 “ I doubt whether you really believe that God was  
 “ crucified <sup>r</sup>.” Origen also says that “ the Jews cru-

<sup>p</sup> Namely, his lowering himself to appear on earth.

<sup>q</sup> The God of the Old Testament, whom I and all Christians acknowledge.

<sup>r</sup> Quatenus et ipsi Deum in figura et in reliquo ordine humanæ conditionis diversatum jam credidistis, non exigetis utique diutius persuaderi Deum conformasse semetipsum humanitati, sed de vestra fide revincimini. Si enim Deus, et quidem sublimior, tanta humilitate fastigium majestatis suæ stravit, ut etiam morti subjiceret, et morti crucis, cur non putetis nostro quoque Deo aliquas pusillitates congruisse, tolerabiliores tamen Judaicis contume-

liis et patibulis et sepulchris? An hæc sunt pusillitates quæ jam præjudicare debent Christum, humanis passionibus objectum, ejus Dei esse cui humanitates exprobrantur a vobis? Nam et profitemur Christum semper egisse in Dei patris nomine: ipsum ab initio conversatum: ipsum congressum cum patriarchis et prophetis, filium Creatoris, Sermonem ejus, quem ex semetipso proferendo Filium fecit, et exinde omni dispositioni suæ voluntatique præfecit: diminuens illum modico citra Angelos, sicut apud David scriptum est; qua diminutione in hæc quoque dispositus est a Patre, quæ ut humana repre-



“cified God.” N<sup>o</sup>. 221, see also N<sup>o</sup>. 357. with which expressions we may compare that of St. Paul, that *the princes of this world crucified the Lord of Glory*, 1 Cor. ii. 8.

120. *Tertull. adv. Marc.* l. III. c. 6. p. 400.

It seems, that Marcion, in order to prove his doctrine of two Gods, had argued, that the Jews rejected Jesus, because they considered him as a preacher of a strange God different from their own. Tertullian denies this, and says, “They did not hate and persecute Christ, as belonging to another God, but as being merely a man, whom they thought an impostor in his miracles, and a rival in his doctrines.” It is plain therefore that Tertullian did not consider Jesus as a mere man: but he looked upon this notion as the fundamental error of the Jews, and the cause of their committing such an enormous crime.

henditis, ediscens jam inde a primordio, jam inde hominem, quod erat futurus in fine. Ille est qui descendit: ille qui interrogat: ille qui postulat: ille qui jurat. Ceterum Patrem nemini visum, etiam commune testabitur evangelium, dicente Christo, *Nemo cognovit Patrem nisi Filius*. Ipse enim et veteri Testamento pronuntiarat, *Deum nemo videbit et vivet*: Patrem invisibilem determinans, cujus auctoritate et nomine ipse erat Deus qui videbatur Dei Filius. — Igitur quæcumque exigitis Deo digna, habebuntur in Patre invisibili incongressibilique et placido, et ut ita dixerim philosophorum Deo. Quæcumque autem ut indigna reprehenditis, deputabuntur in Filio, et viso, et audito, et con-

gresso, arbitro Patris et ministro, miscente in semetipso hominem et Deum: in virtutibus Deum; in pusillitatibus hominem; ut tantum homini conferat, quantum Deo detrahit: totum denique Dei mei penes vos dedecus sacramentum est humanæ salutis. Conversabatur Deus, ut homo divine agere doceretur. Ex æquo agebat Deus cum homine, ut homo ex æquo agere cum Deo posset. Deus pusillus inventus est, ut homo maximus fieret. Qui talem Deum dedignaris, nescio an ex fide credas Deum crucifixum.

<sup>s</sup> Et adeo non qua alterius Dei Christum adversati persecutique sunt; sed qua solummodo hominem, quem planum in signis et æmulum in doctrinis estimabant.

121. *Tertull. adv. Marc.* l. III. c. 8. p. 401.

Among other absurdities, Marcion considered the body of Jesus to be a phantom. Tertullian observes that, if this were so, Christ was guilty of a deception, because he certainly meant it to be conceived, that he had a real body: and thus, he continues ironically, Marcion would refute himself, and make Christ resemble the God of the Old Testament, who, according to his own notion, was full of deceit. In the same strain of irony he observes, “ It seems therefore, that Marcion’s Christ, lest he “ should be a deceiver, and should thus chance to “ be supposed to belong to the Creator, was not “ what he seemed to be, and told a lie as to what “ he was, saying that he was flesh, when he was “ not flesh; man, when he was not man; and consequently that he was God, when he was not God. “ For why might he not also have borne a false “ appearance of God? Shall I believe him concerning “ his interior substance, when he deceived concerning his exterior †?” It is evident from this irony, that Tertullian conceived the divinity of Christ to be a point which was fully believed by Marcion: and in order to refute Marcion’s reasoning, he shews, that it would lead to the *absurd* conclusion, that Christ was not God, at least that his divinity might be questionable.

122. *Tertull. adv. Marc.* l. III. c. 16. p. 406.

Tertullian observes, (and in this he is followed by

† Et ideo Christus ejus ne mentiretur, ne falleret, et hoc modo Creatoris forsitan deputaretur, non erat quod videbatur, et quod erat mentiebatur; caro, nec caro; homo, nec ho-

mo; proinde Deus Christus, nec Deus. Cur enim non etiam Dei phantasma portaverit? An credam ei de interiore substantia, qui sit de exteriori frustratus?

a

many commentators,) that the application of the name *Jesus* to Christ was prefigured in the Old Testament, when the son of Nun had his name changed from Oshea to Joshua, which is Jesus: (Numb. xiii. 16.) after which he says, "Christ himself testified that this was his own name, when he spoke to Moses; for who was it that spoke, except the Spirit of the Creator, which is Christ? When therefore he gave his commandment to the people, *Behold I send my Angel before thee, to keep thee in the way, and to bring thee into the land which I have prepared for thee: beware of him, and obey his voice: do not disobey him: for he is not concealed from thee: for my name is upon him*." Exod. xxiii. 20. The same passage occurs nearly word for word in Tertullian's work against the Jews, c. 9. where he says, "He who spoke to Moses was the Son of God, who was always visible: for no one hath ever seen God the Father and lived: and therefore it is evident that the Son of God himself spoke to Moses, and said to the people, *Behold &c.*"<sup>x</sup>

We have only to observe, that Tertullian refers these words to Christ; and yet if we look to the

" Hoc nomen ipse Christus suum jam tunc esse testatus est, quum ad Moysen loquebatur. Quis enim loquebatur, nisi Spiritus Creatoris, qui est Christus? Cum ergo mandato diceret populo, *Ecce ego mitto Angelum meum ante faciem tuam, qui te custodiat in via et introducat in terram, quam paravi tibi: intende illi et exaudi illum: ne inobedieris eum: non enim celavit te, quoniam nomen meum*

*super illum est.* Where Tertullian read *non celavit te*, our version has, *he will not pardon your transgressions*: in the LXX, *ὃ μὴ ἰπαστελλῆται σε.*

<sup>x</sup> Nam qui ad Moysen loquebatur, ipse erat Dei Filius, qui et semper videbatur. Deum enim Patrem nemo vidit unquam et vixit: et ideo constat ipsum Dei Filium Moysi esse loquutum, et dixisse ad populum, *Ecce &c.* p. 194.

Book of Exodus, it is impossible to doubt but that they were spoken by the Almighty himself: and the passage is more remarkable, because Tertullian and all the Fathers considered the Angel here promised to be Christ: so that Christ promised that he would send himself; which is wholly unintelligible, unless we believe that the Father and the Son are one. That Tertullian believed so, is plain from this passage.

123. *Tertull. adv. Marc.* l. III. c. 19. p. 408.

The following passage requires no illustration from the context: "In the Gospel, which even you acknowledge, God has made a revelation, calling bread his body <sup>y</sup>:" and the belief which Tertullian had in the divinity of Christ becomes still more apparent, when we turn to his treatise against the Jews, where there are whole passages agreeing word for word with the present work: and there we read the same observation, with the single difference that *Christ* is substituted for *God*, "Christ has made a revelation, calling bread his body <sup>z</sup>." Of so little importance did it seem to Tertullian whether he named God or Christ as the author of an act, which we know to have been performed by Christ.

124. *Tertull. adv. Marc.* l. IV. c. 9. p. 419.

Tertullian makes a singular remark upon the miraculous cure of the leper mentioned Matt. viii. 3. Jesus cured him by a touch: and by the law of Moses he would have been considered defiled for having touched an unclean person: but Tertullian's remark is a proof of his belief in Christ's divinity.

<sup>y</sup> Sic enim Deus in evangelio quoque vestro revelavit, panem corpus suum appellans.

<sup>z</sup> Christus revelavit, panem corpus suum appellans. c. 10. p. 196.

“ He touched the leper, by whom although a man  
 “ might have been defiled, yet God could not be de-  
 “ filed, being undefilable : so that no command need  
 “ be given to him that he ought to obey the law,  
 “ and not touch an unclean person, since the touch  
 “ of an unclean thing could not defile him <sup>a</sup>.”

There is a similar passage in c. 20. of this book, where, speaking of the woman who had an issue of blood, (Matt. ix. 20.) he says, “ She touched him, “ not as a holy man, nor as a prophet, whom she “ would have known to be defilable from his human “ substance: but she touched him as being God “ himself, who, as she concluded, could not be pol- “ luted by any uncleanness.—Christ approving of “ this faith of the woman, who believed in the “ Creator only, answered, that he was the God of “ that faith, of which he approved <sup>b</sup>.”

125. *Tertull. adv. Marc.* l. IV. c. 10. p. 421.

When Jesus had said to the paralytic man, (Luke v. 20.) *Thy sins are forgiven thee*, and the Jews observed, *Who can forgive sins but God alone?* Jesus did not reply by asserting plainly that he was God, but he told them, *The Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins*, leaving them to draw the two inferences, that he was the Son of man, and that the Son of man was God. Tertullian remarks,

<sup>a</sup> Tetigit leprosum, a quo etsi homo inquinari potuisset, Deus utique non inquinaretur, incontaminabilis scilicet. Ita non præscribetur illi quod debuerit legem observare, et non contingere immundum, quem contactus immundi non erat inquinaturus.

<sup>b</sup> Sic eum tetigit, non ut ho-

minem sanctum, nec ut prophetam, quem contaminabilem pro humana substantia sciret : sed ut ipsum Deum, quem nulla spurcitia pollui posse præsumperat.—Hanc fidem probans Christus ejus fœminæ, quæ solum credebat Creatorem, ejus fidei se Deum respondit, quam probavit. p. 434.

that Jesus answered in this way, because he knew that Daniel, one of their own prophets, had mentioned the Son of man: (Dan. vii. 13.) his answer therefore was equivalent to this, You say that God only can forgive sins; and you say rightly: but I tell you, that the Son of man, whom Daniel mentions, can forgive sins: for, as you yourselves well know, the Son of man, whom Daniel saw, was God.

Tertullian's words are these: "Jesus was seen  
 " by the king of Babylon in the furnace with his  
 " martyrs, being the fourth person, like the Son of  
 " man<sup>c</sup>: the same was revealed to Daniel himself  
 " expressly as the Son of man, coming as a judge  
 " with the clouds of heaven, as the scripture proves.  
 " I have said that this might suffice as to the title  
 " *Son of man* being used by the prophets: but the  
 " scripture makes still more in my favour by the  
 " explanation of the Lord himself. For when the  
 " Jews, who only looked upon the human part of  
 " him, and were not yet certain that he was God,  
 " as being Son of God, reasonably objected, that a  
 " man could not forgive sins, but God only, why did  
 " he not answer them according to what they con-  
 " ceived of a man, that he had power to forgive  
 " sins, whereas by calling himself the Son of man,  
 " he called himself man, except that, by this very  
 " appellation of the Son of man, he wished to con-  
 " vince them out of the Book of Daniel, that he  
 " might shew them both God and man with power  
 " to forgive sins<sup>d</sup>?"

<sup>c</sup> Dan. iii. 25. All the Hebrew copies read *Son of God*. The Septuagint read ὁμοίωμα ἀγγέλου Θεοῦ. Theodotion, ὁμοιαὶ νῆϛ Θεοῦ. Tertullian seems to

have considered the two expressions *Son of man* and *Son of God* as equivalent.

<sup>d</sup> Hic (Jesus) erat visus Babylonio regi in fornace cum

126. *Tertull. adv. Marc.* l. IV. c. 12. p. 424.

Speaking of the Sabbath, he observes, that the Jews mistook the fourth commandment, which only restrained them from performing any common work of their own on that day, "For the work of God " may be done even by man for the salvation of a " soul: yet what the man Christ was about to do, " was done by God, because he was also God <sup>c</sup>." After which he says, "He was called *the Lord of " the Sabbath*, because he observed the Sabbath as " a thing belonging to himself. But if he had abro- " gated it, he would have had a right, inasmuch as " he was the Lord who appointed it <sup>f</sup>." If it was Christ who instituted the Sabbath, it seems impos- sible to deny his union with the Father.

127. *Tertull. adv. Marc.* l. IV. c. 13. p. 425.

Having shewn how Christ made his actions ac- cord in many instances with facts mentioned in the Old Testament, he quotes Psalm lxxxvii. 4, 5. as a prediction of the multitudes who came from the sea-

martyribus suis quartus, tan- quam filius hominis: idem ipsi Danieli revelatus directo filius hominis, veniens cum cœli nubibus iudex, sicut et scriptura demonstrat. Hoc dixi sufficere potuisse de nominatione prophetica circa filium hominis. Sed plus mihi scriptura confert, ipsius scilicet Domini interpreta- tione. Nam cum Judæi solummodo hominem ejus intuen- tes, necdum et Deum certi, qua Dei quoque Filium, merito re- tractarent non posse hominem delicta dimittere sed Deum solum, cur non secundum inten- tionem eorum de homine eis respondebat, Habere eum po-

testatem dimittendi delicta, quando et filium hominis nomi- nans hominem nominaret, nisi quia ideo ipse voluit eos appellatione filii hominis ex in- strumento Danielis repercutere, ut ostenderet Deum et homi- nem qui delicta dimitteret.

<sup>c</sup> Quia opus Dei etiam per hominem fieri potest in salu- tem animæ; a Deo tamen, quod facturus fuerat et Christus ho- mo, quia et Deus.

<sup>f</sup> Dominus Sabbati dictus, quia Sabbatum, ut rem suam, tuebatur. Quod etiam si de- struxisset, merito, qua Dominus magis ille qui instituit.

coast of Tyre and Sidon to hear him. (Luke vi. 17.) Tertullian's version of this passage differs considerably from our own; and commentators are also divided, whether the prophecy relates to Christ or to the multitudes of believers: but Tertullian's comment upon the passage is not affected by this discrepancy, nor his testimony to the divinity of Christ. "They come together from Tyre, and a multitude from the regions even beyond the sea: this was the meaning of the Psalm, *Behold Philistine and Tyre and the people of Æthiopia, they were there. Sion the mother shall say, A man and a man was made in her*; since God was born as a man, and established her by the will of his Father: that you may know that the Gentiles then came together to him, because God was born as a man, who was to build up a church by the will of his Father, even out of the Philistines &c."

128. *Tertull. adv. Marc.* l. IV. c. 25. p. 440.

We must remember that Marcion considered the God who was revealed in Christ to be different from the God who created the world, and that they were opposed to each other. Tertullian says, that the

<sup>8</sup> Conveniunt a Tyro et ex aliis regionibus multitudo etiam transmarina. Hoc spectabat Psalmus, *Et ecce Allophyli et Tyrus, et populus Æthiopum, isti fuerunt illic. Mater Sion dicet, homo et homo factus est in illa.* (quoniam Deus homo natus est,) *et ædificavit eam* voluntate Patris: ut scias ad eum tunc Gentiles convenisse, quia Deus homo erat natus, ædificaturus ecclesiam ex voluntate Patris, ex Allophyliis quoque. In another place, *Adv. Prax.* c. 27.

p. 516. he reads this verse of the Psalm, *Deus homo natus est in illa.* Origen agrees with the first of these two readings, μητὴρ Σιών ἐρεῖ, ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐγενήθη ἐν αὐτῇ, which is the reading of the Septuagint. Athanasius has the same with the exception of ἐγενήθη for ἐγενίθη. de Incarn. 22. vol. I. p. 889. et ad Marcel. 6. p. 984. The Hebrew reads, *Of Sion it shall be said, A man and a man was born in her.*



notion might be refuted by that text, *All things are delivered to me of my Father*; (Luke x. 22.) at least it would follow from this text, that Christ and the Creator were connected, because *all things* must belong to him who created them; and no other person but the Creator could have given them to Christ. Tertullian's comment upon the text is this, "You may believe it, if Christ belongs to the Creator, whose all things are: because the Creator delivered to His Son, who was not inferior to Himself, all things which He created by him, that is, by His Word<sup>h</sup>." This passage refutes even the Arians; much more the Socinians and Unitarians.

129. *Tertull. adv. Marc.* l. IV. c. 40. p. 457.

He argues, that the fact of Christ observing the Jewish feasts, which were instituted by the God of the Old Testament, proves that there could be no opposition between them, and he makes this remark upon Christ eating the last passover. "Having professed that with a desire he desired to eat the passover, as belonging to himself, (for it was unbecoming that God should desire any thing belonging to another,) he took bread, and distributed it to his disciples, and made it his body, by saying, *This is my body*, i. e. the figure of my body<sup>i</sup>."

130. *Tertull. adv. Marc.* l. V. c. 5. p. 467.

To understand the following quotation, we need

<sup>h</sup> Omnia sibi tradita dicit a Patre: credas, si Creatoris est Christus, cujus omnia: quia non minori se tradidit omnia Filio Creator, quæ per eum condidit, per Sermonem suum scilicet.

<sup>i</sup> Professus itaque se concupiscentia concupisse edere Pa-

scha ut suum (indignum enim ut quid alienum concupisceret Deus,) acceptum panem et distributum discipulis, corpus illum suum fecit, *Hoc est corpus meum* dicendo, id est, figura corporis mei.

only remember those words of St. Paul, *The foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men*, (1 Cor. i. 25.) “But what is the foolishness of God, which is wiser than men, except the cross and death of Christ? What is the weakness of God, which is stronger than men, except the birth and incarnation of God<sup>k</sup>?”

131. *Tertull. adv. Marc.* l. V. c. 8. p. 470.

The preexistence of Christ, as well as his being born of a virgin, are maintained in the following passage, which is a comment upon that prophecy of Isaiah, *There shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall grow out of his root*, (xi. 1.) “for he shews, that Christ was to rise in the figure of a flower from a rod which was to proceed from the root of Jesse, i. e. from a virgin of the family of David the son of Jesse, in which Christ the whole substance of the Spirit was to dwell: not as if it were to come subsequently upon him, who was always the Spirit of God, even before his incarnation: lest you might argue from this, that the prophecy belonged to that Christ, who as a mere man of the family of David was to receive the Spirit of his God afterwards<sup>l</sup>.”

132. *Tertull. adv. Marc.* l. V. c. 9. p. 472.

Tertullian's commentary upon Psalm lxxii. is very

<sup>k</sup> Quid est autem stultum Dei sapientius hominibus, nisi crux et mors Christi? Quid infirmum Dei, fortius homine, nisi nativitas et caro Dei?

<sup>l</sup> Christum enim in floris figura ostendit oriturum ex virga profecta de radice Jesse, id est virgine generis David filii Jesse, in quo Christo consistere habe-

ret tota substantia Spiritus: non quasi postea obventura illi, qui semper Spiritus Dei fuerit, ante carnem quoque; ne ex hoc argumenteris prophetiam ad eum Christum pertinere, qui ut homo tantum ex solo censu David postea consecuturus sit Dei sui Spiritum.

remarkable. " This Psalm may be said to be sung to  
 " Solomon : and yet will not those parts, which be-  
 " long to Christ only, teach us that the other parts  
 " also belong not to Solomon but to Christ? —  
 " *He shall have dominion, he says, from sea to sea,*  
 " *and from the river unto the ends of the earth.*  
 " This is given to Christ alone : but Solomon only  
 " ruled over the small country of Judæa. *All kings*  
 " *shall fall down before him* : before whom will all  
 " fall down, except before Christ? *and all nations*  
 " *shall serve him* : whom shall all nations serve, ex-  
 " cept Christ? *Let his name be for ever* : whose  
 " name will be for ever, except Christ's? *his name*  
 " *shall endure before the sun* : for the Word of God,  
 " i. e. Christ, is before the sun. *And all nations*  
 " *shall be blessed in him* : no nation will be blessed  
 " in Solomon ; but in Christ every nation. What  
 " now if this Psalm prove him also to be God? *And*  
 " *they shall call Him blessed : for blessed is the*  
 " *Lord God of Israel, who only doeth wondrous*  
 " *things : blessed be His glorious name ; and all*  
 " *the earth shall be filled with His glory*<sup>m</sup>." With  
 the correctness of every part of this commentary we

<sup>m</sup> Sed et hic Psalmus Salo-  
 moni canere dicitur. Quæ ta-  
 men soli competunt Christo do-  
 cere non poterunt etiam cætera  
 non ad Salomonem sed ad Chri-  
 stum pertinere? *Dominabitur,*  
 inquit, *a mari ad mare, et a flu-*  
*mine usque ad terminos terræ.*  
 Hoc soli datum est Christo :  
 cæterum Salomon uni et mo-  
 dicæ Judææ imperavit. *Adora-*  
*bunt illum omnes reges* : quem  
 omnes, nisi Christum? *Et ser-*  
*vient ei omnes nationes* : cui

omnes, nisi Christo? *Sit nomen*  
*ejus in ævum* : cuius nomen in  
 æternum, nisi Christi? *Ante so-*  
*lem manebit nomen ejus* : ante  
 solem enim Sermo Dei, id est  
 Christus. *Et benedicentur in*  
*illo universæ gentes* : in Salo-  
 mone nulla natio benedicetur ;  
 in Christo vero omnis. Quid  
 nunc si et Deum eum Psalmus  
 iste demonstrat? *Et beatum eum*  
*dicent* : *Quoniam benedictus Do-*  
*minus Deus Israelis, qui facit*  
*mirabilia solus, &c. &c.*

are not concerned : but it is undeniable that Tertullian believed Christ to be *the Lord God of Israel*, or he would not have applied passages to him, which would so easily have been understood of God the Father.

133. *Tertull. adv. Praxeam*, c. 2. p. 501.

This treatise was written against Praxeas, who followed what has been called the Patripassian heresy, i. e. he believed and taught that it was the Father who was born and crucified ; so that the Father and Son were one, not only in substance, but in person. In refuting this doctrine, Tertullian would naturally point out, that the orthodox church fully believed in the unity of God, but he would also shew how two persons were understood to exist in one substance. Accordingly he says in the second chapter ; “ We “ believe that there is only one God, but under this “ dispensation <sup>n</sup>: namely, that there is also a Son “ of this one God, His Word, who proceeded from “ Him, *by whom all things were made, and without “ whom nothing was made*: that he was sent by his “ Father into a Virgin, and born of her, man and “ God, Son of man and Son of God, and named “ Jesus Christ : that he suffered ; that he died and “ was buried according to the scriptures ; that he “ was raised again by the Father, and taken up into “ heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Fa- “ ther ; who will come to judge quick and dead : “ who sent from thence, according to his promise, “ the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, from the Father, “ who sanctifieth the faith of those who believe in “ the Father and Son and Holy Ghost <sup>o</sup>.”

<sup>n</sup> Dispensatio sive œconomia.  
See note <sup>n</sup>. p. 70.

<sup>o</sup> Unicum quidem Deum credimus : sub hac tamen dispen-

In this passage we evidently read a prescribed form of belief or creed, and Tertullian tells us that it had been handed down from the beginning of the Gospel, even before any heresies existed. At p. 69-72. I have transcribed the creeds which Irenæus acknowledged; and the reader may compare them with the one just given, as well as with the following, which Tertullian has also preserved. “ There  
 “ is only one rule of faith, alone unalterable and not  
 “ to be reformed, i. e. of believing in God Almighty,  
 “ Creator of the world; and in His Son Jesus Christ,  
 “ who was born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under  
 “ Pontius Pilate; who rose again from the dead on  
 “ the third day, was taken up into heaven, and sit-  
 “ teth at the right hand of God, who will come to  
 “ judge the quick and dead p.”

“ The rule of faith is, that there is only one God,  
 “ and no other except the Creator of the world, who  
 “ formed all things out of nothing by His Word,  
 “ who was produced before all things: that this  
 “ Word was called His Son, who was seen at va-

satione, quam œconomiam dicimus, ut unici Dei sit et Filius, Sermo ipsius, qui ex ipso processerit, per quem omnia facta sunt, et sine quo factum est nihil. Hunc missum a Patre in Virginem, et ex ea natum hominem et Deum, Filium hominis et Filium Dei, et cognominatum Jesum Christum. Hunc passum, hunc mortuum et sepultum secundum scripturas, et resuscitatum a Patre, et in cœlis resumptum, sedere ad dexteram Patris, venturum judicare vivos et mortuos; qui exinde miserit, secundum promissionem suam,

a Patre Spiritum Sanctum Paracletum, sanctificatorem fidei eorum qui credunt in Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum.

<sup>p</sup> Regula quidem fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis et irreformabilis credendi scilicet in unicum Deum omnipotentem, mundi conditorem, et Filium ejus Jesum Christum, natum ex Virgine Maria, crucifixum sub Pontio Pilato, tertia die resuscitatum a mortuis, receptum in cœlis, sedentem nunc ad dexteram Patris, venturum judicare vivos et mortuos. De Virg. Veland. c. 1. p. 173.

“ rious times in the name of God by the patriarchs,  
 “ was always heard in the prophets, and lastly by  
 “ the Spirit and power of God the Father came  
 “ into the Virgin Mary, and was made flesh in her  
 “ womb, and was born in her, and appeared, Jesus  
 “ Christ—that he was crucified, rose again on the  
 “ third day, was taken up into heaven, and sitteth  
 “ at the right hand of the Father<sup>q</sup>.”

134. *Tertull. adv. Prax.* c. 17. p. 510.

Nothing can shew more plainly the sense in which Tertullian used the term God, when applied to Christ, than the following passage. “ The titles  
 “ of the Father, God Almighty, Most High, Lord of  
 “ Hosts<sup>r</sup>, King of Israel, I Am, as far as the Scrip-  
 “ tures teach us, we say that those titles belong also  
 “ to the Son, and that the Son came under those  
 “ titles, and always acted according to them, and  
 “ thus manifested them in himself to men. *All*  
 “ *things that the Father hath, he says, are mine :*  
 “ (John xvi. 15.) why not also his titles<sup>s</sup>? When

<sup>q</sup> Regula est fidei—unum omnino Deum esse, nec alium præter mundi conditorem; qui universa de nihilo produxerit, per Verbum suum primo omnium demissum: id Verbum Filium ejus appellatum, in nomine Dei varie visum a patriarchis, in prophetis semper auditum, postremo delatum ex Spiritu Patris Dei et virtute in Virginem Mariam, carnem factum in utero ejus, et ex ea natum egisse Jesum Christum—fixum cruci, tertia die resurrexisse, in cælo ereptum sedisse ad dexteram Patris. De Præscript. Hæret. c. 13. p. 206, 7.

<sup>r</sup> Hippolytus says, that the

Son is the Lord of Hosts, II. p. 24. quoted in N<sup>o</sup>. 170. See also Justin Martyr as quoted at N<sup>o</sup>. 26. and Dionysius of Alexandria quoted at p. 123. note <sup>h</sup>.

<sup>s</sup> Athanasius argues in the same manner from this text, that the Son is ἀίδιος, αἰώνιος καὶ ἀθάνατος. In Matt. xi. 27. vol. I. p. 106; and in his commentary upon Psalm lxxxviii. 25. he has a still stronger passage to the same purpose, beginning with τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, οἷς μάλιστα πρέπουσι τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ υἱὸς δοξάζεται, and ending with the quotation of John xvii. 10. vol. I. p. 1159-60.

“ therefore you read Almighty God, and Most High,  
 “ and God of Hosts, and King of Israel, and I Am,  
 “ consider whether the Son is not also pointed out  
 “ by those titles; *God Almighty* by his own right,  
 “ inasmuch as he is the Word of God Almighty;  
 “ and inasmuch as he has received the power of all  
 “ things: *the Most High*, inasmuch as he is exalted  
 “ by the right hand of God, as Peter preaches in  
 “ the Acts, (ii. 33.) *the Lord of Hosts*, because all  
 “ things are subjected to him by the Father; (Matt.  
 “ xi. 27.) *King of Israel*, because the lot of that  
 “ nation fell properly to him: also *I Am*, because  
 “ many are called sons and are not <sup>t</sup>. If they should  
 “ also say, that the name of Christ belongs to the  
 “ Father, they shall be attended to in the proper  
 “ place. In the mean time let me here give an  
 “ answer to that which they bring forward from the  
 “ Revelation of John, (i. 8.) *I, the Lord, which is,*  
 “ *and which was, and which is to come, the Al-*  
 “ *mighty*: and if in any other place they think that  
 “ the title of God Almighty does not also apply to  
 “ the Son, as if he who is to come cannot be Al-  
 “ mighty: whereas the Son of the Almighty is as  
 “ much Almighty, as the Son of God is God <sup>u</sup>.” I

<sup>t</sup> Whether we admit this interpretation of the title *Qui est*, or no, it seems impossible to deny, that Tertullian conceived Christ to be the Son of God in a manner different from any person who is merely called so. He considered him to be a *begotten Son*, from which he could come to no other conclusion, but that the begotten Son of God is God. Our own language and our own ideas can

furnish no suitable analogy for the generation of the Son: but I deny that our ideas can conceive a *begotten Son* to be of a different nature from his Father.

<sup>u</sup> Sed et nomina Patris, Deus Omnipotens, Altissimus, Dominus Virtutum, Rex Israelis, Qui est, quatenus ita scripturæ docent, hæc dicimus et in Filium competisse, et in his Filium venisse, et in his semper egisse, et

may observe that Hippolytus also considered the words in Rev. i. 8. to be applied to Christ; see N<sup>o</sup>. 160.

135. *Tertull. adv. Prax. c. 27. p. 516.*

The last quotation which I make from Tertullian must be a long one; but it goes so deeply into the doctrine, which I am endeavouring to ascertain, that there is a difficulty in abridging it; neither is any introduction necessary to explain its meaning. “ Being pressed on all sides by the distinction of the “ Father and the Son, which distinction we care- “ fully observe, though the union remains; like that “ of the sun and the ray, of the fountain and the “ river, though we use the individual numbers of 2 “ and 3; nevertheless they try to interpret that “ distinction according to their own opinion; that “ though making only one person they may keep a “ distinction of both, the Father and the Son, by “ saying that the Son is flesh, i. e. man, i. e. Jesus; “ but that the Father is spirit, i. e. God, i. e. Christ: “ and thus they, who contend that the Father and

sic ea in se hominibus manifestasse. *Omnia*, inquit, *Patris mea sunt*. Cur non et nomina? Cum ergo legis Deum omnipotentem, et Altissimum, et Deum Virtutum, et Regem Israelis, et Qui est, vide ne per hæc Filius etiam demonstretur, suo jure Deus omnipotens, qua Sermo Dei omnipotentis, quaque omnium accepit potestatem: Altissimus, qua dextera Dei exaltatus, sicut Petrus in Actis conacionatur: Dominus Virtutum, quia omnia subjecta sunt illi a Patre: Rex Israelis, quia illi proprie excidit sors gentis istius:

item, Qui est, quoniam multi filii dicuntur, et non sunt. Si autem volunt et Christi nomen Patris esse, audient suo loco. Interim hic mihi promotum sit responsum adversus id quod et de Apocalypsi Joannis profuerunt: *Ego Dominus, qui est, et qui fuit, et venit, omnipotens*: et sicubi alibi Dei omnipotentis appellationem non putant etiam Filio convenire, quasi qui venturus est, non sit omnipotens; cum et Filius omnipotentis tam omnipotens sit, quam Deus Dei Filius.



“ Son are one and the same <sup>x</sup>, begin to divide them  
 “ rather than to unite them — They say, It was  
 “ declared by the angel, *Therefore that holy thing,*  
 “ *which shall be born shall be called the Son of*  
 “ *God.* (Luke i. 35.) It was therefore flesh that  
 “ was born : the Son of God therefore is flesh —.  
 “ But I reply, it was spoken of the Spirit of God :  
 “ for certainly the Virgin conceived of the Holy  
 “ Ghost ; and what she conceived, that she brought  
 “ forth : that therefore which was conceived and to  
 “ be brought forth, was born : i. e. the Spirit, from  
 “ whom also he was to have the name Emmanuel,  
 “ which is, when interpreted, *God with us* : but  
 “ the flesh is not God, that of it should be said, *that*  
 “ *holy thing which shall be born shall be called the*  
 “ *Son of God* : but he who was born in the flesh  
 “ was God, of whom also the Psalm says, *Since*  
 “ *God was born in it a man, and established it by*  
 “ the will of his Father. (lxxxvii. 5.) What God was  
 “ born in it? The Word, and the Spirit, which was  
 “ born together with the Word, by the Will of the  
 “ Father. Therefore it was the Word which was  
 “ in the flesh : so that we must inquire into this  
 “ point, how the Word was made flesh : whether  
 “ by being as it were transformed in the flesh, or  
 “ having put on flesh : certainly he put it on : but  
 “ God must be believed to be one, who cannot be  
 “ changed and cannot be formed, as being eternal.  
 “ But transformation is a destruction of that which  
 “ was before : for whatever is transformed into some-  
 “ thing else, ceases to be that which it was, and be-  
 “ gins to be what it was not. But God neither ceases

<sup>x</sup> i. e. not only in substance, but in person.

“ to be, nor can he be any thing else. But *the Word*  
 “ *was God*: and the Word of God remains for ever,  
 “ I mean, by continuing in its own form. If it is  
 “ incapable of being transformed, it follows, that it  
 “ must be understood to have been made flesh, by  
 “ having been in the flesh, and made manifest, and  
 “ seen, and handled by flesh — for if the Word  
 “ was made flesh by a transformation and change of  
 “ substance, Jesus will then be one substance out of  
 “ two substances, a sort of mixture made of flesh  
 “ and spirit—Jesus will therefore neither be God;  
 “ (for he, who was made flesh, ceased to be the  
 “ Word;) nor will he be flesh, i. e. man: for he  
 “ who was the Word is not properly flesh.—But  
 “ we find him described expressly as God and man,  
 “ as in this same Psalm, *Since God was born in it,*  
 “ *a man* &c. clearly in every way the Son of God, and  
 “ Son of man, since he was God and man, without  
 “ doubt differing in his proper nature according to  
 “ each substance: because the Word was nothing  
 “ else but God, nor was the flesh any thing else but  
 “ man. So also the apostle teaches concerning both  
 “ his substances, *Who was made*, he says, *of the*  
 “ *seed of David*: (Rom. i. 3.) this means man, and  
 “ Son of man, *who was declared to be the Son of*  
 “ *God according to the Spirit*: this means God,  
 “ and the Word, the Son of God. We see the two-  
 “ fold condition, not confounded, but united in one  
 “ person, Jesus, God and man.”

‡ Undique enim obducti distinctione Patris et Filii, quam manente conjunctione disponimus, ut solis et radii, et fontis et fluvii, per individuum tamen numerum duorum et trium, ali-

ter eam ad suam nihilominus sententiam interpretari conantur, ut æque in una persona utrumque distinguant, Patrem et Filium, dicentes Filium carnem esse, id est, hominem, id

## MINUCIUS FELIX. A. D. 210.

This writer has left so little concerning the doctrinal or controversial points of Christianity, that I should have omitted him altogether, if he had not

est Jesum : Patrem autem Spiritum, id est Deum, id est Christum. Et qui unum eundemque contendunt Patrem et Filium, jam incipiunt dividere illos potius quam unare. — Ecce, inquiunt, ab angelo prædicatum est, *Propterea quod nascetur sanctum vocabitur Filius Dei*. Caro itaque nata est, caro utique erit Filius Dei. Immo de Spiritu Dei dictum est. Certe enim de Spiritu Sancto Virgo concepit : et quod concepit, id peperit : id ergo nasci habebat, quod erat conceptum et parendum ; id est, Spiritus, cujus et vocabitur nomen Emmanuel, quod est interpretatum, *Nobiscum Deus*. Caro autem Deus non est, ut de illa dictum sit, *Quod nascetur &c.* sed ille qui in ea natus est, Deus : de quo et Psalmus, *Quoniam Deus homo natus est in illa, et ædificavit eam* voluntate Patris. Quis Deus in ea natus ? Sermo, et Spiritus, qui cum Sermoni de Patris voluntate natus est. Igitur Sermo in carne, dum et de hoc quærendum, quomodo Sermo caro sit factus : utrumne quasi transfiguratus in carne, an indutus carnem ? Immo indutus. Cæterum Deum immutabilem et informabilem credi necesse est, ut æternum. Transfiguratio autem interemptio est pristini. Omne enim quodcumque transfiguratur in aliud desinit esse quod fuerat, et incipit esse quod non erat. Deus autem neque

desinit esse, neque aliud potest esse. Sermo autem Deus : et Sermo Domini manet in ævum, preseverando scilicet in sua forma. Quem si non capit transfigurari, consequens est, ut sic caro factus intelligatur dum fit in carne, et manifestatur, et videtur, et contrectatur per carnem. — Si enim Sermo ex transfiguratione et demutatione substantiæ caro factus est, una jam erit substantia Jesus ex duabus, ex carne et spiritu mixtura quædam — Neque ergo Deus erit Jesus : Sermo enim desiit esse, qui caro factus est ; neque caro, id est, homo : caro enim non proprie est, qui Sermo fuit — Sedenim invenimus illum directo et Deum et hominem expositum, ipso hoc Psalmo suggerente, *Quoniam Deus &c.* certe usquequaque Filium Dei et filium hominis, cum Deum et hominem, sine dubio secundum utramque substantiam in sua proprietate distantem : quia neque Sermo aliud quam Deus, neque caro aliud quam homo. Sic et apostolus de utraque ejus substantia docet, *Qui factus est, inquit, ex semine David* : hic erit homo et filius hominis : *qui definitus est Filius Dei secundum Spiritum* : hic erit Deus et Sermo Dei Filius. Videmus duplicem statum, non confusum, sed conjunctum in una persona, Deum et hominem Jesum.

furnished one very material testimony to the fact of Christ being worshipped. Lardner supposes that he flourished about the year 210. We know scarcely any thing of his life, except that he was converted to Christianity; and his book is a powerful exposition of the absurdities of paganism. It is entitled *Octavius*, from its containing a Dialogue, which is supposed to take place between Cæcilius Natalis, a heathen, and Octavius Januarius, a Christian. Minucius Felix was present as the judge; and it ended in Cæcilius being convinced.

136. *Minucii Felicis Octavius*, p. 280-81.

The passage alluded to is at p. 280-81. where Octavius is answering the old objection of the Christians worshipping a man, who was crucified as a malefactor. He says, "For as to your charging our religion with a man who was a culprit, and with his cross, you wander very far from the truth, when you think either that a culprit would have deserved that we should believe him to be a God, or that a man of this earth could be believed to be a God. That man is indeed to be pitied, whose whole hope rests upon a mortal man: for his whole assistance is at an end when the man is extinct."

It is plain from this passage that, in the opinion

<sup>z</sup> Nam quod religioni nostræ hominem noxium et crucem ejus adscribitis, longe de vicinia veritatis erratis; qui putatis Deum credi, aut meruisse noxium, aut potuisse terrenum. Næ ille miserabilis, cujus in homine mortali spes omnis ininitur: totum enim ejus auxi-

lium cum extincto homine finitur. Lactantius alludes to the same accusation—quæ velut opprobrium nobis objectari solet, quod et hominem, et ab hominibus insigni supplicio affectum et excruciatum colamus. Instit. IV. 16. p. 314.

of Minucius, the person, to whom the Gentiles objected as a crucified malefactor, was worshipped as a God: neither could he have been called God, like one of the deified heroes of paganism: for not only does Minucius prove most successfully that a mortal man never could be a God, but he expressly says in the above passage, that the Christians did not rest their hopes on a mortal, or on a person of this earth. But if Christ, who confessedly was earthly, inasmuch as he was born from an earthly parent, and who confessedly was subject to death, inasmuch as he was crucified, was yet *not of this earth*, and *not a mortal man*, whence could he come but from heaven? and what could his nature be but immortal and divine?

HIPPOLYTUS. A. D. 220.

This Father is generally mentioned as Hippolytus Portuensis, and he was certainly a bishop: but it has been disputed whether he was bishop of Portus (Porto) near the mouth of the Tyber, or of Portus Romanus, now called Adan, or Eden, in Arabia. The same uncertainty, which attends the name of his see, pervades his whole history: and it might be doubted, whether two or more bishops of the same name have not been confounded, and the works of the one attributed to the other. Jerom and Theodoret mention Hippolytus as a martyr, and it has been supposed that he suffered either in the Decian persecution in 250, or in that of Maximus in 235. According to either of these dates, we may safely follow Lardner in considering him to have flourished about the year 220. With respect to his doctrine, he stands as a connecting link between Irenæus and

Origen; having been a disciple of the former, and having had Origen as one of his hearers.

137. *Hippolyti de Antichristo*, c. 2. vol. 1. p. 5.

Whatever doubts may be entertained concerning some of the works ascribed to Hippolytus, the authority of the book *de Antichristo* seems to be unquestioned.

The preexistence of Christ, and his union with that Spirit, under whose influence the prophets wrote, are maintained in the following passage, where the prophets are compared to a musical instrument touched and rendered vocal by the Word of God. "For these Fathers, the prophets, were harmonized by the prophetic Spirit, and honoured according to their merit by the Word himself, and put in tune with each other, like instruments, having the Word always in themselves like a *plectrum*, by which they were touched, and declared those things which God wished. For they did not speak of their own ability, lest they might deceive; nor did they preach what they themselves wished; but in the first place they had true wisdom given them by the Word——<sup>a</sup>." And if we doubt what Hippolytus meant in these places by *the Word*, we find in the following chapter, that he meant the Son of God; "You wish to know how the Word of God, who was himself the Son of God, and long ago the Word, made revelations to the blessed prophets——<sup>b</sup>."

<sup>a</sup> Οὗτοι γὰρ πνεύματι προφητικῷ οἱ πατέρες κατηρτισμένοι, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λόγου ἀξίως τετιμημένοι, ὀργάνων δίκην ἑαυτοῖς ἠνωμένοι, ἔχοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἀεὶ τὸν Λόγον ὡς πλῆκτρον, δι' οὗ κινούμενοι ἀπήγγελλον ταῦτα, ἅπερ ἤθελεν ὁ Θεός, οἱ προ-

φῆται. οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἰδίας δυνάμεως ἐφθέγγοντο, μὴ πλάνω (1. πλάνωσιν), οὐδὲ ἅπερ αὐτοὶ ἐβούλοντο, ταῦτα ἐκήρυττον, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τοῦ Λόγου ἐσαφίζοντο ὀρθῶς, κ. τ. λ.

<sup>b</sup> Πῶς ἂν πάλαι τοῖς μακαρίοις προφήταις ἀπεκάλυψεν ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ

138. *Hippolyti de Antichristo*, c. 4. vol. 1. p. 6.

In the following passage we see still more plainly, that Hippolytus not only believed in the preexistence of Christ, but that the state, in which he was before his human birth, was a divine state. "The Word of God, who was not fleshly, put on the blessed flesh from the blessed Virgin, like a bridegroom wearing a garment for himself, in the suffering of the cross; that by blending our mortal body with his own power, and uniting the corruptible to the incorruptible, and the weak to the strong, he might save lost man <sup>c</sup>."

139. *Hippolyti de Antichristo*, c. 6. vol. I. p. 7.

Hippolytus referred Jacob's prophecy of the Lion of the tribe of Judah (Gen. xlix. 9. Rev. v. 5.) to Christ, and begins the sixth chapter with these words, "Now since the Lord Jesus Christ, who is God, on account of his kingly and glorious state, was spoken of before as a Lion——<sup>d</sup>."

140. *Hippolyti de Antichristo*, c. 26. vol. I. p. 14.

Hippolytus, like every other commentator ancient and modern, refers to Christ that magnificent description given by Daniel of the vision of the Son of man; *I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before Him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a king-*

Λόγος, αὐτὸς πάλιν ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ παῖς, ὁ πάλαι μὲν Λόγος, τυχεῖν ἐπιζητεῖς.

<sup>c</sup> Ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἄσαρκος ὢν, ἐνεδύσατο τὴν ἁγίαν σάρκα ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου, ὡς νυμφίος ἱμάτιον ἐξυφάνας ἑαυτῷ ἐν τῷ σταυρικῷ πάθει, ὅπως συγκεράσας τὸ θνητὸν

ἡμῶν σῶμα τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμει, καὶ μίξας τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ τὸ φθαρτὸν καὶ τὸ ἀσθενὲς τῷ ἰσχυρῷ, σῶσῃ τὸν ἀπολλίμενον ἄνθρωπον.

<sup>d</sup> Τοῦ μὲν οὖν Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τὸ βασιλικὸν καὶ ἔνδοξον ὡς λέοντος προκεκηρυγμένου——.

dom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed. (vii. 13, 14.) We might naturally infer, that the prophet could not have had in his contemplation a mere man; and Hippolytus observes upon this passage: “ He is describing all the power which was given by the Father to the Son, who was declared to be King and Judge of all things in heaven and in earth and under the earth: *of things in heaven*, because he was the Word of the Father, begotten before all things; and *of things in earth*, because he was born as a man amongst men, forming Adam afresh of himself; and *of things under the earth*, because he was also reckoned among the dead, and preached the Gospel to the souls of the saints, conquering death by death.”

141. *Hippolyti de Antichristo*, c. 45. vol. I. p. 21, 22.

We find the following remarkable expression concerning John the Baptist; “ When he heard the salutation of Elizabeth, he leaped in his mother’s womb, rejoicing because he saw God the Word conceived in the Womb of the Virgin.”

142. *Hippolyti de Antichristo*, c. 61. vol. I. p. 30.

In this place we have an explanation of the vision described in Revelations xii. The woman mentioned

Ἐξουσίαν πᾶσαν τὴν δεδομένην παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς τῷ υἱῷ ἰπέδειξεν, ὡς ἐπουρανίων, καὶ ἐπιγείων, καὶ καταχθονίων βασιλεῦς καὶ κριτὴς πάντων ἀποδέδεικται. ἐπουρανίων μὲν, ὅτι Λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς πρὸ πάντων γεγενημένος ἦν. ἐπιγείων δὲ, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐγεννήθη, ἀναπλάσσων δι’ ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Ἀδὰμ κα-

ταχθονίων δὲ, ὅτι καὶ ἐν νεκροῖς καταλογίσθη, εὐαγγελιζόμενος τὰς τῶν ἁγίων ψυχὰς, διὰ θανάτου τὸν θάνατον νικῶν.

Ὁὗτος ἀκούσας τὸν ἄσπασμόν τῆς Ἐλισάβετ ἐσκίρτησεν ἐν κοιλίᾳ μητρὸς, ἀγαλλόμενος ἐνορῶν τὸν ἐν κοιλίᾳ τῆς παρθένου συνελημμένον Θεὸν Λόγον.



in ver. 1. is said to be the Church : and after those words, ver. 5. *She brought forth a man child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron*, Hippolytus observes, "The Church teaches all nations, " while it is always bringing forth Christ the Son of " God, *a man child*, and perfect, announced as God " and man : and the words, *Her child was caught " up unto God and to His throne*, mean, that he " who is always brought forth by her, is a heavenly " King and not earthly, as David also predicted, " saying, *The Lord said unto my Lord*," &c. Ps. cx. 1. At the end of the chapter he quotes those words of Malachi, (iv. 2.) *But unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of Righteousness arise with healing in his wings*, which are evidently the words of Jehovah, (see iii. 17.) but Hippolytus quotes them as spoken by Christ.

Throughout the whole of this work Hippolytus quotes so largely from the book of Revelations, that no doubt can be entertained as to his opinion of the authenticity of the work. We are told indeed that he wrote a defence of it <sup>h</sup>. The only one of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, who seems to have doubted whether it was written by St. John, is Dionysius of Alexandria : but he received it as canonical and of great antiquity. The following Fathers quote it as the genuine work of the apostle ; Papias, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Melito, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian <sup>i</sup>,

<sup>h</sup> Τὸν ἄρβεντα καὶ τέλειον Χριστὸν παῖδα Θεοῦ Θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον καταγγελλόμενον αἰεὶ τίκτουσα ἡ Ἐκκλησία διδάσκει πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. Τὸ δὲ λέγειν, Ἡράγη τὸ τέκνον αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐπουράνιος ἐστὶ βασιλεὺς,

καὶ οὐκ ἐπίγειος ὁ δι' αὐτῆς αἰεὶ γενόμενος, καθὼς καὶ Δαβὶδ προανεφώνει, λέγων, Εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος κ. τ. λ.

<sup>h</sup> See the edition of his works, vol. I. p. 280.

<sup>i</sup> Tertullian's testimony is very strong, Nam etsi Apoca-

Apollonius, Hippolytus, Origen, Methodius. The instances have been given by so many writers, that I do not transcribe them <sup>k</sup>.

143. *Hippolyti contra Platonem*, vol. I. p. 222.

The following short passage may also be quoted ;  
 “ For all, both righteous and unrighteous, shall be  
 “ brought before God the Word <sup>l</sup>.”

144. *Hippolyti Fragmentum*, vol. I. p. 225.

The following passage is quoted by Gelasius among other testimonies which he brings from writers who believed in the twofold nature of Christ.  
 “ When he came into the world, he appeared God  
 “ and man. It is easy to understand that he was  
 “ man, since he was hungry and weary, &c. But it  
 “ is also plain that we may see his divinity, when  
 “ he is praised by angels, beheld by shepherds, &c.  
 “ You have seen that according to the flesh he was  
 “ of David ; but according to the Spirit he was of  
 “ God : wherefore it is proved that the same person  
 “ was both God and man <sup>m</sup>.”

145. *Hippolyti contra Beronem et Helicem*,  
 vol. I. p. 225.

This treatise was written against the opinions of Beron and Helix, who, as we learn from Hippoly-

lypsim ejus Marcion respuit, ordo tamen episcoporum ad originem recensus in Joannem stabit auctorem. Adv. Marc. IV. 5. p. 415.

<sup>k</sup> The Fathers who have quoted this book are enumerated at length by Tillemont, Mem. tom I. p. 1086. &c.

<sup>l</sup> Πάντες γὰρ δίκαιοι τε καὶ ἀδικοὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου ἀχθήσονται.

<sup>m</sup> Hic procedens in mundum

Deus et homo apparuit : et hominem quidem eum facile est intelligere, cum esurit, et fatigatur, &c. Divinitatem vero ejus videre rursus clarum est, quando laudatur ab angelis, et hoc a pastoribus inspicitur &c. Vidisti quod secundum carnem quidem ejus ex David erat, quod vero secundum Spiritum, ex Deo : quapropter probatum est eundem et Deum et hominem.

tus himself, deserted the Valentinian notions, and adopted others still more erroneous. They acknowledged the two natures of Christ; but they conceived them to have become entirely and absolutely one; so that the flesh assisted in the divine operations of Christ; and his divine nature shared the sufferings of the human. This heresy was in a manner revived by the Apollinarians; though there seems to have been this difference between them: Beron and Helix believed that the flesh, or human nature of Christ, became itself divine; Apollinarius taught that Christ did not take a fleshly body at all, but that his body was uncreated and eternally divine. See page 21. Almost every page of this treatise might be quoted as asserting the divinity of Christ. He begins by saying, that the nature of God cannot be susceptible of any change whatsoever: and hence he argues, that the divine nature of Christ could not be altered by the assumption of the human nature.

C. 1. p. 226. " Wherefore also the Word of God, " who was truly made, as we are, a man, yet without " sin, who acted and suffered humanly, in every " thing that is incident to our nature, without being " sinful, and endured for our sakes to be circum- " scribed in natural flesh, did not undergo any " change, nor did that, which is the same with the " Father, become in any respect at all the same with " the flesh on account of his divesture. But as he " was, when without flesh, so he continued, free " from all circumscription. And having performed " in a divine manner through the flesh those things " which belong to divinity, he proved himself, by " the things which he did in both ways, (I mean " divinely and humanly,) to be, and to be conceived

“ to be, really, according to true and natural existence, both God who is infinite, and man who is circumscribed: having perfectly the perfect substance of each, together with its own operation, i. e. its natural property: from which we know that their difference always continued according to their nature without any change. But this was not, as some say, by comparison<sup>n</sup>; lest we should make the same person greater and less, according as he stood in the same relation to himself, which we ought not to do: for comparisons belong to things of the same nature, not to things of different natures. But that which is created is in no respect compared with God the Creator of all things, nor finite with infinite, nor finity with infinity; since they always differ from each other in every respect naturally, and not comparatively; although there be an indescribable and indissoluble union of both in one substance, which altogether surpasses every perception of every created thing. For the divine nature, as it was before its incarnation, is also after its incarnation, by nature infinite, incomprehensible, impassible, incomparable, unchangeable, having power in itself, in a word, existing substantially, the only inexhaustible good<sup>o</sup>.” No words can be stronger than these

<sup>n</sup> These heretics said, that the divine and human natures of Christ did not differ really, for they were one and the same; but they differed only in comparison.

<sup>o</sup> Διὸ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀληθῶς γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος χωρὶς ἀμαρτίας ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος, ἐνεργήσας τε καὶ παθῶν ἀνθρωπίνως ὅσα τῆς φύσεως

ἐστὶν ἀναμάρτητα, καὶ φυσικῆς σαρκὸς περιγραφῆς ἀνασχόμενος δι' ἡμᾶς, τροπὴν οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν, μηδ' ἐν παντελῶς, ἃ ταυτὸν ἐστὶ τῷ Πατρὶ, γενόμενος ταυτὸν τῇ σαρκὶ διὰ τὴν κένωσιν. Ἄλλ' ὡς περ ἦν δίχα σαρκὸς, πάσης ἕξω περιγραφῆς μεμένηκε καὶ διὰ σαρκὸς θεϊκῶς ἐνεργήσας ἄπερ θεότητός ἐστιν, ἀμφοτέρωθεν δεικνύς ἑαυτὸν, δι' ὧν ἀμφοτέρως, (θεϊκῶς δὲ

last. For if the divine nature of Christ be the *only* inexhaustible good, the nature of the Son must be the same with the nature of the Father: otherwise we put the divinity of the Son above that of the Father.

C. 2. p. 226. "The God of the universe therefore, " without undergoing change, was made man, according to the scriptures, without sin, as he himself knows, who is alone the natural Framer of what surpasses our understanding. Also by this incarnation for our salvation, he produced in the flesh the operation of his own divine nature, which operation was not circumscribed by the flesh on account of his divesture, nor did it proceed by nature from the flesh, as it did from his divine nature; but in all the divine works, which he did while incarnate, it was manifested through the flesh. For the flesh did not change its nature, and become by nature divine, when it became by nature the flesh of that which was divine: but what it was before, so it continued in nature and operation after it was united to the divine nature: (as the Saviour said, *The spirit indeed is willing,*

φημι και ἀνθρωπίνως) ἐνήργησε, κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν οὕτως ἀληθῆ καὶ φυσικὴν ἔπαρξιν, Θεὸν ἄπειρον ὁμοῦ καὶ περιγραπτὸν ἀνθρώπων ὄντα τε καὶ νοούμενον, τὴν οὐσίαν ἰκατέρου τελείως τελείαν ἔχοντα, μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐνεργείας, ἣν φυσικῆς ιδιότητος ἐξ ὧν μένουσαν αἰεὶ κατὰ φύσιν δίχα τροπῆς τὴν αὐτῶν ἴσμεν διαφορὰν. Ἄλλ' οὐχ', ὡς τινὲς φασί, κατὰ σύγκρισιν ἵνα μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ, παρ' ὃ δεῖ, μείζονα καὶ μείονα λέγωμεν. ὁμοφυῶν γὰρ, οὐχ ἑτεροφυῶν, αἱ συγκρίσεις. Θεῷ δὲ ποιητῇ τῶν ὅλων ποιητὸν, ἀπειρῶν

περατὸν, καὶ ἀπειρῶν πέρας, κατ' οὐδένα συγκρίνεται λόγον, αἰεὶ κατὰ πάντα φυσικῶς, ἀλλ' οὐ συγκριτικῶς, ἀλλήλων διαφέροντα κ' ἄν ἀβήητός τις καὶ ἀβήητος εἰς μίαν ὑπόστασιν ἀμφοτέρων γέγονεν ἕνωσις, πᾶσαν παντὸς γενητοῦ παντελῶς διαφεύγουσα γνῶσιν. Τὸ γὰρ Θεῖον, ὡς ἦν πρὸ σαρκώσεως, ἔστι καὶ μετὰ σάρκωσιν, κατὰ φύσιν ἄπειρον, ἄσχητον, ἀπαθές, ἀσύγκριτον, ἀναλλοίωτον, ἄτρεπτον, αὐτοσθενές, καὶ τὸ πᾶν εἰπεῖν, ἕφεστός οὐσιῶδες μόνον ἀπειροσθενές ἀγαθόν.

“ *but the flesh is weak*<sup>p</sup>;) in which manner he did  
 “ and suffered what belonged to sinless flesh, and  
 “ proved that for our sakes he had divested himself  
 “ of his divinity, which was confirmed by his mira-  
 “ cles, and the natural sufferings of the flesh. For  
 “ the God of the universe became man for this cause,  
 “ that by suffering in passible flesh he might redeem  
 “ our whole race, which was sold unto death; and  
 “ by working miracles through the flesh by his di-  
 “ vine nature, which was impassible, he might bring  
 “ us to his own unmixed and blessed life.—He  
 “ continued therefore, though incarnate, to be by  
 “ nature the superinfinite God, having the power of  
 “ operation which properly belonged to him, which  
 “ proceeded substantially from his divine nature, but  
 “ appeared incarnately in his miracles through his  
 “ all-blessed flesh, that he might be believed to be  
 “ God, working the salvation of the world through  
 “ the flesh, which was by nature weak <sup>q</sup>.”

<sup>p</sup> Matt. xxvi. 41. Hippolytus considered Christ to speak these words of himself: the spirit was his divine nature: the flesh, his human nature. He says the same thing at vol. II. p. 45.: and *the flesh* and *the spirit* seem to be used in the same sense in 1 Pet. iii. 18. It was interpreted in the same way by Athanasius. Orat. III. c. Arian. 26. vol. I. p. 576. De Incarn. 21. p. 887, and by the anonymous author, ib. vol. II. p. 569. Polycarp however appears to have applied it, as modern interpreters have done, to the weakness of human nature: ad Phil. 7. p. 189.

<sup>q</sup> Γέγονεν οὖν ἀληθῶς, κατὰ τὰς

γραφάς, μὴ τραπεῖς, ὁ τῶν ὄλων Θεός, ἄνθρωπος ἀναμάρτητος, ὡς οἶ-  
 δεν αὐτὸς μίνος ἰπάρχων τεχνίτης  
 φυσικὸς τῶν ὑπὲρ ἔννοιαν, κατ' αὐτὴν  
 ἅμα τὴν σωτήριον σάρκωσιν τῆς ἰδίας  
 θεότητος ἐμπούσας τῇ σαρκὶ τὴν  
 ἐνέργειαν, οὐ περιγραφομένη αὐτῇ  
 διὰ τὴν κένωσιν, οὐδ' ὡσπερ τῆς αὐ-  
 τοῦ θεότητος, οὕτω καὶ αὐτῆς φυσι-  
 κῶς ἐκφυομένη. ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς ἂν σαρ-  
 κωθεὶς θεϊκῶς ἐνήργησε δι' αὐτῆς ἐκ-  
 φαινομένην· οὐ γὰρ γέγονε φύσει  
 θεότης μεταβληθεῖσα τὴν φύσιν, ἢ  
 σὰρξ γενομένη τῇ φύσει θεότητος  
 σὰρξ. ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἦν καὶ θεότητι  
 συμφυεῖσα μεμένηκε τὴν φύσιν καὶ  
 τὴν ἐνέργειαν. καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ Σωτὴρ,  
 Τὸ μὲν Πνεῦμα πρόθυμον, ἢ δὲ σὰρξ  
 ἀσθενής. καθ' ἣν ἐνεργήσας τε καὶ  
 παθὼν ὅπερ ἦν ἀναμαρτήτου σαρκός,

C. 3. p. 227. He then endeavours to illustrate the manner in which Christ's divine nature was united to and manifested by the human, by the example of the thoughts of the human mind, which are expressed by the voice and by writing, although they have no natural connection with them. "As therefore in our own case, (if we may liken that which has no likeness at all,) the naturally rational faculty of the mind is expressed, without being changed, by our tongue, which is corporeal: so also in the miraculous incarnation of God, the operation of the entire divine nature, which is omnipotent and creative of all things, is manifested by his all-blessed flesh in the divine works which he performed, continuing by nature free from all circumscription, although it shone through the flesh which was by nature finite. For that, which is by nature not created, cannot be circumscribed by that which is by nature created; although the latter was united to it by an union which circumscribes all comprehension!"

τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπιστώσατο κένωσιν θεότητος, θαύμασι καὶ σαρκὸς παθήμασι φυσικῶς βεβαιουμένην. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος ὁ τῶν ὅλων Θεός, ἵνα σαρκὶ μὲν παθητῇ πάσχω ἀπαν ἡμῶν τὸ τῷ θανάτῳ πραθεὶν λυτρώσῃται γένος· ἀπαθεῖ δὲ θεότητι διὰ σαρκὸς θαυματουργῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀκήρατον αὐτοῦ καὶ μακαρίαν ἐπαναγάγῃ ζῴην· — μεμένηκεν οὖν καὶ σαρκωθεὶς κατὰ τὴν φύσιν Θεὸς ὑπεράπειρος, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ συγγενῇ καὶ καταλλήλων ἔχων ἐνέργειαν, τῆς μὲν θεότητος οὐσιωδῶς ἐκφυομένην, διὰ δὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ παναγίας σαρκὸς ἐν τοῖς θαύμασιν οἰκονομικῶς ἐκφαινομένην, ἵνα πιστευθῇ Θεὸς εἶναι, δι' ἀσθενῶν φύσει σαρκὸς αὐτουργῶν τὴν τοῦ

παντὸς σωτηρίαν.

Ἰ "Ὡσπερ οὖν ἐφ' ἡμῶν, (ὅσον εἰκόσασαι τὸ παντελῶς ἀνείκαστον,) διὰ τῆς σωματικῆς ἡμῶν γλώσσης ἀτρέπτως ἢ κατὰ φύσιν τῆς ψυχῆς λογικῆ προφέρεται δύναμις· οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπερφυοῦς τοῦ Θεοῦ σωματώσεως, διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ παναγίας σαρκὸς, ἐν οἷς ἂν θεϊκῶς ἐνήργησε, δίχα τρωπῆς ἢ παντοκρατορικῆς, καὶ τῶν ὅλων ποιητικῆ τῆς ὅλης θεότητος ἐνέργεια διαδεικνύται, πάσης ἐκτὸς κατὰ φύσιν περιγραφῆς διαμένουσα, κἄν διὰ σαρκὸς διέλαμψε φύσει πεπερασμένης· οὐ γὰρ πέφυκε περιγραφῆσθαι γενητῇ φύσει τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἀγέννητον, κἄν συνέφυ αὐτῷ κατὰ σύλληψιν πάντα περιγράφουσαν οὖν.

C. 4. p. 228. " For the mystery of the divine incarnation is distinguished by the apostles and prophets and teachers as bearing a twofold and different aspect, since it belongs to the divine nature, which is indefectible, and gives proof of the entire human nature. If therefore we do not acknowledge one substantial Word of one operation, never in any way will the effect of both natures be understood. For He, who is always by nature God, becoming, as He wished, by His superinfinite power, man without sin, continues to be what He was, with every thing that we conceive of God: and he also continues to be what he was made, with all that we conceive and naturally understand of man: always continuing in each relation without departing from himself, according to his divine and human operations, keeping perfect in either relation his own naturally unalterable condition <sup>8</sup>."

C. 5. p. 228. " For lately one Beron, with some others, leaving the fancies of Valentinus, fell into a worse evil, and said, that the flesh, which was assumed by the Word, became in consequence of this assumption capable of performing the same works as the divine nature; and that the divine

<sup>8</sup> Τὸ γὰρ μυστήριον τῆς θείας σαρκώσεως ἀποστόλοις τε, καὶ προφήταις, καὶ διδασκάλοις, διττὴν καὶ διαφορὰν ἔχον διέγνωται τὴν ἐν πᾶσι φυσικὴν θεωρίαν, ἀνελλιπούς ὑπάρχον θεότητος, καὶ πλήρους ἐνδεικτικὸν ἀνθρωπότητος ὄν' ἕως ἂν οὐχ εἰς κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν γνωρίζεται Λόγος μιᾶς ἐνεργείας, οὐδέποτε καθ' ὅτιοῦν ἀμφοτέρων γνωσθήσεται κίνησις· ὁ γὰρ αἰεὶ κατὰ φύσιν ὑπάρχων Θεός, ὑπερ-

ἀπείρου δυνάμει γενόμενος, ὡς ἠθέλησεν, ἄνθρωπος ἀναμάρτητος, ὅπερ ἦν ἔστι, μεθ' ὧν νοεῖται Θεός, καὶ ὅπερ γεγονέν ἔστι μεθ' ὧν νοεῖται καὶ γνωρίζεσθαι πέφυκεν ἄνθρωπος, ἑαυτοῦ καθ' ἑκάτερον αἰεὶ μένων ἀνέκπτωτος, οἷς θεϊκῶς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀνθρωπίνως ἐνήργησε, τέλειον κατὰ τὸν ἑκατέρου λόγον σώζων ἑαυτοῦ φυσικῶς ἀναλλοίωτον.



“ nature, on account of the divesture of it, became  
 “ capable of suffering like the flesh : thus making  
 “ an alteration, and confusion, and blending, and a  
 “ change of both into each other. For if the flesh,  
 “ by being assumed, became capable of performing  
 “ the works of the divine nature, it therefore be-  
 “ came by nature to be God, with all that we natu-  
 “ rally conceive of God. And if the divine nature,  
 “ by being divested, became capable of suffering like  
 “ the flesh, it therefore also by nature became flesh,  
 “ with all that we can by nature understand of the  
 “ flesh : for those things, which agree in operation  
 “ with one another, and perform the same works,  
 “ and are altogether kindred and subject to the  
 “ same sufferings, do not admit of any difference of  
 “ nature. And since their natures are confounded,  
 “ Christ will be two : and if we divide the persons  
 “ [of the Trinity] there will be four <sup>t</sup>, which cannot  
 “ be tolerated. And according to them how can  
 “ Christ be one and the same, at once by nature  
 “ both God and man ? And according to them what  
 “ sort of existence will he have, who became man  
 “ by a change of his divinity, and who was God by  
 “ an alteration of the flesh ? For the transition of  
 “ these into each other is an entire destruction of  
 “ both <sup>u</sup>.”

<sup>t</sup> i. e. the Father is one, the Son two, and the Holy Ghost one. Athanasius tells the Apollinarians, that the same absurdity would arise from their doctrines : ἔσται δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς τετράς ἀντὶ τριάδος καταγγελλομένη. Cont. Apol. I. 9. vol. I. p. 929.

<sup>u</sup> — τροπὴν ἡμῶν, καὶ φύσιν, καὶ σύγγχυσιν, καὶ τὴν εἰς ἀλλήλους

ἀμφοτέρων μεταβολὴν δογματίζοντες. Εἰ γὰρ προληφθεῖσα ἡ σὰρξ γέγονε ταυτουργὸς τῇ θεότητι, δηλονότι καὶ φύσει Θεὸς μεθ' ὅσων φυσικῶς νοεῖται Θεός· καὶ εἰ γέγονε κενωθεῖσα τῇ σαρκὶ ταυτοπαθὴς ἢ θεότης, δηλονότι καὶ φύσει σὰρξ, μεθ' ὅσων φυσικῶς γνωρίζεσθαι πέφυκε σὰρξ· τὰ γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ὁμοεργῆ, καὶ ταυτουργά, καὶ ὁμίφουλα πάντως, καὶ

C. 6. p. 229. " It is acknowledged as a doctrine of the Christian religion, that God has in himself an equality and identity, in nature and in operation and in every thing else which belongs to Him, having none of His properties at all unequal, or not corresponding to Himself. If therefore, as Beron says, the flesh, which he assumed, acquired the same natural power of operation which He has, it follows that it also acquired the same nature which He has, with all that we conceive of His nature, the property of being without beginning, of being uncreated, of infinity, eternity, incomprehensibility, and every thing of this kind, which theology contemplates as belonging superlatively to the divine nature <sup>x</sup>." It is needless to point out, that Hippolytus conceived all these attributes of Divinity to belong to that nature, which Jesus Christ had as God.

C. 8. p. 229. " They fell into this error, being falsely persuaded, that the divine energy was the property of the flesh, which only appeared through it in the miracles: by which divine energy Christ keeps the universe together, being in substance

ταυτοπαθῆ, διαφορὰν οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται φύσεως· καὶ φύσει αὐτοῖς συγκεχυμένων ἔσται διὰς ὁ Χριστὸς, καὶ προσώπων μεμερισμένων τετρας, τὸ φευκτότατον· καὶ πῶς αὐτοῖς εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς, Θεὸς ὁμοῦ φύσει καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ὁ Χριστὸς; πῶσαν δὲ κατ' αὐτοῦ ἔξει τὴν ἵκταρξιν, μεταβολῆ θεότητος γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ σαρκὸς μεταποιήσει Θεός; Ἡ γὰρ εἰς ἀλήθειας τούτων μετέπτωσις παντελής ἐστιν ἀμφοτέρων ἀναίρεσις.

<sup>x</sup> Εὐσεβὲς κεκύρωται δόγμα Χριστιανοῖς, κατ' αὐτὴν τε φύσιν, καὶ

τὴν ἐνέργειαν, καὶ πᾶν ἕτερον αὐτῷ προσφύει, ἴσον ἑαυτῷ καὶ ταυτὸν εἶναι τὸν Θεὸν, μηδὲν ἑαυτῷ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παντελῶς ἄνισον ἔχοντα, καὶ ἀκατάλληλον. Εἰ τοίνυν κατὰ Βήρωνα τῆς αὐτῆς αὐτῷ προσληφθεῖσα φυσικῆς ἐνεργείας γέγονεν ἡ σὰρξ, δηλονότι καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς αὐτῷ γέγονε φύσεως μετ' ὅσων ἡ φύσις, ἀναρχίας, ἀγενησίας, ἀπειρίας, ἀϊδιότητος, ἀκαταληψίας, καὶ τῶν ὅσα τούτων καθ' ὑπεροχὴν ὁ θεολογικὸς ὑπερφυῶς ἐνορᾷ τῇ θεότητι λόγος.

“ whatever is conceived of God. — But every one  
 “ confesses as an article of religious belief, that for  
 “ our salvation, and to bring the world to a state  
 “ free from change, the Word, who is himself God,  
 “ the Creator of the universe, having substantially  
 “ united to himself an intellectual soul with a sensi-  
 “ tive body from the all-blessed Virgin Mary, by an  
 “ unpolluted conception without any change, became  
 “ man, by nature free from wickedness, working by  
 “ his divine nature, through his all-blessed flesh, the  
 “ divine acts which did not naturally belong to the  
 “ flesh; and by his human nature working the hu-  
 “ man acts, which did not naturally belong to the  
 “ divine nature, being capable of suffering by a sus-  
 “ pension of his divinity.”

146. *Hippolyti Homilia in Theophania.*

vol. I. p. 261, 2.

The following passage requires no introduction.  
 “ You have heard how Jesus came to John, and was  
 “ baptized in Jordan by him. O extraordinary  
 “ transaction! how was the uncircumscribable Ri-  
 “ ver, which delighteth the city of God, washed in  
 “ a little stream! how was the incomprehensible  
 “ Fountain, which giveth life to all men and hath  
 “ no end, covered by paltry and temporary waters!

Υ Εἰς ταύτην δὲ τὴν πλάνην κατή-  
 χθησαν, κακῶς πεισθέντες ἰδίαν γε-  
 νέσθαι τῆς σαρκὸς τὴν δι' αὐτῆς  
 ἐκφανθεῖσαν ἐν τοῖς θαύμασι θεῖαν  
 ἐνέργειαν, ἣ τὸ πᾶν ὁ Χριστὸς οὐσιώ-  
 σας καθ' ὃ νοεῖται Θεὸς συνέχει κρα-  
 τούμενον——'Ἄλλ' εὐσεβῶς ὁμολο-  
 γεῖ πιστεύων ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἡμῶν σωτη-  
 ρίαν, καὶ τὸ ἐᾶσαι πρὸς ἀτρεψίαν τὸ  
 πᾶν, ὁ τῶν ὄλων δημιουργὸς ἐκ τῆς  
 παναγίας ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, κατὰ

σύλληψιν ἄχραντον, δίχα τροπῆς,  
 ἐνουσιώσας ἑαυτῷ ψυχὴν νοερὰν μετὰ  
 αἰσθητικοῦ σώματος, γέγονεν ἀνθρω-  
 πος φύσει κακίας ἀλλότριος, ὁ Λόγος  
 Θεός· ὁ αὐτὸς θεότητι μὲν τὰ θεῖα  
 διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ παναγίας σαρκὸς, οὐκ  
 ὄντα φύσει τῆς σαρκὸς ἐνεργῶν. ἀν-  
 θρωπότητι δὲ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, οὐκ ὄντα  
 φύσει θεότητος, ἀνοχῆ πάσχων θεότη-  
 τος.

“ He that is present every where and faileth no  
 “ where, who is incomprehensible to angels and in-  
 “ visible to man, comes to be baptized, as it pleased  
 “ him. When you hear this, do not understand  
 “ what is written naturally, but receive the quotation  
 “ with reference to the incarnation. Wherefore the  
 “ Lord by the mercifulness of his condescension was  
 “ not unknown to the nature of the waters in what  
 “ he did secretly : *for the waters saw him and were*  
 “ *afraid*, (Psalm cxiv. 3.) they all but retreated  
 “ back and fled from their boundary. Whence the  
 “ prophet many ages before perceived this, and  
 “ asked, *What ailed thee, O thou sea, that thou*  
 “ *fleddest? and thou, Jordan, that thou wast driven*  
 “ *back?* But they answered and said, We saw the  
 “ Creator of all things in the form of a servant, and  
 “ not knowing the mystery of the incarnation, we  
 “ are driven back through fear <sup>z</sup>.”

This secondary application of the words of scrip-  
 ture was common in the days of Hippolytus : but  
 Justin Martyr seems literally to have believed that  
 when Jesus went into the water, fire appeared in it.  
 Dial. cum Tryph. c. 88. p. 185.

147. *Hippolyti Homil. in Theophan. c. 3.*

vol. I. p. 262.

Pursuing the same subject; he makes John the  
 Baptist point out the difference between himself and  
 Christ. “ I am not the Christ, I am a servant, and  
 “ not master : I am a subject, not a king ; I am a

<sup>z</sup> Ἦκουες πῶς ἐλθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τάλητος πηγῇ, ἡ ζῶν βλαστάνουσα πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐν τῇ Ἰορδάνῃ ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ. ὃ παραδόξων πραγμάτων. πῶς ὁ ἀπερίγραφτος ποταμὸς ὁ εὐφραίνων τὴν πόλιν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν ὀλίγῃ ὕδατι ἐλούετο. ἡ ἀκατάλητος πηγὴ, ἡ ζῶν βλαστάνουσα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ τέλος μὴ ἔχουσα, ὑπὸ πεινιχρῶν καὶ προσκαιρῶν ὑδάτων ἐκαλύπτετο. Ὁ παντῆ παρὼν, καὶ μηδαμῶ ἀπολιμπανόμενος, ὁ ἀκατάλητος ἀγγελίους καὶ ἀίρατος ἀνθρώ-

“ man, not God : I loosed my mother’s barrenness  
 “ when I was born, I did not make her virginity  
 “ barren <sup>a</sup> :—I am mean, and the least : but *he com-*  
 “ *eth after me, who is before me* ; after me, on  
 “ account of the time, but before me, on account of  
 “ the inaccessible and indescribable light of his divi-  
 “ nity ; I am under authority, he has authority him-  
 “ self ; I have the ground for my bed, he has the  
 “ heavens <sup>b</sup>.”

148. *Hippolyti Homil. in Theophan. c. 5.*

vol. I. p. 263.

The answer which Christ gives to John contains this remarkable assertion of his divinity—“ Suffer  
 “ it now, John ; thou art not wiser than I : thou  
 “ seest as man, I foreknow as God <sup>c</sup>.”

149. *Hippolyti Homil. in Theophan. c. 7.*

vol. I. p. 263, 4.

After the word spoken by the voice from heaven,  
*This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased,*  
 Hippolytus makes this remark : “ The beloved begets

ποις, ἐπὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ἔρχεται, ὡς  
 ἠδὲ ἠκούσεν. Ταῦτα ἀκούων, μὴ φυ-  
 σικῶς ἐκλάμβανε τὰ λεγόμενα, ἀλλ’  
 οἰκονομικῶς δέχου τὰ παρατιθέμενα.  
 Διὸ καὶ ὁ Κύριος τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τῆς  
 συγκαταβάσεως οὐκ ἔλαθεν τὴν τῶν  
 ἰδῶτων φύσιν, ὅπερ ἐποίησεν ἐν κρυφῇ  
 εἶδον γὰρ αὐτὸν τὰ ὕδατα καὶ ἐφο-  
 βήθησαν, ἐξέστησαν μικροῦ δεῖν, καὶ  
 τῆς ὀρθοσεσίας ἀπέφυγον. ὅθεν ὁ Προ-  
 φητῆς ἐκ πολλῶν τῶν χρόνων ταῦτο  
 θεωρήσας, ἐπερωτᾷ λέγων, Τί σοὶ  
 ἐστιν θάλασσα κ. τ. λ. αὐτὰ δὲ ἀπο-  
 κριθέντα εἶπον, Τὸν πάντων Κτιστὴν  
 ἐν μορφῇ δούλου εἶδομεν, καὶ τὸ μυ-  
 στήριον τῆς οἰκονομίας ἀγνόησαντες,  
 ἀπὸ τῆς δειλίας ἐλαυνόμεθα.

<sup>a</sup> Hippolytus probably be-  
 lieved that Mary continued a

virgin after the birth of Christ.  
 He calls her ἀειπαρθενος, vol. I.  
 p. 230.

<sup>b</sup> Οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγὼ ὁ Χριστὸς, ἐπηρέ-  
 τής εἰμι καὶ οὐκ αὐθέντης· ἰδιώτης  
 εἰμὶ, οὐ βασιλεύς· ἄνθρωπος εἰμὶ, οὐ  
 Θεός· στεῖρωσιν ἔλυσα μητρὸς γεννη-  
 θείς, οὐ παρθένιον ἐστεῖρωσα—  
 ἐγὼ εὐτέλης καὶ ἐλάχιστος, ἔρχεται  
 δὲ ὀπίσω μου ὡς ἔμπροσθέν μου ἐστὶν  
 ὀπίσω, διὰ τὸν χρόνον, ἔμπροσθεν δὲ,  
 διὰ τὸ ἀπρόσιτον καὶ ἀνέκφραστον  
 τῆς θεότητος φῶς—ἐγὼ ἰπεξού-  
 σιος, αὐτὸς δὲ αὐτεξούσιος—ἐγὼ  
 τὸ ἔδαφος κλίην ἔχω, αὐτὸς τὸν οὐ-  
 ρανὸν ἔχει.

<sup>c</sup> Ἄφες ἄρτι, Ἰωάννη, οὐκ εἶ μου  
 σοφώτερος· σὺ ὡς ἄνθρωπος βλέπεις,  
 ἐγὼ ὡς Θεὸς προγινώσκω.

“ love, and immaterial light begets inaccessible light.  
 “ *This is my beloved Son*, who appearing on earth,  
 “ and yet not separated from the bosom of his Fa-  
 “ ther, appeared and did not appear—This is he  
 “ who is called the Son of Joseph, and *my only-be-*  
 “ *gotten* according to the divine substance. *This is*  
 “ *my beloved Son*, who was hungry, and fed thou-  
 “ sands : who was weary, and refreshed the weary :  
 “ who had not where to lay his head, and bore all  
 “ things in his hand : who suffered, and healed  
 “ sufferings <sup>d</sup>,” &c.

150. *Hippolyti Homil. in Theophan. c. 10.*

vol. I. p. 264.

He concludes the subject with an exhortation to baptism, and says, “ He that descends with faith to the washing of regeneration bids farewell to the evil one, and is numbered with Christ : he denies the enemy, and confesses that Christ is God <sup>e</sup>.” This passage shews what was the meaning of that form of words, or profession of faith, which the catechumens repeated at baptism : when they said that they believed in Jesus Christ, they were understood to mean that they believed him to be God. It has often been shewn, that this is the necessary meaning of the Creed : and Hippolytus here asserts it to be so.

<sup>d</sup> Ἀγαπητὸς ἀγάπην γεννᾷ, καὶ φῶς ζῆλον φῶς ἀπρόσιτον. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ὁ κάτω ἐπιφανεὶς καὶ τῶν πατέρων κόλπῳ μὴ χωρισθεὶς, ἐπεφάνη οὐκ ἐφάνη—Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ὀνομαζόμενος υἱός, καὶ ἐμὸς μονογενὴς κατὰ τὴν θεϊκὴν οὐσίαν. Οὗτός ἐστιν κ. τ. λ. ὁ πεινῶν καὶ τρέφων μυριάδας καὶ κοπιῶν καὶ ἀναπαύων τοὺς κοπιῶντας.

ὁ μὴ ἔχων τοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν κλῖναι, καὶ πάντα ἐν τῇ χειρὶ βαστάζων. ὁ πάσχων καὶ τὰ πάθη ἰόμενος.

<sup>e</sup> Ὁ καταβαίνων μετὰ πίστεως εἰς τὸ τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως λουτρὸν, διατάσσεται τῷ ποιηρῷ, συντάσσεται δὲ τῷ Χριστῷ, ἀπαρτεῖται τὸν ἐχθρὸν, ὁμολογεῖ δὲ τὸ Θεὸν εἶναι τὸν Χριστόν.

151. *Hippolyti Fragmentum in 1 Sam. i.*  
vol. I. p. 267.

The following fragment is imperfect at the beginning ; but it seems to have contained a mention of the different times in which the Word had been revealed.—“ Secondly, by the prophets ; as when “ he called them by Samuel, and turned the people “ from serving strangers : and thirdly, when he appeared in the flesh, having assumed the human “ nature from the Virgin †.”

152. *Hippolyti Fragmentum in 1 Sam. i.*  
vol. I. p. 267.

There is a fragment from the same work in which it is said, that the three great Jewish festivals were typical of some event in our Saviour’s life. “ At the “ passover, that he might shew himself about to be “ sacrificed as a sheep, and to be exhibited as the “ true Passover ; as the apostle says, *Christ who is “ God our Passover is sacrificed for us,*” 1 Cor. v. 7. According to our present copies, St. Paul merely says, *Christ our Passover* : but Hippolytus quotes Χριστὸς ὁ Θεός, *Christ who is God*. Chrysostom also reads ὁ Θεός, and there is other authority for it.

153. *Hippolyti Fragmentum in Psalm. ii.*  
vol. I. p. 268.

“ When he came into the world, he was manifested as God and man ‡.” After which the different facts are mentioned which prove his divine and human nature.

† ——— τὴν δὲ δευτέραν τὴν διὰ τῶν Προφητῶν ὡς διὰ τοῦ Σαμουὴλ ἀνακαλῶν, καὶ ἐπιστρέφων τὸν λαὸν ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας τῶν ἀλλοφύλων τὴν δὲ τρίτην, ἐν ᾗ ἕσσαρκος παρῆν τὸν ἐκ τῆς παρθένου ἀνθρώπων ἀναλαβόν. § Οὗτος ὁ προελθὼν εἰς τὸν κόσμον Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐφανερώθη.

154. *Hippolyti Fragmentum in Psalm. xxiii. 1.*  
vol. I. p. 268.

“ The Saviour himself was the ark made of incorruptible wood: for his incorruptible and imperishable tabernacle was thus signified, which produces no corruption of sin: for the sinner makes confession and says, *My wounds stink and are corrupt because of my foolishness.* (Psalm xxxviii. 5.) But the Lord was without sin, of incorruptible wood in his human nature, i. e. of the Virgin and the Holy Spirit within, and without the Word of God, covered as it were with the purest gold <sup>h</sup>.”

155. *Hippolyti Fragmentum in Psalm. xxiv. 7.*  
vol. I. p. 268.

That sublime passage of the Psalmist, *Lift up your heads*, &c. which is unquestionably addressed to God Almighty, is referred by Hippolytus to Christ. “ He comes to the heavenly gates; angels accompany him; and the gates of heaven are closed: for he is not yet ascended into heaven. He appears now for the first time to the heavenly powers a fleshly body ascending. It is said therefore to these powers, the angels who run before the Saviour and Lord, *Lift up your gates, ye rulers, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in* <sup>i</sup>.” The *King of*

<sup>h</sup> Καὶ κιβωτὸς δὲ ἐκ ξύλων ἀσήπτων αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ σωτὴρ· τὸ γὰρ ἄσηπτον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀδιάφθορον σκῆνος ταύτη κατηγγέλλετο τὸ μηδεμίαν ἀμαρτήματος σηπεδόνα φύσαν· ὁ γὰρ ἀμαρτήσας καὶ ἐξομολογούμενός φησι, προσέξεσαν κ. τ. λ. Ὁ δὲ Κύριος ἀναμάρτητος ἦν, ἐκ τῶν ἀσήπτων ξύλων τὸ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον, τουτέστιν

ἐκ τῆς παρθένου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἕσωθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν τοῦ Λόγου τοῦ Θεοῦ, οἷα καθαρωτάτῃ χρυσῇ περικεκαλυμμένος. This is an allusion to Exodus xxxvii. 1. vid. Irenæi Fragm. p. 342.

<sup>i</sup> Ἐρχεται ἐπὶ τὰς οὐρανίας πύλας ἄγγελοι αὐτῷ συνοδεύουσι, καὶ κεκλεισμέναι εἰσὶν αἱ πύλαι τῶν οὐ-



*Glory* is evidently Christ. Compare Justin Martyr, p. 44. N<sup>o</sup>. 26. Athanasius expresses the same idea <sup>k</sup>, “The angels who attend upon the Saviour on earth tell the heavenly powers, as he was ascending, to open the gates: the powers above, amazed at his wonderful incarnation, ask, *Who is this King of Glory?*” &c. In another place he represents Christ as uttering the words, *Lift up*, &c.: not, as he observes, that he needed them to be opened for himself, “for he is the Lord of all things, nor is any created thing shut against its Creator, but he opened them for us to enter in<sup>l</sup>.”

156. *Hippolyti Fragmentum in Daniel. et Susann.* vol. I. p. 277.

This is a commentary upon the history of Susanna: and at the 35th verse, *And she weeping*, &c. Hippolytus remarks, “For by her tears she drew down the Word from heaven, who by his tears was to raise up Lazarus when dead<sup>m</sup>.” Hippolytus must therefore have believed that Jesus was in heaven at this time, which was nearly 600 years before his incarnation.

157. *Hippolyti Fragmentum*, vol. I. p. 281.

This is a fragment from a Homily upon the parable of the Talents, Matt. xxv. 14. in which the person who received one talent seems to have been compared to certain heretics. “One might say, that these persons and heretics resembled each

ρανῶν· οὐδέπω γὰρ ἀναβέβηκεν εἰς οὐρανοῖς· Πρῶτος οὖν φησικαὶ ταῖς δυνάμεσι ταῖς οὐρανοῖς ἀεὶ ἐκβαίνουσα. λέγεται οὖν ταῖς δυνάμεσι ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν προμεχόντων τὸν Σωτῆρα καὶ Κύριον, Ἄρατε κ. τ. λ.

<sup>k</sup> In Psalm. vol. I. p. 1041.

<sup>l</sup> De Lucan. 25. vol. I. p. 69. Orat. I. c. Asian. 41. p. 446.

<sup>m</sup> Διὲ γὰρ τῶν θαυμάτων ἐφείδμετο τὸν ἐπὶ οὐρανοῦ Λόγον, τὸν μάλιστα διὰ θαυμάτων ἐργαζομένον τὸν Λάζαρον τεθνηκότα.

“ other, being alike in error : for the latter either  
 “ think that Christ came into life a mere man, de-  
 “ nying the talent of his divinity : or they acknow-  
 “ ledge him to be God, but deny his human nature :  
 “ teaching that he deceived the eyes of those who  
 “ saw him, appearing as a man, though having no  
 “ human nature, but that he was rather a sort of  
 “ phantastic delusion ; such as Marcion and Valen-  
 “ tinus and the Gnostics, who by separating the  
 “ Word from the flesh reject the one talent, the  
 “ human nature <sup>n</sup>.”

158. *Hippolyti Fragmentum in Prov. ix. 1.*  
 vol. I. p. 282.

The first verse of this chapter is *Wisdom hath builded her house* ; upon which he says, “ Christ, “ the Wisdom and Power of God and the Father, “ hath builded himself an house, the incarnation “ from the Virgin.” See N<sup>o</sup>. 286. Athanasius also interprets Prov. ix. 1. of Christ becoming incarnate. Orat. 2. c. Arian. vol. I. p. 512.

In the second verse we read, *She hath mingled her wine* : upon which we find, “ The Saviour hav- “ ing united his divine nature to the Virgin by the “ flesh like unmixed wine, was born of her without “ mixture God and man<sup>o</sup>.”

<sup>n</sup> Ταύτους δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἑτεροδόξους φήσκειν ἂν τις γεγινηῶν, σφαλλομέ- νους παραπλησίως· καὶ γὰρ κρῖνενοι, ἤτοι ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον ὁμολογοῦσι πε- φικέναι τὸν Χριστὸν εἰς τὸν βίον, τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ τὸ τάλαντον ἀρνούμε- νοι· ἤτοι, τὸν Θεὸν ὁμολογοῦντες ἀναί- ρονται πάλιν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, πεφαντα- σιωκέναι διδάσκοντες τὰς ὕψεις αὐτῶν τῶν θεωμένων, ὡς ἄνθρωπον, οὐ φερέ- σαντα ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ δόκησιν τινα φασματώδη μᾶλλον γεγονέναι· οἶον

ὥσπερ Μαρκίον καὶ Οὐαλεντίνος καὶ οἱ Γνωστικοὶ τῆς σαρκὸς ἀποδιασπών- τες τὸν Λόγον, τὸ ἐν τάλαντον ἀπο- βάλλονται τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν.

<sup>o</sup> Χριστὸς, ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς σοφία καὶ δύναμις ἠφοδομήσεν ἐαυτῇ οἶκον, τὴν ἐκ παρθένου σάρκωσιν— Καὶ ἐκέρασεν εἰς κρατῆρα τὸν ἑαυ- τῆς οἶνον, εἰς τὴν παρθένον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ Θεότητα ἐνώσας τῇ σαρκί, ὡς οἶνον ἄκρατον, ὃ Σωτὴρ ἐγενήθη ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀσυγχύτως, Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος.

159. *Hippolyti Demonstratio contra Judæos.*  
c. 7. vol. II. p. 4.

This book was written to convince the Jews of their blindness in rejecting Jesus as the Messiah. At p. 131. I have given quotations from the second and fourth chapters : and in this place Hippolytus makes use of the very just argument, that since the last punishment of the Jews was far greater than any former one, we may infer that their crime was greater, and this was, that they crucified the Lord of Life. Hippolytus asks, " Why was the temple " destroyed? Was it for the making of the calf in " days of old? Was it for the idolatry of the people? " Was it for the blood of the prophets? Was it for " the adulteries and fornications of Israel? By no " means : for they always obtained pardon and " mercy for all those things : but it was because " they killed the Son of their Benefactor ; for it is " he, who is coeternal with the Father <sup>p</sup>."

If the Son were simply called *αἰδιος*, *eternal*, it might be said, that he was so prospectively but not retrospectively, as we say that the souls of men are immortal, because they will never have an end after they have once had a beginning : but when the Son is said to be *coeternal with the Father*, we must understand that the Son is eternal in the same sense as the Father is, or in the language of the schools, *a parte ante*, as well as *a parte post*.

160. *Hippolyti contra Noëtum*, c. 2. vol. II. p. 7.

This work was written against Noëtus, who adopted the Patripassian heresy, and conceived the Father and the Son to be actually and numerically one, so

<sup>p</sup> ——— ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ εὐεργέτου ἐθανάτωσαν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐστιν ὁ τῷ πατρὶ συναἰδιος.

that it was the Father who was born of the Virgin, and who died upon the cross. We may observe of this heresy, that its existence is a strong proof, that the divinity of Christ was a fixed article of belief in those days. Theodoret informs us, that the doctrines of Noëtus had been maintained before by Epigonus and Cleomenes<sup>4</sup>. The Patripassians, in common with the catholic church, believed that Jesus Christ was God, and that he was one with the Father: but their conviction of this doctrine led them into the Sabellian error of confounding the persons, and even beyond it.

That Noëtus fully believed in the divinity of Christ, is evident from the reasoning by which he and his followers thought to support their doctrine. They first quoted texts to prove the unity of God, such as Exod. iii. 6. xx. 3. Isaiah xlv. 6. xlv. 5: after which they said, "If therefore I acknowledge Christ to be God, he must be the Father; for if Christ is God, and yet suffered, being himself God, therefore the Father suffered, for he was the Father<sup>r</sup>." Again, "For Christ was God, and suffered for us, being himself the Father, that he might save us. Neither, as they say, can we reason in any other way; for the apostle acknowledges one God, when he says, *Whose are the fathers, of whom Christ came according to the flesh, who is over all, God blessed for ever*<sup>s</sup>."

<sup>4</sup> Hær. Fab. III. 3. vol. IV. p. 227-8.

<sup>r</sup> Εἰ οὖν Χριστὸν ὁμολογῶ Θεὸν, αὐτὸς ἄρα ἐστὶν ὁ Πατὴρ· εἰ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ Θεὸς, ἔπαθεν δὲ Χριστὸς, αὐτὸς ὢν Θεός, ἄρα οὖν ἔπαθεν Πατὴρ, Πατὴρ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἦν.

<sup>s</sup> Χριστὸς γὰρ ἦν Θεός, καὶ ἔπαθεν δι' ἡμᾶς, αὐτὸς ὢν Πατὴρ, ἵνα καὶ σῶσαι ἡμᾶς δυνηθῆ. "Ἄλλο δὲ, φησὶν, οὐ δυνάμεθα λέγειν· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀπόστολος ἕνα Θεὸν ὁμολογεῖ, λέγων, ὢν οἱ πατέρες κ. τ. λ.

I have already quoted this passage in part at p. 90. where I observed, that Hippolytus agreed with Noëtus in giving to these words of St. Paul the sense which they bear in our English version, and he adds, "He who is over all is God, for he says boldly, *All things are delivered unto me by the Father,*" (Matt. xi. 27.) God who is over all is blessed, and "having become man is God for ever: for thus John also said, *which is, and which was, and which is to come, God Almighty.* (Rev. i. 8.) "He is right in calling Christ Almighty."

161. *Hippolyti contra Noëtum*, c. 3. vol. II. p. 7.

Hippolytus then shews that though the church held a plurality of persons in the Godhead, it believed in the unity of God: "For who will not say, "that there is one God? but then he will not deny "the incarnation":" and he explains what he means by the *incarnation*, *οἰκονομία*<sup>x</sup> at p. 9. "This Word "was truly the mystery of incarnation from the "Holy Ghost and from the Virgin<sup>y</sup>." The same also is said in the following passage.

162. *Hippolyti contra Noëtum*, c. 4. vol. II. p. 8.

Noëtus had quoted Isaiah xlv. 14. *Surely God is in thee, and there is none else; there is no*

<sup>1</sup> Οὗτος ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός ἐστιν, λέγει γὰρ αὐτῷ μετὰ παρρησίας, Πάντα μοι παραδεδόται ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς. Ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός εὐλογητὸς γενέσθαι, καὶ ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος Θεός ἐστιν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· αὐτὸς γὰρ καὶ Ἰωάννης εἶπεν, Ὁ ὢν, καὶ ὁ ἦν, καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ὁ Θεός ὁ παντοκράτωρ. Καλῶς εἶπεν παντοκράτωρ Χριστόν. p. 10. In the printed text of the Apocalypse, i. 8. it is only ὁ παντοκράτωρ,

without ὁ Θεός, which is a various reading not noticed by Griesbach: but the words may perhaps be taken from Rev. xi. 17.

<sup>u</sup> Τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἐρεῖ ἕνα Θεὸν εἶναι; ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἀναιρήσει.

<sup>x</sup> See p. 70. note 0.

<sup>y</sup> —ὅτι ὄντως μυστήριον οἰκονομίας ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου ἦν οὗτος ὁ Λόγος καὶ παρθένου.

*God*: from which declaration of the unity of God he argued that Christ was the Father. Hippolytus quotes the whole passage from ver. 11 to 15; and then says, “The words are, *Surely God is in thee*: but in whom is God, except in Christ Jesus, “the paternal Word, and the mystery of the Incarnation?—and by the words *God is in thee*, he shewed the mystery of the incarnation, that by “the Word becoming flesh and being made man, “the Father was in the Son, and the Son in the “Father, it being the Son who lived among men<sup>2</sup>.”

163. *Hippolyti contra Noëtum*, c. 4. vol. II. p. 9.

Having quoted the words of St. John, iii. 13. *No man hath ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of man, which is in heaven*, he asks, “Will Noëtus say, that the flesh “was in heaven? The flesh, which was of the “Spirit and the Virgin, which was offered as a “gift by the paternal Word, is the perfect Son of “God. It is plain therefore, that he offered himself to the Father. But before this, the flesh was “not in heaven; who then was in heaven, but the “Word without flesh, who was sent to shew that “while he was upon earth, he was also in heaven<sup>2</sup>?”

That Christ was in heaven, while he was upon

<sup>2</sup> Ἐν σοὶ οὖν, φησιν, ὁ Θεός ἐστιν. Ἐν τίνι δὲ ὁ Θεός ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ πατρὶ ὡς Λόγος, καὶ τῷ μυστηρίῳ τῆς οἰκονομίας; — Τὸ δὲ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἐν σοὶ ὁ Θεός ἐστιν, εἰδείκνυεν μυστήριον οἰκονομίας, ὅτι σαρκωμένου τοῦ Λόγου καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντος ὁ Πατὴρ ἦν ἐν τῷ υἱῷ, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ, ἐμπολιτευομένου τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐν ἀνθρώποις.

<sup>2</sup> Μήτις ἐρεῖ, ὅτι ἐν οὐρανῷ σὰρξ

ἦν; ἐστὶν μὲν οὖν σὰρξ ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ Λόγου τοῦ πατρῷου προσενεχθεῖσα δῶρον, ἡ ἐκ πνεύματος καὶ παρθένου, τέλειος υἱὸς Θεοῦ ἀποδεδειγμένος. Πράδηλον οὖν, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν προσέφερεν τῷ Πατρὶ. Πρὸ δὲ τούτου ἐν οὐρανῷ σὰρξ οὐκ ἦν. Τίς οὖν ἦν ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀλλ' ἡ Λόγος ἄσαρκος, ἀποσταλεὶς ἵνα δείξῃ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ γῆς ὅσα εἶναι καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ.

earth, seems to be declared by the words of St. John above quoted. 'Ο ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ can hardly have any other meaning.

164. *Hippolyti contra Noëtum*, c. 8. vol. II. p. 12.

After many arguments to refute the doctrine of Noëtus, Hippolytus thus concludes; "He is compelled therefore, though unwillingly, to confess the Father God Almighty, and Christ Jesus the Son of God, who is God made man, to whom the Father hath subjected all things, except Himself and the Holy Ghost, and that these are in this manner three. But if he wish to learn, how there is said to be one God, let him know, that His essence is one, and as to essence there is one God; but with reference to the incarnation, the manifestation of Him is threefold <sup>b</sup>."

165. *Hippolyti contra Noëtum*, c. 11. vol. II. p. 13.

Having shewn, that there is only one God, and yet that His Son was always present with Him, he says, "And thus there was another present with Him. But when I speak of another, I do not mean that there are two Gods, but I speak of him, as light from light, or as water from a fountain, or as a ray from the sun: for the essence is one, that which is of the whole, and the whole is the Father, from whom is the essential Word <sup>c</sup>."

<sup>b</sup> Ἀνάγκην οὖν ἔχει καὶ μὴ θέλων ὁμολογεῖν Πατέρα Θεὸν παντοκράτορα, καὶ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν υἱὸν Θεοῦ Θεὸν ἀνθρώπων γενόμενον, ᾧ πάντα Πατὴρ ὑπέταξε παρεκτός ἑαυτοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ τούτους εἶναι οὕτως τρία. Εἰ δὲ βούλεται μαθεῖν, πῶς εἰς Θεὸς ἀποδείκνυται, γινώσκέτω ὅτι μία δύναμις τούτου, καὶ ὅσον μὲν κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν εἷς ἐστὶ

Θεός, ὅσον δὲ κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν, τριχῆς ἡ ἐπίδειξις.

<sup>c</sup> Καὶ οὕτως παρίστατο αὐτῷ ἕτερος. Ἐτερον δὲ λέγων οὐ δύο Θεοὺς λέγω, ἀλλ' ὡς φῶς ἐκ φωτός, ἢ ὡς ὕδωρ ἐκ πηγῆς, ἢ ὡς ἀκτίνα ἀπὸ ἡλίου. Δύναμις γὰρ μία ἡ ἐκ τοῦ παντός, τὸ δὲ πᾶν Πατὴρ, ἐξ οὗ δύναμις Λόγος.

166. *Hippolyti contra Noëtum*, c. 12. vol. II. p. 14.

The manner in which Hippolytus quotes Isaiah lxx. 1. and applies it to Christ, shews that he believed the Father and the Son to be one God. Having said, that it was Christ who inspired the prophets, he remarks, “The Word, who was with the  
“ prophets, spoke concerning himself: for he was  
“ then the herald of himself, shewing that the Word  
“ was to appear amongst men; for which cause he  
“ used this exclamation, *I am seen of them that*  
“ *asked not for me, I am found of them that sought*  
“ *me not.* But who is it that was seen, but the  
“ Word of the Father, whom the Father sent, and  
“ shewed to men His own power<sup>d</sup>?”

167. *Hippolyti contra Noëtum*, c. 13. vol. II. p. 15.

He also quotes Jer. xxiii. 18. which according to his own translation would be, *Who hath stood in the substance of the Lord, and hath seen His Word<sup>e</sup>?* upon which he observes, “The Word  
“ of God is the only word which is visible: the word  
“ of man is audible. When he speaks of *seeing*  
“ the Word, I must believe that he, who was sent,  
“ was visible. Nor was this any other than the  
“ Word. But that he was sent, Peter bears wit-  
“ ness, who said to the centurion Cornelius, *God*  
“ *hath sent his Word to the children of Israel,*  
“ *by the preaching of Jesus Christ: he is God the*  
“ *Lord of all<sup>f</sup>.*” (Acts x. 36.)

<sup>d</sup> Ἐν τούτοις τοίνυν πολιτευόμενος ὁ Λόγος ἐφθέγγετο περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, ἥδη γὰρ αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ κήρυξ ἐγένετο, δεικνύων μέλλοντα Λόγον φαίνεσθαι ἐν ἀνθρώποις, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὕτως ἐβόα, Ἐμφανῆς ἐγενόμην κ. τ. λ. Τίς δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἐμφανῆς γενόμενος ἀλλ' ἢ ὁ

Λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὃν ἀποστέλλων Πατὴρ ἐδείκνυεν ἀνθρώποις τὴν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐξουσίαν;

<sup>e</sup> The Septuagint translation is almost precisely the same.

<sup>f</sup> Τίς ἔσται ἐν ὑποστήματι Κυρίου, καὶ ἴδεν τὸν Λόγον αὐτοῦ; Λόγος δὲ



I have quoted this passage for the sake of remarking two things: 1. that in the citation from the Acts Hippolytus understood *the Word* in the sense in which St. John speaks of the *Logos*, as Jesus Christ <sup>ε</sup>: and 2. that he inserts the word *God*, which is not in our copies of the Acts, where we only read, *he is Lord of all*.

168. *Hippolyti contra Noëtum*, c. 17. vol. II. p. 18, 19.

“ Let us then believe according to the tradition  
 “ of the apostles, that God the Word came down  
 “ from heaven to the holy Virgin Mary, that being  
 “ incarnate of her, and assuming the human, I mean,  
 “ the reasonable soul, being made every thing that  
 “ man is without sin, he might save him that had  
 “ fallen, and might give immortality to men who  
 “ believe in his name. We have therefore entirely  
 “ demonstrated the Word of truth, that the Father  
 “ is one, whose Word is present with Him, by whom  
 “ He made all things: whom in later times, as we  
 “ said above, the Father sent for the salvation of  
 “ man. He was declared by the law and the prophets  
 “ as about to come into the world. In the same  
 “ manner therefore that he was declared, in this he  
 “ also came and manifested himself of the Virgin  
 “ and the Holy Ghost, being made a new man, hav-  
 “ ing the heavenly part, which belonged to his Fa-  
 “ ther, as the Word, and the earthly part, as of the

Θεοῦ μόνος ὁρατὸς, ἀνθρώπου δὲ ἀκου-  
 στός. Ὅπου ὄρᾳν τὸν Λόγον λέγει,  
 ἀνάγκη ἐξω πιστεῦειν ὁρατὸν τοῦτον  
 ἀπεσταλμένον. Οὐκ ἄλλος ἦν ἀλλ’  
 ἢ ὁ Λόγος. Ὅτι δὲ ἀπεστάλην,  
 μαρτυρεῖ Πέτρος.—Ἐξαπέστειλεν  
 ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Λόγον αὐτοῦ τοῖς υἱοῖς  
 Ἰσραὴλ διὰ κηρύγματος Ἰησοῦ Χρι-

στοῦ· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Θεὸς ὁ πάντων  
 Κύριος.

ε The same has been thought  
 by some commentators concern-  
 ing *the Word* mentioned in Luke  
 i. 2. Heb. iv. 12. &c. See Wa-  
 terland, III. p. 154: but such in-  
 terpretations are rather fanciful.

“ old Adam, being incarnate of the Virgin. He  
 “ came into the world, and was manifested God in  
 “ the body, coming as perfect man: for he was  
 “ made man, not by delusion or by suffering any  
 “ change, but really <sup>h</sup>.”

169. *Hippolyti contra Noëtum*, c. 18. vol. II. p. 19.

“ So also he does not refuse his human properties,  
 “ though proved to be God, when he is hungry and  
 “ weary—and when he sleeps upon a pillow, who  
 “ by nature requires no sleep, as being God; and  
 “ prays for the cup of suffering to pass away, who  
 “ for this very cause came into the world—and is  
 “ strengthened by an angel, who strengthens them  
 “ that believe on him—and is betrayed by Judas,  
 “ who knew Judas what he was: and is insulted by  
 “ Caiaphas, who before was honoured by him as  
 “ God: and he is set at nought by Herod, who is  
 “ to judge all the earth—and he is mocked by  
 “ the soldiers, who has thousands of thousands and  
 “ myriads of myriads of angels and archangels stand-  
 “ ing by him: and he is fixed by the Jews to a cross,  
 “ who fixed the heaven like a chamber: (Isaiah xl.  
 “ 22.) and crying to the Father, he commends his

<sup>h</sup> Πιστεύομεν οὖν κατὰ τὴν πα-  
 ράδοσιν τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὅτι Θεὸς  
 Λόγος ἀπ' οὐρανῶν κατήλθεν εἰς τὴν  
 ἁγίαν παρθένον Μαρίαν, ἵνα σαρκω-  
 θεῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς, λαβὼν δὲ καὶ ψυχὴν  
 τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην, λογικὴν δὲ λέγω,  
 γεγωνὸς πάντα ὅσα ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος,  
 ἐκτὸς ἀμαρτίας, σώσῃ τὸν πεπτω-  
 κότα, καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν ἀνθρώποις πα-  
 ράσχη τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα  
 αὐτοῦ. Ἐν πᾶσιν οὖν ἀποδέδεικται  
 ἡμῖν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγος, ὅτι εἰς ἐστὶν  
 ὁ Πατὴρ, οὗ πάρεστι Λόγος, δι' οὗ τὰ  
 πάντα ἐποίησεν ὁ ὑστέριος καιροῦ,  
 καθὼς ἐπαμεν ἀνωτέρω, ἀπέστειλεν

ὁ Πατὴρ πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἀνθρώπων.  
 Οὗτος διὰ νόμου καὶ Προφητῶν ἐκη-  
 ρύχθη παρεσόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον.  
 Καθ' οὗν οὖν τρόπον ἐκηρύχθη, κατὰ  
 τοῦτον καὶ παρὼν ἐφάνερωσεν ἑαυτὸν  
 ἐκ παρθένου καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος,  
 καινὸς ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος, τὸ μὲν οὐ-  
 ράνιον ἔχων τὸ πατρῶον ὡς Λόγος, τὸ  
 δὲ ἐπίγειον ὡς ἐκ παλαιοῦ Ἀδάμ διὰ  
 παρθένου σαρκούμενος. Οὗτος προελ-  
 θὼν εἰς κόσμον Θεὸς ἐν σώματι ἐφα-  
 νερώθη, ἄνθρωπος τέλειος προελθὼν οὐ  
 γὰρ κατὰ φαντασίαν ἢ τροπὴν, ἀλλ'  
 ἀληθῶς γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος.

“ Spirit, who is inseparable from the Father; and  
 “ bowing his head gives up the ghost, who said, *I*  
 “ *have power to lay down my life and have power*  
 “ *to take it again.* (John x. 18.)—This is God,  
 “ who was made man for our sakes, to whom the  
 “ Father *hath subjected all things.* (1 Cor. xv.  
 “ 27<sup>i</sup>.)”

170. *Hippolyti e Comment. in Genesis*, vol. II.  
 p. 24.

Speaking of the death of Christ, he says, “ He  
 “ was not holden by death<sup>k</sup>, but although he was  
 “ among the dead like a man, he continued to live  
 “ by the nature of the Godhead—and the Son is  
 “ the Lord of Hosts, who did no sin, but rather  
 “ offered himself for us as a sweet-smelling savour  
 “ to God and the Father<sup>l</sup>.” This expression of  
*Lord of Hosts*, as applied to the Son, is very re-  
 markable; and the more so, when we find Hippoly-  
 tus in other places expressly referring it to God the  
 Father, as at p. 28. “ *But their bows were broken,*

<sup>i</sup> Οὕτως οὖν καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα  
 ἑαυτοῦ οὐκ ἀπαναίεται ἐνδεικνύμενος  
 Θεὸς ὢν, ὅτε πεινᾷ καὶ κοπιᾷ—  
 καὶ ἐπὶ προσκεφάλαιον καθεύδει ὁ  
 αὐπνὸν ἔχων τὴν φύσιν ὡς Θεός, καὶ  
 ποτηρίου πάθος παραιτεῖται ὁ διὰ  
 τοῦτο παραγεγονῶς ἐν κόσμῳ—  
 καὶ ὑπ’ ἀγγέλου ἐνδυναμοῦται ὁ ἐνδυ-  
 ναμῶν τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν πιστευόντας—  
 καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰούδα παραδίδοται ὁ γινώ-  
 σκων τὸν Ἰούδα τίς ἐστίν· καὶ ἀτι-  
 μάζεται ὑπὸ Καιάφα, ὁ πρότερον ὑπ’  
 αὐτοῦ ἱερατευόμενος ὡς Θεός. (1. for-  
 san ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἱερατευομένου τιμώ-  
 μενος ὡς Θεός.) καὶ ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου ἐξ-  
 ουθενεῖται ὁ μέλλων κρίναι πᾶσαν τὴν  
 γῆν—καὶ ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν παιζε-  
 ται ὃ παρεστῆκας χίλια χιλιάδες  
 καὶ μυρία μυριάδες ἀγγέλων καὶ

ἀρχαγγέλων· καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ξύλῳ  
 προσπήγνται, ὁ πῆξας ὡς καμάραν  
 τὸν οὐρανόν· καὶ πρὸς Πατέρα βῶν  
 παρατίθεται τὸ πνεῦμα ὁ ἀχώριστος  
 τοῦ Πατρὸς· καὶ κλίνων κεφαλὴν  
 ἐκπνεῖ, ὁ εἴπας, Ἐξουσίαν ἔχω κ.τ.λ.  
 —Οὗτος ὁ Θεός, ὁ ἄνθρωπος δι’  
 ἡμᾶς γεγονῶς, ὃ πάντα ὑπέταξεν  
 Πατρί.

<sup>k</sup> i. e. death did not retain  
 him; vid. Acts ii. 24.

<sup>l</sup> Οὐ γέγονε τῷ θανάτῳ κάτοχος·  
 ἀλλ’ εἰ καὶ γέγονεν ἐν νεκροῖς ὡς ἄν-  
 θρωπος, ἀπομεμέτηκε ζῶν τῇ τῆς θεό-  
 τητος φύσει—Κύριος δὲ τῶν δυνά-  
 μων ὁ υἱός, ὃς οὐ πεποίηκεν ἁμαρ-  
 τίας, ἑαυτὸν δὲ μᾶλλον ἔθευ ὑπὲρ  
 ἡμῶν εἰς ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας τῷ Θεῷ καὶ  
 Πατρί.

“ *and the nerves of their arms were loosed by the hand of the mighty one of Jacob, i. e. of God and the Father, who is Lord of Hosts.*” We may remember also that Justin Martyr and Tertullian mentioned *Lord of Hosts* as one of the titles which belong to the Son: see p. 43. N<sup>o</sup>. 26. p. 237. N<sup>o</sup>. 134.

171. *Hippolyti e Comment. in Gen.* vol. II.

p. 27, 8.

This is a commentary upon that part of Jacob's prophecy which concerns the tribe of Dan, Gen. xlix. 16, &c. ; and having explained the latter part of the 17th verse to relate to the death of Christ, he says, “ But although *the rider* fell, having voluntarily endured the death of the flesh, yet he will be restored to life, taking the Father as an assistant and support. For the Son, being the power of God and the Father, restored his own temple to life<sup>m</sup>. Thus he is said to have been saved by the Father, having been in danger as a man, although by nature he is God, and himself keeps together in good order the whole visible and invisible creation. Thus St. Paul understood and said of him, *Though he was crucified through weakness, yet he liveth by the power of God<sup>n</sup>.*” (2 Cor. xiii. 4.) It appears that Hippolytus interpreted *the power of God*

<sup>m</sup> There is a passage in Athanasius very similar to this: καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἐγείρων τὸν ἴδιον ναὸν, ὡς Θεὸς, καὶ διδοὺς ζωὴν τῇ ἰδίᾳ σαρκί. De Incarn. 2. vol. I. p. 872.

<sup>n</sup> Ἄλλ' εἰ καὶ πέπτωκεν ὁ ἰππεὺς, ἐθελοντῆς ἀνατλάς τὸν τῆς σαρκὸς θάνατον, ἀλλ' οὖν καὶ ἀναβιώσεται συλλήπτωρα καὶ ἐπαγωγὸν ποιούμενος

τὸν Πατέρα. Δύναμις γὰρ ὢν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς ὁ υἱὸς τὸν ἴδιον αὐτοῦ ἐξωογᾷ ναόν. Ταύτη σεσωσθαι λέγεται παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς κενδυνευκῶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος, καίτοι κατὰ φύσιν ὑπάρχων Θεός, καὶ ὄλην αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ εὖ εἶναι συνέχων ὁρατὴν τε καὶ ἀόρατον κτίσιν. Οὕτω που συνείδεις καὶ ὁ θεσπέσιος Παῦλος περὶ αὐτοῦ φησὶ, Εἰ καὶ κ. τ. λ.

in this passage to mean the divine power which was inherent in Christ. It was the weakness of his human nature, which caused him to suffer death: it was the power of the divine nature, which caused him to rise again. This interpretation is confirmed by the following passage.

172. *Hippolyti e Comment. in Gen.* vol. II. p. 28.

“ For although he endured the cross, he lived again, as being God, having trampled upon death<sup>o</sup>.” Another extract from the Commentary of Hippolytus upon Genesis has been already given at p. 121. and Grabe in his notes to bishop Bull’s Defence of the Nicene Faith, (II. 8. 2.) adds the following fragment, which was not published by Fabricius. It is upon Gen. xlix. 26. where the LXX read, *The blessings of thy Father and thy Mother*; upon which Hippolytus observes, “ It is quite evident that “ by this is intended the generation of the only-begotten from God and the Father, and that from “ the blessed Virgin, according to which he is conceived to be, and appeared as, a man. For being “ by nature and in truth Son of God and the Father, he endured for our sakes to be born of a “ woman P.”

173. *Hippolyti e Comment. in Gen.* vol. II.

p. 30.

“ The most illustrious of the Fathers, and those “ who arrived at the very extremity of virtue, were “ behind the glory of Christ. For they were serv-

<sup>o</sup> Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἀνέτλη σταυρὸν, ἀλλ’ ὡς Θεὸς ἀνεβίω, πατήσους τὸν θάνατον.

P Σαφῶς τε καὶ ἐναργῶς ἢ τε ἐκ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς γέννησις τοῦ μονογενοῦς, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγίας παρθένου ση-

μαίνεται, καθὼ νοεῖται καὶ πέφηγεν ἄνθρωπος· υἱὸς γὰρ ὑπάρχων φυσικῶς τε καὶ ἀληθῶς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς, δι’ ἡμᾶς ἀνέτλη τὴν διὰ γυναικὸς τε καὶ μητέρας γέννησιν.

“ants: but the Lord, who was the Son, supplied them with all by which they became illustrious. Therefore also they say, *Of his fullness have all we received* <sup>4</sup>.”

174. *Hippolyti Fragmentum*, vol. II. p. 32.

The following passage is quoted, as containing the words of Hippolytus, by John of Antioch, who lived in the tenth century. “The Virgin, when she brought forth a body, brought forth also the Word, and therefore is mother of God: the Jews also, when they crucified a body, crucified God the Word; nor does any distinction between the Word and the human body occur in the scriptures: but he is one nature, one person, one hypostasis, one operation, the Word who was God, the Word who was man, as in truth he was <sup>r</sup>.” This is said to be taken from a work of Hippolytus written against those *who attack the incarnation of the Word of God on account of his consubstantiality with the Father*; and was evidently directed against the heresy of Valentinus and others, who considered Jesus and Christ to be two separate persons; or in other words, that the human nature was not united to the divine, but that both continued distinct.

There is another fragment, said to be taken from a treatise of Hippolytus upon the union of the body

<sup>4</sup> Κατόπιν οὖν ἄρα τῆς Χριστοῦ δόξης καὶ οἱ τῶν πατέρων ἐπισημώτατοι καὶ εἰς λήξιν ἤκοντες ἀρετῆς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἦσαν οἰκέται· ὁ δὲ Κύριος υἱὸς τὰ δι' αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνοι γεγονάσι λαμπροί, κεχωρήγηκεν αὐτοῖς. Τοιγάρτοι καὶ λέγουσιν, κ. τ. λ.

<sup>r</sup> Virgo, cum peperit corpus, Verbum quoque peperit, et idcirco est. Deipara: Judæi quo-

que cum crucifixerunt corpus, crucifixerunt Deum Verbum: neque distinctio ulla inter Verbum et corpus hominis occurrit in divinis scripturis: sed ipse est natura una, persona una, suppositum unum, operatio una: Verbum Deus, Verbum homo, quemadmodum erat.

of Christ with his divinity, in which it is said that  
 “ he who was created was by this union uncreated ;  
 “ and that he, who was uncreated, by the same union  
 “ became created ; since there is one nature com-  
 “ posed of those two entire parts <sup>s</sup>.”

There is also another fragment, quoted from a letter of Hippolytus to Dionysius bishop of Cyprus ; and the same passage may be found in a letter said to be written by Julius, bishop of Rome, to Dionysius of Alexandria. But there is reason to think, that the letter was really written by Apollinarius ; and the doctrine contained in it is not that of the catholic church <sup>t</sup>.”

175. *Hippolyti Fragmentum*, vol. II. p. 45.

Leontius of Byzantium has preserved the following fragment as written by Hippolytus upon the prophecies of Balaam : “ but that he might be proved to  
 “ contain both in himself, the substance of God and  
 “ the substance of man ; as the apostle also says, *A*  
 “ *mediator between God and men, the man Christ*  
 “ *Jesus.* (1 Tim. ii. 5.) *But a mediator is not of*  
 “ *one* (Gal. iii. 20.) man, but of two. It was neces-  
 “ sary therefore that Christ who became a mediator  
 “ between God and man, should receive a kind of  
 “ pledge from both, that he might appear a mediator  
 “ between two persons <sup>u</sup>.” Compare Irenæus N<sup>o</sup>. 58.  
 p. 97. and Cyprian N<sup>o</sup>. 283.

<sup>s</sup> — illum, qui creatus est, increatum esse per unionem : et illum increatum per eandem unionem creatum fieri, quandoquidem natura una ex duabus illis integris partibus constat.

<sup>t</sup> See the edition of the works of Dionysius of Alexandria, p. 297.

<sup>u</sup> — ἵνα δὲ δειχθῆ τὸ συναμφοτέρον ἔχων ἐν εαυτῷ τὴν τε τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐσίαν καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, ὡς καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει, μεσίτην Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἄνθρωπος Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς. Ὁ δὲ μεσίτης ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου οὐ γίνεται, ἀλλὰ δύο. Ἐδεῖ οὖν τὸν Χριστὸν Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων μεσίτην γενόμενον παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀρραβωνά

176. *Hippolyti Fragmentum*, vol. II. p. 45.

The following is taken from a work of his upon Easter. "He was entire to all persons and in all places; and he who filled all space divested himself, and contended against all the powers of the air, and all but cries out that the cup may pass away, that he might truly shew that he was a man; but remembering also the reason for which he was sent, he cries out, *Father, not my will: the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak*." See note at p. 253.

Since the publication of the first edition of this work, some new fragments of Hippolytus have been brought to light by Angelo Maio, in his *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio e Vaticanis Codd. &c.* Vol. I. p. 161, &c. They are taken from a *Catena* of commentators upon Daniel: and on those words, *The form of the fourth is like the Son of God*, iii. 25. Hippolytus says, "The scripture shewed beforehand, that the Gentiles were afterwards to know him in the flesh, whom Nebuchadnezzar had long before seen without flesh and recognised in the furnace, and acknowledged him to be the Son of God." Commenting upon Dan. vii. 18. he speaks of the time arriving, "that the heavenly king may be shewn openly to all, no longer seen partially as in a vision, nor revealed in a pillar of a cloud on the

τινα ειληφέναι, ἵνα φαῖη δύο προσώπων μεσίτης.

x "Ολος ἦν πᾶσι καὶ πανταχοῦ, γεμίσας δὲ τὸ πᾶν πρὸς πάσας τὰς ἀερίους ἀρχὰς γυμνὸς ἀνταπεδύσατο, καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον βοᾶ παρελθεῖν τὸ ποτήριον, ἵνα δείξῃ ἀληθῶς ὅτι καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἦν· μεμνημένος δὲ καὶ διὸ ἀπεστάλη, καὶ βοᾶ, Πατέρ, μὴ τὸ θέ-

λημά μου· τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα πρόθυμον, ἡ δὲ σὰρξ ἀσθενής.

y Προσπέδειξεν ἡ γραφή, ὅτι μελλήσουσι τὰ ἔθνη τοῦτον ἑνσαρκον ἐπιγινώσκειν, ὃν πάλαι ἄσαρκον ἰδὼν ἐπέγνω ἐν καρμίνῳ ὁ Ναβουχοδονόσορ, καὶ υἱὸν Θεοῦ εἶναι τοῦτον ἀμολόγησεν. p. 188.



“ top of a mountain, but with power and angelic  
 “ hosts, God in the flesh, and man the Son of God,  
 “ and Son of man, coming from heaven to the world  
 “ as judge<sup>2</sup>.”

ORIGEN. A. D. 240.

Origen was born in Egypt about the year 185, and before he attained his seventeenth year, his father Leonides suffered martyrdom. He was a scholar of Clement of Alexandria, and we are also informed that he had been a hearer of Hippolytus. At the age of eighteen he was himself appointed to preside in the catechetical school of Alexandria, and Dionysius, who was afterwards bishop of that see, was one of his pupils. He was not ordained till the year 228, when he was forty-three years of age. In 231 he left Alexandria and went to Cæsarea, where he was received with great attention and admiration. The Homilies which passed under his name amounted to a thousand: and the number is more astonishing, because he did not suffer his discourses to be taken down in writing till he was sixty years of age. It was about this time that he composed his work against Celsus, which is one of the soberest and most valuable of all his writings, and has come down to us entire. All his works together are said to have amounted to the incredible number of 6000 volumes<sup>3</sup>; but we are probably to understand by volumes the books or parts into which his works were divided. It was either his unwearied labour in reading and composing, or the great strength of his reasoning,

<sup>2</sup> ——— ἀλλὰ μετὰ δυνάμεων καὶ  
 στρατιῶν ἀγγελικῶν ἕνσαρκος Θεός  
 κ. τ. λ. p. 206.

<sup>3</sup> Eriphan. Hær. LXIV. 63.

Vol. I. p. 591. ἑξακισχιλίας βιβλίου,  
 but Eriphanus seems uncertain  
 whether the number was correct.

which gained him the title of *Adamantius*, or Invincible. He is said to have suffered considerably in the Decian persecution in 250, and to have died at Tyre in the year 255 at the age of seventy.

Of his numerous works, not many have come down to us in their original language. Some which have perished are preserved in a Latin translation executed by Rufinus towards the end of the fourth century: but the accuracy and fidelity of these translations have been questioned, and apparently not without reason.

It is not the object of the present work to enter into a minute investigation of Origen's tenets. Both in ancient and modern times he has had many accusers and defenders: not only has he been charged with holding visionary and unfounded opinions concerning the preexistence of the soul, the resurrection of the body, the nature of angels, &c. &c. &c. but his faith concerning the Trinity, and the divinity of the Son, has often been called in question; and the Arians have laid claim to the high authority of Origen as supporting their own doctrines. If Origen was really heterodox upon these fundamental articles of Christianity, it is scarcely possible, but that some traces of it would be found in his existing writings. I can only say, that after a careful perusal of all of them, I cannot point out any passage, which when taken in conjunction with the tenor of his writings would lead me to conclude, that Origen was an Arian.

We must remember, that he wrote before the great controversies concerning the Trinity had distracted the Christian church. The curious and presumptuous speculations of the *unlearned* or *unstable*

had not yet caused the meanings of words to be defined with that scrupulous precision, which the subtlety of opposing sects afterwards made necessary: and Origen, in his voluminous writings, many of which, be it remembered, were taken down from his own copious and unpremeditated delivery, may have used terms in a sense, which the catholic church a few years afterwards excluded them from bearing, and anathematized as heterodox. But we must judge of Origen, as of every author, from the whole tenor of his writings, and not from particular parts of them, or from single words, which have changed their meaning. Thus Origen may have fully believed in the consubstantiality of the Son, and in his eternal coexistence with the Father; and yet he may have spoken of the Son as in some sense inferior to the Father; a doctrine, which, as bishop Bull has plainly and unanswerably shewn, has been held by the catholic church from the days of the apostles to our own.

But it is not fair to argue, because Origen speaks of the Son as inferior to the Father, that he therefore believed him to be created, or that he did not believe him to have existed from all eternity. We must take Origen's doctrine in Origen's own words; and if any of his expressions seem opposed to each other and incompatible, we must see which of them contains a sense, which cannot be mistaken; and if one of them admits of different interpretations, we must decide which is correct by observing the meaning of the other expression which is simple and unequivocal. Thus if Origen says that the Son was begotten of the Father, we must see that when he says he was produced, (*γεννητός,*) he did not mean that

he was *created*, like the objects of this material world, but that he *derived his origin* from the Father; a doctrine, which is perfectly scriptural and sound.

So also when we find him saying that the Son is of one substance with the Father, and that he is by nature very and eternal God, we must see that any expression, which marks the inferiority of the Son, cannot mean an inferiority of nature. If we try the tenets of Origen by this test, i. e. if we make his expressions, which admit of no doubt, explain those which may receive two interpretations, I have no hesitation in saying, that we shall have no reason whatever for questioning his orthodoxy. Upon this subject I have satisfaction in fully subscribing to the sentiments of bishop Bull: not as presuming to have come to my conclusion by an equal acquaintance with the subject, but venturing to express my own conviction with more confidence, when I find that the extensive reading and judicious reflection of that great man led him to pronounce the same favourable opinion concerning this calumniated Father. See Bull Defens. Fid. Nic. II. 9. 22. <sup>b</sup>

Having said this, I must explain myself as referring only to the doctrine which Origen held concerning the Trinity, and the divinity of the Son. His opinions upon other subjects have no connection with the present discussion.

Of all the works which Origen wrote, there were none which brought upon him more abuse for the

<sup>b</sup> See also Waterland, IV. p. 322, &c. where he shews that the most learned writers, till the end of the fourth century, had not disapproved of Origen's doctrine concerning the Trinity.

heterodox notions which they contained, than the treatise *De Principiis*<sup>c</sup>. It was said particularly to convey blasphemous opinions concerning the second and third persons of the Trinity. Didymus<sup>d</sup> defended Origen from these charges, and contended that the doctrines contained in this treatise differed entirely from the Arian notions. Rufinus also defended Origen, but in a different way: he acknowledged the existence of the offensive passages, but contended that they were interpolations.

The original work was written before the year 231; when Origen left Alexandria<sup>e</sup>, and has long since perished, except a few fragments, which have been preserved by later writers. In the year 398, Rufinus undertook to translate the whole into Latin; and his version has come down to us entire. But it seems quite certain, that we must not receive it as giving us the genuine sentiments of Origen. Rufinus himself says in his preface, that if he found any thing which contradicted the opinions expressed by Origen in other works, he did not preserve it; and particularly, if he met with any thing which opposed what Origen had written elsewhere concerning the Trinity, he omitted it as spurious: or if the concise manner of Origen had made any of his expressions obscure, they were rendered plainer in the translation by the addition of passages taken from other works of the author himself: but Rufinus asserts, that he introduced nothing of his own.

<sup>c</sup> Περὶ ἀρχῶν. Rufinus translates this title, *De Principiis vel de Principatibus*, v. Photius cod. 8. Pamphyl. Apol. Hieron. Epist. 38, 40. adv. Rufin. epist.

94. Justinian. Imp. Epist. ad Menam.

<sup>d</sup> V. Hieron. Epist. 41. et ad fin. II. adv. Rufin.

<sup>e</sup> Euseb. H. E. VI. 24.

Jerom positively denies this latter statement, and mentions instances where Rufinus had not only softened down the offensive doctrines of Origen, but had actually interpolated sentiments of his own.

The Latin translation of Rufinus certainly contains many passages, which directly contradict the Arian doctrines; and though there are some expressions, which seem rather to lower the divinity of the Son, they may perhaps be all explained so as to agree with the catholic tenets. This very circumstance confirms the charge brought by Jerom against Rufinus, that he suppressed many passages which would have been thought heretical: for it can hardly be doubted, after the evidence which has been adduced, but that Origen's own work did contain expressions which *appeared* not to be orthodox. To which it may be added, that wherever any fragments of the original Greek have been preserved, they differ considerably from the version of Rufinus, the latter being much more diffuse.

Jerom himself also made a translation of the whole work, and he tells us that it was strictly literal, preserving even the heretical opinions of Origen. This too, whatever portions of it have been preserved, differs very much from the version of Rufinus.

This being the case, it is not safe to quote any passage from the Latin translation, as supporting the doctrine which I am endeavouring to establish. I shall therefore only mention, that such passages may be found in præf. ad lib. I. §. 4. p. 48. I. 1. 8. p. 53. I. 2. 1. p. 53. ib. §. 2. ib. §. 3. ib. §. 9. p. 57. ib. §. 10. p. 58. I. 3. 1. p. 60. II. 6. 1, 2, 3, 6. p. 89, &c. and at III. 2. 4. p. 140. St. Paul's words

κατὰ τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ (2 Cor. x. 5.) are translated, *adversus scientiam Christi*.

There are however two passages, which have been preserved in the original Greek, which seem decidedly to support the divinity of Christ.

177. *Origenis de Principiis*, l. IV. c. 1. §. 2.  
vol. I. p. 158.

Having mentioned some passages in which Christ foretold the persecutions, which the Christians would meet with, he says, "At the time perhaps it was natural to think, that he spoke at random when he uttered these sayings, and that they were not true; but when the things, which were spoken with such authority, came to pass, they prove that God truly took our nature upon Him, and delivered doctrines of salvation to men <sup>f</sup>."

178. *Origenis de Princip.* l. IV. c. ult. §. 28.  
vol. I. p. 189, 90.

"It is time to recapitulate concerning the Father and Son and Holy Ghost, and to go over a few things which were then omitted: concerning the Father, that being incapable of division and partition he is yet Father of a Son, not emitting him, as some think: for if the Son is an emission of the Father, and if the Father begets of himself like the generation of animals, it follows that both He, who emits, and he, who is emitted, is corporeal <sup>g</sup>." This last passage will at least shew, that Origen

<sup>f</sup> — ὅτε δὲ ἐκβέβηκε τὰ μετὰ τούτων ἐξουσίας εἰρημένα, ἐμφαίνει Θεὸν ἀληθῶς ἐνανθρωπήσαντα σωτήρια δόγματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παραδεικνύειν

<sup>g</sup> "Ὡρα ἐπαναλαβόντα περὶ Πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ὀλίγα τῶν τότε παραλελειμμένων

διεξελεῖν, περὶ Πατρὸς, ὡς ἀδιαίρετος ὢν καὶ ἀμέριστος υἱοῦ γίνεται Πατὴρ, οὐ προβαλὼν αὐτὸν, ὡς οἰοῦνται τινες· εἰ γὰρ προβολὴ ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ γεννᾷ μὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὅποια τὰ τῶν ζώων γεννήματα, ἀνάγκη σῶμα εἶναι τὸν προβάλλοντα καὶ τὸν προβεβλημένον.

could not have conceived Christ to have been a mere man: he certainly held that the Son was *begotten* of the Father, not that he was a man adopted by God: and when he mentions the corporeal nature of Christ as a conclusion which proved the absurdity of the reasoning which led to it, he must have thought that the true nature of Christ was spiritual. Either of these notions must lead to the divinity of Christ.

179. *Origenis Exhortatio ad Martyrium*, §. 9.  
vol. I. p. 280.

Origen wrote this treatise during the persecution of Maximus; and his object was to excite his brethren to stand firm to the gospel, even if they were persecuted unto death. In the following passage he reminds them of the threats which God had given of His jealous anger against idolatry, and says, "Like  
" as a husband urging his wife to live discreetly,  
" devoting herself entirely to her husband, and in  
" every way guarding against submitting herself to  
" any one else except her husband, although he is a  
" sensible man, yet would shew jealousy, using such  
" a semblance like a medicine towards his wife: so  
" our legislator, especially if he seem to be *the first-*  
" *born of every creature*, says to the soul, which is  
" his wife, that he is a jealous God, drawing off his  
" hearers from all fornication with devils and those  
" who are thought to be gods; and like God when  
" thus jealous, says of those who go after any strange  
" gods whatsoever, *They have moved me to jea-*  
" *lousy with that which is not God,*" &c. (Deut.  
xxxii. 21 <sup>h</sup>.)

<sup>h</sup> — οὗτω ὁ χρηματίζων, καὶ μά- ναι πάσης κτίσεως, φησὶ πρὸς τὴν  
λιστα ἐὰν φαίνεται ὁ πρωτότοκος εἶ- νύμφην ψυχὴν Θεὸς εἶναι ζηλωτής,



This passage is remarkable, as identifying the Son with the Father: it expressly calls the former God; and represents him as uttering words, which were evidently spoken by God the Father. If Christ were a mere man, it would not have been his office, after his death, to prevent idolatry: on the contrary, the worship of Christ would itself have been an abandonment of the one true God.

180. *Origenis Exhort. ad Mart.* §. 14.

vol. I. p. 283.

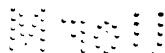
It may be mentioned, that at Matt. xix. 28. instead of, "When *the Son of man* shall sit in the " throne," &c. Origen reads, "When *God* shall sit." Since no MS. has this reading, it is probable that Origen quoted from memory. But the substituted word would hardly have presented itself to Origen, if he had not been in the habit of considering the terms *Son of man* and *God* as synonymous.

181. *Origenis contra Celsum*, l. I. §. 56.

vol. I. p. 371.

There is no need in this place to give any account of Origen's celebrated work against Celsus, except that some writers have supposed it to have been composed in the year 243, and others a few years later. Neither does the first quotation which I make from it require any introduction or comment. "It " has escaped Celsus and his friend the Jew, and all " who do not believe in Jesus, that the prophecies " speak of two advents of Christ: the first, par- " taking of human feelings and humble, that Christ

πίσης τῆς πρὸς τὰ δαιμόνια πορνείας οὕτω ζηλωτῆς φησι περὶ τῶν ὅπως  
καὶ τοὺς νομιζομένους εἶναι Θεοὺς ἀφι- ποτὲ ὀπίσω Θεῶν ἑτέρων ἐκπεπορευ-  
στάς τοὺς ἀκρωμένους. Καὶ ὡς Θεὸς κώτων, αὐτοὶ παρέζήλωσαν κ. τ. λ.



“ being with men might teach the way which leads  
 “ to God—The other, glorious and merely divine,  
 “ having nothing of human feelings mixed with the  
 “ divinity. To quote these prophecies would be  
 “ tedious, and for the present that passage from the  
 “ 45th Psalm is sufficient—in which he is plainly  
 “ declared to be God in these words, *Grace is poured*  
 “ *into thy lips, therefore God hath blessed thee for*  
 “ *ever, &c. &c. ver. 2—5. and attend carefully to*  
 “ what follows, where he is called God. For he  
 “ says, *Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever :*  
 “ *the sceptre of thy kingdom, &c. 6, 7. and observe,*  
 “ that the prophet addressing God, whose throne is  
 “ for ever and ever, and the sceptre of his kingdom  
 “ a sceptre of righteousness, this God, he says, *was*  
 “ *anointed by God, who was his God*—I re-  
 “ member pressing the Jew, who was thought clever,  
 “ very hard by this passage; and being perplexed  
 “ by it, he said, as might be expected from his Jew-  
 “ ish notions, that the words, *Thy throne, O God,*  
 “ *is for ever and ever : the sceptre, &c. were ad-*  
 “ dressed to the God of the universe; and the other  
 “ words, *Thou hast loved righteousness and hated*  
 “ *iniquity, therefore, &c. to Christ* <sup>i</sup>.”

182. *Origenis c. Celsum*, l. I. §. 60. vol. I. p. 375.

I have already given at p. 83. the first part of the

<sup>i</sup> Ἐλαθε δὲ τὸν Κέλσον, καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτῷ Ἰουδαῖον, καὶ πάντας ὅσοι τῷ Ἰησοῦ μὴ πεπιστεύκασι, ὅτι αἱ προφητεῖαι δύο λέγουσιν εἶναι τὰς Χριστοῦ ἐπιδημίας· τὴν μὲν προτέραν ἀνθρωποκαθεστέραν καὶ ταπεινότεραν, ἵνα σὺν ἀνθρώποις ὣν ὁ Χριστὸς, διδάξῃ τὴν φέρουσαν πρὸς Θεὸν ὁδὸν, καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπολογίας καταλιπὼν τόπον, ὡς οὐκ ἐγνωκόσι περὶ τῆς ἐσομένης κρί-

σεως. τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν ἔνδοξον καὶ μόνον θειοτέραν, οὐδὲν ἐπιπεπλεγμένον τῇ θειότητι ἔχουσαν ἀνθρωποκαθές. Παραθέσθαι δὲ καὶ τὰς προφητείας, πολὺ ἂν εἴη· ἀρκεῖ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ τεσσαρακοστοῦ καὶ τετάρτου ψαλμοῦ—ἔνθα καὶ Θεὸς ἀνηγόρευται σαφῶς διὰ τούτων, Ἐξέχυθη κ. τ. λ. πρόσχες δ' ἐπιμελῶς τοῖς ἐξῆς, ἔνθα Θεὸς εἰρηται, Ὁ θρόνος κ. τ. λ.

following quotation concerning the offerings of the wise men: "They came bringing presents, which, " if I may so say, they offered as symbolical to one " who was compounded of God and mortal man ; " gold, as to a king, myrrh as to one who was to " die ; and incense, as to God : they offered these, " when they learnt the place of his birth : but since " the incarnate Saviour of mankind, who was supe- " rior to the angels, that assist men, was God, an " angel repaid the piety of the wise men in worship- " ping Jesus, by warning them<sup>k</sup> &c."

183. *Origenis c. Celsum*, l. I. §. 66. vol. I. p. 380.

We may form some opinion as to what was the received doctrine concerning Christ's divinity in those days, by observing what Celsus himself understood of the Christian tenets: and it does not admit of a doubt, but that Celsus was fully persuaded that the Christians looked upon Christ as God. The passages which Origen quotes from Celsus, and which prove this, need not be transcribed at length; and some of them will be found in the quotations which follow. They occur in lib. I. §. 66. II. §. 9, 18, 20. IV. §. 3. VII. §. 53. In all these passages, and in many more, Celsus speaks of Christ as the God of the Christians: nor was it this doctrine, which was to him a stumblingblock: it was the human sufferings of God which he professed himself unable to believe.

184. *Origenis c. Celsum*, l. I. §. 66. vol. I. p. 380.

Celsus had objected, that the flight into Egypt was unworthy of a God, who ought to have been able to confound his enemies without flying from

<sup>k</sup> — ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ Θεὸς ἦν, ὁ ὑπὲρ ἐνπάρχων σωτῆρ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀν-  
ταῖς βηθοῦντας ἀνθρώπους ἀγγέλους θράπων, ἄγγελος κ. τ. λ.

them. Origen shews that this flight was not inconsistent with the divinity of Christ, and observes, “We who believe Jesus, who says himself concerning his divinity, *I am the way, and the truth, and the life*, (John xiv. 6.) — and concerning his being in a human body, *Now ye seek to kill me, a man that hath told you the truth*, (John viii. 40.) we say, that he was something compound<sup>1</sup>.” At the end of the section he says, “Any very extraordinary and overpowering assistance operating in his half would not have furthered his wish to shew as a man approved by God, that he had something divine in the visible man, which was properly the Son of God, God the Word, *the Power of God and Wisdom of God*, which was called Christ. But it is not time now to treat of the compound nature, and of the parts, of which Jesus, who became a man, was composed<sup>m</sup>.”

185. *Origenis c. Celsum*, l. I. §. 68. vol. I. p. 383.

Celsus being unable to deny the miracles of Jesus acknowledged them as facts, but attributed the working of them to magic. Origen refutes this, and principally by pointing out that all the miracles of Jesus were worked for the purpose of leading men to virtue and holiness. “But if the life of Jesus was of this character, how could any one with reason compare it to the profession of jugglers, and

<sup>1</sup> Ἡμεῖς δ' αὐτῶ πιστεύοντες Ἰησοῦ περι μὲν τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ Θεϊότητος λέγοντι, Ἐγὼ κ. τ. λ. περι δὲ τοῦ ὅτι ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ σώματι ἦν, ταῦτα φάσκοντι, Νῦν δὲ ζητεῖτε κ. τ. λ. σίσηθεν τι χρῆμά φαμεν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι.

<sup>m</sup> Τὸ γὰρ πᾶν παράδοξον τῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν βοηθείας, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεόν ἐμφα-

νῆς, οὐκ ἦν χρήσιμον τῷ βούλεσθαι αὐτὸν διδάσκειν ὡς ἀνθρώπον μαρτυρούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔχειν τι θεϊότερον ἐν τῷ βλεπομένῳ ἀνθρώπῳ· ἕπερ ἦν ὁ κυριῶς υἱὸς Θεοῦ, Θεὸς Λόγος, Θεοῦ δύναμις καὶ Θεοῦ σοφία, ὁ καλούμενος Χριστός. Οὐ καιρὸς δὲ νῦν περι τοῦ συνθέτου, καὶ ἐξ ὧν συνέκειτο ὁ ἐνανθρωπήσας Ἰησοῦς, διηγήσασθαι.

“ not believe, according to the promise of his being  
“ God, that he appeared in a human body for the  
“ benefit of mankind <sup>n</sup> ?”

186. *Origenis c. Celsum*, l. II. §. 8. vol. I. p. 391.

“ Celsus says, that this charge is brought against  
“ the Jews by those who believe in Christ, that they  
“ do not believe in Jesus as God. I have explained  
“ myself upon this point before, where I shewed  
“ how we conceive him to be God, and in what  
“ sense we call him man <sup>o</sup>.” It is clear from these  
words, that the *idea* entertained of Christ was that  
he was God: He was *called* man only *κατά τι, in*  
*some particular sense.*

187. *Origenis c. Celsum*, l. II. §. 9. vol. I. p. 392.

Celsus objected the disgrace of Jesus being seized  
by officers, and deserted by his disciples. “ To  
“ this we say, that neither do we suppose that the  
“ body of Jesus, which could then be seen and felt,  
“ was God. But why do I say *the body*? Neither  
“ was his soul: concerning which he said, *My soul*  
“ *is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death,* (Matt.  
“ xxvi. 38.) But like as in the religion of the Jews,  
“ he that said, *I am the Lord, the God of all flesh,*  
“ (Jer. xxxii. 27.) *and before me there was no God,*  
“ *neither shall there be after me,* (Isaiah xliii. 10.)  
“ is believed to be God, who used the soul and body  
“ of the prophet as an instrument——so with us

<sup>n</sup> Εἰ δὲ τοιοῦτος ἦν ὁ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ  
βίος, πῶς εὐλόγως ἂν τις αὐτὸν τῇ  
προαιρέσει τῶν γοήτων παραβάλοι,  
καὶ μὴ κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ  
εἶναι, πιστεύει ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ φανέντα  
σώματι ἐπ' εὐεργεσίᾳ τοῦ γένους  
ἡμῶν;

<sup>o</sup> Φησὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἔγκλημα ἀπὸ τῶν

εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πιστεύοντων προσά-  
γεσθαι Ἰουδαίους, ἐπεὶ μὴ πεπιστευ-  
κασιν ὡς εἰς Θεὸν τὸν Ἰησοῦν. Καὶ  
περὶ τούτου ὃ ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέρω προ-  
απελογησάμεθα, δεικνύντες ἅμα, πῶς  
μὲν Θεὸν αὐτὸν νοοῦμεν, κατὰ τί δὲ  
ἄνθρωπον λέγομεν.

“ God the Word, and Son of the God of the uni-  
 “ verse, said in Jesus, *I am the way, and the truth,*  
 “ *and the life,* (John xiv. 6.) and *I am the door, &c.*  
 “ (x. 7.)—Now we charge the Jews with not con-  
 “ sidering him as God, who in many places is spoken  
 “ of by the prophets as being the mighty Power and  
 “ God, like the God of the universe and Father P.  
 “ For we say, that in the creation as related by  
 “ Moses, the Father gave command to him, when  
 “ He said, *Let there be light, and let there be a*  
 “ *firmament, &c.*—and that He said to him, *Let*  
 “ *us make man after our image and likeness:* and  
 “ that the Son having received the command did  
 “ whatever his Father commanded him q.”

P These words are translated *secundo post rerum omnium Deum et Patrem loco Deum esse.* But this is not the proper signification of κατά. \* If Origen had called Jesus Θεόν μετὰ τὸν τῶν ὄλων Θεόν, the translation might have been right: and we find this expression at p. 789. where, speaking of angels or demons, he says, ἄλλους τινὰς μετὰ τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεόν but speaking of the Son, he says, p. 751. ἐκ τοῦ θρησκείην ἡμᾶς μετὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ κ. τ. λ.

Θεὸς κατά τὸν τῶν ὄλων Θεόν can only mean *God after the pattern of the God of the universe*; i. e. God in the same sense and meaning of the word, as ἀνθρώπου καθ' ἡμᾶς θνητοῦ means *a mortal man like ourselves*, Dionys. Alex. p. 237. and τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως means *the human nature like our own*, Melito (Rel. Sacr. I. p. 115.) and καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀληθῶς γενόμενος

ἄνθρωπος, which Hippolytus says of our Saviour, (I. p. 226.) means, that *he was really born and became a man like ourselves*: and Origen himself speaks of Christ, ἰδιοποιούμενος τὰ καθ' ἃν εἴληφεν ἀνθρώπων πάθη, *making those sufferings his own which belonged to the human nature that he had assumed*, No. 232. below.

ἡμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνομεν τὸ βλεπόμενον τότε καὶ αἰσθητὸν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ εἶναι Θεόν καὶ τί λέγω τὸ σῶμα; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν ψυχὴν, περὶ ἧς λέλεκται τὸ, Περὶ λυπὸς ἐστὶν κ. τ. λ. —ὅτι καθ' ἡμᾶς ὁ Λόγος Θεός, καὶ Θεοῦ τῶν ὄλων υἱός, ἔλεγεν ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ τὸ, Ἐγὼ εἶμι κ. τ. λ. Ἐγκαλοῦμεν οὖν Ἰουδαίους τούτων μὴ νομίσασαι Θεόν, ὑπὸ τῶν προφητῶν πολλαχοῦ μεμαρτυρημένον ὡς μεγάλην ὄντα δύναμιν, καὶ Θεόν κατὰ τὸν τῶν ὄλων Θεὸν καὶ πατέρα. Τούτω γὰρ φαμεν ἐν τῇ κατὰ Μωσέα κοσμοποιῖα προστάττοντα τὸν πατέρα

Let us believe, if we please, that Origen lowered the divinity of the Son by making him inferior to the Father; (a charge which has often been brought against Origen;) but still we cannot put aside the fact, that he believed the Son to have been present with his Father, when He created the world: a doctrine which is totally incompatible with any modification of the Unitarian creed, which conceives Jesus to have had no existence before he was born at Bethlehem.

188. *Origenis c. Celsum*, l. II. §. 31. vol. I. p. 413.

In the following passage he refers to the latter part of the last quotation, "In which it was proved, " that *the firstborn of every creature* took upon " him a human body and soul; and that God gave " commands concerning such and such things in the " world, and they were created; and that he who received the command was God and the Word <sup>r</sup>."

189. *Origenis c. Celsum*, l. II. §. 44. vol. I. p. 420.

Celsus had mentioned the disgrace of Jesus being crucified together with acknowledged criminals: and Origen, in the notice which he takes of this remark, alludes to the prophecy of Isaiah liii. 12. and says, that " God was numbered with transgressors <sup>s</sup>."

190. *Origenis c. Celsum*, l. II. §. 50. vol. I. p. 424.

At 2 Thess. ii. 8. we read, *And then shall that wicked one be revealed, whom the Lord (ὁ Κύριος) shall consume with the Spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming.*

εἰρηκέναι τὸ, Γενηθῆτω φῶς κ. τ. λ. προσταχθέντα δὲ τὸν Λόγον πεποιθέναι πάντα ὅσα ὁ πατήρ αὐτῷ ἐνετείλατο.

<sup>r</sup> — ἐν οἷς ἀπεδείκνυτο ὁ πάσης κτίσεως πρῶτος, ἀνείληφώς σῶ-

μα καὶ ψυχὴν ἀνθρωπίνην· καὶ ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ἐνετείλατο περὶ τῶν τοσούτων ἐν κόσμῳ, καὶ ἐκτίσθη· καὶ ὅτι ὁ τὴν ἐντολὴν λαβὼν ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος ἦν.

<sup>s</sup> — ἐπεὶ μετὰ ἀνόμων ἐλογίσθη ὁ Θεός.

There can be no doubt that *the Lord* in this place means Jesus Christ, because there is allusion to his second coming. Many MSS. read Κύριος ὁ Ἰησοῦς, *the Lord Jesus*, and the Unitarians evidently understand it so, for they admit this reading into the text<sup>†</sup>. Origen quotes, “*Whom the Lord God will consume*,” ὃν Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἀνελεῖ, which he seems to have done from memory: but he would not have done so, (as I have observed before in similar instances,) if he had not considered *the Lord Jesus* and *the Lord God* to be identical expressions.

191. *Origenis c. Celsum*, l. II. §. ult. vol. I. p. 446.

The question contained in the latter part of this quotation I leave to be answered by those whom it may concern. Celsus had finished his arguments by saying of Jesus, “He was therefore a man, and such a man as the truth declares him to be, and reason proves.” To which Origen replies, “But I know not whether a man, if he attempted to spread over the whole world his own religion and doctrine, could do what he wished without God, and prevail over all, who opposed the spreading of his doctrine, both kings and governors, and the Roman senate, and the rulers and people of every country. And how could the human nature, if it had nothing superior in it, convert such a vast multitude<sup>u</sup>?”

<sup>†</sup> *Whom the Lord Jesus will consume* &c. Improved Version. Irenæus once reads, *Dominus Jesus Christus*, p. 182. and he observes the repetition of *παρουσία* in this passage, as referring first to the coming of Christ, and immediately after

to the coming of Antichrist. Hippolytus reads, Κύριος Ἰησοῦς. vol. I. p. 31.

<sup>u</sup> Οὐκ οἶδα δὲ, εἰ ἄνθρωπος, τολμήσας ἐπισπείραι πάση τῇ οἰκουμένῃ τὴν κατ’ αὐτὸν θεοσέβειαν καὶ διδασκαλίαν, δύναται ἀθεῖ ποιῆσαι ὃ βούλεται, κ. τ. λ. Πῶς δὲ ἴσως ἂν



192. *Origenis c. Celsum*, l. III. §. 29. vol. I.  
p. 465, 66.

“ I would say of Jesus, that it was expedient for mankind to receive him as Son of God, God coming in a human soul and body \*.”

193. *Origenis c. Celsum*, l. III. §. 31. vol. I. p. 467.

Having observed that Christianity made the churches more pure than any heathen assembly, and the heads of the churches more moral than persons of authority among the heathen, he says, “ But if this be so, why is it not reasonable to conceive of Jesus, who has been able to establish this, that there was no common divinity in him?” and he proceeds to contrast him with such persons as Aristeas and Abaris, who were worshipped as gods.

We must certainly understand the words *no common divinity*, οὐχ ἡ τυχεῦσα θειότης, in the same sense which Celsus, i. e. a learned heathen, would have attached to them: and if we suppose the argument reversed, if Celsus had said, that Jesus was a mere man, but Jupiter and Apollo were gods, in whom was *no common divinity*, we could only have understood him to mean, that Jupiter and Apollo were really gods, not men who were called gods, but possessing a real inherent divinity.

194. *Origenis c. Celsum*, l. III. §. 37. vol. I.  
p. 471, 72.

Origen observes, that many of the gods of the heathen were profligate in character, and recently admitted into heaven; and yet that they were

θρώπου φύσις, μηδὲν ἔχουσα κρεῖττον ἐν αὐτῇ, δύναται τοσούτων ἐπιστρέψαι πλῆθος;

\* Περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ εἵπομεν ἂν,

ἐπεὶ συμφέρον ἦν τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει παραδέξασθαι αὐτὸν ὡς υἱὸν Θεοῦ, Θεὸν ἐληλυθότα ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῃ ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι.

worshipped with the same honours that were paid to Jupiter and Apollo. “ But the Christians, who “ have learnt that their eternal life consists in “ knowing the only true God, who is over all, and “ Jesus Christ whom He hath sent, (John xvii. 3.) “ who have learnt that all the gods of the heathen “ are voracious dæmons, hovering about sacrifices, “ &c. — and that the divine and holy angels of “ God are of a different nature and principle from “ all the spirits that are upon earth, will not endure “ a comparison to be instituted between them and “ Apollo or Jupiter—There is much to be said “ also concerning the heavenly angels, and con- “ cerning those who are opposed to the truth, but “ who have been deceived, and by deceit proclaim “ themselves to be gods, or angels of God, or good “ dæmons—and because such notions can never “ be thoroughly and accurately proved, it was “ thought safe that man should entrust himself to “ no one as thinking him a God, except only Jesus “ Christ, who is over all as a governor, who has “ seen into these mysteries, and delivered them to “ a few y.”

195. *Origenis c. Celsum*, l. III. §. 41. vol. I.

p. 473, 74.

“ But since Celsus objects to us, I know not how “ often, concerning Jesus, that we consider him a “ God, though consisting of a mortal body, and that “ in this we think we act piously, it is superfluous “ to say any more upon this point; for much has “ been said above. However let the objectors know,

y — ἀσφαλές ἐνομίσθη τὸ μη- πᾶσιν ὡς διατητοῦ, τὰ βαθύτατα  
 δεῖν ἑαυτὸν ἐμπιστεύσαι ἄνθρωπον ταῦτα καὶ θεωρήσαντος καὶ ἄλλοις  
 ὄντα ὡς Θεῶν, πλὴν μόνου τοῦ ἐπὶ παραδόντος, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

“ that he who we think and are persuaded was from  
 “ the beginning God and the Son of God, the same  
 “ is the very Word, and very Wisdom, and very  
 “ Truth : and we say, that his mortal body, and the  
 “ human soul in it, not only by a communication  
 “ with him, but by an union and intimate mixture,  
 “ has been advanced to the highest honours, and by  
 “ partaking of his divinity passed into God z.”

196. *Origenis c. Celsum*, l. IV. §. 5. vol. I.  
 p. 504, 505.

“ Afterwards the most noble Celsus brings a diffi-  
 “ culty against us, which he got, I know not from  
 “ whence ; because we say, that God himself comes  
 “ down to men : and he thinks it a consequence of  
 “ this, that He must leave His own seat. For he is  
 “ not acquainted with the power of God, and that  
 “ *the Spirit of the Lord filleth the world ; and that*  
 “ *which containeth all things hath knowledge of*  
 “ *the voice.* (Wisdom i. 7.) Nor can he understand,  
 “ *Do not I fill heaven and earth ? saith the Lord.*  
 “ (Jer. xxiii. 24.) Nor does he see, that according  
 “ to the Christian doctrine, *In Him we all live and*  
 “ *move and have our being,* (Acts xvii. 28.) as Paul  
 “ said in his address to the Athenians. If therefore

\* Ἐπει δ' ἐγκαλεῖ ἡμῖν, οὐκ οἶδ' ἤδη ὅσοσάκις, περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι ἐκ θνητοῦ σώματος ὄντα Θεὸν νομίζομεν, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ὅσα δρᾶν δοκοῦμεν, περισσὸν μὲν τὸ ἔτι πρὸς τοῦτο λέγειν\* πλείονα γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέρω λέλεκται. Ὅμως δὲ ἴστωσαν οἱ ἐγκαλοῦντες, ὅτι ὃν μὲν νομίζομεν καὶ πεπεισμεθα ἀρχῆθεν εἶναι Θεὸν καὶ υἱὸν Θεοῦ, αὗτος ὁ αὐτολόγος ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ αὐτοσοφία καὶ ἡ αὐτοαλήθεια\* τὸ δὲ θνητὸν αὐτοῦ σῶμα, καὶ τὴν ἀν-

θρωπίην ἐν αὐτῷ ψυχῆν, τῇ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον οὐ μόνον κοινωνίᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνώσει καὶ ἀνακράσει, τὰ μέγιστα φάμεν προσειληφέναι, καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου θεϊότητος κεκοινωνηκότα εἰς Θεὸν μεταβεβηκέναι. Bishop Bull observes, that the expressions αὐτολόγος, αὐτοσοφία, &c. are borrowed from the works of Plato, who speaks of the αὐτογαθόν. Defens. II. 9. 6. vid. Athanas. c. Gent. 46. vol. I. p. 46.

“ the God of the universe should come down by His own power together with Jesus into the life of man, and if the Word, who was in the beginning with God, being himself also God, should come to us, He is not dethroned, nor does He leave His own seat—but the power and divinity of God travels where it pleases, and wherever it finds a seat; since God does not change His place, nor leave His throne empty and fill another<sup>a</sup>.”

It is plain from the argument, as well as from the quotations, that when Origen calls Christ God, he means the most high God who fills all space.

197. *Origenis c. Celsum*, l. IV. ad fin. vol. I.

p. 577.

He ends the fourth book with these words, “ May God grant by His Son, who is God the Word and Wisdom and Truth and Righteousness, and whatever the holy scriptures say of his divinity, that we may begin the fifth volume, to the benefit of our readers, and finish it well, assisted by the presence of His Word in our soul<sup>b</sup>.”

198. *Origenis c. Celsum*, l. VI. §. 17. vol. I.

p. 643.

“ But our Saviour and Lord, the Word of God,

<sup>a</sup> Μετὰ ταῦθ' ὁ γενναίωτατος Κέλσος, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅποθεν λαβὼν, ἐπαπορεῖ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὡς λέγονται, ὅτι αὐτὸς κάτεισι πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ὁ Θεός· καὶ οἰεταὶ ἀκολουθεῖν τούτῳ, τὸ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἔδραν αὐτὸν καταλιπεῖν· οὐ γὰρ εἶδε δύναμιν Θεοῦ, καὶ ὅτι πνεῦμα Κυρίου πεπλήρωκε κ. τ. λ. — κῆν ὁ Θεὸς τοῖνυν τῶν ὅλων τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμει συγκαταβαίνει τῷ Ἰησοῦ εἰς τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον, καὶ ὁ ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν Λόγος, Θεὸς καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν, ἔρχεται πρὸς ἡμᾶς, οὐκ ἕξεδρος γίνεται, οὐδὲ καταλείπει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ

ἔδραν—ἐπιδημεῖ δὲ δύναμις καὶ θεότης Θεοῦ δι' οὗ βούλεται, καὶ ἐν ᾧ εὕρισκει χώραν, οὐκ ἀμείβοντος τόπον, οὐδ' ἐκλείποντος χώραν αὐτοῦ κενὴν, καὶ ἄλλην πληροῦντος.

<sup>b</sup> Θεὸς δὲ δοίη διὰ τοῦ νιῦ ἀυτοῦ, ὅς ἐστι Θεὸς Λόγος, καὶ σοφία, καὶ ἀλήθεια, καὶ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ πᾶν ὃ, τι ποτὲ θεολογεῖται περὶ αὐτοῦ φασιν ἱερὰ γραφαί, ἀρξασθαι ἡμᾶς καὶ τοῦ πέμπτου τόμου — μετὰ τῆς τοῦ Λόγου αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν ψυχὴν ἐπιδημίας, καὶ αἰώς.

“ shewing the greatness of the knowledge of the  
 “ Father, that it is comprehended and known in its  
 “ full extent and primarily by him only, but in a  
 “ secondary sense by those who have their reason  
 “ enlightened by him who is Word and God, says,  
 “ *No one knoweth the Son, &c.* (Matt. xi. 27.) for  
 “ no one can know him who is uncreated, and be-  
 “ gotten before every created nature in its full ex-  
 “ tent, so well as the Father who begat him; nor  
 “ can any one know the Father so well as the ani-  
 “ mate Word, who is His Wisdom and Truth <sup>c</sup>.”

We may observe, that in this passage it is expressly said, that Christ is *uncreated*: and yet it has been asserted, that Origen believed him to be a creature. Dr. Clarke tells us that *Origen expressly reckoned the Son among the δημιουργήματα or created things*<sup>d</sup>. But no such *express declaration* can be produced: and here we find it expressly said, that Christ is *uncreated*. One such word as this is more decisive than a thousand sentences, from which Dr. Clarke might *infer* his own doctrine. In drawing such inferences from indirect expressions, we may easily be mistaken: but if Origen has once called Christ *uncreated*, we must suspect the soundness of

<sup>c</sup> Ἄλλὰ καὶ ὁ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ Κύριος, Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸ μέγεθος παριστάς τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὅτι κατ' ἀξίαν προηγουμένως αὐτῷ μόνῳ λαμβάνεται καὶ γινώσκεται, δευτέρως δὲ τοῖς ἐλλαμπανομένοις τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λόγου καὶ Θεοῦ, φησὶν, οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν υἱὸν κ. τ. λ. Οὔτε γὰρ τὸν ἀγέννητον καὶ πάσης γενητῆς φύσεως πρωτότοκον κατ' ἀξίαν εἶδέναι τις δύναται, ὡς ὁ γεννήσας αὐτὸν πατὴρ, οὔτε τὸν πατέρα, ὡς ὁ ἐμφυλῆς Λόγος καὶ σοφία

αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀλήθεια.

<sup>d</sup> Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, p. 282. Epiphanius condemns Origen in no measured terms for speaking of Christ as γενητοῦ Θεοῦ. (Hær. LXIV. 8. vol. I. p. 531.) But if Origen used the terms γενητὸς and γεννητὸς indifferently, the censure of Epiphanius was manifestly unjust. See note <sup>a</sup> at p. 26.

any inference, which makes him in any other passage contradict himself. Χριστὸς τὸ ἀγένητον δημιουργημα, *Christ the uncreated creature*, is a sentence, which contains a contradiction in terms: but the contradiction, though not so apparent or so palpably absurd, is equally fatal to the testimony of Origen, if the two terms are predicated of Christ in different parts of his works<sup>c</sup>. Socrates, who had more of Origen's books to read than Dr. Clarke could command, tells us that "Origen every where acknowledged the Son to be coeternal with the Father<sup>f</sup>;" and Origen himself says in another place, "God who is above all created things became man<sup>g</sup>."

199. *Origenis c. Celsum*, l. VI. §. 47. vol. I. p. 669.

Origen observes in several places, that the Word of God, when it became incarnate, assumed a soul as well as a body; so that the soul became intimately united with the Word. He illustrates this union by instances from scripture of things, "which are two in their own nature, being reckoned and actually being as one—that it is said of man and wife, *they are no longer two but one flesh*, (Gen. ii. 24.) and that *he that is joined unto the Lord is one spirit*; (1 Cor. vi. 17.) but if so, who is joined to the Lord, to the very Word, and very Wisdom, and very Truth, and very Righteousness, more than the soul of Jesus, or even so much? If this be so, the soul of Jesus, and God the Word, *the firstborn of every creature*, are no longer two<sup>h</sup>."

<sup>c</sup> See Waterland, II. p. 140.

<sup>f</sup> VII. 6.

<sup>g</sup> Θεὸς ὁ ἐπὲρ πάντα τὰ γενητὰ ἐγενήθησεν. in Joan. tom. II. 28. vol. IV. p. 87.

<sup>h</sup> — τίς μᾶλλον τῆς Ἰησοῦ ψυχῆς ἢ κῆν παραπλησίως κεκόλληται τῷ Κυρίῳ, τῷ αὐτολόγῳ, καὶ αὐτοσφίᾳ, καὶ αὐτοαληθείᾳ, καὶ αὐτοδικαιοσύνῃ; ὅπερ εἶ ὅπως ἔχει, οὐκ

200. *Origenis c. Celsum*, l. VI. §. 66. vol. I. p. 683.

He thus quotes and illustrates the words of Isaiah ix. 2. “ *The people which sat in darkness, the Gentiles, saw a great light: and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death light is sprung up, the God Jesus*<sup>i</sup>.”

201. *Origenis c. Celsum*, l. VI. §. 69. vol. I. p. 684.

Celsus having misunderstood what Origen and all the early Fathers taught, that the Father could not be seen by any one, but had made himself visible in his Son, pretended to give this as the substance of their doctrine, “ that since God was great and incomprehensible, He put His own spirit into a body like to ours and sent it hither, that we might hear and learn from it.” Origen shews that this is a misrepresentation of the doctrine; and he particularly guards against the notion, that the Son was less incomprehensible, or less invisible, in his divine nature, than the Father. “ The God of the universe and Father is not the only one who is great according to our doctrine: for He hath imparted of Himself and of His greatness to the only-begotten and *firstborn of every creature*: that he being *the image of the invisible God* might preserve the image of the Father even in greatness.—We allow then, that God is incomprehensible: but he is not the only one who is incomprehensible; but also His only-begotten: for God the Word is incomprehensible.—It does not follow therefore, because God is incomprehensible, that therefore He sent his Son a comprehensible God—but as

εἰσι δύο ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πρὸς τὸν πάσης κτίσεως πρωτότοκον Θεὸν Λόγον.

<sup>i</sup> — και τοῖς καθημένοις ἐν χώρα καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου φῶς ἀπέτειλεν, ὁ Θεὸς Ἰησοῦς.

“ we have proved, the Son also, being incomprehensible, as being God the Word, *by whom all things were made, hath dwelt among us*<sup>k</sup>.”

202. *Origenis c. Celsum*, l. VII. §. 43. vol. I. p. 725.

Speaking of that text, *He that hath seen me hath seen the Father*, (John xiv. 9.) and having said that it cannot be understood of seeing with the eye, he adds, “ Any one, who perceives how we are to understand of the only-begotten God, Son of God, the *firstborn of every creature*, that the *Word became flesh*, will see how any one that beholds the image of the invisible God, will know the Father and Maker of all this universe<sup>l</sup>.”

203. *Origenis c. Celsum*, l. VIII. §. 17. vol. I. p. 755.

Celsus having alluded to the absence of statues and images in Christian worship, Origen observes, that Temperance, Righteousness, &c. &c. were the images set up by true Christians, “ by which we are convinced it is fitting that the prototype of all images, *the likeness of the invisible God*, the “ only-begotten God should be worshipped<sup>m</sup>.”

204. *Origenis c. Celsum*, l. VIII. §. 42.

vol. I. p. 772.

The sense, in which Origen used the term *God*,

<sup>k</sup> Οὐ μόνος δὲ μέγας καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν ὄλων Θεὸς καὶ Πατήρ· μετέδωκε γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς μεγαλειότητος τῆς μονογενεῖς καὶ πρωτοτόκου πάσης κτίσεως· ἴν' εἰκὼν αὐτὸς τυχάνων τοῦ ἀοράτου Θεοῦ καὶ ἐν τῆς μεγέθει σώζῃ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Πατρὸς. —<sup>l</sup> Ἔστω δὴ καὶ δυσθεώρητος ὁ Θεός, ἀλλ' οὐ μόνος δυσθεώρητός ἐστὶ τιμῆ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ μονογενὴς αὐτοῦ· δυσθεώρητος γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος — Οὐ διὰ τὸ δυσθεώρητος εἶναι ὁ Θεὸς εἶναι, ὡς εὐθεώρητον τὸν Θεὸν τὸν υἱὸν ἐπεμψεν — ἀλλ', ὡς ἀποδεδώκαμεν,

καὶ ὁ υἱὸς δυσθεώρητος εἶναι, ἅτε Λόγος Θεός, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν.

<sup>l</sup> Νοήσας τις εὖν πῶς δεῖ ἀκούειν περὶ μονογενεῖς Θεοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ πρωτοτόκου πάσης κτίσεως, καθότι ὁ Λόγος γέγονε σὰρξ, ὕψεται πῶς ἰδὼν τις τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀοράτου Θεοῦ γινώσεται τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν τοῦδε τοῦ παντός.

<sup>m</sup> — οἷς πρέπει εἶναι κεκείμεθα τιμᾶσθαι τὸ πρωτότυπον πάντων ἀγαλμάτων, τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, τὸν μονογενῆ Θεόν.



when applied to Christ, may be collected from the following passage, in which he is mentioning an assertion of Celsus: "After this he (Celsus) says, (thinking that we call the crucified and tortured "body of Jesus God, and not the divinity within him, and that he was considered to be God, when he was crucified and tortured,) that *they who crucified and tortured your God when upon earth, suffered nothing for having done so*"<sup>n</sup>." Origen proves that this is totally false, inasmuch as the city of Jerusalem shortly after was levelled with the ground: but I quote the passage merely to shew, that Origen expressly mentions the divinity of Christ as something really inherent in him.

205. *Origenis c. Celsum*, l. VIII. §. 67.

vol. I. p. 792.

"Celsus says, that we should seem more to worship the great God, if we sung hymns to the Sun and to Minerva: but we know the contrary: for we sing hymns to the only God, who is over all, and to his only-begotten Word and God: and we sing hymns to God and His only-begotten, as the Sun and Moon and Stars and all the heavenly host do."

206. *Origenis e libro primo in Genesim*,

vol. II. p. 1.

What has been called the eternal generation of the Son, or, which is the same thing, the eternity of

<sup>n</sup> Ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις λέγει, οἰόμενος τὸ κατατεινόμενον καὶ κολαζόμενον σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ οὐ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ θεότητα, Θεὸν ἡμᾶς λέγειν, καὶ ὅτε κατετείνετο καὶ ἐκολάζετο, Θεὸν νενομίσθαι, ὅτι τόνδε σὸν Θεὸν παρόντα κατατεινόντες καὶ κολάζοντες οὐδὲν οἱ ταῦτα δράσαντες πεπόνθασιν.

<sup>o</sup> — ὕμνους γὰρ εἰς μόνον τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι λέγομεν Θεὸν, καὶ τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ Λόγον καὶ Θεόν, καὶ ὑμνοῦμέν γε Θεὸν καὶ τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ, ὡς καὶ ἥλιος, καὶ σελήνη, καὶ ἄστρα, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ οὐρανία στρατιά.

the Son, seems to be plainly asserted in the following passage. It is quoted by Pamphilus in his Defence of Origen<sup>p</sup>, who adduces it as a proof of Origen's belief, that the Father was not before the Son, but that the Son was coeternal with the Father. The passage is also preserved in the original Greek by Eusebius<sup>q</sup>, and is as follows. "For God did not begin to be a Father, having been prevented, like men, who become fathers, by not being able yet to become fathers. For if God is always perfect, and the power of being a Father is present with Him; and if it is good for him to be the Father of such a Son, why does He delay it, and deprive himself of what is good? and why not, if we may so say, be Father of a Son from the time that He is able to be so? We must say the same also concerning the Holy Ghost<sup>r</sup>."

207. *Origenis Selecta in Genesim*, vol. II. p. 43.

Upon those words in Gen. xxxii. 24. *And Jacob was left alone, and there wrestled a man with him &c.* Origen has this commentary: "Who else could it be that is called at once man and God, who wrestled and contended with Jacob, than he, *who spake at sundry times and in divers manners unto the Fathers*, (Heb. i. 1.) the holy Word of God,

<sup>p</sup> C. iii. p. 25.

<sup>q</sup> Adv. Marcell. Ancy. I. p. 22.

<sup>r</sup> Οὐ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς πατὴρ εἶναι ἤρξατο, καλυόμενος, ὡς οἱ γινόμενοι πατέρες ἄνθρωποι, ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι πω πατέρες εἶναι. Εἰ γὰρ αἰεὶ τέλειος ὁ Θεός, καὶ πάρεστιν αὐτῷ δύναμις τοῦ πατέρα αὐτὸν εἶναι, καὶ καλὸν αὐτῷ εἶναι πατέρα τοῦ τοιοῦτου υἱοῦ, τί ἀναβάλλεται, καὶ ἐαυτὸν τοῦ

καλοῦ στηρίσκει, καὶ, ὡς ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, ἐξ οὗ δύναται πατὴρ εἶναι υἱοῦ; Τὸ αὐτὸ μέντοιγε καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος λεκτέον. Athanasius uses the same argument, Orat. I. contra Arianos, 27. Vol. I. p. 431. and 28. p. 433. εἰ γὰρ καλὸν τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν πατέρα, οὐκ αἰεὶ δὲ ἦν πατὴρ, οὐκ αἰεὶ ἄρα τὸ καλὸν ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ.

“ who is called Lord and God, who also blessed Jacob, and called him Israel<sup>s</sup>, saying to him, *Thou hast prevailed with God?* It was thus that the men of those days beheld the Word of God, like our Lord’s apostles did, who said, *That which was from the beginning, which we have seen with our eyes, and looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the Word of life:* (1 John i. 1.) which Word and Life Jacob also saw, and added, *I have seen God face to face*.”

It has been observed already, that all the Fathers considered it to have been Jesus, who revealed himself to the patriarchs : and we may observe also that in this passage Origen refers to Christ what in the first verse of the Epistle to the Hebrews is unquestionably said of God the Father.

208. *Origenis in Numeros Hom. XXIV. §. 1.*

vol. II. p. 362.

Of Origen’s Commentaries upon the Books of Moses,

<sup>s</sup> Which means *seeing God*. We may add here a similar passage in Origen’s fifteenth Homily on Genesis : “ His name was no longer written Jacob, but Israel, as one who saw in his mind the true Life, which is the true God, even Christ.” — *tanquam qui mente videat veram Vitam, quæ est verus Deus Christus*. Hom. XV. §. 3. p. 100. In these last words there seems to be an allusion to 1 John v. 20. *ἔσμεν ἐν τῷ ἀληθινῷ, ἐν τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἀληθινὸς Θεός, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ αἰώνιος*. The passage is not quoted expressly by any of the Ante-Nicene Fathers. Athanasius in

several places uses it as a positive assertion of the divinity of Christ : e. g. Vol. I. p. 99. 283. 558. 569. 637. 684.

<sup>t</sup> Τίς δ’ ἂν ἄλλος εἶη ὁ λεγόμενος ἄνθρωπος ἑμοῦ καὶ Θεός, συμπαλαιῶν καὶ συναγωνιζόμενος τῷ Ἰακώβ, ἧ ὁ πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως λαλήσας τοῖς πατέραςιν ἱερὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος, Κύριος καὶ Θεός χρηματίζων, ὃς καὶ εὐλόγησας τὸν Ἰακώβ, Ἰσραὴλ αὐτὸν ὠνόμασεν, ἐπειπὼν, ὅτι ἐνίσχυσας μετὰ Θεοῦ ; οὕτως δὲ ἔδραον οἱ τότε ἄνδρες τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον, ὡς καὶ οἱ φήσαντες τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ἀπόστολοι, “Ὁ ἦν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς κ. τ. λ. ὃν Λόγον, καὶ Ζωὴν θεασάμενος καὶ ὁ Ἰακώβ ἐπιφέρει λέγων, Εἶδον γὰρ Θεὸν πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον.

several Homilies are extant in Latin, which appear to have been translated by Rufinus<sup>u</sup>. Part of the second Homily upon Genesis is preserved in the original Greek : and by comparing this fragment with the translation of Rufinus, we may perceive that he adhered closely to the original, and endeavoured to give the literal meaning, without indulging in the liberty of altering or interpolating, as he did sometimes. We may therefore quote these Homilies as containing the real sentiments of Origen.

At p. 121, and 132, two extracts have already been given from the Commentary upon Genesis in illustration of the words of St. Paul, Phil. ii. 6 ; and if we are justified in trusting to this translation, we may also quote from the version which Rufinus made of the Homilies upon the Book of Numbers.

In the twenty-fourth Homily we read, “ If there had been no sin, there would have been no necessity for the Son of God to become a Lamb, nor would there have been need for him to be in the flesh and be put to death ; but he would have remained what he was in the beginning, God the Word<sup>x</sup>.”

209. *Origenis in Numeros Hom. XXIV. §. 2.*

vol. II. p. 364.

Speaking of vows made to God, he observes, “ To offer oneself to God, and to please him, not by the labour of another, but by one’s own, this is more perfect and more conspicuous than all vows ; and whoever does so is an imitator of Christ. For he

<sup>u</sup> Vid. Huetii Origeniana, p. 298.

<sup>x</sup> Si non fuisset peccatum, non necesse fuerat Filium Dei

Agnum fieri, nec opus fuerat eum in carne positum jugulari, sed mansisset hoc quod in principio erat Deus Verbum.

“gave to man the earth, the sea, and all things therein, &c. &c. But after all these he gave himself. For *God so loved the world, that He gave His only-begotten Son* (John iii. 16.) for the life of the world. What so great things then will man do, if he offer himself to God, to whom God himself first offered himself?”

210. *Origenis in Jesum Nave Hom. VI. §. 3.*  
vol. II. p. 410.

Twenty-six Homilies of Origen upon the Book of Joshua are extant in Latin, translated by Rufinus: and since he tells us himself, that he expressed the original exactly as he found it, and did not employ much labour in the translation, we may quote any passage as containing the sentiments of Origen. To which we may add, that the beginning of the 20th Homily is preserved in the Greek, and if we compare it with the Latin of Rufinus, the difference is not considerable.

In Joshua v. 13, 14. we read, *And it came to pass when Joshua was by Jericho, that he lifted up his eyes and looked, and, behold, there stood a man over against him with his sword drawn in his hand: and Joshua went unto him, and said unto him, Art thou for us, or for our adversaries? And he said, Nay: but as captain of the host of the Lord am I now come. And Joshua fell on his face to the earth, and did worship,*

‡ Semetipsum Deo offerre, et non alieno labore sed proprio placere, hoc est perfectius et eminentius omnibus votis: quod qui facit, imitator est Christi. Ille enim dedit homini terram, &c. sed post hæc omnia semet-

ipsum dedit. Sic enim dilexit Deus mundum, ut Filium suum unigenitum daret pro mundi hujus vita. Quid ergo magnum faciet homo, si semetipsum offerat Deo, cui ipse se prior obtulit Deus?

and said unto him, *What saith my lord unto his servant?* upon which Origen remarks, "Joshua therefore not only knew that he was of God, but that he was God: for he would not have worshipped, if he had not known him to be God. For who else is *Captain of the host of the Lord*, except our Lord Jesus Christ?"

This exactly agrees with the sentiments of all the Fathers, that the God who appeared either in a human form, or in that of an angel, to any of the patriarchs, was Jesus Christ.

211. *Origenis in Jesum Nave Hom.* VII. §. ult.  
vol. II. p. 415.

The following quotation requires no comment, except that it relates to Achan's theft mentioned in Joshua vii. "In our disputations we are accustomed to say, that we do not call Christ a mere man; but we confess him to be God and man. But that which is stolen from Jericho is said to be *pure*, i. e. *without God*<sup>a</sup>: which was the cause of sin to him that stole. Therefore let us have no human thoughts concerning Christ, but let us confess him to be equally God and man; because the Wisdom of God is said to be manifold; that by this means we may deserve to be partakers of the Wisdom of God, who is Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom is glory and dominion for ever and ever<sup>b</sup>."

<sup>a</sup> Cognovit ergo Jesus non solum quod ex Deo est, sed quia Deus est. Non enim adorasset, nisi agnovisset Deum. Quis enim alius est princeps militiæ virtutum Domini, nisi Dominus noster Jesus Christus?

<sup>a</sup> What made the act sinful to Achan was, that it was contrary to the command of God.

<sup>b</sup> Denique et nostris in disputationibus moris est dicere, quia Christum non purum hominem dicimus, sed Deum et hominem confitemur. Illud autem, quod

212. *Origenis in Reg. Hom.* II. vol. II. p. 497..

Origen, like many other of the Fathers, considered Joshua to be a type of Jesus: and in this place he expresses it by saying, “that Joshua (Jesus) was a “type of the true God<sup>c</sup>.” And whoever reads the Homily will be convinced that *the true God* means Christ. See N<sup>o</sup>. 214.

213. *Origenis in Psalm.* viii. 5, 6. vol. II. p. 584.

In this place he speaks of the “incarnation of our “God and Saviour<sup>d</sup>.”

214. *Origenis in Psalm.* ix. vol. II. p. 585.

At the beginning of the Commentary he says, “The unutterable knowledge of the mysteries concerning Christ the true God is secret<sup>c</sup>.”

215. *Origenis in Psalm.* xviii. 11. vol. II. p. 607.

The mystical and allegorical method of interpretation adopted by Origen in this Psalm and in many other places cannot affect the plainness of his testimony to the divinity of Christ. Thus upon those words, *He made darkness His secret place: His pavilion round about Him were dark waters, and thick clouds of the skies*, he says, “If our God “is light, how is He covered with darkness? But “I imagine that darkness covers Him in the same “way that a thing which is known is covered by

de Jericho furatur, purum esse dicitur, id est, sine Deo, quæ utique furanti exitit causa peccati. Et ideo nos nihil purum et humanum de Christo sentiamus, sed Deum pariter atque hominem fateamur, quia et sapientia Dei multiplex dicitur; ut per hæc mereamur participium sumere Sapientiæ Dei, qui est Christus Jesus Dominus noster,

cui est gloria et imperium in sæcula sæculorum.

<sup>c</sup> Τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ τύπος ἦν ἐκεῖνος ὁ Ἰησοῦς.

<sup>d</sup> Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν νοεῖται τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν.

<sup>e</sup> Κρύφια ἔστι γνώσις ἀπόβλητος τῶν περὶ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ μυστηρίων.

“ ignorance; which is said with reference to him  
 “ who knows, and not to the thing known. But  
 “ by *His pavilion* he meant the flesh, in which  
 “ Christ sat: he also called it a pavilion on account  
 “ of the temporary duration of His incarnation.  
 “ For *though*, he says, *we have known Christ after*  
 “ *the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no*  
 “ *more*, (2 Cor. v. 16.) He may also mean by *the*  
 “ *pavilion*, the bodily nature, in which God is seen  
 “ through the Word <sup>f</sup>.”

216. *Origenis in Psalm. xviii. 47. vol. II. p. 612.*

There can be no doubt, that when the Psalmist said, *It is God that avengeth me and subdueth the people under me*, he meant the one only God, the Almighty: neither can there be any doubt, that in Deut. xxxii. 35. it is the Almighty, who says, *To me belongeth vengeance and recompense*, which St. Paul quotes, Rom. xii. 19: and yet Origen's commentary upon this verse of the Psalm is, “ Christ, “ having received vengeance from God, says, *Ven-  
 “ geance is mine: I will repay* <sup>ε</sup>.”

217. *Origenis in Psalm. xxii. 9. vol. II. p. 620.*

This Psalm is always supposed to have been spoken in the person of Christ, and so Origen understood it: for at the 9th verse, *Thou art he that took me out of the womb, thou didst make me hope, when I was upon my mother's breasts,*

<sup>f</sup> Εἰ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν φῶς ἐστὶ, πῶς καλύπτεται σκότει; οἶμαι δὲ ὅτι αὐτὸν οὕτω καλύπτει σκότος, ὡς καὶ τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ τὸ γινωσκόμενον ἀνακαλύπτεται, ἥτις ὡς πρὸς τὸν γινώσκοντα, καὶ οὐ πρὸς τὸ γινωσκόμενον λέγεται. Σκη- νὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν σάρκα ὠνόμασεν, ἐν ᾗ Χριστὸς ἐκαθέζετο· ἔτι δὲ καὶ

τὸ φάναϊ σκηνὴν διὰ τὸ πρόσκαιρον τῆς σαρκώσεως—δύναται δὲ σκη- νὴν λέγειν καὶ τὴν σωματικὴν φύσιν, ἐν ᾗ Θεὸς διὰ τοῦ Λόγου ὁρᾶται.

<sup>ε</sup> Λαβὼν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ἐκδικήσεις Χριστὸς φησιν, Ἐμοὶ ἐκδικήσεις, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω.



he says, "For when God was born, His Father brought him into the world: and him alone, I imagine, of all that have been born; because he alone was of the Holy Ghost <sup>h</sup>."

218. *Origenis in Psalm. xxvi. 3. vol. II. p. 630.*

Upon those words, *I have walked in thy truth*, he says, "If Truth is Christ our God, as he said, *I am Truth*, (John xiv. 6.) and David followed God in Truth, therefore David pleased God in God: for this account, he says, *I have made haste to walk in thy Truth* instead of *in thee*: for speaking in a periphrasis, he calls the Truth of God, God himself <sup>i</sup>."

219. *Origenis in Psalm. xxvii. 5. vol. II. p. 634.*

Upon those words, *In the time of trouble He shall hide me in His pavilion*, he says, "He calls Christ a pavilion, in whom God even dwelt <sup>k</sup>."

220. *Origenis in Psalm. xxxiv. 2. vol. II. p. 648.*

At the first verse of this Psalm, he says, "These words are spoken by Christ, who liveth for ever, and existeth without change <sup>l</sup>."

221. *Origenis in Psalm. xxxvii. 32. vol. II. p. 676.*

*The wicked watcheth the righteous and seeketh to slay him.* Upon these words Origen observes, "Which without doubt they did against the Saviour, who killed the prophets, and crucified God, and

<sup>h</sup> Θεὸν γὰρ γενόμενον ὁ πατήρ ἐμαύσατο· οἶμαι δὲ καὶ μόνον τῶν εἰς γένεσιν ἐληλυθότων, ἐπεὶ καὶ μόνος ἐξ ἀγίου Πνεύματος ἦν.

<sup>i</sup> Εἰ ἡ ἀλήθειά ἐστι Χριστὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὡς εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἀλήθεια· ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ εὐρέσθησεν Δαυὶδ τῷ Θεῷ, ἐν τῷ Θεῷ εὐηρέσθησεν ἄρα ὁ Δαυὶδ τῷ Θεῷ. Διὰ

τοῦτο, φησὶν, ἔσπευσα εὐαρεστῆν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σου, ἀντὶ τοῦ, σοὶ περιφραστικῶς γὰρ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Θεοῦ αὐτὸν καλεῖ τὸν Θεόν.

<sup>k</sup> Σκηρὴν τὸν Χριστὸν ἐνομάζει, ἐν ᾧ καὶ κατεσκήνωσεν ὁ Θεός.

<sup>l</sup> Ὁ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ ζῶν καὶ ὑπάρχων ἀμετάπτωτος Χριστὸς ταῦτά φησι.

“ persecute us even now, and the people of God, who  
“ is Christ <sup>m</sup>.” The strong expression of *God being  
crucified* had already been used by Tertullian. N<sup>o</sup>.  
119. p. 223.

222. *Origenis in Psalm.* xlv. 5. vol. II. p. 711.

*Thine arrows are sharp in the heart of the  
King's enemies, whereby the people fall under thee.*  
Upon these words Origen says, “ Those who fall  
“ under Christ are in the heart and thoughts of the  
“ enemies of Christ, who is the King : and evidently  
“ Christ is God <sup>n</sup>.”

223. *Origenis in Psalm.* xlv. 14. vol. II. p. 712.

Upon this verse he says, “ The palace of the  
“ King, i. e. of Christ, is also his temple, since he is  
“ also God <sup>o</sup>.”

224. *Origenis in Psalm.* xlvii. 5. vol. II. p. 715.

*God is gone up with a shout : the Lord with the  
sound of a trumpet.* It is plain, that Origen under-  
stood this of the ascension of Jesus Christ. “ As  
“ the Lord will come with the voice of an angel,  
“ and will descend from heaven with the trump of  
“ God, so God went up with a shout <sup>p</sup>.”

225. *Origenis in Psalm.* xlviii. 12. vol. II. p. 717.

*Walk about Zion, and go round about her :  
tell the towers thereof : that ye may tell it to the  
generation following. For this God is our God  
for ever and ever : he will be our guide even unto*

<sup>m</sup> Quod fecerunt sine dubio  
adversus Salvatorem illi qui  
prophetas occiderunt, et Deum  
crucifixerunt, et nos persecuti  
sunt etiam nunc, et populum  
Dei qui est Christi.

<sup>n</sup> Καὶ οἱ ὑποκάτω τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
πίπτοντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ τοῖς νοή-  
μασίν εἰσι, τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ,

ὅς ἐστι βασιλεὺς σαφῶς δὲ Θεὸς ὁ  
Χριστός.

<sup>o</sup> Ὁ θάλαμος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως,  
τούτέστι Χριστοῦ, καὶ ναός, ἐστὶν αὐ-  
τοῦ, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἐστι.

<sup>p</sup> Ὡσπερ ὁ Κύριος ἐλεύσεται ἐν  
φωνῇ ἀγγέλου, καὶ ἐν σάλπιγγι Θεοῦ  
καταβήσεται ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ, οὕτως ἀν-  
έβη ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ἀλαλαγγῇ.

*death.* Origen says, “ This was fulfilled by the disciples dividing the world among them to announce that Christ is God, that guides us <sup>9</sup>.”

226. *Origenis in Psalm. l. 2. vol. II. p. 721.*

“ *Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty, God hath shined. Our God shall come, and shall not keep silence, &c.* Since Wisdom is the perfect beauty of the Lord, this is in Sion : He, at whose birth we say, Emmanuel is come visibly, and does not keep silence, but speaks by whom he will, since he is our God—but *fire and tempest* are upon those who do not attend to his coming, and to the Word, who will come from the heavenly Sion, being of equal power with the Father : for he was the God of heaven, even when he came visibly, i. e. when he became flesh : for then he became visible : when he is come, he will not keep silence, but will convince the world of sin, or declare the will of his Father : for he is called *the Angel of great counsel* ;—being in the power and might of divinity, although born in the flesh, like *a fire and tempest* he fell upon his adversaries, the Devil and his angels <sup>r</sup>.” The prediction in

<sup>9</sup> Ταῦτα πληροῦνται ἐπὶ τῶν μαθητῶν μεριζομένων τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἐπὶ τῷ διηγήσασθαι ὅτι Χριστός ἐστιν ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ποιμαίνων ἡμᾶς.

<sup>r</sup> Εἶπερ εὐπρέπεια καὶ ὠραιότης Κυρίου ἡ σοφία ἐστίν, αὕτη ἐν τῇ Σιών ἐστίν. Οὗτος, ἐφ’ οὗ τῇ γενέσει λέγομεν, Ἐμμανουὴλ ἐμφανῶς ἦλθε, καὶ οὐ παρασιωπῶ, ἀλλὰ λέγει δι’ ὃν θέλει, ἐπεὶ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐστι.—πῦρ δὲ καὶ καταγίς ἐπὶ τοὺς μὴ προσέχοντας αὐτοῦ τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ, καὶ τῷ Λόγῳ, ὃς ἦξει ἐκ τῆς

ἐπουρανίου Σιών, ἰσοσθενῆς ὢν τῷ Πατρὶ· οὐράνιος γὰρ ἦν Θεός, καὶ ὅτε ἦλθεν ἐμφανῶς, ἦτοι ὅτε γέγονε σὰρξ. Τότε γὰρ ὁρατὸς γέγονεν ἔλθων οὐ παρασιωπήσεται, ἀλλὰ τοῦ κόσμου ἐλέγξει τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, ἣσων τὴν βούλησιν ἀναγγελεῖ τοῦ πατρὸς. Καλεῖται γὰρ μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος—ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ δυνάμει θεότητος ὢν, καθάπερ γεγονός ἐν σαρκί, καθάπερ τι πῦρ καὶ καταγίς προσέβαλε τοῖς ἀντικειμένοις αὐτῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ δαίμοσιν.

verse 2 is referred to the coming of Christ by Athanasius <sup>5</sup>.

227. *Origenis in Psalm. l. 6. vol. II. p. 722.*

*And the heavens shall declare His righteousness, for God is judge himself;* upon which Origen says, "Here he evidently calls Christ God, for *the Father hath committed all judgment unto the Son.*" (John v. 22 <sup>t</sup>.)

228. *Origenis in Psalm. liii. 1. vol. II. p. 727.*

*The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God.* The fool thinks that there is no God; therefore he says it in his heart: but he does not declare it with his mouth, for fear of men. Or—*the foolish people, which denies that Christ is God, according to the former explanation about the fool, is considered to say, not with his mouth, but in his heart, that there is no God* <sup>u</sup>."

229. *Origenis in Psalm. lv. 19. vol. II. p. 732.*

*God shall hear and afflict them, even he that abideth before the worlds.* Even this is referred by Origen to Christ: *If all things were made by him, he is truly said to exist before the worlds: and hence we know that the worlds were brought into being out of nothing* <sup>x</sup>." That this is applied to Christ, is evident from the rest of the commentary, and from the quotation of John i. 3. The Unitarian translators say, that the words πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, which we render *All things were made by him*, do not apply to the creation, but signify that

<sup>5</sup> Ad Marcel. 5. vol. I. p. 983.

<sup>t</sup> Ἐνταῦθα προδήλως τὸν Χριστὸν λέγει Θεόν· πᾶσαν γὰρ τὴν κρίσιν ἔδωκεν ὁ πατὴρ τῷ υἱῷ.

<sup>u</sup> ——— ἡ ἀφρον ὁ λαός, ὃς ἀρνεῖται Χριστὸν εἶναι Θεόν κ. τ. λ.

<sup>x</sup> Εἰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καλῶς λέγεται ὑπάρχειν πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων. καὶ ἐντεῦθεν γινώσκουμεν, ὅτι αἰῶνες ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι γεγένασιν.

*all things in the Christian dispensation were done by Christ, i. e. by his authority and direction.* If Origen interpreted St. John as the Unitarians do, he would have reasoned thus in the above commentary: *Christ truly existed before the worlds, because all things in the Christian dispensation were done by him!*

I am aware that the Unitarians would try to lessen the absurdity of this reasoning by saying, that what we translate *the worlds*, αἰῶνες, means *the dispensations*. Origen would then say, that *Christ existed before the dispensations, because all things in the Christian dispensation were done by him:* which words, if they have any meaning, are not much less absurd than the former. But the fact is, that Origen did not understand αἰῶνες to mean *dispensations*, as we see by his words quoted above; and the verse upon which he is commenting is in our translation, *God shall afflict them, even He that abideth of old.* In another place Origen says, that “the church is able to behold the divinity of Christ, because *all things were made by him,*” see N<sup>o</sup>. 238. I will undertake to assert, that there is not one single passage in any writing of the three first centuries, where the words in John i. 3. have any other interpretation given them, than that *all things were created by Jesus Christ*<sup>y</sup>.

<sup>y</sup> Dr. Priestley had the boldness to make the following comment upon the words of St. John; “In this celebrated passage there is no mention of Christ, and that the word *Logos* means Christ is not to be taken for granted.” (History of early Opinions, vol. I. p. 68.)

It is due to the Unitarians to say, that not many of them have adopted this method of evasion. Still less, I imagine, would they follow Dr. P. in saying, that the Christians, for whom St. John wrote his Gospel, never imagined that *Christ was meant by the Logos.* (Ib. III. p. 160.) We may

230. *Origenis in Psalm. lvi. 1. vol. II. p. 732.*

*“Be merciful unto me, O God, for man hath trampled upon me. Christ says to his Father, “Be merciful unto me, for man hath trampled upon me, who am God?”*

231. *Origenis in Psalm. lxxviii. 4. vol. II. p. 752.*

*“Sing unto God, sing praises to His name: prepare the way for Him that rideth upon the west; the Lord is His name.—for although He entered upon our poverty, and obscured His own glory, as if rising out of the west, yet His name is the Lord; for though made man, He did not lose being the Lord God<sup>a</sup>.”*

232. *Origenis in Psalm. lxxix. 2. vol. II. p. 755.*

*“I sink in deep mire, where there is no standing: I am come into deep waters, where the floods overflow me. God Himself, the Word, sends forth a prayer to his Father, making those sufferings his own which belong to the human nature he assumed: he shews also the region of hell, whither he alone descended and passed through<sup>b</sup>.”*

233. *Origenis in Psalm. xcix. 5. vol. II. p. 780.*

*“Exalt ye the Lord our God, and worship at*

remember, that Irenæus always understood the *Logos* to mean Christ; and Irenæus had been a disciple of Polycarp, who had seen St. John. It is well observed by Waterland, “St. John in his Revelations seems to have determined, that ὁ Λόγος is the name of a person, not an attribute, the person of Jesus Christ: Rev. xix. 13.” Third Letter to Mr. Staunton, vol. IV. p. 384.

<sup>z</sup> Ὁ Χριστὸς λέγει πρὸς τὸν πα-

τέρα, Ἐλέησόν με· Θεὸν γὰρ με ὄντα ἄνθρωπος κατεπάτησε.

<sup>a</sup> Εἰ καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας δὲ πτωχείας ἐπέβη, καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν συνεσκίασε δόξαν, ὡς ἐκ δυσμῶν ἀνατέλλων, ἀλλ’ οὖν Κύριος ὄνομα αὐτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος γεγωνὸς οὐκ ἀπέβαλε τὸ εἶναι Κύριος ὁ Θεός. Origen follows the Septuagint.

<sup>b</sup> Αὐτὸς τοίνυν ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος εὐχὴν ἀναπέμπει τῷ πατρὶ, ἰδιοποιούμενος τὰ καθ’ ὃν εἴληφεν ἄνθρωπον πάθη· ἐηλοῖ δὲ τὰ τοῦ ἄδου χωρία, ἔνθα μόνος αὐτὸς καταβάς διεβλήθεν.

“ *His footstool*. Some have said that *His footstool* is the flesh of Christ, which is to be worshipped on account of Christ: but Christ is to be worshipped on account of the Word of God which is in Him <sup>c</sup>.”

234. *Origenis in Psalm. cv. 15. vol. II. p. 784.*

“ *Touch not mine anointed, &c.* These anointed persons (Christs) are called anointed (Christs) because they partake of Christ: but Christ is called Christ, as partaking of his Father: and by Christ I mean the Lord who dwelt among men in conjunction with God the Word <sup>d</sup>.” This explanation of the term Christ is given also at Psalm cxviii. 2. p. 797.

235. *Origenis in Psalm. cviii. 9. vol. II. p. 786.*

“ *Over Edom will I cast out my shoe.* The flesh is the shoe of Christ, which the Lord made use of, and sojourned in the life of man <sup>e</sup>.”

236. *Origenis in Psalm. cx. 3. vol. II. p. 787.*

Origen translates this verse according to the Septuagint, the last words of which are, *Out of the womb before the morning have I begotten thee*; upon which he observes, “ Instead of, *I have begotten thee before every reasonable creature*: for to inquire deeper into the birth of Christ and of the morning is not within our ability: for reasoning upon the subject is vast and incomprehensible <sup>f</sup>.” This prudent reserve of Origen may be

<sup>c</sup> Τὸ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν εἰπόντινες εἶναι τὴν σάρκα τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἥτις διὰ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐστὶ προσκυνητή· ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς προσκυνητὸς διὰ τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ Λόγον Θεοῦ.

<sup>d</sup> Οὗτοι οἱ Χριστοὶ Χριστοῦ μετέχοντες λέγονται Χριστοί· ὁ δὲ Χρι-

στὸς τοῦ Πατρὸς μετέχων λέγεται Χριστός· Χριστὸν δὲ φημι τὸν μετὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον ἐπιδημήσαντα Κύριον.

<sup>e</sup> Ἡ σὰρξ ἐστὶ τὸ ὑπόδημα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἣ χρησάμενος ὁ Κύριος ἐπεδήμησε τῷ βίῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

<sup>f</sup> Ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἐωσφύρου ἐγέν-

compared with the following declaration of Irenæus :  
 “ If any one should ask us, In what manner was  
 “ the Son put forth by the Father ? we answer, That  
 “ no one knows that putting forth, or generation, or  
 “ giving of a name, or manifestation, or by whatever  
 “ term one may express his generation which cannot  
 “ be described,——neither Angels, nor Archangels,  
 “ nor Principalities, nor Powers, except only the  
 “ Father who begat, and the Son who was born <sup>ε</sup>.”  
 It would be trifling to inquire, whether the person,  
 who could write thus, believed Jesus to have been  
 born as an ordinary man.

237. *Origenis in Cant. Cant.* v. 10. vol. III. p. 98.

The object of this work does not require me to enter into the discussion, whether Origen and the writers of those days were correct in their interpretations of scripture. We are endeavouring to ascertain what were the doctrines which they deduced from scripture, taking it as a whole. This remark applies particularly to the Song of Solomon; about the true interpretation of which the learned of every age have given very different opinions. Origen conceived that it related to Christ and his church; in which he has been followed by most commentators: and though we might think, that he has carried his figurative interpretation of this poem too far in some instances, yet we cannot mistake his meaning in the expressions which he uses; and if it be plain, that he considered the poem to relate to Christ, it is equally plain, that he considered Christ

νησά σε. Ἀντὶ τοῦ, Πρὸ πάσης λογικῆς φύσεως ἐγέννησά σε. Τὸ γὰρ βαθύτερον περιεργάζεσθαι τὴν γένεσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἠωσφόρου,

οὐ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐστὶ δυνάμεις· πολλὸς γὰρ ὁ περὶ τούτου λόγος καὶ δυσθεώρητος.

<sup>ε</sup> II. 28, 6. p. 158.



to be God. Thus upon those words, *My beloved is white and ruddy*, he says, “*White*, because he “is the true God: and *ruddy*, on account of his “blood which he shed for the church<sup>h</sup>.”

238. *Origenis in Cant. Cant.* vi. 5. vol. III. p. 99.

“*Turn away thine eyes from me.* The church “looks at the comeliness and beauty of Christ, being “enabled by her greater advancement to behold his “divinity; inasmuch as *all things were made by* “*him*!”

239. *Origenis in Isaiam* vi. 3. vol. III. p. 112.

In this place Origen expressly says, that Christ is God. But the passage is not of much weight, because the Homilies upon Isaiah have only come down to us in the Latin translation of Jerom; and Rufinus tells us, that Jerom altered and omitted many things which seemed adverse to the doctrine of the Trinity, and added passages, which he thought favourable to that belief.

240. *Origenis in Jeremiam, Homil.* I. vol. III.

p. 128.

*Then said I, Ah, Lord God! behold, I cannot speak: for I am a child.* (i. 6.) Origen supposes, rather fancifully perhaps, that these words are spoken in the person of Christ; and in the beginning of his commentary upon them he says, “He who is the wisdom and power of God, who “brought to us the fulness of the Godhead which “dwelt in him bodily, how can the words, *I cannot* “*speak*, be applied to him, the Saviour<sup>k</sup>?” He

<sup>h</sup> Λευκός, ἐπειδὴ ὁ Θεὸς ἀληθινός· πυρρός δὲ, διὰ τὸ αἷμα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας χυθέν.

<sup>i</sup> Ἡ ἐκκλησία τῆ ὠραιότητι καὶ τῆ κάλλει ἐνορᾷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, δυνα-

μένη τῆ πλείονι προκοπῇ κατανοεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν Θεότητα, καθὸ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο.

<sup>k</sup> Ὅστις ἐστὶ σοφία, ὅστις ἐστὶ δύναμις Θεοῦ, ὃς ἤνεγκεν ἡμῖν τὸ πλή-

then points out a way in which they might be applied; after which he observes, “ If you ascend to “ the Saviour, and see him the Word, who was in “ the beginning with God, you will see that *he cannot speak*: and if you compare the tongues of “ angels with the tongues of men, and know that he “ is greater than angels, as the apostle bore witness “ in the Epistle to the Hebrews, you will say that he “ was too great even for the tongues of angels, since “ *the Word was God* with the Father—Being in “ the majesty of the glory of God, he does not speak “ as men, he knows not how to talk to those below: “ but when he comes into a human body, he says at “ once, *I cannot speak, for I am a child*: i. e. he “ was young with respect to his corporeal birth; “ but he was old, inasmuch as he was *the firstborn “ of every creature*: he was young, because he “ came at the end of the world, and sojourned late “ in human life<sup>1</sup>.”

241. *Origenis in Jerem. Hom. IX. vol. III.*

p. 176-7.

*The Word that came to Jeremiah from the Lord, (xi. 1.)* Wherever it is said that *the Word* came to Jeremiah, or to any of the prophets,

ρῆμα τῆς θεότητος, ὃ κατέφηκεν ἐν αὐτῷ σωματικῶς, πῶς οὖν δύναται ἀρμόζειν τὸ, Οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι λαλεῖν.

<sup>1</sup> P. 130. Ἐὰν ἀναβῆς ἐπὶ τὸν σωτήρα, καὶ εἶδῃς αὐτὸν Λόγον ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, ὄψει ὅτι οὐκ ἐπίσταται λαλεῖν· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἀγγέλων γλώσσας συγκρίνης ἀνθρώπων γλώσσαις, καὶ εἶδῃς ὅτι οὗτος μείζων ἐστὶ καὶ ἀγγέλων, ὡς ἐμαρτύρησεν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἑβραίους ὁ Ἀπόστολος ἐπιστολῇ, ἐρεῖς ὅτι καὶ τῆς ἀγγέλων γλώσσης μείζων ἦν, ὅτε Θεὸς ἦν Λόγος πρὸς τὸν

Πατέρα—Ἐν τῇ μεγαλειότητι τῆς δόξης τοῦ Θεοῦ τυγχάνων οὐ λαλεῖ ἀνθρώπινα, οὐκ οἶδε φθέγγεσθαι τοῖς κάτω· ὅτε δὲ ἐρχεται εἰς σῶμα ἀνθρώπινον, λέγει κατὰ τὰς ἀρχάς, Οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι λαλεῖν, ὅτι νεώτερος ἐγὼ εἰμι· νεώτερος δὲ διὰ τὴν γένεσιν τὴν σωματικῇν, πρεσβύτερος δὲ κατὰ τὸ, Πρωτότοκος πάσης τῆς κτίσεως· νεώτερος, ὅτι ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων ἦλθε, καὶ ὑστερον τῷ βίῳ ἐπιδηδήμηκε.

Y

Origen understands it of Christ the Word of God. "I know no other Word of the Lord, but him, of whom the evangelist says, *In the beginning was the Word; and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.*—It is particularly necessary for this to be known by us ecclesiastics, who conceive, that there is the same God of the Law and of the Gospel, the same Christ, both then, and now, and for ever. There are some who separate the divinity, which preceded the coming of the Saviour, according to their own conceptions, from the divinity which was announced by Jesus Christ: but we know one God both then and now, one Christ both then and now<sup>m</sup>."

242. *Origenis in Jerem. Hom. XIV. vol. III.*

p. 212.

*Woe is me, my mother*, xv. 10. On the same principle of interpretation, he refers these words to Christ; and shews, that it was not unworthy of him to utter them. He adduces his lamentation over Jerusalem, (Matt. xxiii. 37.) and he puts into his mouth the complaining words spoken by Micah vii. 1, 2. He also considers Christ to have spoken those words of the Psalmist, *What profit is there in my blood, when I go down to the pit?* xxx. 9. which he paraphrases thus: "What profit have men derived from so great a thing? what have they done worthy of the blood which I shed for them?"

<sup>m</sup> Ἐγὼ οὐκ οἶδα ἄλλον λόγον Κυρίου, ἢ τοῦτον περὶ οὗ εἶρηκεν ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς τὸ, Ἐν ἀρχῇ κ. τ. λ. — Ταῦτα δὲ μάλιστα καθ' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικούς ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι γινώσκεισθαι, ὅτινες θέλομεν τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι Θεὸν νόμου καὶ εὐαγγελίου τὸν αὐτὸν Χριστὸν, καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν

καὶ εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἐσονται οἱ διακόπτοντες τὴν θεότητα τὴν πρεσβυτέραν τῆς ἐπιδημίας τοῦ σῶτήρος, ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ ἑαυτῶν ὑπολήψει, ἀπὸ τῆς θεότητος τῆς ἐπαγγελιομένης ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἡμεῖς δὲ εἶπα οἶδαμεν Θεόν, καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἓνα Χριστὸν καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν.

“ what profit is there in my blood, in my coming down from heaven? I came down; I came upon earth: I have given myself to corruption; I have borne a human body: what good thing worthy of this hath been done to men?—Similar to this is what the Saviour says in this place, *Woe is me, my mother, what a man hast thou borne me?* He does not speak this as God the Saviour, *Woe is me, my mother*, but as man: so in the prophet, *Ah, my soul! for the good man is perished out of the earth;* (Micah vii. 2.) his soul was human; for this reason it was troubled: for this reason also it was *exceeding sorrowful*: but *the Word, which was in the beginning with God*, he is not troubled: neither would he say, *Ah me!* for the Word is not subject to death; but it was the human nature which submitted to this, as we have often proved<sup>n</sup>.”

So also in Hom. XV. p. 224. he says, “ These words are not unworthy of the divinity of our Saviour, when he beheld the sins of men: but to say, *Ah me!* belongs to the Saviour, not in that he is God, but man: not inasmuch as he is Wisdom, but a Soul<sup>o</sup>.”

<sup>n</sup> Τί ἀφέλησε τηλικούτο τοὺς ἀνθρώπους; τί ἄξιον τοῦ αἵματος, οὗ ἐξέχεα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, πεποιήκασι; τίς ἀφέλεια ἐν τῷ αἵματι, τῷ καταβῆναι με ἐξ οὐρανῶν; καταβέβηκα, ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ἐπέδωκα ἑμαυτὸν διαφθορᾷ, ἐφόρεσα σῶμα ἀνθρώπινον, τί αὐτῶν ἄξιον κατάρθεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις; —Τοιοῦτο οὖν ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ἐνθάδε πρῶτον ἐπὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος λεγόμενον τό οἶμοι ἐγὼ μήτηρ, ὡς τῶα με ἔτεκες ἄνδρα; οὐχὶ ὁ Θεὸς ὁ σωτὴρ λέγει τὸ, οἶμοι ἐγὼ μήτηρ,

ἀλλ' ἢ ἄνθρωπος, ὡς ἐν τῷ προφήτῃ, οἶμοι ψυχῇ, ὅτι ἀπόλωλεν εὐλαβῆς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς· ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἀνθρωπίνη ἦν· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τετάραται, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ περίλυπος ἦν· ὁ δὲ Λόγος, ὁ ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν, οὐ τετάραται ἐκεῖνος, οὐκ ἂν λέγων τὸ, οἶμοι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ Λόγος ἐπιδέχεται θάνατον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦτο ἐπιδεξάμενον, ὡς πολλάκις παρεστήσαμεν.

<sup>o</sup> οὐκ ἀλλοτρίον ἐστὶν τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θειότητος, καθ-

243. *Origenis in Jerem. Hom. XV. vol. III.*  
p. 226.

*Cursed be the man that trusteth in man*, ch. xvii. 5. "Let us treat of these words with reference to those who think that the Son of God, the Saviour, was a man. For among many human evils, they have dared even to say this, that the only-begotten, *the firstborn of every creature*, is not God: for *cursed is he that trusteth in man*: it is plain that they are accursed, who put their trust in man. I would say, that I do not trust in man, when I trust in Jesus Christ. I know him not as man: not only have I not known him as man, but I have known him as Wisdom, as very Righteousness: a man, *by whom all things were made in heaven and in earth, whether visible or invisible*, &c. (Col. i. 16.)—For though the Saviour maintain, that he, whom he assumed, was man, yet though he was man, he is now no longer man P."

244. *Origenis in Ezechiel. Hom. VI. vol. III.*  
p. 380.

Fourteen of Origen's Homilies upon Ezekiel have come down to us translated by Jerom; and since he

ορῶντος τὰ ἀμαρτήματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων· νῦν τὸ λέγειν τὸ, οἴμοι, τοῦ σωτήρος οὐχὶ ἢ Θεός, ἀλλ' ἢ ἀνθρώπος, οὐχ' ἢ σοφία, ἀλλ' ἢ ψυχή.

P Εἴπωμεν ὅν εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς ἀναγνωσθῆν τὸ, Ἐπικατάρατος ἀνθρώπος ὅς τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχει ἐπ' ἀνθρώπον, ἐκ τοῦ τοὺς νομίζοντας ὅτι ἀνθρώπος μὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ υἱὸς ἦν ὁ σωτήρ· ἐτόλμησαν γὰρ μετὰ τῶν πολλῶν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων κακῶν καὶ τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι Θεὸς ὁ μονογενὴς ὁ πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως· ἐπικατάρατος γὰρ ὅς τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχει ἐπ' ἀνθρώπον. Δῆ-

λαν ὅτι ἐπικατάρατοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπον ἔχοντες τὴν ἐλπίδα. Ἐγὼ εἶπομι ὅτι οὐκ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπον ἔχω τὴν ἐλπίδα, ἐλπίζων ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐγὼ ἀνθρώπον οὐκ οἶδα. Οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώπον οὐκ οἶδα, ἀλλὰ σοφίαν οἶδα, τὴν αὐτοδικαιοσύνην, ἀνθρώπον, δι' ἧς ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, εἴτε ὄρατὰ εἴτε ἀόρατα, εἴτε ἀρχαῖ, εἴτε ἐξουσίαι—κῆρ γὰρ τηρῆ ὁ σωτήρ, ὅτι ὃν ἐφύρεσεν, ἀνθρώπος ἦν, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ ἦν ἀνθρώπος, ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐδαμῶς ἔστιν ἀνθρώπος.

tells us, that he adhered very closely to his original, we may quote them as genuine. In this place he is commenting upon Ezek. xvi. 8. — *et ecce tempus tuum et tempus divertentium*, which our version renders, *Behold thy time was the time of love*; upon which Origen says, “Our Lord Jesus Christ, our God, again visits the miserable Jerusalem, i. e. our sinful soul<sup>9</sup>.”

245. *Origenis in Ezech.* ii. 1. vol. III. p. 408.

“*And he said, Son of man, stand upon thy feet.* As far as I remember, the words, *Son of man*, are said more continually to Ezekiel than to any of the prophets, and more rarely to Daniel, each of whom is in captivity a type of him who came to us captives, Jesus the Saviour who is God<sup>r</sup>.”

246. *Origenis in Matt.* tom. XV. §. 24. vol. III. p. 687.

“But if you can conceive the Word restored after his becoming flesh—that he might be what he was in the beginning with God, being God and the Word, in his own glory, in the glory of such a Word you will see him sitting on the throne of his glory, and not different from him you will see the Son of man, who in Jesus was considered to be a man: for it is made one with the Word in a much higher degree than those, who from *being joined to the Lord become one spirit with him.*” (1 Cor. vi. 17<sup>s</sup>.)

<sup>9</sup> Dominus noster Jesus Christus Deus noster rursum visitat miseram Jerusalem, id est, peccatricein animam nostram.

<sup>r</sup> — τύπος ὢν τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἡμᾶς ἐξεληλυθότος Ἰησοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος Θεοῦ.

<sup>s</sup> Εἰ δὲ δύνασαι νοῆσαι τὸν Λόγον ἀποκαταστάντα μὲν μετὰ τὸ γεγονέναι αὐτὸν σάρκα, καὶ ὅσα γέγονε ταῖς γεννητοῖς, — ἵνα γένηται ὁμοῖος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, Θεὸς καὶ Λόγος, ὢν ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ δόξῃ, ὡς Λόγου τοιοῦτου δόξῃ οἶπει αὐτὸν καθεζόμενον ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐχ ἕτερον

247. *Origenis in Matt.* tom. XVII. §. 20. vol. III. p. 798.

“ Having made these remarks upon the words, “ *The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man who is a king*, (Matt. xxii. 2.) we can also find “ the cause of the Saviour constantly calling himself “ Son of man, by which he shewed, that as God in “ His government of men is figuratively called man, “ and perhaps even in a manner becomes so, thus “ also the Saviour, being primarily Son of God, is “ also God, and Son of His love, and *the image of “ the invisible God*: but he does not continue in “ his primary state, but according to the dispensa- “ tion of him who is figuratively called man, being “ really God, he becomes the Son of man, because “ in his government of men he imitates God, who “ is figuratively called, and in manner really be- “ comes, man !.”

248. *Origenis in Matt.* vol. III. p. 882, 3.

Origen wrote twenty-five volumes of Commentary upon St. Matthew<sup>a</sup>. Almost the whole of the nine first volumes is lost: but eight volumes, from the tenth to the seventeenth inclusive, are

αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τὸν κατὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀνθρώπων νοούμενον ἐν γὰρ οὕτως τῷ Λόγῳ γίνεται πάντως μᾶλλον τῶν διὰ τὸ κολλᾶσθαι τῷ Κυρίῳ γινόμενον ἐν πνεῦμα πρὸς αὐτόν.

<sup>ι</sup> Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτα εἰπόντες εἰς τὸ, Ὁμοιωθῆ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀνθρώπῳ βασιλεῖ, δυνάμεθα καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν εὐρεῖν τοῦ συνεχῶς τὸν σωτῆρα υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἢ υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου, ἑαυτὸν ὀνομακέναι, δηλοῦντα ὅτι ὥσπερ ὁ Θεὸς ἀνθρώπους οἰκονομῶν ὡς ἐν παραβολαῖς ἀνθρώπος λέγεται, τά-

χα δὲ πως καὶ γίνεται· οὕτως καὶ ὁ σωτῆρ προηγουμένης υἱὸς ὢν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Θεὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ υἱὸς τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου· οὐ μένει δὲ ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶ προηγουμένης, ἀλλὰ γίνεται κατ' οἰκονομίαν τοῦ ἐν παραβολαῖς λεγομένου ἀνθρώπου, ὅπως δὲ Θεοῦ, υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, κατὰ τὸ μιμῆσθαι ὅταν ἀνθρώπους οἰκονομῇ τὸν Θεὸν, λεγόμενον ἐν παραβολαῖς καὶ γινόμενον πως ἀνθρώπων.

<sup>υ</sup> Eus. H. E. VI. 36.

extant in the original Greek. There is also an old Latin translation, which begins at Matt. xvi. 13. and is so much the more valuable, because it supplies the last eight books, which are no longer extant in Greek. This old version seems to have been made sufficiently literal for us to depend upon its being a faithful representative of Origen's sentiments, where his own words are lost.

After quoting the declaration of our Saviour, *Lo! I am with you always, even unto the end of the world*, (xxviii. 20.) and also, *Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them*, (xviii. 20.) he says, "He who places himself in the midst even of those who know him not, is the only-begotten of God, God the Word, and Wisdom, and Justice, and Truth, who is not confined by corporeal bounds. According to this his divine nature he does not move, but he moves according to the incarnate body which he bore.—But when we say this, we do not separate the humanity of the body which he bore, since it is written in John, *Every spirit that separateth Jesus is not of God*, (1 John iv. 3.) but we give to each substance its peculiar nature. For if every faithful man who *is joined unto the Lord is one spirit*, (1 Cor. vi. 17.) how much more is that human nature, which Christ bore by his incarnation, not to be separated from him, nor to be said to be different from him? Observe also how he says, *Like a man travelling into a far country*, (xxv. 14.) because he was not man, but *like a man*; and he may *travel into a far country like a man*, who according to his divine nature was every where—For he is not a mere



“ man, who is wherever two or three shall be gathered together in his name : nor is a mere man *with us always even to the end of the world.* Nor is a mere man present wherever the faithful are met together, but the divine power which was “ in Jesus <sup>x</sup>.”

The quotation which this passage contains from 1 John iv. 3. is so different from the text in our printed editions, that I cannot help making a few remarks upon it. Origen, as we have seen, or at least his Latin translator, read it, *Omnis spiritus, qui solvit Jesum, non est ex Deo.* The verse, as it appears in all our printed copies, is this. Πᾶν πνεῦμα, ὃ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα, ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἔστι, καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ τοῦ Ἀντιχριστοῦ, but Griesbach decides, that we ought to read πᾶν πνεῦμα, ὃ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἔστι, κ. τ. λ.

I can hardly think, that this rejection of the words ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα is supported by authority.

<sup>x</sup> Qui in medio etiam nescientium se consistit, Unigenitus Dei est, Deus Verbum et Sapientia, et Justitia et Veritas, qui non est corporeo ambitu circumclusus. Secundum hanc divinitatis suæ naturam non peregrinatur, sed peregrinatur secundum dispensationem corporis quod suscepit. Secundum quod et turbatus est, et tristis factus est, dicens &c. Hæc autem dicentes non solvimus suscepti corporis hominem, cum sit scriptum apud Joannem, *Omnis spiritus qui solvit Jesum non est ex Deo,* (1 Jo. iv. 3.) sed unicuique substantiæ proprietatem servamus. Si enim *omnis homo fidelis qui conjungi-*

*tur Domino unus spiritus est,* quanto magis homo ille quem secundum dispensationem carnis Christus suscepit, non est solvendus ab eo, nec alter est dicendus ab eo? Et vide quomodo ait, *Sicut homo peregre futurus:* quoniam non erat homo, sed *sicut homo:* et quasi homo peregrinabitur, qui erat ubique secundum divinitatis naturam—Nec enim est homo, qui est ubicunque duo vel tres in nomine ejus fuerint congregati. Neque homo nobiscum est omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem sæculi. Nec congregatis ubique fidelibus homo est præsens, sed virtus divina quæ erat in Jesu.

Socrates tells us<sup>y</sup>, that the passage had been corrupted by those, who wished to separate the humanity of Christ from his divinity, and that the old copies read πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ λύει τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἔστι, which exactly agrees with Origen's quotation: but the remarks which Socrates makes, would almost lead us to think that his *old copies* read πᾶν πνεῦμα, ὃ λύει τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἔστι.

The Latin version of Irenæus agrees with Origen in preserving the old reading, *Omnis spiritus qui solvit Jesum non est ex Deo, sed de Antichristo est*<sup>z</sup>. The Vulgate also has the same reading: all which seems to shew an agreement in the *Latin* copies.

The authority for the words which Griesbach excludes, ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα, is also very old. Polycarp evidently alludes to this passage, when he says<sup>a</sup>, πᾶς ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι Ἀντίχριστός ἐστι· and it might be thought, that Ignatius had read ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα, from the following expression in his Epistle to the Smyrnæans, (c. 5. p. 36.) τί γάρ με ὠφελεῖ τις, εἰ ἐμὲ ἐπαινεῖ, τὸν δὲ Κύριόν μου βλασφημεῖ, μὴ ὁμολογῶν αὐτὸν σαρκοφόρον; Tertullian seems to recognise both readings—*Joannes apostolus, qui jam antichristos dicit processisse in mundum præcursores Antichristi spiritus, negantes Christum in carne venisse et solventes Jesum*<sup>b</sup>: and again, *Joannes in Epistola eos maxime antichristos vocat, qui Christum negarent in carne venisse, et qui non putarent Jesum esse Filium Dei*<sup>c</sup>. Cyprian

<sup>y</sup> VII. 32. p. 381.

<sup>b</sup> Adv. Marc. V. 16. p. 480, 1.

<sup>z</sup> III. 16, 8. p. 207.

<sup>c</sup> De Præscr. Hær. c. 33.

<sup>a</sup> Ep. ad Philip. c. 7. p. 183. p. 214.

reads *Omnis spiritus qui confitetur Jesum Christum in carne venisse de Deo est: qui autem negat in carne venisse, de Deo non est, sed est de Antichristi spiritu*<sup>d</sup>. Dionysius of Alexandria at p. 261. quotes εἴ τις οὖν οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Ἀντίχριστος: and at p. 80. he expressly says, that in this Epistle John spoke πρὸς τοὺς οὐκ ἐν σαρκὶ φάσκοντας ἐληλυθέναι τὸν Κύριον. Epiphanius twice quotes the passage with the words ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα, ἢ ἐληλυθέναι<sup>e</sup>.

All these authorities might lead us to question the propriety of adopting Griesbach's reading: at least I do not see how we can reject the words ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα, which appear in so many quotations, unless we follow what Socrates calls *the old reading*, ὃ λύει τὸν Ἰησοῦν. I may add, that the antithesis between the second and third verses would seem to require that the words ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα should appear in both: and in the second Epistle, v. 7. we have an expression very similar to that of the received text, πολλοὶ πλάνοι εἰσηλθόντες εἰς τὸν κόσμον οἱ μὴ ὁμολογοῦντες Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐρχόμενον ἐν σαρκί: οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πλάνος καὶ ὁ Ἀντίχριστος.

249. *Origenis in Matt.* vol. III. p. 902.

Commenting upon these words, *My soul is exceeding sorrowful*, (xxvi. 38.) he says, "He began to be sorrowful according to his human nature, which is subject to such feelings, but not according to his divine power, which is far removed from any feeling of this kind. And we say this of Jesus, that you may not suppose, as some heresies, that he was a mere man; but that God took

<sup>d</sup> Test. II. 8. p. 288.

<sup>e</sup> Hær. XXIV. 9. p. 75. XXVI. 15. p. 97.

“ the real nature of a human body, which might  
 “ suffer together with our infirmities, since he also  
 “ was clothed with the infirmities of a human  
 “ body f.”

250. *Origenis in Matt.* vol. III. p. 920.

Origen observes, that the temptation, which is recorded by the three first evangelists, is not mentioned by St. John, “ who gave an account of his  
 “ spiritual nature: for the Truth, and the Life, and  
 “ the Resurrection, and the true Light are not  
 “ tempted: but he was tempted according to the  
 “ human nature, which the only-begotten God as-  
 “ sumed g.”

We find the same observation in the XXIXth Homily on Luke, when he is commenting upon those words, *Man doth not live by bread alone*, after which he says, “ We may see that the Son of God  
 “ does not say this, but the human nature, which  
 “ the Son of God condescended to assume: for he  
 “ answers as if concerning a man, and says, *It is*  
 “ *written, Man does not live by bread alone*: from  
 “ which it is plain, that not God but man was  
 “ tempted. After diligently examining the mean-  
 “ ing of scripture, I think that I have found the  
 “ reason why John has not described the temptation

f Ergo cœpit quidem tristari secundum humanam naturam, quæ talibus passionibus subdita est, non autem secundum divinam virtutem, quæ ab hujusmodi passione longe remota est. Et hæc dicimus de Jesu, ut non arbitreris, sicut quædam hæreses, hominem eum fuisse, sed Deum veram humani corporis suscepisse naturam, qui poterat compati infirmitatibus nostris,

quoniam et ipse circumdatus erat infirma natura humani corporis.

g — secundum Joannem autem, qui spiritalis naturæ ejus fecit sermonem, non tentatur: nec enim tentatur Veritas, et Vita, et Resurrectio, et Lumen verum: sed tentabatur secundum hominem quem susceperat unigenitus Deus.

“ of our Lord, but only Matthew, Luke, and Mark.  
 “ For John, who made his exordium from God, by  
 “ saying, *In the beginning*, &c. and could not com-  
 “ pose an account of his divine birth, but only ex-  
 “ pressed that he was of God and with God, added,  
 “ and *the Word was made flesh*. Consequently  
 “ because God, of whom he was treating, cannot be  
 “ tempted, therefore he does not introduce him as  
 “ tempted by the Devil—If therefore the Son of  
 “ God, who is God, became man for your sakes, and  
 “ is tempted, you, who by nature are man, ought  
 “ not to complain if you are tempted <sup>h</sup>.”

251. *Origenis in Joannem*, tom. II. vol. IV. p. 85.

Speaking of our Saviour and John the Baptist, one of whom was called *the Word* and the other *the voice*, he says, “ In one word, when John points  
 “ out Christ, a man points out God and the incor-  
 “ poreal Saviour <sup>i</sup>.” Compare Hippolytus N<sup>o</sup>. 147.  
 p. 259.

252. *Origenis in Joan.* tom. II. vol. IV. p. 87.

*The same came for a witness, to be a witness of  
 the Light, that all men through him might believe.*

<sup>h</sup> Simulque videamus quod hæc loquatur non Filius Dei, sed homo, quem Filius Dei dignatus est assumere: quasi de homine enim respondet, et dicit, *Scriptum est*, &c. ex quo manifestum, non Deum, sed hominem fuisse tentatum. Scripturæ sensum diligenter eventulans, reor invenire me causam quare Joannes tentationem Domini non descripserit, sed tantum Matthæus, Lucas et Marcus. Joannes enim, qui a Deo exordium fecerat, dicens, *In principio* &c. nec poterat diviniæ

generationis ordinem texere, sed tantummodo quod ex Deo et cum Deo esset expresserat, adjecit, *Et Verbum caro factum est*. Porro quia Deus tentari non potest, de quo ei erat sermo, ideo tentari illum a Diabolo non introducit. — Si igitur Filius Dei Deus pro te homo factus est et tentatur, qui natura homo es non debes indignari si forte tentaris. p. 967.

<sup>i</sup> “Ὅτε Ἰωάννης τὸν Χριστὸν δείκνυσιν, ἄνθρωπος Θεὸν δείκνυσιν, καὶ σωτήρα τὸν ἀσώματον, καὶ φωνὴ τὸν Λόγον.

(i. 7.) Origen informs us, that some heretics objected to this passage, because Christ, if he was God, could have no need of any one to bear witness of him. “ We must say therefore in answer to such men, “ that since there may be many causes, which “ excite men to believe, (for some persons will not “ be moved by this demonstration, but will by that,) “ God is able to afford to men many opportunities “ of persuading themselves, that God who is over “ all created things, became man <sup>k</sup>.”

253. *Origenis in Joan.* tom. II. vol. IV. p. 92.

“ The only-begotten God therefore our Saviour, “ alone begotten by the Father, is Son by nature “ and not by adoption: but he is born from the “ very mind of the Father, like the will is from the “ mind. For the divine nature, i. e. nature of “ the unbegotten Father, is not divisible, as if we “ were to suppose that the Son was produced either “ by division or by lessening of his substance. But “ whether we are to speak of the mind, or the heart, “ or the sensation of God, He became the Father of “ the Word, Himself continuing unaltered, putting “ forth the germ of His will; which Word, remain- “ ing in the bosom of his Father, announces God, “ whom no one hath seen at any time, and reveals “ the Father, whom no one hath known except him “ only, to those whom his heavenly Father draws “ towards Him <sup>l</sup>.”

<sup>k</sup> Λεκτέον οὖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς — ἔχειν τὸν Θεὸν πλειόνας ἀφορμὰς ἀνθρώποις παρέχειν, ἵνα παραδεχθῆ ὅτι Θεὸς ὁ ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ γενητὰ ἐνηθρώπησεν.

<sup>l</sup> Unigenitus ergo Deus Salvator noster, solus a Patre generatus, natura et non adoptione

Filius est; natus autem ex ipsa Patris mente, sicut voluntas ex mente. Non enim divisibilis est divina natura, id est, ingeniiti Patris, ut putemus vel divisione, vel imminutione substantiæ ejus Filium esse progenitum. Sed sive mens, sive cor, aut sensus

254. *Origenis in Joan. tom. V. vol. IV. p. 99.*

The next quotation has nearly the same beginning with the last. “ The only-begotten Son our Saviour, “ who alone is born of the Father, is alone the Son “ by nature, and not by adoption.— There is “ therefore one true God, *who only hath immortality, “ dwelling in the light, which no man can approach* “ *unto*: the one true God, lest we should believe, “ that the name of the true God is applicable to “ many. So also they, who receive *the Spirit of* “ *the adoption of sons, whereby we cry, Abba,* “ *Father,* (Rom. viii. 15.) are sons of God, but not “ as the only-begotten Son. For the only-begotten “ is Son by nature, and always and inseparably Son : “ but the others, inasmuch as they have taken upon “ themselves the Son of God, have received *power* “ *to become the sons of God*: who although they “ are *born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh,* “ *nor of the will of man, but of God,* (John i. 13.) “ are yet not born of that birth, by which the only- “ begotten Son is born. Consequently the same “ difference which there is between the true God, “ and those to whom it is said, *I have said, Ye are* “ *gods,* (Psalm lxxxii. 6.) exists also between the “ true Son, and those who are called *all of them* “ *children of the Most High* <sup>m</sup>.”

de Deo dicendus est, indiscus-  
sus permanens, germen profe-  
rens Voluntatis, factus est Ver-  
bi Pater ; quod Verbum in sinu  
Patris requiescens, annunciat  
Deum, quem nemo vidit un-  
quam, et revelat Patrem, quem  
nemo cognovit nisi ipse solus,  
his quos ad eum Pater cœlestis  
attraxerit.

<sup>m</sup> Unigenitus Filius Salvator  
noster, qui solus ex Patre natus  
est, solus natura et non ado-  
ptione Filius est.—Unus ergo  
est verus Deus, *Qui solus habet*  
&c. Unus et verus Deus, ne  
scilicet multis veri Dei nomen  
convenire credamus. Ita ergo  
et hi, qui accipiunt *Spiritum*  
*adoptionis* &c. filii quidem Dei

The two last quotations are preserved by Pamphilus in his Defence of Origen<sup>n</sup>; and the second is adduced as proving, that “the Son was born of the Father, and is of one substance with the Father, and different from the substance of created things.”

255. *Origenis in Joan.* tom. VI. vol. IV. p. 152.

Upon those words of John the Baptist, *Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world*, (i. 29.) Origen observes, “He who offered this Lamb for the sacrifice was God in man, the great High Priest, who shews this by saying, *No one taketh away my life from me*.” (x. 18.)

256. *Origenis in Joan.* tom. X. vol. IV. p. 165.

“As far as relates to words, we may say contrary things concerning our Lord, that he was born of David, and that he was not born of David; for it is true that he was born of David, as the apostle says, *born of the seed of David according to the flesh*, (Rom. i. 3.) if we understand his corporeal part: but this is false, that he was born of the seed of David, if we understand it of his divine power: *for he was declared to be the Son of God with power*. And perhaps it is for this reason, that the holy Scriptures sometimes call him *a servant*, and sometimes *Son: a servant*, on account of the

sunt, sed non sicut unigenitus Filius. Unigenitus enim natura Filius et semper et inseparabiliter Filius est: cæteri vero pro eo quod susceperunt in se Filium Dei, potestatem acceperunt filii Dei fieri. Qui licet non ex sanguinibus, neque ex voluntate &c. non tamen ea natiuitate sunt nati, qua natus est unigenitus Filius. Propter quod quantam differentiam verus Deus

habet ad eos, quibus dicitur, *Ego dixi, dii estis*, tantam differentiam habet verus Filius ad eos, qui audiunt, *Filii Excelsi omnes*.

“ Cap. V. p. 33, 34.

ο Ὁ δὲ προσελαγών τούτων τὸν ἀμὸν ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν, ὃ ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἦν Θεός, μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς, ὅστις τοῦτο δηλοῖ διὰ τοῦ, Οὐδεὶς αἶρει κ. τ. λ.



“ form of a servant, and as the seed of David : but  
 “ *Son of God*, on account of his firstborn essence :  
 “ thus it is true to call him a man, and not a man :  
 “ *a man*, with respect to that part which is capable  
 “ of death : but *not a man*, with respect to that  
 “ which is diviner than man. I imagine, that Mar-  
 “ cion, perverting the sound doctrine which he re-  
 “ ceived, and denying his birth from Mary, teaches  
 “ with reference to his divine nature, that he was  
 “ not born of Mary : and therefore he has dared to  
 “ erase these places from the Gospel. They seem to  
 “ be something similar, who deny his humanity, and  
 “ admit his divinity only : and those, who are just  
 “ contrary, who circumscribe his divinity, and re-  
 “ ceive him as a holy man, the most righteous of all  
 “ men P.”

257. *Origenis in Joan.* tom. XX. vol. IV. p. 320.

*But now ye seek to kill me, a man that hath  
 told you the truth, which I have heard from God,*  
 (viii. 40.) “ They who seek to kill him, since God

Ρ Οἶον ἀληθές εἰπεῖν τὰ, ὡς πρὸς  
 τὴν λέξιν, ἀντικείμενα περὶ τοῦ Κυ-  
 ρίου ἡμῶν, ὅτι γέγονεν ἐκ Δαβὶδ,  
 καὶ οὐ γέγονεν ἐκ Δαβὶδ· ἀληθές  
 μὲν γὰρ τὸ, γέγονεν ἐκ Δαβὶδ, ὡς  
 καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολός φησι, Τοῦ γενομένου  
 ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ κατὰ σάρκα,  
 εἰ τὸ σωματικὸν αὐτοῦ ἐκλάβομεν·  
 ψευδές δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἰ ἐπὶ τῆς  
 θευτέρας δυνάμεως ἀκούομεν, τὸ γε-  
 γονέναι αὐτὸν ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ·  
 ὥρσιση γὰρ υἱὸς Θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει.  
 Καὶ τάχα διὰ τοῦτο αἱ ἁγίαι προ-  
 φητεῖαι ἔπου μὲν δούλον, ἔπου δὲ υἱὸν  
 αὐτὸν ἀναγορεύουσι· δούλον μὲν, διὰ  
 τὴν δούλου μορφὴν, καὶ τὸν ἐκ σπέρ-  
 ματος Δαβὶδ· υἱὸν δὲ Θεοῦ, κατὰ τὴν  
 πρωτότοκον αὐτοῦ δυνάμιν· οὕτως αὐ-  
 τὸν ἀληθές εἰπεῖν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ οὐκ

ἄνθρωπον· ἄνθρωπον κατὰ τὸ θανάτου  
 δεκτικόν· οὐκ ἄνθρωπον δὲ κατὰ τὸ  
 ἀνθρώπου θεϊότερον. Ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι  
 καὶ τὸν Μαρκίωνα παρεκδεχόμενον  
 ὑγιεῖς λόγους, ἀθετοῦντα αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκ  
 Μαρίας γένεσιν, κατὰ τὴν θέσιν αὐ-  
 τοῦ φύσιν ἀποφύνασθαι, ὡς ἄρα οὐκ  
 ἐγεννήθη ἐκ Μαρίας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο  
 τετολημμέναι περιγράφαι τούτους τοὺς  
 τόπους ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου· ὃ παρα-  
 πλῆσιον πεπονθέναι φαίνονται εἰ  
 ἀναρῶντες αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα,  
 καὶ μόνην αὐτοῦ τὴν θεότητα παρα-  
 δεχόμενοι· οἱ τε τούτους ἐναντίοι, καὶ  
 τὴν θεότητα αὐτοῦ περιγράφαντες,  
 τὸν δὲ ἄνθρωπον ὡς ἅγιον, καὶ δι-  
 καιότατον πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὁμολο-  
 γήσαντες.

“ is not killed, even if they do kill him, kill a man.  
 “ And if they seek to kill him, but have not yet  
 “ done it, they do not think the person, against  
 “ whom they are conspiring, is God, and conspire  
 “ against him as a man. For no one, if he were  
 “ persuaded that it is God, against whom he is con-  
 “ spiring, would conspire against him<sup>9</sup>.”

258. *Origenis in Joan.* tom. XXVIII.

vol. IV. p. 392.

*It is expedient for us, that one man should die for the people.* (xi. 50.) Upon these words Origen remarks, “ Since it was a man who died, but Truth  
 “ was not a man, nor was Wisdom, and Peace, and  
 “ Righteousness, and that of which it was written,  
 “ *The Word was God*, God the Word and Truth  
 “ and Wisdom and Righteousness, did not die: for  
 “ *the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of*  
 “ *every creature, was incapable of death*<sup>r</sup>.”

259. *Origenis in Joan.* tom. XXXII.

vol. IV. p. 429.

“ First of all believe that there is one God, who  
 “ created and arranged all things, and made all  
 “ things to be out of nothing: we must also believe,  
 “ that Jesus Christ is Lord: and we must believe  
 “ all the truth concerning his divinity and hu-  
 “ manity: we must also believe in the Holy Ghost<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Οἱ ζητούντες ἀποκτεῖναι, ἐπεὶ Θεὸς οὐκ ἀποκτίννεται, κἄν ἀποκτινύωσιν, ἀνθρώπων ἀποκτινύουσι· κἄν ζητῶσιν ἀποκτεῖναι, μήπω ἀποκτινύοντες, οὐχὶ Θεὸν νομίζοντες εἶναι, ᾧ ἐπιβουλεύουσιν, ὡς ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβουλεύουσιν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ πειθόμενος εἶναι Θεὸν τοῦτον, ᾧ ἐπιβουλεύει, ἐπιβουλεύσαι αὐτῷ.

<sup>r</sup> Ἐπεὶ ἄνθρωπος μὲν ἔστιν ὁ ἀποθανών, οὐκ ἦν δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἡ Ἀλήθεια,

καὶ ἡ Σοφία, καὶ ἡ Εἰρήνη, καὶ ἡ Δικαιοσύνη, καὶ περὶ οὗ γέγραπται, Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος, οὐκ ἀπέθανεν ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος, καὶ ἡ Ἀλήθεια, καὶ ἡ Σοφία, καὶ ἡ Δικαιοσύνη· ἀνεπίδεκτος γὰρ ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως θανάτου.

<sup>s</sup> There seems to be an allusion here to the common creeds recited by Christians.

“ —If any one believe that he who was crucified under Pontius Pilate sojourned in the world as something holy and the cause of salvation, but that he did not receive his birth from the Virgin Mary and the Holy Ghost, but from Joseph and Mary, such a man would be deficient in what is most necessary for entire faith. Or on the other hand, if any one should in an erroneous sense admit his divinity, but taking offence at his humanity should believe that there was nothing human about him, and that he did not take a substance, such a man would come short of perfect faith in no small degree: or if on the contrary he admitted what concerns his humanity, but denied the substance of the only begotten, and of *the firstborn of every creature*, such a man would not be able to say, that he had all faith<sup>t</sup>.” The reader is again referred to the assertion of Dr. Priestley, (see p. 99 and 192.) that the Fathers never mention the Unitarians as heretics: and he extends this

<sup>t</sup> Πρῶτον πάντων πιστεύσον ὅτι εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τὰ πάντα κτίσας, καὶ καταρτίσας, καὶ ποιήσας ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι τὰ πάντα. Χρὴ δὲ καὶ πιστεύειν ὅτι Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα, καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, ἀληθεία: δεῖ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πιστεύειν Πνεῦμα. — ἢ πάλιν εἰ τις πιστεύων ὅτι ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθεὶς Ἰερὸν τι χρῆμα καὶ σωτήριον τῷ κόσμῳ ἐκιδεδήμηκεν ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐκ παρθένου τῆς Μαρίας, καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος τὴν γένεσιν ἀνείληφεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας, καὶ τούτῳ ἂν λείποι εἰς τὸ πᾶσαν ἔχειν τὴν πίστιν τὰ ἀναγκαῖάτατα. Πάλιν τε αὖ εἰ τὴν μὲν θεότητά τις αὐτοῦ παρεκδέχοιτο, τῇ δὲ ἀνθρωπό-

τητι προσκόπτων μηδὲν ἀνθρώπινον περὶ αὐτὸν πιστεύει γεγονέναι, ἢ ὑπόστασιν εἰληφέναι: καὶ τούτῳ ἂν λείποι πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν πίστιν οὐ τὰ τυγχόντα. “Ἡ εἰ ἀνάπαλιν τὰ μὲν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπινα προσίοιτο, τὴν δὲ ὑπόστασιν τοῦ μονογενεῦς, καὶ πρωτοτόκου πάσης κτίσεως ἀθετοί, καὶ ὄντος οὐ δύναιτο λέγειν πᾶσαν ἔχειν τὴν πίστιν. In the Benedictine edition, παρεκδέχοιτο is translated *admittat*: and at p. 165. παρεκδέξαμενον is translated *respuentem*; which meanings contradict each other, and are neither of them right: παρεκδέχισθαι is *to receive a thing, but in a wrong sense*: or *to pervert that which is received*.

remark in particular to Origen<sup>u</sup>, but he takes no notice whatever of the present quotation, in which, if words have any meaning, the fundamental tenets of the Unitarians are condemned as heretical.

The Homilies of Origen upon the Epistle to the Romans supply some strong testimonies to the divinity of Christ: but they have only come down to us in the Latin translation of Rufinus, which, according to his own statement, differed considerably from the original: and wherever any of the Greek has been preserved, we find this to be remarkably the case. I shall therefore not bring forward any of these testimonies: but they may be found in pages 541, 573, 599, 612, 624.

260. *Origenis in Epist. ad Gal.* vol. IV. p. 690.

The following passage is preserved by Pamphilus in his Defence of Origen, p. 35. "From those words "of the Apostle, *Paul, an apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ*, (i. 1.) we "may plainly understand, that Christ Jesus was not "a man, but a divine nature.—because he knew "him to be of a higher nature, he therefore said that "he was not called *by man*<sup>x</sup>." And shortly after upon those words, *But I certify you, brethren*, (i. 11.) he says, "Now observe what he writes: because any one who connects this passage with the "former may easily understand and prove to those "who deny the divinity of Jesus Christ, and pronounce him to be a mere man, that Jesus Christ is

<sup>u</sup> History of early Opinions, vol. I. p. 292.

<sup>x</sup> Ex eo quod dixit apostolus, *Paulus* &c. manifeste datur intelligi quia non erat homo Christus Jesus, sed erat divina na-

tura. Non enim si homo esset, dixisset Paulus hoc quod ait, *Paulus* &c. — Quem utique quia sciebat excellentioris esse naturæ, propterea se dixit non assumptum esse *per hominem*.

“ not a mere man, but God, the Son of God. For  
 “ the apostle says, that *the Gospel which I have*  
 “ *preached unto you is not after men, but after*  
 “ Jesus Christ. He therefore evidently shews, that  
 “ Jesus Christ is not a man : but if he is not man,  
 “ undoubtedly he is God : and further he will be  
 “ nothing else but God and man <sup>γ</sup>.”

261. *Origenis in Epist. ad Titum*, vol. IV. p. 695.

Origen having given his definition of a heretic proceeds to point out some particular heresies. “ We  
 “ must have the same opinion of him, who conceives  
 “ any false notion of our Lord Jesus Christ ; either  
 “ according to those, who say that he was born of  
 “ Joseph and Mary, like the Ebionites and Valenti-  
 “ nians<sup>2</sup>: or according to those, who deny him to be  
 “ the firstborn and God of the whole creation, and  
 “ the Word, and Wisdom &c.—but who say that  
 “ he is a mere man. —Those also, who say, that  
 “ the Lord Jesus was a man before known and pre-  
 “ ordained, who before his advent in the flesh did  
 “ not exist substantially and properly ; but that be-  
 “ ing born a mere man he had in himself only the  
 “ divinity of the Father ; they cannot, without dan-

<sup>γ</sup> Adverte ergo quid scribit, quia convenienter quis et hæc adjungens prioribus intelligere poterit, et ostendere his qui negant deitatem Jesu Christi, sed hominem eum solum pronunciant, quod non est homo, sed Deus, Dei Filius Jesus Christus. Sic enim dicit apostolus, *Quia Evangelium* &c. Evidenter ergo ostendit quia Christus Jesus non est homo : si autem non est homo, sine dubio Deus est : imo non aliud erit nisi Deus et homo.

<sup>2</sup> This must be a mistake, since the Valentinians did not believe that Jesus had a real body, or was born at all. We perhaps ought to read *Cerinthians*. The commentators have not noticed the error : but a similar insertion of the name of Valentinus is pointed out by bishop Bull in Jerom's work against Helvidius, c. 17. vol. II. p. 225. (Def. Fid. Nic. II. 3. 7.)

“ger, be reckoned in the number of the church: as those also, who with more superstition than religion, that they may not appear to make two Gods, nor on the other hand to deny the divinity of the Saviour, assert that there is one and the same existence of the Father and Son, i. e. that one hypostasis exists, which receives two names according to the difference of causes; i. e. one person answering to two names: and these are called in Latin Patripassians <sup>a</sup>.”

It might be thought at first, that Origen here espoused the Arian doctrine of dividing the substance of the Father and the Son. It is true, that he condemns the doctrine as heretical which taught that there was only one hypostasis: but we must remember, that *hypostasis*, which was used by later writers for *substance*, was taken in the time of Origen to signify *person*: and in this passage he alludes to the Patripassian heresy, (to which the Sabellian was nearly allied,) of confounding the persons of the Father and the Son. In his work against Celsus <sup>b</sup>,

<sup>a</sup> Sed nunc unum atque idem credendum est etiam de eo qui de Domino nostro Jesu Christo falsi aliquid senserit, sive secundum eos qui dicunt eum ex Joseph et Maria natum, sicut sunt Ebionitæ et Valentiniani: sive secundum eos qui primogenitum eum negant, et totius creaturæ Deum, et Verbum et Sapientiam — sed hominem solum eum dicentes. — Sed et eos qui hominem dicunt Dominum Jesum præcognitum et prædestinatum, qui ante adventum carnalem substantialiter et proprie non extiterit, sed quod homo natus Patris solam in se

habuerit deitatem, ne illos quidem sine periculo esse ecclesiæ numero sociari: sicut et illos qui superstitiose magis quam religiose, uti ne videantur duos Deos dicere, neque rursus negare Salvatoris deitatem, unam eandemque subsistentiam Patris ac Filii asseverant, id est, duo quidem nomina secundum diversitatem causarum recipientem, unam tamen hypostasin subsistere, id est, unam personam duobus nominibus subjacentem, qui Latine Patripassiani appellantur.

<sup>b</sup> L. VIII. 12. p. 750. ἕνα οὖν Θεὸν, ὡς ἀποδεδώκαμεν, τὸν πατέρα

he expressly calls those persons heretics, who deny that the Father and Son are two hypostases; and he adds, "We worship the Father and the Son, who "are two in hypostasis." In these places *hypostasis* is used for *person*. The word in its proper signification is applied to any thing which has *an individual and substantial existence*: thus we may speak of the hypostasis of man; by which we may mean either the substance of man as different from the substance of any other animal, taken generically; or we may mean the substance of any individual man, e. g. Homer or Cicero. In this latter sense the word comes to signify *person*, always retaining the idea

καὶ τὸν υἱὸν θεραπεύομεν—Θρησκεύομεν οὖν τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τῆν ἀλήθειαν, ὄντα δύο τῇ ὑποστάσει πράγματα, ἓν δὲ τῇ ὁμοσίᾳ, καὶ τῇ συμφωνίᾳ, καὶ τῇ ταυτότητι τοῦ βουλήματος. It appears that Origen even used *οὐσία* in the sense of *person*: thus we find him saying—ἕτερος κατ' οὐσίαν καὶ ὑποκείμενός (i. ὑποκείμενόν) ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ πατρὸς. (*de Oratone*, 15. vol. I. p. 222.) in which he meant to say, that the Son differed in *personal individuality* from the Father. That this is the sense in which he used the word *οὐσία*, is plain from the following passage, where he speaks of heretics who conceived of the Logos as of a word uttered by the mouth, and thus giving no substantial existence to the Son—καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ἰκρίσασιν αὐτῷ οὐ διδύασιν, οὐδὲ οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ σαφηνίζουσιν, οὐδέπω φαμέν τοιάνδε, ἢ τοιάνδε, ἀλλ' ἴσως ποτε οὐσίαν. (in Joan. tom. I. 23. vol. IV. p. 26.) That the word *οὐσία* was applied to the

Son to express his real, substantial existence, was also allowed by the Semi-Arians: see Epiphanius, vol. I. p. 860: and the doctrine of Origen is still further declared in the following passage, where he speaks of a heretic, *δωγματίζων μηδὲ οὐσίαν τινὰ ἰδίαν ὑφεστάναι τοῦ ἀγίου Πνεύματος ἑτέραν παρὰ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν.* but he says of himself, *ἡμεῖς μέντομε τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις κειθόμενοι τυγχάνειν, τὸν πατέρα, καὶ τὸν υἱόν, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.* (in Joan. tom. II. 6. p. 61.) Dr. Priestley was incorrect, when he asserts that Origen expressly said, *that the Father and the Son were different in their essence.* (*Hist. of early Opinions*, vol. II. p. 353.) The *essence* of the Father and the Son was not the subject of controversy in Origen's days, but the *personality* or *individuality* of the Son, which was destroyed on the Patripassian and Sabellian hypotheses.

of individuality and substantiality<sup>c</sup>. And in this sense most of the Fathers used the term, who wrote before the council of Nice.

But since it might also be applied to God, and mean either the substance of God, i. e. His distinctive essence, which separated Him from every other being; or the individual person whom we call God; there arose an ambiguity in the term; and persons speaking of the Trinity might say either that there were *three hypostases*, meaning three individual persons, each of whom had a substantial existence, or that there was *one hypostasis*, meaning that there was one substantial mode of being, which was common to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Hence some persons were branded with the name of heretic, though they were only guilty of a confusion of terms: and when it is said, that Sabellius held one hypostasis in opposition to the church, which held three hypostases, the statement is calculated to mislead, because the same word is taken in two senses. Sabellius believed that there was one substance, meaning that there was only one person, who was substantially God: thus using *hypostasis* in each of its senses. But when the orthodox party said that there were three *hypostases*, they did not mean to deny that there was only one substantial essence which was God, but they meant that there were three persons, who, though individually and numerically distinct, were united in this one substance<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Thus the catholics declared the Son to be *ἐνπρόσωπον*, or *ὑφεστῶς*, meaning that he was a real person; the Sabellians held him to be *ἀνπρόσωπος*, an un-

substantial emanation or quality. See p. 338, note <sup>c</sup>, and p. 123, note <sup>e</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> Dr. Priestley falsely accuses the councils of Antioch and



What Sabellius meant by hypostasis, *ὑπόστασις*, later writers expressed by *οὐσία*; and the orthodox sense of the term was less equivocally conveyed by *πρόσωπον*, *person*. But the Latin writers contributed to increase the confusion, by translating both *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις* by the same word *substantia*, substance. The Latins, from their dread of Arianism, would never say that there were three hypostases, because it sounded as if they said, that there were three substances: and the Greeks had an equal dislike to acknowledging one hypostasis, for fear of countenancing Sabellianism, which denied that there were three persons<sup>e</sup>. At length however all parties began to perceive, that they were taking offence at a mere word: and in the council of Alexandria, which was held in the year 362, it was wisely agreed, that the word *hypostasis* might be used in either sense without impeaching the orthodoxy of him who used it<sup>f</sup>.

262. *Origenis in Epist. ad Heb.* vol. IV. p. 697.

The eternity of the Son is clearly expressed in the following passage, which is adduced by Pamphilus in his Defence of Origen, as shewing that the Father was not before the Son, but that the Son is coeternal with the Father. “What else can we think eternal light to be, than God the Father, who never existed when there was light without brightness being longed to it? For light cannot be conceived as

Nice of contradicting each other concerning the consubstantiality of Father and Son. They only differed in their use of the word *hypostasis*. History of early Opinions, vol. II. p. 337. This apparent difference is well illustrated by Athanasius, ad Antiochenses, §. 6. vol. I. p. 773, 777.

<sup>e</sup> Διὰ τοῦτο ὑποστάσεις οἱ ἀνατολικοὶ λέγουσιν, ἵνα τὰς ἰδιότητας τῶν προσώπων ἕφεστώσας καὶ ὑπαρχούσας γνωρίσωσιν. Semi-Arianorum Confessio apud Epiphani. Hær. LXXIII. 17. vol. I. p. 863.

<sup>f</sup> See Bull Defens. sect. II. p. 11, &c. Waterland, II. p.

“ ever existing without its brightness. If this be true, “ there never was a time when the Son was not a “ Son. But he was not, as we have said of eternal “ light, unborn, lest we should seem to maintain “ two principles of light ; but like the brightness of “ unborn light, having that same light as its begin- “ ning and source, being born from it : but there “ never was a time when it was not<sup>ε</sup>.” We may observe, that this passage denies the fundamental tenet of Arianism, *that there was a time when Christ was not.*<sup>h</sup> Compare Dionysius N<sup>o</sup>. 300.

263. *Origenis in Epist. ad Heb.* vol. IV. p. 697.

“ We ask those who are unwilling to confess the “ Son of God to be God, how the human nature “ alone, if it had nothing exalted in itself, nor any “ thing of divine substance, could receive as an in- “ heritance every principality, and all power and “ authority, and be preferred to, and placed over all “ those things by the Father. Hence it appears “ certain, that he, who receives the inheritance,

247. IV. p. 415. Suicer in v. *ὑπόστασις.*

ε Lux autem æterna quid aliud est sentiendum, quam Deus Pater, qui nunquam fuit quando lux quidem esset, splendor vero ei non adesset ? Neque enim lux sine splendore suo unquam intelligi potest. Quod si verum est, nunquam est quando Filius non Filius fuit. Erat autem, non sicut de æterna luce diximus, innatus, ne duo principia lucis videamur inducere ; sed sicut ingenitæ lucis splendor, ipsam illam lucem initium habens ac fontem, natus quidem ex ipsa, sed non erat quando non erat.

<sup>h</sup> It is singular that Philo Judæus furnishes a refutation of this tenet ; at least he shews that to say this of Christ, and yet to call him God, would have implied a contradiction in terms. He is speaking of idolatry, and says, that the holiest of all commandments is *μηδὲν τῶν τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν αὐτοκρατῆ θεῶν ὑπολαμβάνειν εἶναι* : καὶ γὰρ γέγονε γένεσις δὲ φθορᾶς ἀρχή, καὶ ἄν προαίμα τοῦ πεποιηκότος ἀπαθανατίζηται, καὶ ἦν ποτε χρόνος ὅτε οὐκ ἦν θεὸν δὲ, πρότερον μὲν οὐκ ὄντα, καὶ ἀπὸ τίνος χρόνου γενόμενον καὶ μὴ διαιονίζοντα λέγειν οὐ θεμιτόν. *De decem Oraculis*, vol. II. p. 190.

“ must be more exalted, and he must be so in kind, and in species, and substance, and existence or nature, and in every way whatsoever<sup>i</sup>.”

264. *Origenis in Epist. ad Heb.* vol IV. p. 697.

Origen illustrates the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, and his proceeding from the Father, by a comparison with vapour proceeding from any substance, “ So that we may conceive in a manner, how Christ, who is Wisdom, after the likeness of that vapour which proceeds from any corporeal substance, rises like a sort of vapour out of the power of God ; thus also Wisdom, which proceeds from him, is generated from the very substance of God ; and thus, after the likeness of a corporeal efflux, he is said to be the efflux of the glory of the Almighty, pure and unmixed. Both which likenesses most plainly shew, that there is a communion of substance between the Son and the Father. For an efflux seems to be of one substance with that body, from which it is an efflux or vapour<sup>k</sup>.”

<sup>i</sup> Interrogamus igitur eos quos piget confiteri Deum esse Filium Dei, quomodo poterat sola humana natura nihil in se habens eximium, neque aliquid divinæ substantiæ, hæreditatem capere omnem principatum, et omnem potestatem, et virtutem, et his omnibus præferri ac præponi a Patre. Unde rectum videtur quod præstantior esse debeat is qui hæreditatem capit, et genere utique, et specie, et substantia, et subsistentia vel natura, atque omnibus quibusque modis debet esse præstantior.

<sup>k</sup> — ut vel ex parte aliqua intelligere possimus quomodo Christus, qui est Sapientia, se-

cundum similitudinem ejus vaporis qui de substantia aliqua corporea procedit, sic etiam ipse ut quidam vapor exoritur de virtute ipsius Dei: sic et sapientia ex eo procedens ex ipsa Dei substantia generatur. Sic nihilominus et secundum similitudinem corporalis aporrhææ, esse dicitur aporrhæa gloriæ Omnipotentis pura quædam et sincera. Quæ utræque similitudines manifestissime ostendunt communionem substantiæ esse Filio cum Patre. Aporrhæa enim ἀπορροιας videtur, id est, unius substantiæ cum illo corpore ex quo est vel aporrhæa vel vapor.

This passage, which is adduced by Pamphilus, p. 33. in proof of Origen's orthodoxy, may easily be conceived to have been one of those, which his enemies might misinterpret and turn against him. It would have been well indeed, if he had adhered to his own excellent observation given at N<sup>o</sup>. 236. and not inquired into the mysterious generation of the Son of God. But this passage, taken in conjunction with his other works, can never be said to prove that his opinions were heretical: in whatever sense we explain them, he cannot have been an Unitarian. We may compare the doctrine contained in it with what he says in vol. I. p. 752. where he calls Christ "the vapour of the power of God, and pure efflux of the glory of the Almighty, the effulgence of eternal light, and unspotted mirror of the energy of God." The two expressions, *vapour of the power of God*, and *efflux of the glory of the Almighty*, are taken from the apocryphal Book of Wisdom, vii. 25. and Dionysius of Alexandria, in illustration of the generation of Christ as the Word, observes, that *a word is an efflux of the mind*, p. 93.

I cannot help in this place making one remark upon the Homilies of Origen. Dr. Priestley labours at great length in his *History of early Opinions*, to prove, that though the clergy and most of the learned in early times were Trinitarians, yet the unlettered multitude, i. e. the great body of Christians, were Unitarians, and did not believe in the divinity or preexistence of Christ. He extends this remark even to the time of the council of Nice; and though he acknowledges, that no work of any Unitarian writer has been preserved to us, he draws his

inference from the cautious manner in which the doctrines of Christ's divinity were advanced by such writers as Tertullian and Origen<sup>1</sup>. He brings one or two passages from these Fathers, in which he thinks that they describe the common people as being much shocked at the Trinitarian doctrines<sup>m</sup>. It is not my intention to examine his interpretation of these passages: but he should have remembered, that the Homilies of Origen were addressed to the people at large. These Homilies are said to have amounted to a thousand in number: the extracts given from them will shew, and Dr. P. himself admits, that Origen *in his writings* asserted the divinity of Christ: how then can it be imagined, that Origen held a doctrine which he knew to be different from that of the laity and the unlearned, if he publicly preached this doctrine in all his Homilies?

CYPRIANUS. A. D. 250.

Thascius Cæcilius Cyprianus was by birth an African. His parents were heathens; and he was converted to Christianity in the year 246; previous to which time he had delivered lectures upon rhetoric. In the year following his conversion he was ordained presbyter; and his reputation was so great, that the see of Carthage becoming vacant in 248, he was chosen almost unanimously by the wish of the clergy and people to succeed to the bishopric. His election was however opposed by five presbyters, whose turbulent conduct caused him considerable trouble and vexation.

Cyprian soon found, what indeed he might have

<sup>1</sup> III. p. 274. 292.

<sup>m</sup> Ib. p. 292. 318, 19.

been prepared to expect, that the office of a Christian bishop was not one of ease and security. The Decian persecution began about the year 249; and the fury of it compelled Cyprian to retire for a while from Carthage. He returned in 251, but dissensions within the church soon succeeded to troubles from without. In that same year he presided at a council, which was convened to decide upon the conduct of those persons, who, during persecution, had temporarily denied their faith. In 252 another council was held upon the same subject; in each of which Cyprian supported the lenient side.

Between that year and 256 three other councils were held to consider the question, whether baptism administered by heretics was valid, i. e. whether persons so baptized ought to be rebaptized, when they came over to the catholic church. Cyprian was decidedly of opinion, that such heretical baptisms were invalid; and the acts of the last council are extant among his works.

In 252 a terrible pestilence succeeded to the other calamities, which fell upon the African Christians; and Cyprian, among other duties which he fulfilled at that trying time, composed his book *de Mortalitate*. In 257, the persecution, which was countenanced by the emperor Valerian, again compelled the good bishop to leave his flock, and he was banished to Curubis. The same enemies who banished him, shortly afterwards recalled him: but it was only to bestow upon him that crown of martyrdom, after which he had long and anxiously aspired. He was beheaded on the 14th of September, 258.

Many of his letters are extant, beside some short

treatises upon different subjects ; and the authority of Cyprian will always be appealed to by those, who think that the unity of the church is of vital interest to religion, by tending to preserve among its members a pure and uncorrupt faith, as well as brotherly love and concord.

If the question of Christ's divinity were to depend upon his receiving the title of God by the Ant-Nicene Fathers, the testimony of Cyprian alone might be sufficient ; for in most places, where he mentions the name of Christ, he calls him *our Lord and God, and the Saviour, Jesus Christ* : nor does he do this in controversy only, or where it might be suspected that he introduced the name of God on purpose to support a doctrine of his own ; but it was evidently his usual habit of speaking and writing : he called Christ *God*, as habitually as we call him *Lord* or *Saviour*.

The places in which he does this are so numerous and so very plain, that I shall lay them before the reader in one connected series, without any introduction or separate comment upon each : and, having read them, each person will be able to answer for himself, whether Cyprian really believed or no that Jesus Christ was God : and the meaning which he attached to the word God may perhaps appear more evident, if we bear in mind the following declaration, which he makes when he is condemning the worship of false gods ; “ There is therefore one “ God, the Lord of all : for that sublimity cannot “ have a companion, since it alone possesses all “ power <sup>n</sup>.”

<sup>n</sup> Unus igitur omnium Dominus est Deus. Neque enim illa sublimitas potest habere consortem, cum sola omnem

265. "We have an Advocate and Intercessor for our sins, Jesus Christ our Lord and God °."

266. "For what more glorious or happy privilege can any one receive from divine grace, than in the midst of his executioners, in death itself, to confess the Lord God P?"

267. "We acknowledge, that we have offered and still offer, without ceasing, the greatest thanks to God the Father Almighty, and to His Christ our Lord and God 9."

268. "Our Lord and God practised whatever he taught †."

269. "What will be the glory and how vast the joy to be admitted to see God, to be honoured with receiving the delight of salvation and everlasting light together with Christ your Lord God s !"

270. — "but to strive with all our might, that we may conciliate Christ our Judge and Lord and God by our obedience †."

271. "If we cannot persuade some persons, so

teneat potestatem. De Idololum Vanitate, p. 227.

° Habemus Advocatum et Deprecatorem pro peccatis nostris Jesum Christum Dominum et Deum nostrum. Ep. VII. p. 15.

P Quid enim gloriosius quidve felicius ulli hominum poterit ex divina dignatione contingere, quam inter ipsos carnifices in ipso interitu confiteri Dominum Deum? Ep. XXVI. p. 35.

9 Et egisse nos et agere maximas gratias sine cessatione profitemur Deo Patri omnipotenti et Christo ejus Domino et

Deo nostro. Ep. XLVII. p. 61.

† Dominus et Deus noster quicquid docuit et fecit. Ep. LVI. p. 92.

s Quæ erit gloria et quanta lætitia admitti ut Deum videas, honorari ut cum Christo Domino Deo tuo salutis ac lucis æternæ gaudium capias! Ep. LVI. p. 94.

† — sed quibus possumus viribus elaborare et velociter gerere ut Christum Judicem et Dominum et Deum nostrum promereamur obsequiis nostris. Ep. LX. p. 99, 100.



“ as to make them please Christ, let us at least, as  
 “ far as is in our power, please Christ our Lord and  
 “ God by observing his precepts <sup>u</sup>.”

272. “ Yet since some either through ignorance  
 “ or simplicity, when they consecrate the Lord’s  
 “ cup and give it to the people, do not do that,  
 “ which Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, the founder  
 “ and teacher of this sacrifice, did and taught <sup>x</sup>——”

273. “ What is dearer than he, who, that you  
 “ might not endure any thing reluctantly, first suf-  
 “ fered what he taught? What is sweeter than he,  
 “ who, when he is our Lord and God, yet makes the  
 “ man who suffers for him a joint heir of the king-  
 “ dom of heaven <sup>y</sup>?”

274. “ For if Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, is  
 “ himself the high priest of God the Father <sup>z</sup>——”

275. “ Even our Lord himself, Jesus Christ, our  
 “ King and Judge and God, observed the honour  
 “ due to high priests up to the day of his passion <sup>a</sup>.”

276. “ But what blindness of mind is that, what  
 “ depravity, to refuse to acknowledge the unity of  
 “ faith, which comes from God the Father and is  
 “ delivered by Jesus Christ our Lord and God <sup>b</sup>?”

<sup>u</sup> Si quibusdam suadere non  
 possumus ut eos Christo placere  
 faciamus, nos certe, quod  
 nostrum est, Christo Domino et  
 Deo nostro, præcepta ejus ser-  
 vando, placeamus. Ep. LXII.  
 p. 104.

<sup>x</sup> —— non hoc faciunt quod  
 Jesus Christus Dominus et  
 Deus noster sacrificii hujus aucto-  
 r et doctor fecit et docuit—  
 Ep. LXIII. p. 104.

<sup>y</sup> Quid eo dulcius, qui cum  
 ipse sit Deus noster et Domi-  
 nus tamen patientem pro se ho-

minem regni cœlestis efficit co-  
 hæredem? De Laude Martyrii,  
 p. 349.

<sup>z</sup> Nam si Jesus Christus Do-  
 minus et Deus noster ipse est  
 summus sacerdos Dei Patris—  
 Ep. LXII. p. 109.

<sup>a</sup> Dominus etiam noster ipse  
 Jesus Christus Rex et Judex et  
 Deus noster usque ad passionis  
 diem servavit honorem pontifi-  
 cibus et sacerdotibus. Ep. LXX.  
 p. 113.

<sup>b</sup> Quæ vero est animi cœci-  
 tas, quæ pravitas, fidei unitatem

277. — “ and how can he say, that remission  
“ of sins is there given in the name of Jesus Christ,  
“ where the Father, and Christ the Lord God, are  
“ blasphemed <sup>c</sup> ?”

278. “ Cyprian to Nemesianus, Felix, &c. &c.  
“ and to the other brethren condemned to the mines,  
“ martyrs of God the Father Almighty, and of Jesus  
“ Christ our Lord and God <sup>d</sup>\_\_\_\_\_”

279. “ Why do we weep and grieve for our de-  
“ parting friends, as if they were lost, when Christ  
“ himself our Lord and God advises us, and says,  
“ *I am the resurrection &c.* <sup>c</sup>”

That Cyprian gave the title of God to Jesus Christ, cannot be denied, after these numerous instances in which he applies it to him. Neither surely can it be said, that he believed Christ to be God in a secondary or figurative sense, by delegation or by office. If he did not use the term God, when applied to Jesus Christ, in the same sense which he attached to it, when applied to the Father, there is an end of all certainty of interpretation; and we must give up that established rule of criticism, that the author's meaning in the use of any word is to be illustrated by his usual style and by the context. When Cyprian speaks of “ God the Father Almighty, “ and His Christ our Lord and God,” of “ the faith

de Deo Patre et de Jesu Christi Domini et Dei nostri traditione venientem nolle cognoscere? Ep. LXXIV. p. 139.

<sup>c</sup> — et illic in nomine Jesu Christi dicat remissionem peccatorum dari, ubi blasphematur in Patrem et in Dominum Deum Christum? Ep. LXXIV. p. 140.

<sup>d</sup> Cyprianus &c. martyribus Dei Patris omnipotentis et Jesu Christi Domini et Dei Conservatoris nostri æternam salutem. Ep. LXXVII. p. 158.

<sup>e</sup> — ipso Christo Domino et Deo nostro monente ac dicente &c. De Mortalitate, p. 235.

“ which came from God the Father, and delivered  
“ by Jesus Christ our Lord and God,” of “ the mar-  
“ tyrs of God the Father Almighty and of Jesus  
“ Christ our Lord and God,” we can never imagine  
that in the same sentence the word *God* is always  
to be taken in two different senses.

Or when we find him using these expressions,  
“ Jesus Christ our Lord and God,” “ Christ our  
“ Judge and Lord and God,” “ Jesus Christ our  
“ King and Judge and Lord,” are we to be told  
that Christ is indeed literally our Lord and Judge  
and King, but that he is not literally our God? We  
can never suppose that Cyprian was thus ignorant  
of the meaning of words, or careless in the use of  
them. That Christ is truly and not figuratively our  
Lord, that this is the title peculiarly belonging to  
him, even more distinctively than to God the Fa-  
ther, is undoubted, both from the works of the apo-  
stles, and from the universal practice of writers of  
every age. That Christ is to be really and literally  
our Judge, that it is the Son and not the Father,  
who will judge all men at the last day, can never be  
denied, if we believe the declarations of the apostles  
and of our Lord himself. Nor is it true to say, that  
Christ is figuratively our King. When the Israel-  
ites first took possession of the land of Canaan, the  
Almighty was as much their King, and His word  
was as much the law of the land, as if He had sat  
upon a throne, and been visibly consulted by His  
subjects. Nor are we less the subjects of Jesus  
Christ. Though he differs from an earthly king,  
because his throne is not on earth but in heaven,  
yet his word is our law, and it is our duty to obey  
him, not figuratively, but literally. If Christ be not

literally our King, he is not literally our Lord and Judge: for these latter titles are also of human origin; and we form our notion of their meaning from human customs and human powers: but excepting only the difference between a visible and invisible tribunal, we believe in the fullest sense of the expression, and indeed much more fully than the human application of the term admits, that Jesus Christ is our Lord and Judge and King. It follows therefore, by every rule of interpretation, that Cyprian, who couples with these titles that of *God*, must also have intended, in the fullest and most unlimited sense of the expression, that Jesus Christ is God.

The following instances are perhaps still more express, and may admit a few remarks.

280. *Cypriani Epist. LXXIII. p. 133.*

This letter was written by Cyprian to Jubaianus, an African bishop, upon the question, whether baptism administered by heretics was valid. It is well known that Cyprian decided in the negative; and among other reasons for coming to this conclusion, he says, “ If any one may be baptized by heretics, he may also obtain remission of sins. If he has obtained remission of sins, he is also sanctified and made the temple of God: if he is sanctified and made the temple of God, I ask, of what God? If you say, of the Creator, he cannot, because he does not believe in him. If you say, of Christ, neither can that man be the temple of Christ, who denies Christ to be God<sup>f</sup>.”

<sup>f</sup> Si peccatorum remissam quæro cuius Dei? Si Creatoris, consecutus est, et sanctificatus non potuit, quia in eum non est, et templum Dei factus est, credit. Si Christi, nec hujus

281. *Cypriani de Oratione Dominica* p. 204.

It is only necessary to observe the title of this treatise, to understand that the following expression alludes to Christ, "Let us pray therefore, my beloved brethren, as God our Master has taught us <sup>g</sup>."

282. *Cypriani de Oratione Dominica* p. 206.

The same may be said of the following passage: "God, the Master of peace and concord, who hath taught us unity, hath thus wished one person to pray for all, in the same manner that he himself bears us all in one <sup>h</sup>."

283. *Cypriani de Idolorum Vanitate* p. 228.

"This is the Power of God, this His Word <sup>i</sup> and Wisdom and Glory. It is he, who infuses himself into the Virgin, the Holy Spirit puts on flesh, God is united with man. This is our God; this is Christ, who being the Mediator of both puts on man, that he may lead him to the Father. Christ wished to be what man is, that man also might be what Christ is. The Jews also knew that Christ was to come, for he was always announced to them by the warnings of their prophets. But when his twofold advent was declared, one which would fulfil the duty and example of a man, the other which would prove him to be God, by not understanding the first advent, which was obscured in suffering and is gone by, they only

feri potuit templum, qui negat Deum Christum. Ep. LXXIII. p. 133.

<sup>g</sup> Oremus itaque, fratres dilectissimi, sicut Magister Deus docuit.

<sup>h</sup> Deus pacis et concordie

Magister, qui docuit unitatem, sic orare unum pro omnibus voluit, quomodo in uno omnes ipse portavit.

<sup>i</sup> I have translated Ratio, Word, considering it to be the same with Logos.

“believe the other, which will be manifest in  
“power<sup>k</sup>.”

284. *Cypriani de Bono Patientiæ* p. 248.

Having mentioned our Lord's exhortation to brotherly love, he says, “Nor did Jesus Christ our God  
“and Lord merely teach this in words, he also fulfilled it in deed: and because he said that he came  
“down for this purpose, that he might do the will  
“of his Father, among other miracles of his power,  
“by which he gave tokens of divine majesty, he  
“also preserved his Father's patience by continued  
“suffering. In short all his acts, from his very first  
“coming, are marked by accompanying patience,  
“that in the first place the Son of God came down  
“from that heavenly height to earth, and did not despise putting on human flesh, and, though he was  
“not himself a sinner, to bear the sins of others.  
“In the meantime, laying aside his immortality, he  
“suffers himself even to become mortal, that the in-

<sup>k</sup> Hic est Virtus Dei, hic Ratio, hic Sapientia ejus et Gloria. Hic in Virginem illabitur, carnem Spiritus Sanctus induitur, Deus cum homine miscetur. Hic Deus noster, hic Christus est, qui Mediator duorum hominem induit, quem perducat ad Patrem. Quod homo est esse Christus voluit, ut et homo possit esse quod Christus est. Sciebant et Judæi Christum esse venturum. Nam hic illis semper prophetis admonentibus annuntiabatur. Sed significato duplici ejus adventu, uno qui exercitio et exemplo hominis fungeretur, altero qui Deum fateretur, non intelligendo primum adventum, qui in passione præcessit ocul-

tus, unum tantum credunt qui erit in potestate manifestus.

Instead of *carnem Spiritus Sanctus induitur*, some read *carnem Spiritu Sancto cooperante induitur*. Bishop Bull shews, that the Son is often called Holy Spirit. Defens. II. 10. 2. as does the editor of Lactantius, II. 9. p. 143. note 8. and this observation removes the seeming contradiction between Cyprian and Epiphanius; for the latter says, (Hær. LV. vol. I. p. 472.) οὐ γὰρ σάρκα ἐνεδύσατο τὸ πνεῦμα ποτε. But Epiphanius is there writing against the heresy of Hierax, who said, that the Holy Ghost, the third Person in the Trinity, had become incarnate.

“nocent might be put to death for the salvation of  
“the guilty!”

This is the passage to which I alluded at p. 139. as strongly illustrating the interpretation of Phil. ii. 7. which in that place I endeavoured to establish.

285. *Cypriani de Bono Patientiæ* p. 254.

At the end of this treatise he exhorts the Christians not to seek for revenge against their persecutors, but to leave that to God. He then brings texts to prove that the day of vengeance would come, when the Lord would punish his adversaries: among other passages he quotes that of Isaiah xlii. 13. *The Lord God of hosts shall go forth, and diminish the war; He shall stir up the contest, and shall cry over His enemies with courage. I have held my peace: shall I hold it for ever<sup>m</sup>?* Upon which Cyprian observes, “But who is this who says that he has held his peace before, and will not hold it for ever? It is He, who was *brought as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb before his shearers is dumb, so he opened not his mouth.*” (Isaiah liii. 7<sup>n</sup>.) It is plain, that Cyprian here refers to Christ expressions which were uttered by Isaiah in the person of God the Father: and he

<sup>l</sup> Nec hoc Jesus Christus Deus et Dominus noster tantum verbis docuit, sed implevit et factis. Et quia ad hoc descendisse se dixerat ut voluntatem Patris faceret, inter cætera mirabilia virtutum suarum, quibus indicia divini majestatis expressit, paternam quoque patientiam tolerantiam tenore servavit. Omnes denique actus ejus ab ipso statim adventu patientia comite signantur, quod primum de illa sublimitate cœlesti ad

terrena descendens non aspernatur Dei Filius carnem hominis induere, et cum peccator ipse non esset, aliena peccata portare.

<sup>m</sup> This is Cyprian's translation of the passage, which differs from the Hebrew, but agrees with the LXX.

<sup>n</sup> Quis autem est hic qui tacuisse se prius dicit et non semper tacebit? Utique ille, qui sicut ovis &c.

goes on to say, " This is he, who in his suffering  
 " held his peace, but hereafter in his vengeance will  
 " not hold it. This is our God, i. e. the God, not of  
 " all, but of the faithful and believers, who when he  
 " shall come in his second advent will not *keep si-*  
 "*lence.*—God the Father has ordered His Son to  
 " be worshipped, and the apostle Paul, remembering  
 " the divine command, declares and says, *God hath*  
 "*highly exalted him,* &c. (Phil. ii. 9.) and in the  
 " Apocalypse (xix. 10.) the angel resists John who  
 " wished to worship him, and says, *See thou do it*  
 "*not, for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy bre-*  
 "*thren. Worship Jesus the Lord.*"

If we turn to the Book of Revelations, (xix. 10.  
 or xxii. 9.) we find that Cyprian's quotation differs  
 from the received text, which is, *I am thy fellow-*  
*servant and of thy brethren that have the testimony*  
*of Jesus: worship God:* σύνδουλός σου εἰμι, καὶ τῶν  
 ἀδελφῶν σου τῶν ἔχόντων τὴν μαρτυρίαν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ· τῷ Θεῷ  
 προσκύνησον. Cyprian perhaps quoted from memory,  
 which may account for his omitting the words, *that*  
*have the testimony of Jesus:* but the purpose, for  
 which he quotes the text, shews that he must have  
 read in the latter part of it, *Worship Jesus the*  
*Lord.* One MS. also reads the passage thus. It is  
 not improbable that Cyprian's copy had—ἀδελφῶν  
 σου τῶν ἔχόντων τὴν μαρτυρίαν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ

° Hic est, qui cum in pas-  
 sione tacuerit, in ultione post-  
 modum non tacebit. Hic est  
 Deus noster, id est, non om-  
 nium, sed fidelium et creden-  
 tium Deus, qui cum in secundo  
 adventu manifestus venerit non  
 silebit—Pater Deus præcepit  
 Filium suum adorari, et apo-

stolus Paulus divini præcepti  
 memor ponit et dicit, *Deus ex-*  
*altavit illum* &c. Et in Apo-  
 calypsi angelus Joanni volenti  
 adorare se resistit et dicit, *Vide*  
*ne feceris, quia conservus tuus*  
*sum et fratrum tuorum. Jesum*  
*Dominum adora.*



προσκύνησον, and the word Ἰησοῦ being thus repeated might have caused the copyists to omit it in one place.

286. *Cypriani Testimoniorum* l. II. p. 284.

The whole of the second book of *Testimonies against the Jews* might be translated as proving Cyprian's belief in the divinity of Christ, the principal object of the book being to shew by a citation of texts that Christ is God. But it will be sufficient for our present purpose to mention the arguments of some of the chapters, and the most remarkable texts by which the doctrine is supported.

The first chapter is to shew, that "Christ the first-begotten is the Wisdom of God, by whom all things were made<sup>p</sup>." Cyprian applies Prov. viii. 22. to Christ, as we have already seen to have been the opinion of many of the Fathers: also Prov. ix. 1. He refers to John xvii. 3—5. Col. i. 15. 18. Rev. xxi. 6. *I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, &c.* which words Cyprian refers to Christ, and we may compare Isaiah xlv. 6<sup>q</sup>. He also quotes 1 Cor. i. 22—24.

Chap. iii. "That Christ is the Word of God<sup>r</sup>." Psalm xxxiii. 6. cvii. 20. John i. 1. &c<sup>s</sup>. Rev. xix. 11—13.

<sup>p</sup> Christum primogenitum esse Sapientiam Dei, per quem omnia facta sunt.

<sup>q</sup> So Plato, 'Ο μὲν δὴ θεός, ὡσπὲρ καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος, ἀρχὴν τε, καὶ τελευτὴν καὶ μέσα τῶν ὄντων ἀπάντων ἔχων. De Leg. IV. also the Pseudo-Orpheus,—Ζεὺς ἀρχὴ πάντων ἠδὲ τελευτῆ.

<sup>r</sup> Quod Christus idem sit Sermo Dei.

<sup>s</sup> This edition of Cyprian

quotes the third verse—*sine ipso factum est nihil quod factum est. In illo vita erat.* But I have already observed, p. 156. that all the Fathers divide these words differently; and so probably did Cyprian; for this passage might be pointed equally well thus, *sine ipso factum est nihil. Quod factum est in illo vita erat.*

Chap. iv. "That Christ is the hand and arm of  
" God †."

Chap. v. "That Christ is an Angel and God <sup>u</sup>."  
Cyprian conceived the Angel, who called to Abra-  
ham, to be Christ, Gen. xxii. 11. and yet it appears  
from ver. 12. that the Angel was God himself: also  
the Angel who appeared to Jacob, Gen. xxxi. 11—13.  
and there the Angel expressly says that he was  
God. It is said in Exod. xiii. 21. *And the Lord  
went before them by day in a pillar of a cloud, to  
lead them the way, &c.* Cyprian refers this to Christ,  
as also xiv. 19. *And the Angel of God which went  
before the camp of Israel removed, &c.* He con-  
ceived Christ to be the Angel promised in Exod.  
xxiii. 20, 21.

Chap. vi. "That Christ is God <sup>x</sup>." He quotes  
Gen. xxxv. 1. believing, as all the Fathers did, that  
the God there spoken of, who had appeared unto Ja-  
cob, when he fled from Esau, was Christ. He refers  
Isaiah xlv. 14—16. to Christ; so also xl. 3—5.  
Zech. x. 11, 12. Hosea xi. 9, 10. Psalm xlv. 6. xlv.  
10. lxxxii. 5. lxxviii. 4. In all these quotations from  
the Old Testament, there will undoubtedly be a dif-  
ference of opinion as to the propriety of applying  
them to Christ: nor is it the object of the present  
work to enter into this discussion: it will be suffi-  
cient to remind the reader, that many of the pas-  
sages are quoted by other of the Fathers with the  
same view, and we have the authority of the writers  
of the New Testament for referring some of them to

† Quod Christus idem manus Deus Christus.  
et brachium Dei sit.

\* Quod Deus Christus.

<sup>u</sup> Quod idem Angelus et

Christ. The quotations from the New Testament will perhaps appear more to the point. John i. *In the beginning*, &c. John xx. 27—29. Rom. ix. 5. which contains the controverted passage already discussed at p. 93-4. and it is to this place that Unitarian writers have referred, when they say, that the word *God* is omitted by Cyprian, when he quotes the text. But when we remember that he quotes it to prove *that Christ is God*, we could hardly suppose, that the very word upon which his proof depended would be omitted: and if it did not occur in the MSS. of Cyprian, we should naturally infer, that it was from accident or carelessness. Accordingly we find the following note in the edition of Baluzius; “It is certain that the word *God* is not “to be found in the Codex Fossatensis, as the illustrious bishop of Oxford long ago observed. But it “is found in many others, at least in fifteen seen by “me; and in the editions of Manutius and Morelius. But in the margin of the edition called that “of Gravius, we find this note; It is strange that “even in the oldest MSS. the word *God* is not “added, when it occurs in the Greek.” We may agree in this expression of wonder; but such omissions are not uncommon<sup>y</sup>: and at all events, since Cyprian quotes the passage to prove that Christ is God, it is trifling with criticism to draw any inference from the omission of a word, when several MSS. actually contain it, and the context proves that the

<sup>y</sup> “The Arians or the Macedonians did the same good office for St. Cyprian’s Epistles: and to circulate their amended copies more widely,

“they sold them at Constantinople at a low price.” Horsley’s Tracts, p. 385. from Rufinus, Apol. pro Orig. p. 53. vol. IV. Op. Orig. Append.

word must originally have been inserted. He also quotes Rev. xxi. 6. John x. 34—38. Matt. i. 23.

Chap. vii. "That Christ, who is God, was to come "to enlighten and save mankind<sup>z</sup>." Isaiah xxxv. 3—6. *Behold your God will come with vengeance, even God with a recompense.* Isaiah lxiii. 9. which Cyprian quotes thus; *Non senior neque angelus, sed ipse Dominus liberabit illos, quia diligit eos et parcat eis, et ipse redimet eos,* Isaiah xlii. 6—8.

Chap. viii. "That when from the beginning he "had been the Son of God, he was to be born a "second time according to the flesh<sup>a</sup>," Psalm ii. "7, 8. Luke i. 41. Gal. iv. 4. 1 John iv. 2, 3.

Chap. ix. "That this was to be the sign of his "birth, that he should be born of a Virgin, man "and God, Son of man and of God<sup>b</sup>," Isaiah vii. 10, &c. Gen. iii. 14, 15.

Chap. x. "That Christ is man and God, formed "of each nature, that he might be a mediator be- "tween us and the Father<sup>c</sup>," Numbers xxiv. 17, &c. Isaiah lxi. 1. Luke i. 35. 1 Cor. xv. 47—49.

Chap. xi. "That he was to be born of the seed "of David according to the flesh<sup>d</sup>."

Chap. xii. "That he should be born at Bethle- "hem."

Chap. xiii. "That he should come humble at his

<sup>z</sup> Quod Christus Deus venturus esset illuminator et salvator generis humani.

<sup>a</sup> Quod cum a principio Filius Dei fuisset, generari denuo haberet secundum carnem.

<sup>b</sup> Quod hoc futurum esset signum nativitatis ejus, ut de

virgine nasceretur homo et Deus, hominis et Dei Filius.

<sup>c</sup> Quod et homo et Deus Christus, ex utroque genere concretus, ut mediator esse inter nos et Patrem posset.

<sup>d</sup> Quod de semine David secundum carnem nasci haberet.

“ first advent <sup>e</sup>,” Isaiah liii. 1, 6, 7. xlii. 2, 4. Zech. iii. 1—5. Phil. ii. 6, &c.

All the other chapters might be quoted ; but the reader is referred to the whole work ; where, though he will find some texts which may appear to be strained out of their proper meaning, he must remember that this mode of interpretation was followed by all the Fathers : to which we may add, that since Cyprian composed this treatise to convince the Jews that Jesus was Christ, he would not have affixed any sense to the Jewish scriptures, which the Jews themselves were not in the habit of receiving as true : and whoever is acquainted with the writings of the Fathers, or with the Rabbinical commentaries, can hardly help admitting, that many passages were believed to relate to the Messiah, which we should not venture to quote in the present day with that view.

287. *Cypriani de Laude Martyrii* p. 345.

“ He became mortal, that we might be immortal ;  
“ and he, by whom all things are governed, endured  
“ the final consequence of humanity <sup>f</sup>.”

288. *Concilium Carthaginense* p. 329.

The third council of Carthage was held A. D. 256 or 258, having been convened by Cyprian to reconsider the question of the validity of baptism administered by heretics. The African bishops had already decided such baptisms to be invalid ; which decision was disapproved of by Stephen bishop of Rome, and he wrote letters expressing such disapprobation. Cyprian however convened another coun-

<sup>e</sup> Quod humilis in primo adventu suo veniret.

<sup>f</sup> Mortalis factus est, ut im-

mortales esse possemus, et humanæ sortis exitum pertulit per quem reguntur humana.

cil which was attended by 258 bishops, and they confirmed the decision of the former council.

What I have said of Cyprian constantly adding the name of God to the other titles of Jesus Christ, may be applied also to some of the bishops assembled at this council; and, as in the former instance, I shall merely give their own expressions, without making any comment upon them.

Fortunatus of Tuchaboris said, “ Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, Son of God the Father and Creator, built his church upon a rock <sup>g</sup>.”

Euchratius of Thenæ said, “ Jesus Christ our God and Lord completed our faith and the grace of baptism <sup>h</sup>.”

Venantius of Timisa said, “ Christ our Lord and God, when he was going to his Father, commended his spouse to us <sup>i</sup>.”

#### NOVATIAN. A. D. 257.

There is a treatise upon the Trinity ascribed to Novatian, which is generally printed at the end of the works of Tertullian; and though the name of the author has sometimes been a subject of dispute, little doubt has been entertained as to its being a composition of the third century.

Novatian is principally distinguished as a heretic, and the leader of a heresy, which was called after his name; but we must remember, that his opinions,

<sup>g</sup> Jesus Christus Dominus et Deus noster Dei Patris et Creatoris Filius super petram ædificavit ecclesiam suam, p. 332.

<sup>h</sup> Fidem nostram et baptismatis gratiam et legis ecclesiasticæ regulam Deus et Dominus

noster Jesus Christus suo ore perimplevit, p. 333.

<sup>i</sup> Christus Dominus et Deus noster ad Patrem proficiscens sponsam suam nobis commendavit, p. 335.

which were considered and condemned as heterodox, related only to the discipline and practice of the church, and not to her articles of faith. This is expressly said by Sozomen<sup>k</sup>; and Socrates tells us, that the Novatians believed in the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son<sup>l</sup>. Acesius, a Novatian bishop, subscribed the Nicene Creed<sup>m</sup>. Pope Innocent at the beginning of the fifth century bore testimony, that, with respect to the divine power of the Trinity, the Novatians always maintained the orthodox faith<sup>n</sup>: and this testimony is more deserving of credit, because Pope Innocent persecuted this sect, and the church of Rome had a particular reason for speaking of Novatian with reproach; for he openly opposed the election of one of her bishops,

<sup>k</sup> VI. 24.      <sup>l</sup> II. 38.

<sup>m</sup> I. 10. Soz. I. 22. It should be mentioned however, that Tillemont agreed with Spanheim in thinking, that though Novatian believed in a Trinity of persons and in the divinity of Christ, he spoke in a dangerous manner of the Holy Ghost. Bishop Bull considered his tenets to be orthodox. Epiphanius may be quoted as supporting the orthodoxy of the Novatians concerning the Trinity, when he says of the Donatists, that they agreed with the Novatians in their severe doctrines, but erred much more grievously, since they professed the faith of Arius. The Novatians therefore, in the opinion of Epiphanius, were not Arians. Epiph. Hær. LIX. vol. I. p. 504-5. Lactantius certainly mentions the Novatians as heretics, who

were not to be called Christians. But I cannot help suspecting his text to be corrupt. He speaks of "Phryges, aut Novatiani, aut Valentiniani, aut Marcionitæ." Instit. IV. c. ult.; but he would hardly have placed them in this order, since Valentinus and Marcion preceded Novatian by so many years. Epiphanius speaks of Novatus, as a Sabellian: Hær. LXV. 1. vol. I. p. 608. He seems to intend the same at Hær. LXXII. 1. p. 834: but the authority of this writer requires corroboration; and it will be shewn presently, that Novatus was not the same person with Novatian. Petavius thinks that the name of Novatus is an interpolation in this passage of Epiphanius.

<sup>n</sup> Ep. 22. ad Episc. Macedon. c. 5.

and even caused himself to be elected as a rival. In his whole conduct throughout this transaction he was highly reprehensible. He had adopted the notion, and had persuaded some others to agree with him in thinking, that persons, who had committed any great crime, and particularly those who had fallen away in the time of persecution, (for Decius was then persecuting the Christians,) were not only to be excommunicated, but were never to be restored to the communion of the church. These severe and rigorous doctrines were opposed by a great majority of the Roman clergy, and particularly by Cornelius, who in the year 250 was chosen to succeed Fabianus as bishop of Rome. Novatian used all his influence to oppose this election; and in the following year he was excommunicated from the church by a council, which Cornelius convened at Rome. This exasperated him so far, that he caused himself to be elected bishop in opposition to Cornelius; and though his followers were few, his doctrine so far prevailed, that the sect of the Novatians continued till the fifth century. Socrates says, that he suffered martyrdom in the persecution of Valerian°.

Some writers have asserted, that his work upon the Trinity was composed before his quarrel with Cornelius: but Lardner thinks, that the earliest possible date is 257; and Baronius brought it down as late as 270. There have been disputes whether the name of this writer was Novatus or Novatian: but it appears certain that they were two distinct persons. Novatus was an African bishop, who came to



Rome and joined himself to Novatian. The 49th Epistle of Cyprian, which mentions the names of both, may be considered as decisive on this question <sup>p</sup>.

From what has been said, it may be assumed, that Novatian's opinions concerning the divinity of Christ were perfectly sound, and in accordance with those of his contemporaries. At all events we may borrow his own words, and say, "It will be allowed me to seek for arguments from other heretics. That is a safe kind of proof, which is taken even from an adversary, that Truth may be proved from the very enemies of truth <sup>q</sup>."

On this principle Novatian's treatise concerning the Trinity may be read, as containing a statement of what was the belief in those days concerning the divinity of Christ. It might be expected from the title of the work, that the unity of the Father and the Son would be maintained; and so precise and unquestionable are the terms in which Novatian lays down the doctrine of the divinity of the Son, that it will be necessary to present the reader with copious extracts. We may pass over the first part of the treatise which concerns the belief in God the Father; but the second part of it begins thus.

289. *Novatiani de Trinitate* c. 9. p. 711.

"The same rule of truth teaches us to believe, after the Father, also in the Son of God, Christ

<sup>p</sup> See Petavius, Annot. in Epiphan. Hær. LIX. vol. II. p. 226. Beveridge in Can. p. 69. Lardner in Novat. Jackson in his edition of Novatian. We may say generally that Novatus and Novatian were confounded by the Greek Fathers, while Latin writers made the proper

distinction between them.

<sup>q</sup> Hoc in loco licebit mihi argumenta etiam ex aliorum hæreticorum parte conquirere. Firmum est genus probationis, quod etiam ab adversario sumitur, ut veritas etiam ab ipsis inimicis veritatis probetur, c. 18. p. 718.

“ Jesus, who is the Lord our God, but the Son of  
 “ God, of that God, who is one and alone, the Cre-  
 “ ator of all things <sup>r</sup>.”

290. *Novatiani de Trinitate* c. 11. p. 713.

Having stated the incarnation of Christ, he says,  
 “ But lest from our assertion of our Lord Jesus  
 “ Christ, the Son of God the Creator, having ap-  
 “ peared in the substance of a real body, we might  
 “ seem to have yielded, or to have furnished any  
 “ arguments to other heretics, who in this place only  
 “ maintain the human nature, and therefore desire  
 “ to prove that he was simply and merely a man, we  
 “ do not so speak of the substance of his body, as to  
 “ say that he was merely a man: but that the di-  
 “ vinity of the Word being joined in very union, we  
 “ hold that he is also God according to the scrip-  
 “ tures. For it is great peril to say of the Saviour  
 “ of mankind, the Lord and Sovereign of the whole  
 “ world, to whom all things were delivered, and all  
 “ things conceded, by his Father, by whom the uni-  
 “ verse was ordained, the whole was created, all  
 “ things were arranged, the King of all ages and  
 “ times, the Sovereign of all angels, before whom  
 “ there is nothing except the Father, it is great  
 “ peril to say, that he is merely a man, and to deny  
 “ him divine authority in these things. For this  
 “ insulting language of the heretics will affect even  
 “ God the Father himself, if God the Father  
 “ could not generate a Son who was God <sup>s</sup>.”

<sup>r</sup> Eadem regula veritatis do-  
 cet nos credere post Patrem  
 etiam in Filium Dei Christum  
 Jesum Dominum Deum nos-  
 trum, sed Dei Filium, hujus  
 Dei, qui et unus et solus est,

Conditor scilicet rerum om-  
 nium.

<sup>s</sup> Verum ne ex hoc quod Do-  
 minium nostrum Jesum Chri-  
 stum Dei Creatoris Filium in  
 substantia veri corporis exhibi-

B b

The remainder of this same chapter is equally express.

291. *Novatiani de Trinitate* c. 12. p. 713.

In the 12th chapter he brings several texts to prove the divinity of Christ, some of which we should perhaps not interpret in the same manner, though many of the Fathers considered them as applicable to Christ. He quotes Hosea i. 7. and says, "If God says, that he will save them *by God*, "but he saves them by nothing but in Christ, why "should man hesitate to call Christ God, whom he "sees by the scripture is named as God by the Father?" Isaiah vii. 14. and Matt. xxviii. 20. after which he says, "God therefore is with us, nay much "rather is in us: Christ is with us: he therefore is "the person, whose name is *God with us*, (Emmanuel,) because he is with us." Isaiah xxxv. 3—6. Habak. iii. 3.

tum asserimus, aliis hæreticis hoc in loco hominem tantum et solum defendentibus, atque ideo hominem illum nudum et solitarium probare cupientibus, aut manus dedisse, aut loquendi materiam commodasse videamur, non sic de substantia corporis ipsius exprimimus, ut solum tantum hominem illum esse dicamus; sed ut divinitate Sæmonis in ipsa concretionem permixta etiam Deum illum secundum scripturas esse teneamus. Est enim periculum grande Salvatore generis humani, totius Dominum et principem mundi, cui a suo Patre omnia tradita sunt, et cuncta concessa, per quem instituta sunt universa, creata sunt tota, digesta sunt cuncta, ævorum omnium et temporum Regem, angelorum

omnium Principem, ante quem nihil præter Patrem, hominem tantummodo dicere, et auctoritatem illi divinam in his abnegare. Hæc enim contumelia hæreticorum ad ipsum quoque Deum Patrem redundabit, si Deus Pater Filium Deum generare non potuit.

† Si Deus salvare se dicit in Deo, non autem salvat nisi in Christo Deus: cur ergo homo dubitet Christum Deum dicere, quem Deum a Patre animadvertit positum per scripturas esse?

“ Est ergo nobiscum Deus, immo multo magis etiam in nobis est. Nobiscum est Christus; est ergo cujus nomen est, Nobiscum Deus, quia et nobiscum est.

292. *Novatiani de Trinitate* c. 13. p. 714.

“ Who therefore can doubt, when in the last place (John i. 14.) it is said, *The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us*, to say without hesitation, that Christ, whose birth it was, was both man, because *he was made flesh*, and God, because he *was the Word of God*? Particularly when he observes the evangelical scriptures, that both these substances united into one agreement for the birth of Christ <sup>x</sup>.”

There is only need to mention some of the texts which he quotes, John iii. 13. xvii. 5. after which he observes, “ But if, when it belongs to no one but to God to know the secrets of the heart, Christ perceives the secrets of the heart; but if, when it belongs to no one but to God to forgive sins, the same Christ forgives sins; but if, when it belongs to no man to come down from heaven, he descended by coming down from heaven; but if, when these can be the words of no human person, *I and the Father are one*, Christ alone uttered these words from a consciousness of divinity; but if, lastly, the apostle Thomas, furnished with all the proofs and circumstances of Christ’s divinity, answered to Christ, *My Lord and my God*; but if the apostle Paul writes in his Epistles—*Whose are the fathers, and of whom is Christ according to the flesh, who is over all God blessed for ever*; but if the same Paul says, that he was an

<sup>x</sup> Quis igitur dubitet, cum in extrema parte dicitur, *Verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis*, Christum, cujus est natiuitas, et quia caro factus est, esse hominem, et quia Verbum

Dei, Deum incunctanter edicere esse? præsertim cum animadverstat scripturam evangelicam, utramque istam substantiam in unam nativitatis Christi fœderasse concordiam?

“ *apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ*; but if the same Paul contend that he “ *learned the gospel not of men, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ*, it follows, that Christ is God  $\gamma$ .”

293. *Novatiani de Trinitate* c. 16. p. 717.

Having quoted Col. ii. 15. where he seems to have read like other Fathers and some MSS. ἀκεδυσάμενος τὴν σάρκα, he says, that Christ put on flesh when he was born, and put it off when he died. “ *But Christ would neither have put off nor put on man, if he had been merely a man. For no one is ever either divested of himself, or clothed with himself—It was therefore the Word of God who put off his flesh, and put it on again at his resurrection; but he put it off, since he had also put it on at his nativity. It is therefore God in Christ, who is clothed, and he must also be divested  $\alpha$ .*”

$\gamma$  Quod si, cum nullius sit nisi Dei, cordis nosse secreta, Christus secreta conspicit cordis; quod si, cum nullius sit nisi Dei peccata dimittere, idem Christus peccata dimittit; quod si, cum nullius sit hominis de cœlo venire, de cœlo veniendo descendit; quod si, cum nullius hominis hæc vox esse possit, *Ego et Pater unum sumus*, hanc vocem de conscientia divinitatis Christus solus edicit; quod si postremo, omnibus divinitatis Christi probationibus et rebus instructus apostolus Thomas respondens Christo, *Dominus, meus et Deus meus* dicit; quod si et apostolus Paulus, *Quorum*, inquit, *Patres et ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in*

*sæcula* in suis literis scribit; quod si idem se *apostolum non ab hominibus, aut per hominem, sed per Jesum Christum*, constitutum esse depromit; quod si idem evangelium non se ab hominibus didicisse, aut per hominem, sed per Jesum Christum accepisse contendit, merito Deus est Christus.

$\alpha$  Nos enim Sermonem Dei scimus indutum carnis substantiam, eundemque rursus exutum eadem corporis materia, quam rursus in resurrectione suscepit, et quasi indumentum resumpsit. Sed enim neque exutus neque indutus hominem Christus fuisset, si homo tantum fuisset. Nemo enim unquam seipso aut spoliatur, aut induitur.—Ex quo merito Sermo Dei fuit, qui

294. *Novatiani de Trinitate* c. 18. p. 718.

In this chapter he uses the words quoted above to justify himself for borrowing an argument from heretics, and adds, "For it is so very plain, that it  
 " is delivered to us in the scriptures that he is God,  
 " that many heretics, moved by the greatness and  
 " reality of his divinity, have extended his honours  
 " beyond bounds, and dared to declare or to think,  
 " that he is not the Son, but God the Father him-  
 " self. Which although it be contrary to the truth  
 " of scripture, is yet a great and leading argument  
 " for the divinity of Christ; who is so decidedly  
 " God, but as being the Son of God, born of God,  
 " that many heretics, as we said, have so received  
 " him as God, that they thought he should be de-  
 " clared to be not the Son but the Father. Let  
 " them therefore consider whether he is God or no,  
 " whose authority has moved some persons to con-  
 " fess divinity in Christ in such a much more unli-  
 " mited and unrestrained manner, that they thought  
 " him, as we said above, to be actually God the  
 " Father; the manifest divinity of Christ driving  
 " them to such a point, that the person, whom they  
 " read of as Son, because they observed him to be  
 " God, they thought to be the Father. Other here-  
 " tics also have been so persuaded of the manifest  
 " divinity of Christ, that they said he was without  
 " flesh, and took away from him all the human  
 " nature which he had assumed, lest they should  
 " destroy the power of the divine name in him, if  
 " they joined the human nativity to it: which how-

exutus est carnem, et in resur- fuerat indutus; itaque in Christo  
 rectione rursus indutus. Exutus Deus est qui induitur, atque  
 autem, quoniam et in nativitate etiam exutus sit oportet.

“ ever we do not approve of, but we use the argument, that Christ is so decidedly God, that some persons have denied him the human nature, and thought him only to be God ; and some have believed him to be God the Father himself, when the argument and tenor of the heavenly scriptures point out Christ as God, but as being the Son of God ; and teach us to believe, that he is also man, the Son of man having been assumed by God<sup>a</sup>.”

295. *Novatiani de Trinitate* c. 23. p. 721.

After quoting John viii. 23. *Ye are from beneath, I am from above: ye are of this world, I am not of this world*, he says<sup>b</sup>, “ If every man is of this

<sup>a</sup> Nam usque adeo hunc manifestum est in scripturis esse Deum tradi, ut plerique hæreticorum divinitatis ipsius magnitudine et veritate commoti, ultra modum extendentes honores ejus, ausissent non Filium, sed ipsum Deum Patrem promere vel putare. Quod etsi contra scripturarum veritatem est, tamen divinitatis Christi argumentum grande atque præcipuum est; qui usque adeo Deus, sed qua Filius Dei natus ex Deo, ut plerique illum, ut diximus, hæretici ita Deum acceperint, ut non Filium sed Patrem pronuntiandum putarent. Æstimet ergo an hic sit Deus, cujus auctoritas tantum movit quosdam, ut putarent illum, ut diximus superius, jam ipsum Patrem Deum, effrenatius et effusius in Christo divinitatem confiteri: ad hoc illos manifesta Christi divinitate cogente, ut quem Filium legerent, quia Deum animadverterent, Patrem

putarent. Alii quoque hæretici usque adeo Christi manifestam amplexati sunt divinitatem, ut dixerint illum fuisse sine carne, et totum illi susceptum detraxerint hominem, ne decoquerent in illo divini nominis potestatem, si humanam illi sociassent, ut arbitrabantur, nativitatem. Quod tamen nos non probamus, sed argumentum afferimus usque adeo Christum esse Deum, ut quidam illum subtracto homine tantummodo putarint Deum; quidam autem ipsum crediderint Patrem Deum, quum ratio et temperamentum scripturarum cælestium Christum ostendant Deum, sed qua Filium Dei, et assumpto a Deo etiam Filio hominis credendum et hominem.

<sup>b</sup> Ideo autem si omnis homo ex hoc mundo est, et ideo in hoc mundo est Christus, an homo tantummodo est? Absit. Sed considera quod ait, *Ego non sum de hoc mundo*. Numquid

“ world, and therefore Christ is in this world, is  
 “ he therefore a mere man? By no means. But

ergo mentitur, cum ex hoc mundo sit, si homo tantummodo sit? Aut si non mentitur, non est ex hoc mundo. Non ergo homo tantummodo est, quia ex hoc mundo non est. Sed ne lateret quis esset, expressit unde esset: *Ego, inquit, de sursum sum*, hoc est, de cœlo, unde homo venire non potest: non enim in cœlo factus est. Deus est ergo qui de sursum est, et idcirco de hoc mundo non est: quamquam etiam quodammodo ex hoc mundo est, unde non Deus tantum est Christus, sed et homo. Ut merito quomodo non est ex hoc mundo secundum Verbi divinitatem, ita ex hoc mundo sit secundum suscepti corporis fragilitatem, homo est enim cum Deo junctus, et Deus cum homine copulatus. Sed idcirco nunc hic Christus in unam partem solius divinitatis incubuit, quoniam cæcitas Judaica solam in Christo partem carnis aspexit, et inde in præsentis loco silentio præterita corporis fragilitate quæ de mundo est, de sua sola divinitate locutus est, quæ de mundo non est: ut in quantum illi inclinaverant, ut hominem illum tantummodo crederent, in tantum illos Christus posset ad divinitatem suam considerandam trahere, ut se Deum crederent; volens illorum incredulitatem circa divinitatem suam omnia interim commemoratione sortis humanæ solius divinitatis oppositione superare. Si homo tantummodo Christus, quomodo dicit, *Ego ex Deo prodii, et veni,*

cum constet hominem a Deo factum esse, non ex Deo processisse: ex Deo autem homo quomodo non processit, sic Dei Verbum processit—Deus ergo processit ex Deo, dum qui processit Sermo Deus est, qui processit ex Deo.—Si homo tantummodo Christus, quomodo inquit, *Ante Abraham ego sum?* Nemo enim hominum ante eum potest esse, ex quo ipse est, nec potest fieri ut quicquam prius fuerit ante illum ex quo ipsam originem sumpsit. Sed enim Christus, cum ex Abraham sit, ante Abraham esse se dicit. Aut mentitur igitur et fallit, si ante Abraham non fuit, qui ex Abraham fuit; aut non fallit, si etiam Deus est, dum ante Abraham fuit: quod nisi fuisset, consequenter cum ex Abraham fuisset, ante Abraham esse non posset. Si homo tantummodo Christus, quomodo ait, *Et ego agnoscam eas, et sequuntur me meæ, et ego vitam æternam do illis, et nunquam peribunt in perpetuum?* Sed enim cum omnis homo mortalitatis sit legibus alligatus, et idcirco in perpetuum se ipse servare non possit, multo magis in perpetuum alterum servare non poterit. At in perpetuum se Christus repromittit salutem daturum. Quam si non dat, mendax est; si dat, Deus est. Sed non fallit, dat enim quod repromittit. Deus est ergo, qui salutem perpetuam porrigit, quam homo qui seipsum servare non potest, alteri præstare non poterit.



“ consider what he says, *I am not of this world.*  
“ Does he therefore speak falsely, because if he is  
“ merely a man, he is of this world? Or if he does  
“ not speak falsely, he is not of this world. He is  
“ therefore not merely a man, because he is not of  
“ this world. But lest we might not know who he  
“ was, he has declared whence he was; *I*, he says,  
“ *am from above*, i. e. from heaven, from whence a  
“ man cannot come: for he is not made in heaven.  
“ It is God therefore, who is from above, and there-  
“ fore he is not of this world: although in one sense  
“ Christ is of this world, because he is not only God,  
“ but also man. So that in the same manner that  
“ he is not of this world, according to the divinity  
“ of the Word, so he is of this world according to the  
“ frailness of the body which he assumed: for he is  
“ man joined with God, and God coupled with man.  
“ But Christ in this passage dwelt upon the divine  
“ part only, because the Jewish blindness looked  
“ only to the fleshly part in Christ; and therefore, at  
“ present passing over in silence the frailness of the  
“ body, which is of the world, he spoke of his divin-  
“ ity only, which is not of the world; that in pro-  
“ portion to their inclination to believe him only a  
“ man, Christ might so far draw them to consider  
“ his divinity, that they might believe him to be  
“ God; wishing to overcome their incredulity con-  
“ cerning his divinity, by omitting for the present  
“ any mention of his human condition, and opposing  
“ to it only the divine. If Christ be merely a man,  
“ how does he say, *I came forth from the Father,*  
“ *and am come [into the world?]* (John xvi. 28.)  
“ whereas it is evident that a man is made by God,  
“ and does not proceed from God: but in the same

“ way that a man does not proceed from God, so the  
 “ Word of God did proceed from Him.—God  
 “ therefore proceeded from God, since the Word  
 “ which proceeded is God, which proceeded from  
 “ God—If Christ be merely a man, how does he  
 “ say, *Before Abraham was, I am?* for no human  
 “ being can be before him, from whom he is de-  
 “ scended—but Christ, though he was descended  
 “ from Abraham, says, that he was before Abraham :  
 “ he therefore either speaks falsely and deceives, if  
 “ he, who was descended from Abraham, was not  
 “ before Abraham ; or he does not deceive, if he is  
 “ also God, for then he was before Abraham : which  
 “ if he were not, it follows, that since he was de-  
 “ scended from Abraham, he could not be before  
 “ Abraham. If Christ were merely a man, how  
 “ does he say, *And I will know them, and mine*  
 “ *follow me, and I give them eternal life, and they*  
 “ *shall never perish?* (John x. 27.) But since  
 “ every man is bound by the laws of mortality, and  
 “ therefore cannot save himself for ever, he will be  
 “ still less able to save another for ever. But Christ  
 “ promises, that he will give salvation for ever ;  
 “ which if he does not give, he is a liar : if he does  
 “ give it, he is God. But he does not deceive, for  
 “ he gives what he promises ; he is therefore God,  
 “ who gives eternal salvation, which a man who  
 “ cannot save himself cannot give to another.”

DIONYSIUS ALEXANDRINUS. A. D. 260.

The history of Dionysius is closely connected  
 with the rise and progress of the Sabellian heresy.  
 He was born of a good family in Alexandria, and  
 was himself converted to Christianity from hea-

thenism. He was a pupil of Origen, and became president of the catechetical School at Alexandria about the year 232. Heraclas had preceded him in this office, which he vacated upon being elected bishop of Alexandria: and after his death in 248 Dionysius was also appointed to succeed him in the bishopric. The persecutions of Decius and Valerian, as well as the troubles concerning the Novatian and Sabellian heresies, happened while he occupied the see. The first persecution began about the year 249, and Dionysius was obliged to retire from the city, but returned in 251. The Valerian persecution, which began in 257, fell upon him more openly, and he was banished to Cephron in Libya. After passing three or four years in exile, he returned to his bishopric in 261, when the storm had nearly exhausted itself and passed away.

In the mean time he had not been inactive or free from the duties of his office. About the year 255, (though some persons place it earlier,) Sabellius began to spread his opinions concerning the Trinity<sup>c</sup>. He held that there was only one Person in the Godhead, and that the Son and the Holy Ghost were only energies, or unsubstantial emanations of the Father. This heresy began first in Ptolemais, a city of Cyrenaica. Dionysius lost no time in endeavouring to check it; but when his remonstrances were of no avail, he wrote a letter to Ammonius and Euphranor, two neighbouring bishops, exposing the error of the Sabellian tenets, and urging his colleagues to use every exertion in suppressing them. He also sent an account of the heresy, and of the

<sup>c</sup> In what follows, I have principally depended upon Athanasius, de Sent. Dionys. vol. I. p. 243, &c.

steps which he himself had taken, together with copies of his letters, to Xystus, who was then bishop of Rome<sup>d</sup>.

In his anxiety to confute the Sabellian notions, which confounded the three Persons of the Trinity, he seems to have used expressions which laid him open to the charge of adopting what was afterwards the Arian heresy, and dividing the substance of the three Persons. He was also accused of speaking of the Son as a created being, which arose, as Athanasius informs us, from his having laid great stress upon those passages in the scriptures which prove the human nature of Christ: and he did this, because the tendency of the Sabellian doctrines was to confound the Father and the Son, and to deny a real and separate existence to the latter<sup>e</sup>. Some of the African bishops conveyed these accusations to the bishop of Rome, who was also called Dionysius, his predecessor Xystus having died in the interval. The bishop of Rome, having summoned a council, immediately wrote against the Sabellians, and also to the bishop of Alexandria, requesting him to explain his opinions concerning the Trinity. This he did in a work in four books, entitled his Refutation and Defence, which completely satisfied the minds of the bishop of Rome and his clergy. This work has not come down to us, excepting a few fragments of it, which Athanasius has preserved in a book written

<sup>d</sup> Euseb. E. H. VII. 6.

<sup>e</sup> ——— ἵνα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα τοῦ κυρίου δείξας πείσω μὴ λέγειν ἐκείνους, ὅτι ὁ πατήρ ἐστιν ὁ γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος, which are the words put into the mouth of Dionysius by Athanasius. §. 12. p. 251. and

again, εἰ καὶ τὰς λέξεις εἴρηκε, διὰ τοῦτό φησιν εἰρηκέναι, πρὸς τὸ μόνον δείξαι ὅτι μὴ ὁ πατήρ ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ὁ υἱός, ὁ τὸ γενητὸν καὶ κτιστὸν καὶ ποιητὸν ἐνδυσάμενος σῶμα διὸ καὶ γεγενησθαι, καὶ πεποιησθαι, καὶ ἐκτίσθαι λέγεται ὁ υἱός. p. 256.

by him for the express purpose of shewing that Dionysius was not an Arian <sup>f</sup>.

The next controversy, which engaged the attention of Dionysius, was caused by the heresy of Paul of Samosata. This person had been bishop of Antioch from the year 260, and he soon began to spread his belief that Jesus Christ was a mere man. Dionysius lost no time in attempting to repress this heresy. He wrote a letter to Paul; and at his instigation a council was held in the year 264. Dionysius did not attend the council in person, on account of his ill health and extreme age; but he wrote a letter to the bishops assembled there; and this was the last act of his life; for in the same year he died. Paul contrived to escape any public sentence that time; but in a council held at Antioch, in the year 269, he was excommunicated and deposed <sup>g</sup>.

Beside the fragments already mentioned, parts of other works of Dionysius are preserved, which fully prove how groundless were the assertions of those persons, who accused him of denying the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son, and in other respects of not acknowledging the full divinity of Christ. Both in ancient and modern times this charge has been brought against him. Athanasius and others refuted the objections of those days. Bishop Bull <sup>h</sup> as completely disproved the assertion of Sandius, which Huetius <sup>i</sup> had incautiously made before him, *that Dionysius believed the Son of God to be a creature made by God.* Notwithstanding

<sup>f</sup> See also de Decret. Syn. Nic. vol. IV. p. 222.  
<sup>g</sup> §. 25. vol. I. p. 230. and de Synodis, §. 43. p. 757.  
<sup>h</sup> Def. Fid. Nic. II. 11. 2. &c.  
<sup>i</sup> Origenian. l. II. c. 2. Quæst. 2. §. 10, 25.  
<sup>g</sup> Theodoret. Hær. Fab. II. 8.

the unanswerable arguments which bishop Bull advanced from the very words of Dionysius, we find the same assertions repeated by later writers<sup>k</sup>; and Mr. Lindsey tells us, as if it were an acknowledged fact, that Dionysius “hesitated not to call Christ a “creature, made, and the like<sup>l</sup>.”

Whether these statements are true or no, the following quotations may perhaps serve to shew: and we may at least say to the Unitarians, as Athanasius did to the Arians, “If the patrons of this heresy “think that Dionysius agreed with them, let them “also acknowledge the term *consubstantial* which “he used in his defence, and that the Son is of the “substance of the Father, and also his eternity<sup>m</sup>.”

296. *Dionysii de Martyrio* c. 7. p. 33, 34.

Having occasion to notice the words which our Saviour spoke in his agony, *Not as I will, but as thou wilt*, (Matt. xxvi. 39.) Dionysius observes, that Jesus spoke of his own will as different from that of his Father, in reference to the human nature which he assumed. “He, the beloved, knew His perfect “will; and he often says that he came to do that, “not his own will, i. e. the will of men: for he ap- “propriates the person of men, as being made man: “wherefore at that time he even asked not to do “his own will, which was inferior; but he asks that “the will of his Father, which was greater, the di- “vine will, might be done: which however with “respect to the divine nature is one will, his own “and the Father’s<sup>n</sup>.”

<sup>k</sup> Beausobre has the boldness to assert of Justin Martyr, *Dionysius*, and Novatian, that they have been more than suspected of Arianism. *Hist. de Maniché*,

vol. I. p. 115: but his work is full of paradoxes.

<sup>l</sup> Apology, p. 204.

<sup>m</sup> P. 260.

<sup>n</sup> Τὸ μὲν οὖν θέλημα αὐτοῦ τὸ τέ-

297. *Dionysii de Martyrio* c. 9. p. 39, 40.

It was the opinion of Dionysius, that when St. Luke described our Saviour as sweating drops of blood, he did not mean that it was literally blood, but that the drops were as thick and copious as drops of blood<sup>o</sup>; and he makes this remark: "The Saviour shewed, by his constant praying and by his great agony, as well as by the thickness of the sweat, that he was a man naturally and really, not in appearance and illusively, and that he was subject to the natural and unequivocal sufferings of man. By the words, *I have power to lay down*

λειον αὐτὸς ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἥπιστατο· καὶ τοῦτο ἐλληλιθῆναι πολλάκις φησὶ ποιήσων, οὐ τὸ αὐτοῦ, ταῦτέστι τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· οικειῶται γὰρ τὸ πρόσωπον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος· διόπερ καὶ τότε τὸ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ἕλαττον παρατεῖται ποιεῖν· αἰτεῖ δὲ τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ μείζον γενέσθαι τὸ θεῖόν θέλημα· ἕπερ πάλιν κατὰ τὴν θεότητα ἐν θέλημά ἐστι τὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ Πατρός.

<sup>o</sup> The words of St. Luke are, ἐγένετο δὲ ὁ ἰδρῶς αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ θρόμβοι αἵματος, (xxii. 44.) which will certainly bear the interpretation of Dionysius. Justin Martyr may have held the same opinion, who omits the mention of *blood*, and says, ἰδρῶ· ὡσεὶ θρόμβοι κατεχεῖτο αὐτοῦ. (Dial. cum Tryph. c. 103.) but Irenæus might be thought to have understood the passage otherwise, since he says that our Saviour ἰδρωσε θρόμβους αἵματος. (III. 22, 2. p. 219.) Dionysius tells us, in which he is followed by Photius and Theophylact, that αἵματος ἰδρωσις, and αἵματα κλαίει, were expressions applied proverbially to excessive labour and excessive sorrow;

and we may recollect the words of Sophocles, ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ μέλας Ὀμβρος χαλάζης αἵματος ἐτέγγετο, Œd. T. 1279, which seems also to have been a proverbial phrase, and is illustrated by Pind. Isthm. V. 64. and VII. 39. In the Benedictine edition of Greg. Naz. Orat. XXX. 16. p. 551. the Latin translation has—  
de agonia, et sanguineo sudore, atque oratione: but the Greek is καὶ ἀγωνίας, καὶ θρόμβων, καὶ προσευχῆς, in which there is no mention of blood. Athanasius however speaks of ἰδρῶτων καὶ θρόμβου αἵματος, in Psalm. lxxviii. 17. vol. I. p. 1121. The Homily in *Occursum Domini*, falsely ascribed to Athanasius, mentions merely θρόμβους ἰδρ ὠτων. ib. II. p. 425. We learn from Epiphanius, (Ancor. 31. vol. II. p. 36.) that the passage had been struck out of some copies of St. Luke, and the 43d and 44th verses are wanting in some MSS. Theodoret says, ἕφαιμον γενέσθαι τὸν ἰδρῶτα τοῦ σώματος. Hæg. Fab. V. 13. vol. IV. p. 284.

“ *my life, and I have power to take it again,* (John “ x. 18.) he shews that his suffering was voluntary, “ and yet that the life which was laid down and “ taken again was one, and the divine nature which “ laid it down and took it again was another P.”

298. *Dionysii de Promissionibus* c. 4. p. 77.

In quoting the beginning of the Apocalypse, Dionysius makes two remarkable variations from the received text, which he would hardly have done, if he had not considered it as indifferent, whether he used the word *God* or *Christ*. He says, “ The “ Revelation of Jesus Christ, which he gave unto “ him to shew unto his servants shortly; and he “ sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant “ John; who bare record of the word of God and of “ his testimony as to what he said.” If we compare the two passages together, we may observe other variations; but I shall only notice, that instead of writing, *the Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him*, Dionysius omits the word *God*, by which he attributes to Jesus Christ what is said in the received text to be done by God: and instead of, *who bare record of the word of God and of the testimony of Jesus Christ*, he reads, *his testimony*, that is, the testimony of God. Thus in one place he substitutes *Jesus Christ* for *God*, and in another he substitutes *God* for *Jesus Christ*: which

Ῥ Ἐδήλου δὲ ἄρα ὡςπερ καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐντεταμένῃς προσευχῆς, καὶ τῆς πολλῆς ἀγωνίας, οὕτω καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν ἰδρώτων παχύτητος, ὡς φύσει καὶ ἀληθῶς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπιδείξει καὶ φαντασίᾳ, ἀνθρώπος τε ἐχρημάτισεν ὁ Σωτῆρ, καὶ τοῖς φυσικαῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀδιαβλήτοις ὑπηρετήσατο

πάθει· τὸ μέντοι ἐξουσίαν ἔχω θείαν τὴν ψυχὴν μου καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχω πάλιν λαβεῖν αὐτήν, ἐν ταῖτοις δηλοῖ ἰκούσιον εἶναι τὸ πάθος· καὶ ἔτι, ὡς ἄλλη μὲν ἢ τιθεμένη καὶ λαμβανόμενη ψυχῇ, ἄλλη δὲ ἢ τιθεῖσα καὶ λαμβάνουσα θεότης.



he never would have done, if he had thought that such variations made any difference in the sense: but believing that the Father and the Son were one, he thought that a Revelation given by God was given by Jesus Christ, and that the testimony of Jesus Christ was the testimony of God.

299. *Dionysii de Promissionibus* c. 6. p. 81.

In this part of the work Dionysius points out the close resemblance which exists between the Gospel of St. John and his First Epistle, both as to the doctrine and expressions: and among other doctrines common to both, he mentions the ubiquity of the Father and the Son. "The Father and the Son are "every where<sup>q</sup>." From these words it seems impossible to understand the ubiquity of the Son in any figurative or restricted sense, unless we conceive the same of the ubiquity of the Father. But since we believe that the Father is *really* present every where, we must conceive, that Dionysius meant to assert the same concerning the Son.

The ubiquity of the Son is also asserted by Novatian in the following terms: "If Christ be merely a man, how is he present every where when invoked? For this is not the nature of man, but of God, to have the power of being present every where<sup>r</sup>."

300. *Dionysii ex Elencho et Apologia* p. 87.

The following quotations are taken from the work mentioned above, which Dionysius wrote to his namesake the bishop of Rome.

In the first book he expressed himself thus: "For

<sup>q</sup> Ὁ Πατήρ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς πανταχοῦ.

<sup>r</sup> C. 14. Si homo tantummodo Christus, quomodo adest

ubique invocatus, cum hæc hominis natura non sit, sed Dei, ut adesse omni loco possit? p. 707.

“ there never was a time when God was not a Father<sup>s</sup> ;” which is the same as saying, that there never was a time when the Son did not exist ; which is an assertion that denies in express terms the leading tenet of the Arians. Other of the Fathers have expressed the same doctrine in nearly the same words. Origen, as we have already seen, (p. 345.) says, “ There never was a time when the Son was “ not a Son ;” and Novatian, “ The Son was always “ in the Father, lest the Father should not always “ be a Father<sup>t</sup>.”

Father and son are relative terms ; and the existence of the one necessarily implies the existence of the other. Thus a man may have lived many years, and filled various relations of life, before he became a father ; but at the same instant of time in which he was entitled to be called a father, his son also had existence : and if we were to say of any man, that he has been a father for twenty years, it follows that at the commencement of that period his son was in existence. But if we say that God has been a *Father* from all eternity, we must necessarily mean, that from all eternity He has had a Son. The mind might perhaps conceive that God had existed from all eternity, and that His Son had had a beginning : but then we could not have said, as Dionysius does, that God had been a *Father* from all eternity. The same sentiment is expressed in the two next passages, which follow close upon the former.

<sup>s</sup> Οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἔτε ὁ Θεὸς οὐκ ἦν πατήρ. vid. Athanas. vol. I. p. 253.

<sup>t</sup> C. 31. Sed qui ante omne tempus est semper in Patre fu-

isse dicendus est. Nec enim tempus illi assignari potest, qui ante tempus est. Semper enim in Patre, ne Pater non semper sit Pater. p. 729.

301. *Dionysii ex Elench. et Apol.* p. 87.

“ For it is not, that God was without a Son, and  
 “ then begat one, but the term *Son* means that he  
 “ has his existence not of himself, but of the Fa-  
 “ ther <sup>u</sup>.”

302. *Dionysii ex Elench. et Apol.* p. 87.

“ Being the effulgence of eternal light, it follows  
 “ that he is himself also eternal: for if light always  
 “ exists, it is plain that the effulgence always exists.  
 “ For the existence of light is conceived by its shin-  
 “ ing; and light cannot exist without giving light:  
 “ for let us again come to examples. If there is a  
 “ sun, there is light, there is day: if there be nei-  
 “ ther of the latter, the sun cannot be present. If  
 “ therefore the sun was eternal, the day also would  
 “ be without end: but since it is not so, it begins  
 “ when the sun begins, and ends when the sun ends.  
 “ But God is eternal light, neither ever beginning  
 “ nor ending. Therefore the effulgence proceeds  
 “ from and is with Him eternally, without begin-  
 “ ning and eternally generated <sup>x</sup>.”

This is the favourite illustration which the Fathers used for explaining the union of the Father and the Son <sup>y</sup>: and though it is better not to pry too deeply into such subjects, it is perhaps the closest and

<sup>u</sup> Οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ταύτων ἄγονος ὢν ὁ Θεός· εἶτα ἐπαιδοποιήσατο· ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ὁ υἱός, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἔχει τὸ εἶναι. vid. Athanas. ib.

<sup>x</sup> Ἀπαύγασμα δὲ ὢν φωτὸς ἀδίδου πάντως καὶ αὐτὸς ἀδιδός ἐστιν· ὄντος γὰρ ἀεὶ τοῦ φωτὸς, δῆλον ὡς ἐστὶν αἰὲ τὸ ἀπαύγασμα. — ὁ δὲ γὰρ Θεὸς αἰώνιον ἐστὶ φῶς, οὔτε ἀρχάμενον, οὔτε λήξόν ποτε· οὐκοῦν αἰώνιον πρόκειται καὶ σύνεστιν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀπ-

αύγασμα ἀναρχον καὶ ἀεργενές. Athanas. ib.

<sup>y</sup> Thus Tertullian, (Apol. c. 21.) cum radius ex sole porrigitur, portio ex summa, sed sol erit in radio, quia solis est radius, nec separatur substantia, sed extenditur. Ita de Spiritu Spiritus, et de Deo Deus, ut lumen de lumine accensum. See Hippolytus, p. 270. and Origen, p. 344.

plainest illustration which can be found. It is in fact the same which is used in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where the Son is called ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης, *the brightness or effulgence of his Father's glory*: and if it be true, as it surely is, that the mind cannot conceive the idea of fire without the light which emanates from it, then we have found among sensible and visible objects two things which are coeval, though one proceeds from the other. We can never tell why in the nature of things fire produces light: but we know, that it cannot exist without producing it; for the fire does not exist first by itself, and then the light emanates from it: but both exist simultaneously, though the one is the cause of the other<sup>2</sup>. So also though we cannot tell in what manner the Son was generated of the Father, we cannot say, that the mind refuses the idea of their coeternal existence: and when we read the passage quoted above, we must surely allow, that Dionysius held in the fullest and highest sense of the terms the eternal generation of the Son, and his eternal coexistence with the Father.

303. *Dionysii ex Elench. et Apol.* p. 88, 89.

“The Father therefore being eternal, the Son is eternal, being light of light: for where there is a parent, there is also a child: and if there be no child, in what way and of what can he be a parent? But both exist, and exist eternally.—God therefore being light, Christ is the effulgence from

<sup>2</sup> Τίς γὰρ δύναται κἄν λογισασθαι μὴ εἶναι ποτε τὸ ἀπαύγασμα; . . . ἢ τίς ἰκανὸς διελθεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλλοῦ τὸ ἀπαύγασμα; Athanas. de Decret. Syn. Nic. 12. vol. I. p.

218. He acknowledges that all such similes are but weak and imperfect. See also §. 23. of same treatise, p. 228. and §. 24. p. 229.

“ it <sup>a</sup>.” We may observe, that the same word is used here to express the eternity of the Father and the Son; and in the same sentence we cannot take the same term in two different senses. Whatever Dionysius conceived of the eternity of the Father, he must also have conceived of the eternity of the Son.

304. *Dionysii ex Elench. et Apol.* p. 89.

“ The Son alone always existing with the Father, “ and filled with him that is essentially <sup>b</sup>, himself also “ is essentially, being of the Father <sup>c</sup>.”

305. *Dionysii ex Elench. et Apol.* p. 90.

Having appealed to the line of argument which he adopted in his book against Sabellius, he says, “ In which I have proved that the accusation, which “ they bring against me is false, of saying that Christ “ was not of one substance with God <sup>d</sup>.”

This testimony of Dionysius is particularly valuable, because it contains the word *ὁμοούσιος*, of *one substance*, which caused such vehement disputes at and after the council of Nice. It is also to be found in another work of Dionysius, in the letter which he wrote against Paul of Samosata, where he says of Christ, that “ He was by nature Lord and the Word “ of the Father, by whom the Father made all things, “ and said by the holy Fathers to be of one substance “ with the Father <sup>c</sup> :” from which words we may col-

<sup>a</sup> Ὅντος ὄν αἰωνίου τοῦ Πατρὸς, αἰώνιος ὁ υἱός ἐστι, φῶς ἐκ φωτός ὄν ὄντος γὰρ γονεύς, ἔστι καὶ τέκνον· εἰ δὲ μὴ τέκνον εἴη, πῶς καὶ τίνος εἶναι δύναται γονεύς; ἀλλ' εἰσὶν ἄμφω, καὶ εἰσὶν ἀεί.—φωτός μὲν ὄν ὄντος τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ Χριστός ἐστιν ἀπαύ- γασμα. Athanas. p. 254.

<sup>b</sup> See note p. 80.

<sup>c</sup> Μόνος δὲ ὁ υἱός ἀεί συνὼν τῷ

Πατρὶ, καὶ τοῦ ὄντος πληρούμενος, καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν ὄν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς.

<sup>d</sup> — ἐν οἷς ἤλεγξα καὶ ὁ προ- φέρονσιν ἔγκλημα κατ' ἐμοῦ ψεῦδος ὄν, ὡς οὐ λέγοντος τὸν Χριστὸν ὁμοού- σιον εἶναι τῷ Θεῷ. Athanas. p. 255. et de Decret. Syn. Nic. 25. vol. I. p. 230.

<sup>e</sup> Τὸν φήσκει Κύριον, καὶ Λόγον τοῦ Πατρὸς, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐπέσειεν ὁ

lect, that this was not a term then used for the first time by Dionysius, but that earlier writers had used it before him ; and the very fact of his being accused of not using the word shews that it was one, which writers upon this mysterious question were in the habit of using.

From the time of the council of Nice to the present day, it has often been asserted that the term was invented, or at least first applied to the Son, by the Fathers assembled at that council. We might have imagined this assertion to be unfounded from the testimony of Eusebius<sup>f</sup> and Athanasius<sup>g</sup>, both of whom tell us, that the Fathers did not invent a new term, but that writers of note at different times had already used it : and this testimony of Eusebius is of more importance, because it appears from the letter already referred to in the note, that his own opinion was rather against having the term *consubstantial* inserted in the Creed ; but he says, “ I find “ that learned and distinguished bishops, and writers “ in former times, made use of the term *consubstan-* “ *tial* with reference to the divinity of the Father “ and the Son<sup>h</sup>.” Athanasius expressly names Dionysius as having applied the term to Christ : and fortunately the letter of Dionysius is preserved to confirm this assertion.

Rufinus also tells us<sup>i</sup>, that Origen used the term ; and Pamphilus has preserved a passage containing

Πατῆρ, καὶ ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ εἰρη-  
μένον ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων. con-  
tra Paul. Samos. p. 214.

<sup>f</sup> Apud Socrat. H. E. I. 8. p.  
25. et Theodoret. I. 12. p. 40.

<sup>g</sup> De Decret. Syn. Nic. 25.  
vol. I. p. 230. Ep. ad Afric.

Episc. 6. p. 896, et 9. p. 898.

<sup>h</sup> Τῶν παλαιῶν τινος λόγιους καὶ  
ἐπιφανεῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ συγγραφεῖας  
ἔγνωμεν [al. εἶρομεν] ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ  
πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ θεολογίας τῆς τοῦ ὁμο-  
ουσίου χρησαμένους ὀνόματι.

<sup>i</sup> De Adult. Lib. Orig. init.

it, which I have already quoted at p. 346. but I have reserved these remarks for this place, because Dionysius is the first writer, whose original works remain containing the actual Greek word *ὁμοούσιος*, expressly applied to the Son. It also occurs more than once in the creed or exposition of faith drawn up by the council of Antioch in the year 269, which is given at N<sup>o</sup>. 327.

The word *ὁμοούσιος* was in frequent use in the time of Irenæus, though he does not any where expressly apply it to the relationship between the Son and the Father. The Gnostic heretics also made use of the term, when speaking of the emission of their imaginary Æons<sup>k</sup>: and if we cannot prove, that Irenæus actually spoke of the Son as *ὁμοούσιος* with the Father, it may at least be shewn, that his own arguments led to the application of the term in this sense. In b. II. c. 17. p. 138. where he is asking the Gnostics concerning the manner in which the Æons were put forth, he says, “ Were they united to him who “ put them forth, like rays put forth from the sun ? “ or were they put forth really and divisibly, so that “ each of them had a separate existence and a dis- “ tinct form, like man produced from man, and cattle “ from cattle ? And were they *of the same substance* “ with those who put them forth, or had they their “ substance from some other substance ?——If each “ of them was put forth really and according to its “ own production, like men are, either these gene- “ rations of the Father will be *of the same sub- “ stance* with him, and like him who begat them, “ or if they shall appear unlike, we must confess “ that they are of a different substance.—— But

<sup>k</sup> I. 5. 5. p. 27.

“ if, as one light kindled from another, the Æons  
 “ are from Logos, Logos from Nus, and Nus from  
 “ Bythus, as, for instance, torches lighted from an-  
 “ other torch, they will differ perhaps from each  
 “ other in generation and in size ; but since they are  
 “ of the same substance with the source of their  
 “ emission, they must either all continue impassible,  
 “ or the Father will also partake of their passions<sup>1</sup>.”  
 This passage may contain obscurities : but it suffi-  
 ciently proves that Irenæus often used the term  
 ὁμοούσιος ; and that he also believed, that whatever  
 is produced from another, like light from light, must  
 necessarily be of the same substance with that which  
 produced it<sup>m</sup>. But the notion of the Son being be-  
 gotten by the Father, as light put forth from light,  
 is to be found in the writings of all the early Chris-  
 tians, as I have observed at p. 387 : consequently  
 Irenæus could not have refused, according to his

<sup>1</sup> Quæritur igitur, quemadmodum emissi sunt reliqui Æones ? Utrum uniti ei qui emisit, quemadmodum a sole radii, an efficaciter et partiliter, (f. ἐνεργουμένως καὶ διαίρουμένως,) uti sit unusquisque eorum separatim, et suam figurationem habens, quemadmodum ab homine homo, et a pecude pecus ? Et utrum ejusdem substantiæ (ὁμοούσιου) existebant his qui se emiserunt, an ex altera quadam substantia substantiam habentes ?—Sed si quidem efficaciter et secundum suam genesin unusquisque illorum emissus est secundum hominum similitudinem, vel generationes Patris erunt ejusdem substantiæ (ὁμοούσιου) ei, et similes generatori ; vel si dissimiles

parebunt, ex altera quadam substantia confiteri eos esse necesse est.—Si autem, velut a lumine lumina accensa, sunt Æones a Logo, Logos autem a Nu, et Nus a Bytho, velut, verbi gratia, a facula faculæ ; generatione (f. τῷ γεννηθῆναι) quidem et magnitudine fortasse distabant ab invicem : ejusdem autem substantiæ (ὁμοούσιου) cum sint cum principe emissionis ipsorum, aut omnes impassibiles perseverant, aut et Pater ipsorum participabit passiones.

<sup>m</sup> This is again repeated in the same chapter, §. 7. Si autem, quomodo a sole radios, Æonas ipsorum emissiones habuisse dicent, ejusdem substantiæ et de eodem omnes cum sint, aut &c.



own argument, to have called the Son *ὁμοούσιος* with the Father: and this must have been his belief, though we do not find it expressly stated in his writings which have come down to us.

There is also another passage in this work of Irenæus, from which it might be argued that he believed the Son to be *ὁμοούσιος* with the Father. It occurs in b. IV. c. 33. §. 4. where he is arguing against the Ebionite notion that Jesus was a mere man; and he asks, "How could he be greater than Solomon, or greater than Jonas, and how was he Lord of David, if he was *of the same substance* with them?" Irenæus therefore did not believe that Jesus was *ὁμοούσιος* with men; and since he is here arguing that Jesus was God<sup>o</sup>, it would seem to follow that he believed him to be *ὁμοούσιος* with God. When Irenæus says that Jesus was not of the same substance with man, we must of course understand him to mean, that he was not merely so: he was *ὁμοούσιος* with man in his human nature, but he was also *ὁμοούσιος* with God.

No other of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, whose genuine works remain, has used the term; though we might suspect that it was well known, even by heretics, that it was so used by Christians, since we have an account of a work being written by Hippolytus "against those who attack the incarnation of the Word of God on account of his *consubstantiality* with the Father P." The work itself is lost: but

<sup>n</sup> Quomodo autem plus quam Salomon, aut plus quam Jona habebat, et Dominus erat David, qui ejusdem cum ipsis fuit *substantiæ* ? p. 271.

<sup>o</sup> Quomodo possunt salvari, (Ebionitæ,) nisi Deus est qui salutem illorum super terram operatus est ?

P See p. 277 of this book.

there can be little doubt that the persons, against whom it was written, were the Docetæ, who denied that Jesus took a real human body : and one of their arguments seems to have been taken from the fact, that the Son was consubstantial with the Father. If the word actually occurred in the title of this book, the use of the term in the second century is no longer doubtful. Athanasius tells us, that the term was applied to the Father and the Son by Dionysius bishop of Rome<sup>q</sup>. In a work erroneously ascribed to Justin Martyr<sup>r</sup> we find the word : and in the extracts of Theodotus, which have been ascribed to Clement of Alexandria, but which are certainly of much later date, the word occurs at c. 42. where the body of Jesus is said to be *of one substance* with the church. In a spurious work ascribed to Origen<sup>s</sup>, it is said that God the Word is of one substance with the Father. The term is also to be found in the treatise *upon Faith*, which is ascribed to Gregory of Neocæsarea, c. 2. but which is generally supposed to be of a later date.

It appears therefore that out of the Greek Fathers, who wrote before the council of Nice, the word *ὁμοούσιος*, as applied to the union of the Father and the Son, was used by Origen, Dionysius of

<sup>q</sup> De Decret. Syn. Nic. c. 25. I. p. 230. where he tells us also that the Homoousian doctrine was clearly taught by Theognostus, who flourished about the year 282 ; and certainly nothing can be plainer than the meaning of the following passage which he quotes from the writings of Theognostus : Οὐκ ἔξωθεν τίς ἐστίν ἐφευρεθεῖσα ἢ τοῦ υἱοῦ ὠσία, οὐδὲ ἐκ μὴ ὄντων ἐπεισῆχθη

ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίας ἔφυ, ὡς τοῦ φωτὸς τὸ ἀπαύγασμα, ὡς ἕδατος ἀτμίς· οὔτε γὰρ τὸ ἀπαύγασμα οὔτε ἡ ἀτμίς, αὐτὸ τὸ ἕδαρ ἐστίν, ἢ αὐτὸς ὁ ἥλιος, οὔτε ἀλλότριον· ἀλλὰ ἀπόβροια τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίας, οὐ μερισμῶν ὑπομενιάσης τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίας.

<sup>r</sup> Quæst. Græc. ad Christ. p. 538.

<sup>s</sup> De recta in Deum Fide. sect. I. vol. I. p. 804.

Alexandria, the Fathers at the council of Antioch, and Dionysius of Rome; to which we may perhaps add the much older authority of Irenæus and Hippolytus. The names of profane authors, who have used the term, may be seen in lexicons<sup>1</sup>.

It must not however be omitted, that some expressions of Latin writers seem clearly to shew, that the word *consubstantial* was not strange to their ears. In the Latin translation of Irenæus, we read, that "the Holy Ghost declared the birth of Christ, "which was of a Virgin, and his substance, that he "was God<sup>u</sup>," from which it would appear that Irenæus believed in the consubstantiality of God and Christ, though he did not perhaps actually use the word *ὁμοούσιος* in this place. Tertullian however seems to have had it more directly in view, when he said, that "The Son of God was called God from "*unity of substance*<sup>x</sup>." In another place he condemns the heretics, who made the Father Son and Holy Ghost to be absolutely and personally one, "As if all might not be one in this way, that all "proceed from one, I mean *by unity of substance*<sup>y</sup>:" soon after which he expressly says, that "the Three "are *of one substance*<sup>z</sup>." In the same treatise he

<sup>1</sup> See Petavius de Trin. l. IV. c. 5. p. 204.

<sup>u</sup> Diligenter igitur significavit Spiritus Sanctus per ea quæ dicta sunt generationem ejus, quæ est ex Virgine, et substantiam, quoniam Deus. III. 21. 4. p. 217. See also II. 17. 7. p. 139.

<sup>x</sup> Hunc ex Deo prolatum didicimus et prolatione generatum, et ideo Filium Dei et Deum dictum ex unitate substantiæ. Apol. c. 21. p. 19. which would

be in Greek—καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Θεὸν λεγόμενον ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοούσιου εἶναι.

<sup>y</sup> —quasi non sic quoque unus sit omnia, dum ex uno omnia, per substantiæ scilicet unitatem. Adv. Prax. c. 2. p. 501. which would be in Greek, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐν εἴῃ καὶ οὕτως πάντα, φ' ἐξ ἐνὸς πάντα, διὰ τοῦ ὁμοούσια εἶναι.

<sup>z</sup> —unius autem substantiæ, et unius status, et unius potestatis. Ib.

says, that "he derives the Son from nothing else "but *from the substance* of the Father<sup>a</sup>:" and again, "I every where hold *one substance* in three "coherent Persons<sup>b</sup>." It will surely be allowed after these examples, that if Tertullian, who understood Greek, and had written in that language, had not met with the word *ὁμοούσιος*, he was at least fully acquainted with the doctrine which it conveyed, and expressed it as adequately as he could in Latin words.

Novatian also says, that "there is one true God "and eternal Father, from whom this divine power "is sent forth, and being delivered to the Son is "again by *communion of substance* brought back to "the Father<sup>c</sup>." Lactantius speaking of the Father and the Son, says, that "both have one mind, one "spirit, *one substance*<sup>d</sup>."

Perhaps Athanasius and Eusebius were not wrong in saying, that the word *ὁμοούσιος* was used by writers who lived before the council of Nice<sup>e</sup>.

306. *Dionysii ex Elench. et Apol.* c. 10. p. 95.

The following passage was in the second book of the Defence: "If any of my accusers imagine, because I have called God the Maker and Creator "of all things, that I also call Him the maker of

<sup>a</sup> C. 4. Cæterum qui Filium non aliunde deduco, sed de substantia Patris, &c.

<sup>b</sup> C. 12. Cæterum etsi ubique teneo unam substantiam in tribus cohærentibus &c.

<sup>c</sup> Unus Deus ostenditur verus et æternus Pater, a quo solo hæc vis divinitatis emissa etiam in Filium tradita et directa rursus per substantiæ communionem ad Patrem revolvitur. c. 31.

p. 730.

<sup>d</sup> Una utrique mens, unus spiritus, una substantia est. Instit. IV. 29. p. 351.

<sup>e</sup> Epiphanius has some good remarks upon the use of this term. Hær. LXIX. 70. vol. I. p. 797. A long and learned discussion may also be read in Cudworth's Intellectual System. c. IV. §. 36.

“ Christ, let him observe, that I first had called Him  
 “ Father, in which the term Son is also included ;  
 “ for I introduced the word *Maker* after I had used  
 “ that of Father <sup>f</sup> ; and neither is He the Father of  
 “ the things of which He is the maker, if he that  
 “ begets is properly called father—nor is the Father  
 “ a maker, if only he who makes a thing with his  
 “ hands is called maker <sup>g</sup>.”

307. *Dionysii ex Elench. et Apol.* c. 11. p. 96.

In the same book he allows that he may have applied the word *Maker* to God with reference to His Son ; but he says, that he used it “ on account of  
 “ the flesh which the Word assumed and which was  
 “ made <sup>h</sup> :” he mentions also the sense in which ποιητής was applied by the Greeks to poets, i. e. the *makers* of their works ; which is evidently a metaphorical sense, and merely means that their works were produced by them <sup>i</sup>.

If Dionysius was accused of calling the Son *a creature*, merely because he called God the Maker, Ποιητής, of all things, nothing could be more unfair than such a charge. The very fact of this word coming to signify *a poet* proves, as Dionysius observes, that manual formation was not a necessary

<sup>f</sup> This passage is mistranslated by the Benedictine editor of Athanasius, and by the editor of Dionysius.

<sup>g</sup> Ἐάν δέ τις τῶν συκοφαντῶν, ἐπειδή τῶν ἀπάντων ποιητὴν τὸν Θεὸν καὶ δημιουργὸν εἶπον, οἴηται με καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ λέγειν, ἀκουσάτω μου πρότερον πατέρα φήσαντος αὐτὸν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς προσγέγραπται· μετὰ γὰρ τὸ εἰπεῖν πατέρα ποιητὴν ἐπαγόχα· καὶ οὔτε πατὴρ ἐστὶν ἄν ποιητής, εἰ κυρίως ὁ γενήσας πατὴρ

ἀκούωτο——οὔτε ποιητής ὁ πατήρ, εἰ μόνος ὁ χειροτέχνης ποιητής λέγοιτο. Athanas. p. 257.

<sup>h</sup> ——εἰρηκέναι γὰρ ποιητὴν φησι διὰ τὴν σάρκα ἣν ἀέλαβε γενητὴν ὄσαν αὐτὴν ὁ Λογός. Athanas. p. 258.

<sup>i</sup> Aristotle illustrates the application of the term ποιεῖν to poets and to parents by saying of the former, ὑπεραγατῶσι γὰρ τὰ οἰκεία ποιήματα, στέργωντες ὡσπερ τέκνα. Eth. Nic. IX. 7.

part of the idea attached to the term : and if Dionysius even said that God was the Maker, Ποιητής, of His Son, meaning thereby that the Son originated from the Father, as being begotten by him, he might still have believed in the coeternity of the Father and the Son. For though Homer existed before the Iliad, yet we cannot say that the *poet* Homer existed before his poetry : he was not a poet, till the poetry had an existence ; which I merely observe for the sake of shewing, that the word ποιητής, *maker*, does not necessarily imply that the person of whom it is predicated, existed before the thing which he produced.

308. *Dionysii ex Elench. et Apol. c. 13. p. 97.*

This fragment, which is taken from the third book, contains some illustrations of the manner in which the Son was generated by the Father ; “ He “ was begotten, life of life, and flowed as a river “ from a fountain, and was a shining light kindled “ from an inextinguishable light<sup>k</sup>.”

309. *Dionysii Epistola adv. Paul. Samos. p. 203.*

This letter was written by Dionysius against the heresy of Paul of Samosata, and we may collect from it that the following were some of the opinions maintained by Paul. He believed that Christ was in fact two persons ; one of whom was by nature the Son of God, who existed before : but the other was merely called Christ, and had no previous existence, but was a mere man, who for his singular piety and virtue was called God. Paul therefore believed that God had a Son, whom he also called the Word of God, but he denied that Jesus was this person. It

<sup>k</sup> Ζωὴ ἐκ ζωῆς ἐγεννήθη, καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ φωτὸς ἀσβέστου λαμπρὸν φῶς περ ποταμὸς ἀπὸ πηγῆς ἔβρευσε, καὶ ἀνήφθη. Athanas. p. 256.

is evident by comparing two passages in Socrates<sup>1</sup> and Athanasius<sup>m</sup> together, that Paul believed a divine emanation from God to have resided in Jesus, though Jesus himself was born as an ordinary man. Athanasius in another place<sup>n</sup> expressly says, that the followers of Paul believed Jesus to have become God after his appearance on earth: and Marcellus, a distinguished successor of Paul, believed the Logos and Christ to be two distinct beings, which were united when the latter was born of Mary<sup>o</sup>. Epiphanius represents Paul as approaching near to Sabellianism<sup>p</sup>: he believed the Logos to be God, and to reside in the Father, but not to have a separate existence. Jesus was a mere man, into whom the Logos entered by inspiration. Dionysius wrote a letter to shew the absurdity of this doctrine, and at p. 204. he says, “ You purposely conceal the knowledge, that one only-begotten Son of God is spoken of, as the divinely inspired scriptures testify of him, who is also called Jesus Christ, *the Lord of glory*, as it is written of him: (1 Cor. ii. 8.) who also saves those that believe on him by his own suffering, saving them as God and not as man; *for*, it is said, *he shall save his people from their sins*: (Matt. i. 21.) for God alone has power to save from sin, as a creditor has to forgive a debt, *for who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth iniquity, and passeth by their transgressions* <sup>q</sup> ?” (Micah vii. 18.)

<sup>1</sup> Il. 19. p. 100.

<sup>m</sup> De Decret. Syn. Nic. 24. vol. I. p. 229.

<sup>n</sup> De Synodis, 26. vol. I. p.

739.

<sup>o</sup> Ib. p. 740.

<sup>p</sup> Hær. LXV. 1. vol. I. p. 608. 612. 614.

<sup>q</sup> Ἐκὼν λέληθας, ὅτι εἷς κεκήρυκται καὶ μονογενὴς υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς μαρτυροῦσι περὶ αὐτοῦ αἱ θεόπνευστοι γραφαί, καὶ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς

Beside other proofs of the divinity of Christ contained in this passage, Dionysius could not have applied the words of Micah to Christ, unless he had believed him to be really God.

310. *Dionysii Epist. adv. Paul. Samos.* p. 205, 6.

Paul having said, that Jesus was a mere man, who was taken into favour by God for his peculiar sanctity, Dionysius observes, that the life of Christ was not one of such strict and rigorous sanctity as that of John the Baptist: "It is therefore absurd to say, that Christ was a man, or that he found favour with God above all men, so as to have God dwell in him, without ascetic and laborious righteousness: for Christ is not in name only, but in truth, being the Word before the worlds, Christ the Lord Jesus; for he himself became man being incarnate of Mary<sup>r</sup>."

311. *Dionysii Epist. adv. Paul. Samos.* p. 207.

Dionysius addresses himself to Paul, as one "who was enraged against the Lord, who is the Father of Christ, and against His Christ: who is Christ the power of God, the Wisdom of the Father, being the eternal Word: for being eternal he became a child, being begotten a Son for us<sup>s</sup>."

καλούμενος, ὁ Κύριος τῆς δόξης, ὡς εἴρηται περὶ αὐτοῦ· ὁ καὶ σώζων τοὺς πιστευόντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἰδίῳ πάθει, θεϊκῶς σώζων, καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπινως· αὐτὸς γάρ, φησι, σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν· μόνῳ γὰρ Θεῷ ἐξ ἁμαρτιῶν δυνατὸν σώζειν, ὥσπερ καὶ τῷ χρεωστουμένῳ τὸ ἄψευδι παρασχεῖν, κ. τ. λ.

<sup>r</sup> Οὐκοῦν ἄποκόν ἐστι τὸ λέγειν ἀνθρώπον τὸν Χριστὸν, ἢ εὐδοκείσθαι παρὰ Θεοῦ παρὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς Θεοῦ κατοίκησιν, ἄνευ τῆς ἀσκη-

τικῆς καὶ ἐπιπόνου δικαιοσύνης· ὁ γὰρ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἀνόματι μόνῳ, ἀλλ' ἀληθείᾳ πρὸ αἰῶνων ὢν Λόγος, Χριστὸς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς· αὐτὸς γὰρ γέγονεν ἀνθρώπος ὁ σαρκωθείς ἐκ Μαρίας.

<sup>s</sup> — ἐνθυμούμενος κατὰ τοῦ Κυρίου, ὅς ἐστι πατὴρ Χριστοῦ, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὅς ἐστι Χριστὸς, Θεοῦ δύναμις, ἢ τοῦ Πατρὸς σοφία, ὢν Λόγος αἰδῖος· αἰδῖος γὰρ ὢν γέγονε παιδίον, γεννηθεὶς ἡμῖν υἱός.



312. *Dionysii Epist. adv. Paul. Samos.* p 207, 8.

“ But Isaiah before this was inspired and spake  
“ of the Child, who was God, *the mighty God*, and  
“ the Virgin who conceived †.”

313. *Dionysii Epist. adv. Paul. Samos.* p. 210.

“ But Christ, who rose from the dead, died and  
“ lived, that he might be Lord of the dead and the  
“ living: for he is God by nature, who had dominion  
“ over all things: and having risen, and being re-  
“ cognized by his wounds to be very God, who was  
“ crucified and rose again, and was declared by  
“ Thomas to be God and Lord with equal honour,  
“ (for the Lord God who was wounded for our sakes  
“ rose again having the wounds in his hands:) for  
“ the God of the apostles, who was handled by them,  
“ was not by nature man, but by nature God, who  
“ has the heathen for his inheritance, and is the Judge  
“ of all the earth, as it is written, *Arise, O God,*  
“ *judge the earth, for thou shalt inherit all nations.*  
“ (Psalm lxxxii. 8.) Christ being the Word, the Son  
“ of God, the heir, died in later times after his ser-  
“ vants the prophets, as he himself says in the Gos-  
“ pels to those who killed the prophets †.” Then  
follows the passage which has been given already at

† Ἄλλὰ πρὸ τούτου ἐμπνέων Ἡ-  
σαίας Θεὸν ἰσχυρὸν, Θεὸν παιδίον κη-  
ρύττει, καὶ παρθένον ἐν γαστρὶ λαμ-  
βάνουσαν.

“ Ὁ δὲ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστὰς Χρι-  
στὸς ἀπέθανε καὶ ἐζήσεν, ἵνα καὶ  
νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων κυριεύσῃ· Θεὸς  
γὰρ ἐστὶ φύσει, ὁ κυριεύων τῶν ἀ-  
πάντων· καὶ ἀναστὰς καὶ ἐπιγνωθεὶς  
ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων Θεὸς εἶναι ἀληθι-  
νός, ὁ σταυρωθεὶς καὶ ἀναστὰς, ὁμο-  
τύμιμος τε Θεὸς Κύριος ὑπὸ τοῦ Θωμᾶ  
κηρυττόμενος· ὁ γὰρ Κύριος ὁ Θεός,

ἔχων ἐν χερσίν αὐτοῦ τοὺς μώλωπας,  
ἀνέστη, ὁ τετραυματισμένος δι' ἡμᾶς·  
Θεὸς γὰρ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ ψηλαφη-  
θεὶς, οὐ φύσει ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλὰ φύσει  
Θεός, ὁ κληρονόμος τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ  
κρίνων πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, ὡς γέγραπται,  
Ἄναστα κ. τ. λ. Τὸς Θεοῦ Λόγος ὦν  
ὁ Χριστὸς, ὁ κληρονόμος, ἀπέθανεν  
ἕστερον μετὰ τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ τοὺς  
προφήτας, ὡς αὐτός, φησιν, ἐν εὐαγ-  
γελίοις εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς ἀπωκτείναντας  
τοὺς προφήτας.

p. 128. after which we read, " Christ is one, who is  
 " in the Father, the coeternal Word : there is one  
 " person of him, the invisible God, and who became  
 " visible, for *God was manifest in the flesh*, (1 Tim.  
 " iii. 16.) being made of a woman, who was begotten  
 " of God his Father. — One only Virgin the daugh-  
 " ter of life brought forth the living and self-sub-  
 " stantial Word, the uncreated Creator, the God who  
 " came into the world and was unknown, God who  
 " is above the heavens, the Maker of heaven, the  
 " Creator of the world x." This last sentence seems  
 alone sufficient to refute the assertion, that Diony-  
 sius believed Christ to be *a creature*.

314. *Dionysii Epist. adv. Paul. Samos.* p. 214, 15.

" He that was begotten of God before the worlds,  
 " the same in the latter days was born of his mo-  
 " ther : for this reason the Jews were murderers of  
 " God y, because they crucified the Lord of glory ;  
 " for if Christ were not himself the Word, very God,  
 " he could not have been without sin : for no one is  
 " without sin, except one, who is Christ, as also the  
 " Father of Christ, and the Holy Ghost : whence also  
 " he died voluntarily, and rose again voluntarily,  
 " having performed the divine miracles, being the  
 " only-begotten Son of God : it is he who asked for  
 " the divine glory, which he had before the world  
 " was ; (John xvii. 5.) not that he was destitute of

x Εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστὸς, ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ  
 πατρὶ συναΐδιος Λόγος· ἐν αὐτοῦ πρόσω-  
 πον, ἀόρατος Θεός, καὶ ὄρατος γε-  
 νόμενος· Θεὸς γὰρ ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρ-  
 κί, γενόμενος ἐκ γυναικὸς ὁ ἐκ Θεοῦ  
 πατρὸς γεννηθεὶς — μὴ δὲ μόνη  
 παρθένης θυγάτηρ ζωῆς ἐγέννησε τὸν  
 ζῶντα Λόγον καὶ ἐνπύστατον, τὸν

ἀκτιστον καὶ δημιουργόν· τὸν ἐλθόντα  
 ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ ἄγνωστον Θεόν,  
 καὶ ὑπερουράνιον Θεόν, οὐρανοῦ ποιη-  
 τήν, τὸν δημιουργόν τοῦ κόσμου.

y See Tertullian, p. 205. No.  
 109, where the same expression  
 is used.

“ it ; God forbid ! but he says, that the manifestation  
 “ of himself was made to us, that we who believe  
 “ might glorify him, who was glorified in strength,  
 “ being righteous by nature, as God, not by ascetic  
 “ exercise, like any religious man—but Christ was  
 “ not shewn forth in ascetic practice by religious  
 “ faith, as we have said already : for his righteous-  
 “ ness was natural, and his power divine : and he is  
 “ himself believed to be the only true God, who re-  
 “ quires of men that they should profess their faith  
 “ in him <sup>z</sup>.”

315. *Dionysii adv. Paul. Samos. Quæst. I. p. 218.*

Beside the letter which Dionysius wrote against the heretic Paul, there is another work of his, containing answers to ten questions, which Paul proposed as objections to the orthodox belief. The whole of this treatise might be translated, as containing the most unequivocal assertions of the divinity of Christ, and his eternal coexistence with the Father : nor will there be need of much introduction or prefatory remark to make the different passages intelligible : but if we could entertain any doubt as to what were the tenets of the catholic church in the

<sup>z</sup> Ὁ ἐκ Θεοῦ γεννηθεὶς πρὸ αἰώνων, ὁ αὐτὸς ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ἐκ μητρὸς· διὰ τοῦτο θεοκτόνοι Ἰουδαῖοι, ἐπεὶ τὸν Κύριον τῆς δόξης ἐσταύρωσαν· εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν ὁ Χριστὸς αὐτός ὁ ὢν Θεὸς Λόγος, οὐκ ἠδύνατο εἶναι ἀναμάρτητος· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀναμάρτητος, εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ Χριστὸς, ὡς καὶ ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα· ἴθεν καὶ θέλων ἀπέθανε, καὶ ἐκὼν ἠγέρθη, ἐργασάμενος τὰς θεοσημίας, υἱὸς ὢν τοῦ Θεοῦ μονογενῆς· αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ αἰτῶν τὴν θείκην δόξαν, ἣν εἶχε πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον γενέσθαι, οὐ ταύτης

ὢν ἔρημος, μὴ γένοιτο, ἀλλὰ λέγει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι φανέρωσιν, ἵνα δοξάσωμεν αὐτὸν οἱ πιστοὶ, τὸν δεδοξασμένον ἐν ἰσχύϊ, δίκαιον ὄντα φύσει, ὡς Θεὸν, οὐ κατὰ ἄσκησιν, καὶ καμάτων, ὡς πᾶς ἄνθρωπος τῶν θεοσεβῶν—Χριστὸς δὲ οὐκ ἐν ἀσκήσει δέδεικται διὰ πίστεως θεοσεβείας, ὡς ἤδη προεῖρηται· φυσικῆ γὰρ δικαιοσύνη καὶ θείκῃ δυνάμει ὑπάρχει· καὶ αὐτός ἐστι μόνος πιστευόμενος Θεὸς ἀληθινὸς καὶ ἀπαιτῶν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν ὁμολογίαν τῆς πίστεως.

days of Dionysius, we may collect them most fully from the objections which Paul of Samosata brought forward.

Thus in the first question he says, “How can you say and write that Christ is by nature the God of the apostles, and not a man like ourselves? for he appears to have come to suffer, and he says, *Now is my soul troubled*: (John xii. 27.) say whether this is the nature of a God<sup>a</sup>?” After reading this, it seems impossible to deny, that in the opinion of Paul the whole catholic church believed Jesus Christ to be God by nature: and almost every one of the ten questions leads us to the same conclusion. Dionysius answers the objection by bringing instances from the Old Testament, where God is said to repent and be agitated, and particularly from Hosea xi. 8; after which he says, “Is it not plain, that he who spoke by Hosea is the same who says in his passion, *Now is my soul troubled*?—Acknowledge therefore that he who was crucified was not a man, but one holy, one only-begotten Son of God, the Word<sup>b</sup>.”

316. *Dionysii adv. Paul. Samos. Quæst.* II. p. 220.

The second question contains a similar objection; and Dionysius again brings instances of God being said to be angry, “But if He is not grieved when He visits the disobedient with His anger, there would also be no joy: how then does Jesus, who is God, that cannot lie, say, *Verily, verily, I say unto*

<sup>a</sup> Πῶς δὲ λέγεις καὶ γράφεις, ὅτι φύσει Χριστὸς Θεὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐστὶ καὶ οὐχὶ ἄνθρωπος καθ’ ἡμᾶς ὁ Χριστός; φαίνεται γὰρ ἐρχόμενος εἰς τὸ πάθος, καὶ λέγων, Νῦν ἡ ψυχὴ μου τετάρραται· εἶπε, εἰ τοῦτο φύσις Θεοῦ ἐστίν;

<sup>b</sup> P. 219. Ἄρα ἐν τούτοις οὐ φανερώς ὁ εἰπὼν διὰ Ὁσηέ, ὁ αὐτὸς πάλιν λέγει ἐπὶ τοῦ πάθους, ὅτι νῦν ἡ ψυχὴ μου τετάρραται—καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀπόδειξι, ὅτι οὐκ ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν ὁ σταυρωθείς, ἀλλὰ εἰς ἅγιος, εἰς μονογενὴς υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ Λόγος.

“ you, there is joy in heaven over one sinner that  
 “ repenteth ; (Luke xv. 7.) and again it is written,  
 “ The wrath of God is revealed from heaven  
 “ against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of  
 “ men, who hold the truth of God in unrighteous-  
 “ ness : (Rom. i. 18.) this is the wrath of God against  
 “ those who grieve the Son of God, who is the true  
 “ God, because they also grieve the Father, who to-  
 “ gether with the Son is without beginning, as also  
 “ the Holy Ghost <sup>c</sup>.”

317. *Dionysii adv. Paul. Samos. Quæst. III. p. 221.*

In the third question, which it is not necessary to state at length, Paul charges Dionysius with saying, that Christ “ is the Word and Wisdom of the Father, “ and God coeternal with the Father <sup>d</sup> :” and Dionysius in the course of his reply, says, “ The God of “ Israel, the Lord, when he rose again on the third “ day, built up in himself those that were dispersed, “ a holy temple <sup>c</sup>.”

318. *Dionysii adv. Paul. Samos. Quæst. IV. p. 227.*

The fourth objection is also one which it is not necessary to explain : but we may observe, that Dionysius in his reply uses these remarkable words in allusion to Psalm xciv. 9. “ The hand of the God of “ Israel planted the ear, who is Jésus,——the foun- “ tain of life, who exists with the Father, the very

<sup>c</sup> Εἰ δὲ οὐ λυπούμενος ἐπάγει τὴν ὀργὴν κατὰ τῶν ἀπειθοῦντων, οὐκ ἀν εἶη χαρὰ· καὶ πῶς λέγει ὁ ἀψευδῆς Ἰησοῦς ὁ Θεὸς, Ἄμην κ. τ. λ. καὶ πάλιν γέγραπται, Ἀποκαλύπτεται κ. τ. λ. αὕτη ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ κατὰ τῶν λυπησάντων τὸν υἱὸν Θεοῦ, τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ἀληθινόν, ὅτι καὶ τὸν Πατέρα ἐλύπησαν τὸν συνάναρχον τοῦ υἱοῦ,

καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.

<sup>d</sup>—— αὐτὸν λέγων εἶναι τὸν Λόγον καὶ τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ Θεὸν συναΐδιον τοῦ Πατρὸς.

<sup>e</sup> P. 224. Ἄλλ' ἀναστάς τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ὁ Κύριος τοὺς διασπαρέντας φκοδόμησεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὸν ἅγιον.

“ Christ Jesus <sup>f</sup>.” and again, “ Jesus Christ, the God  
 “ of Israel, being about to be led to his holy and  
 “ life-giving cross, was not led alone, but the Father  
 “ was with him : for before he came to the cross, he  
 “ said to the blessed apostles, *The hour cometh,*  
 “ *when ye shall all leave me alone : and yet I am*  
 “ *not alone, because the Father that sent me is with*  
 “ *me, and hath not left me alone ;* (John xvi. 32.)  
 “ so that the type was proved to be reality : for he  
 “ that endured the cross thought it not robbery to  
 “ be equal with God, who is the Word of the Fa-  
 “ ther, and the Son, and our Lord God, the Lord of  
 “ Hosts, who was lifted up upon the cross——for if  
 “ Moses was ordered by the Holy Spirit in the ty-  
 “ pical prefiguration to choose the goats without  
 “ spot, will it not be much more so with the Word  
 “ ——who is of one species with the Father, like  
 “ him without beginning, the very Christ, coeternal  
 “ with him who begat him?——When the Son was  
 “ led as a sheep to the slaughter, the Father was  
 “ not separated from His Word, who is of one spe-  
 “ cies with himself: the two substances are insepar-  
 “ able, as is the substantial Spirit of the Father,  
 “ which was in the Son <sup>r</sup>.” At p. 232 he speaks of

<sup>f</sup> ἐφόρευσαν ὅτιον αἱ χεῖρες τοῦ  
 Θεοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, ὅς ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς,——  
 ἡ πηγή τῆς ζωῆς, ἡ οὐσα παρὰ τῆ  
 πατρί, ὁ ὢν Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς.

<sup>r</sup> P. 229. Μέλλον γὰρ ἄγεσθαι εἰς  
 τὸν ἅγιον αὐτοῦ καὶ ζωοποιὸν σταυρὸν  
 εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ Θεὸς  
 Ἰσραὴλ Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἦγετο  
 μόνος, ἀλλ’ ἦν μετ’ αὐτοῦ ὁ πατήρ  
 πρὶν γὰρ ἔλθειν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν σταυρὸν,  
 εἶπε τοῖς ἀγίοις ἀποστόλοις, ὅτι ἔρχε-  
 ται ἕρα, κ. τ. λ. ὥστε ὅν εἰδείχθη ὁ  
 τύπος ἀλήθεια· ὅτι οὐχ ἀρκαγμῶν

ἠγήσατο τὸ εἶναι Ἰσα Θεῶ ὁ σταυρὸν  
 ἱπομεινας, ὅς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ μὲν τοῦ  
 πατρὸς Λόγος, καὶ υἱὸς, ἡμῶν δὲ Θεὸς  
 Κύριος, ὁ ἐπὶ σταυροῦ ὑψωθείς Κύριος  
 σαβαὼθ——εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τύπῃ τῆς  
 προδιαγραφῆς οὕτω παρεκελεύετο  
 Μωϋσῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἵνα  
 ἀμώμους ἐπιλέξηται τοὺς χιμάρους,  
 πῶς οὐ μᾶλλον ὁ——συνάναρχος  
 Λόγος, Χριστὸς ὢν, συναΐδιος τοῦ  
 γενήσαντος ; —— p. 230. ὁ πατήρ  
 ἀγομένου τοῦ ἀμοῦ (l. forsan υἱοῦ)  
 ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγῆν, οὐκ ἐχωρί-

“ the self-substantial ever-existing Christ, who is equal to the Father on account of the absence of all difference in substance <sup>b</sup>.” And at p. 233, “ He of Samosata rose up first, speaking wickedly, calling the blood of Jesus corrupt, who is Jesus the God of Israel: and he calls the ransom of all corruption and suffering and death, which redeems us from the bondage of corruption, the blood of a mortal and passible man, because the Lord of glory said to his disciples, *Take this and divide it: it is the new testament in my blood: do this*<sup>i</sup>.” (Luke xxii. 17, 20.) And at the end of this argument, p. 237, he says, “ We have proved that the holy blood of our God Jesus Christ is not corrupt, nor the blood of a mortal man like ourselves, but of very God <sup>k</sup>.” This passage, in which Dionysius says that the Son is *coeternal* with the Father, ought to be sufficient to acquit him of the charge of Arianism: for in the Confession of faith, which the Arians presented to Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, they expressly assert that the Son “ is not eternal, or coeternal with the Father<sup>l</sup>.” In the same manner Dionysius speaks of the Son as *συνάναρχος τοῦ γεννήσαντος, equally without beginning*

σθη τοῦ ὁμοειδοῦς αὐτοῦ Λόγου· αἱ δύο ἰσοστάσεις ἀχάριστοι, καὶ τὸ ἐνυπόστατον τοῦ Πατρὸς πνεῦμα, ὃ ἦν ἐν τῷ υἱῷ.

<sup>h</sup> Ὁ ἐνυπόστατος αἰὶ ὦν Χριστὸς, ὁ ἴσος τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον τῆς ὑποστάσεως ὧν συναΐδιος καὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ πνεύματι.

<sup>i</sup> Ἀνέστη πρῶτος ὁ Σαμοσατεὺς λαλῶν ἄδικα, λέγων φθαρτὸν τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὃς ἐστὶ Θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ τὸ πάσης φθορᾶς καὶ πάθους, καὶ θανάτου λυτήριον, τὸ ἐξαγα-

ράσαν ἡμᾶς δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς, αἷμα θνητοῦ καὶ παθητοῦ ἀνθρώπου λέγει, διὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν τὸν Κύριον τῆς δόξης πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς, Λάβετε κ. τ. λ.

<sup>k</sup> Οὐ φθαρτὸν τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ οὔτε ἀνθρώπου καθ' ἡμᾶς θνητοῦ, ἀλλὰ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ.

<sup>l</sup> Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐστὶν αἰδιος, ἢ συναΐδιος, ἢ συναγένητος τῷ πατρὶ. Athanas. de Syn. Arim. et Seleuc. 16. vol. I. p. 730.

with Him who begat him : but the Arians asserted that *the Son was not equally without beginning*<sup>m</sup>.  
319. *Dionysii adv. Paul. Samos. Quæst. V. p. 237.*

Paul proposes this as the fifth objection. “ It is “ written in the Gospels, that *the child grew*, and “ Jesus, who was born of the Holy Ghost and the “ Virgin Mary, *waxed strong*, (Luke ii. 40.) How “ then do you say of that which grew and waxed “ strong, that it is before the worlds, and equally “ without beginning with the unbegotten Father, “ and coeternal<sup>n</sup> ? ”

Dionysius in his reply refers to the prophecy of Isaiah vii. 14. and says, “ He adds, *Behold a virgin shall conceive*, and then shews, that the mother of God, i. e. the Virgin, conceived some one, “ whom we acknowledge as our God, the Word His “ Son, who is coeternal with the Father.—And “ what is the quality of the child who was laid in “ the manger? *God, mighty, powerful, the Prince “ of peace, the Father of the world to come* °.” And “ at p. 239, “ But the child Jesus, the God of Israel, “ is the same God, *and his years shall not fail* p;” (Psalm cii. 27.) At p. 240 he says, that Paul “ called “ the Father unbegotten, that by this he might “ prove Christ to be recent and created : for he can- “ not bear to speak of Christ as the coeternal image

<sup>m</sup> Οὔτε μὴν συνάναρχον καὶ συναγένητον τῷ πατρὶ τὸν υἱὸν εἶναι νομιστέον. Ath. de Syn. p. 739.

<sup>n</sup> — πῶς οὖν τὸ αὐξὼν καὶ κραταυόμενον λέγεις ὅτι προαιώνιον καὶ συνάναρχον τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ πατρὶ καὶ συναϊδίῳ;

<sup>o</sup> Καὶ ἐπάγει τὰ Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται, καὶ δείκνυσιν, ὅτι ἡ θεοτόκος τινὰ συνέλαβεν, ἡ παρθένος

δηλονότι, ὃν τινὰ ἡμεῖς ἐγνωρίσαμεν ἡμῶν μὲν Θεὸν, τοῦ δὲ Πατρὸς συναϊδίον ὄντα υἱὸν Λόγον — τίς δὲ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ παιδίου τοῦ ἐν φάτῃ ἀνακλιθέντος; Θεὸς Ἰσχυρὸς, ἐξουσιαστῆς, ἄρχων εἰρήνης, πατὴρ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος.

<sup>p</sup> Τὸ δὲ παιδίον Ἰησοῦς, ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, Θεὸς ἐστὶν αὐτὸς, καὶ τὰ ἔτη αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐκλείψουσιν.



“ of the substance of God the Father<sup>9</sup>.” These words might naturally lead us to ask of Mr. Lindsey and the Unitarians, if Dionysius objected to Paul, that he called Christ *a creature*, how could he have called him so himself?

At p. 242. he concludes by saying, “ He was “ therefore not a man, as we are, who *increased in stature and wisdom*, but *God born as a child and given unto us as a Son*, existing eternally before “ the worlds: and to us he really increased, and “ will increase daily, *and his years do not fail*: for “ Christ is unchangeable, as being God the Word “ — Jesus our God *is the same, and his years shall not fail*.”

320. *Dionysii adv. Paul. Samos. Quæst. VI. p. 242, 3.*

“ It is written, that *the angel of the Lord appeared unto Joseph in a dream, saying, &c.* “ (Matt. ii. 13.) Do you then say, that the child “ who fled with his mother is coeternal with God “ and the Father? And how do you say, that that “ which goes from place to place, which was born “ at Bethlehem, is coeternal with Him who is un- “ begotten<sup>8</sup>?”

It is needless to give the answer of Dionysius, which is so obvious, and I shall only quote from it

<sup>9</sup> Τὸ δὲ εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν ἀγέννητον πατέρα, ἵνα διὰ τούτου δείξῃ πρόσφατον καὶ κτισμῶν οὔτε γὰρ ἀνέχεται εἰπεῖν χαρακτῆρα συναΐδιον τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ πατρὸς ἰποστάσεως τὸν Χριστόν.

<sup>8</sup> Οὐκ ἄνθρωπος οὖν καθ' ἡμᾶς ὁ αὔξων ἡλικίᾳ καὶ σοφίᾳ, ἀλλὰ Θεὸς γεννηθεὶς πατρίῳν καὶ δοθεὶς ἡμῶν εἰς υἱόν, αἰδίων ὄντα πρὸ αἰώνων ἡμῶν καὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἠύξῃσε καὶ αὔξει καθ' ἡμέραν, καὶ τὰ ἔτη αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐκλεί-

πουσιν· ἀναλλοίωτος γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς, ὡς Θεὸς Λόγος — ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ αὐτὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ τὰ ἔτη αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐκλείουσιν.

<sup>8</sup> Γέγραπται, ὅτι ἄγγελος κ. τ. λ. μὴ ἄρα τοῦτο λέγεις, τὸ φεῖγων σὺν τῇ μητρὶ, συναΐδιον τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρί; καὶ πῶς τὸ ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον, τὸ γεννηθὲν ἐν Βηθλεὲμ, συναΐδιον τοῦτο τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ λέγεις;

such passages as bear upon the present subject. At p. 244, speaking of the text, *Out of Egypt have I called my Son*, he observes, "He speaks of the Son, "whom the multitude of the blessed spirits above "worship, the one and undivided Christ, coeternal "with the Father, equally without beginning, the "Creator together with the Father: for Jesus, the "Word before the worlds, is God of Israel, as also "is the Holy Ghost: but if because Joseph fled into "Egypt with Mary, the mother of God, carrying in "her arms our refuge and God and strength, he "therefore says, that he fled like one of us, as David "did from Saul '—"

At p. 247, "Christ, who is God in the Father, is "spoken of by the Holy Ghost, by the mouth of "David, as eternally Christ, who for our sakes en- "dured to become flesh, when he was the Word, "and remained Christ, the Word, Jesus, God<sup>u</sup>." At the end, speaking of the heresy of Paul, he says, p. 248, "He shall not escape with impunity for "speaking blasphemy against the merciful Holy "Spirit: for *God is a Spirit*, (John iv. 24.) as "Christ hath taught us, who is Truth, God over "all, *he that rideth upon a swift cloud, and shall "come into Egypt, the Lord* (Isaiah xix. 1.) God "of Israel, Jesus Christ<sup>x</sup>."

<sup>t</sup> Τὸν δὲ λέγει, ὃν προσκυνεῖ ἡ τῶν ἄνω ἀγίων πνευμάτων πληθὺς τὸν ἕνα καὶ ἀμέριστον Χριστὸν, τὸν συναϊδιον τοῦ Πατρὸς, συνἀναρχον, συνδημιουργὸν τῷ Πατρὶ· Θεὸς γὰρ Ἰσραὴλ Ἰησοῦς ὁ πρὸ αἰῶνων Λόγος, ὡς καὶ τὸ ἄγιον πνεῦμα· εἰ δὲ διὰ τὸ φεύγειν εἰς Αἴγυπτον τὸν Ἰωσήφ ἅμα τῇ θεοτόκῃ Μαρίας ἐν ἀγκάλαις φερούσῃ τὴν καταφυγὴν ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸν καὶ δύναμιν,

καὶ τοῦτον, ὡς ἕνα τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς, ὀρίζει φεύγοντα, ὡς τὸν Δαυιδ ἀπὸ Σαουλ——

<sup>u</sup> Χριστὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ, διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου ὑπὸ Δαυιδ κηρύττεται ἀεὶ Χριστὸς ὁ δι' ἡμᾶς καταδεξάμενος γενέσθαι σὰρξ, Λόγος ὢν, καὶ μείνας Χριστὸς Λόγος Ἰησοῦς ὁ Θεός.

<sup>x</sup> Οὐ γὰρ ἀβῆος ἀπελεύσεται

321. *Dionysii adv. Paul. Samos. Quæst. VII. p.248.*

Paul here asks Dionysius to explain to him the meaning of the text Phil. ii. 6, &c. for according to Paul's own notion, the man Jesus, who was called Christ, had an existence of his own, like any other man, before the title of Christ was given to him by God: and what is said of Christ, that *he took the form of a servant*, was quoted by Paul of Samosata in support of his opinion: for he argued, that if Christ took the form of a servant, that form must have existed first, or it could not have been taken.

I have already observed at p. 123, that Dionysius gives an explanation of the whole passage, and I have there quoted his words at some length. He goes on at p. 257. to comment upon that part of the text, "*taking the form of a servant, made in the likeness of men*: Jesus Christ, who is Lord and God of the apostles, who took the form of a servant, when the mystical supper was ended, *rose from supper*, Jesus the God of the apostles, *and laid aside his garments; and taking a linen cloth he girded himself.* (John xiii. 4.) This is *the form of a servant: and being found in fashion as a man*, he was there found as a servant by those who did not seek him: for his disciples did not leave all their goods and follow a servant—— but they followed him himself, Jesus the Son of God, who submitted to gird himself with a cloth, and to put water in a basin, and wash the feet of servants, he who was by nature Lord, and not by

Ἐπισημαίνων κατὰ τοῦ φιλαυθρόπου  
πνεῦμα τοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου· πνεῦμα δὲ ὁ Θεός,  
ὃς ἐδίδαξεν ἡμᾶς ἢ ἀληθεῖα Χριστός,

ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός, ὁ ἐπὶ νεφέλης  
κ. τ. λ. Κύριος ὁ Θεός Ἰσραὴλ, Ἰησοῦς  
ὁ Χριστός.

“ nature a servant, who took the form of a servant,  
“ being made in the likeness of men.”

We must remember, that Dionysius is arguing against the notion, that Jesus was actually a man in a servile station, who was afterwards honoured with the title of Christ: and he says, that the disciples would not have followed him, had they known him to be merely a servant; but after he had united the human nature to the divine, *being made in the likeness of men*, he then performed acts which are more becoming a servant than a master. This explanation of the words necessarily implies the preexistence of Christ.

At p. 259. “ The apostle continues, *he humbled himself*: do you see what is meant by his humbling himself? It was not the servant that humbled himself, but the lordly character of the servant, which required him to serve, as Pharaoh made Israel to serve: hence he says, that *he humbled himself*. There is therefore no room given to blasphemers in this place to deny what is said, but their mouths are stopped by his humbling himself and being obedient unto death: for God disfigured himself and heard the prayer of His suppliants, and *He bowed the heavens and came down* (Psalm xviii. 9.) to free us, being free, as God and Lord of Glory, Jesus Christ—*Where-*

Υ Μορφῆν οὖν δούλου λαβὼν ὁ Χριστός Ἰησοῦς, Κύριος ὢν καὶ Θεὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων, δείκνου γενομένου τοῦ μυστικῆς, ἐγείρεται ἐκ τοῦ δείκνου ὁ Θεὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων Ἰησοῦς, καὶ τίθησι τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ, καὶ λαβὼν λέντιον διεζώσατο. Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ μορφή τοῦ δούλου· καὶ σχήματι εὐρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ἐκεῖ εὐρέθη τοῖς

μὴ ζητοῦσιν αὐτὸν δούλος, οὐ γὰρ δούλην ἠκολούθησαν οἱ μαθηταί, καταλιπόντες πάντα—ἀλλ' ἐκείνη αὐτῶν ἠκολούθησαν τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰησοῦ, τῶ καταβεβαμένῳ διαζώσασθαι λέντιον—ὁ φύσει Κύριος, καὶ οὐχ ὁ φύσει δούλος, ὁ λαβὼν τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ δούλου κ. τ. λ.

“fore also God hath highly exalted him: yea, for  
 “God says to my God Jesus Christ by David, *Be*  
 “*thou exalted, O God, above the heavens, and*  
 “*let thy glory be above all the earth,* (Psalm  
 “lvii. 5.)—The Father hath manifested Christ  
 “unto us, who exists eternally with Him, *in whom*  
 “*dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead bodily.*  
 “(Col. ii. 9.) Observe how St. Paul reveals the  
 “mystery: for he says, that the Father and the  
 “Spirit dwell bodily in Christ. When Christ, the  
 “Word, became flesh, the Father did not cease  
 “from being contained in him who became flesh,  
 “because Christ became a body: *the Word be-*  
 “*came flesh;* and he shews that Christ is not  
 “altered by becoming flesh, being always co-  
 “eternal with Him that begat him: *in him dwell-*  
 “*eth the whole fulness of the Godhead bodily*.”

P. 262. “Those who are servants of the devils  
 “that ran down the steep place are not worthy of  
 “this sight, who say that the Lord of glory was a

\* Ὁρῶς τί λέγει, ὅτι ἑαυτὸν ἐταπεινώσεν; ὁ δούλος ἑαυτὸν οὐ ταπεινοῖ, ἀλλ’ ἡ δεσποτεία τοῦ δούλου, ἀπαιτούσα αὐτὸν δουλεῖν, ὡς ὁ Φαραὼ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ κατεδούλωσεν—οὐκ ἐδόθη οὖν χώρα τοῖς βλασφήμοις ἐν τούτῳ ἀθετήσαι τῷ ῥητῷ· ἐμφράττει δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ ταπεινώσας ἑαυτὸν, μέχρη θανάτου ἡγήσας γενόμενος· ἑαυτὸν γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ἐδυσώπησε, καὶ ἐπήκουσε τῆς δεήσεως τῶν ἱκετῶν αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐκλινεν οὐρανοὺς καὶ κατέβη, ἐξελεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς, ἐλευθεροῦν ἡμᾶς, καὶ Κύριος τῆς δόξης, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός—διὸ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερέψωκε, καὶ, ὁ Θεὸς γὰρ λέγει τῷ Θεῷ μου Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ διὰ Δαυὶδ, Ἵψώθητι ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ὁ

Θεός, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἡ δόξα σου—Ὁ Πατὴρ ἐφανερώσεν ἡμῖν τὸν ὄντα σὺν αὐτῷ ἀεὶ Χριστὸν, ἐν ᾧ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς· ἀκούετε, πῶς λέγει τὸ μυστήριον ὁ ἱερός ἀπόστολος Παῦλος, τὸ γὰρ σωματικῶς κατοικεῖν τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ. Ἐπειδὴ σὰρξ γέγονεν ὁ Λόγος ὁ Χριστός, οὐ παρὰ τὸ γενέσθαι οὖν σῶμα τὸν Χριστὸν, οὐκ ἐκάνεσθη ὁ Πατὴρ τοῦ χωρισθῆναι τῷ γενόμενῳ σαρκί· σὰρξ ὁ Λόγος γέγονε· καὶ δαίκωσιν ὅτι ἄτεπτος ὁ Χριστὸς γενόμενος σὰρξ, ἀεὶ συναΐδιος ὦν τοῦ γενήσαντος· ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς.

“ servant, or one of those men who are preeminently  
 “ rewarded: for the scripture does not teach us,  
 “ that we are to bow the knee to the form of a ser-  
 “ vant and swear by him; for we have been taught  
 “ to have no other God but our God: it was not a  
 “ holy man, nor a servant, who made the heaven and  
 “ the earth: and let the gods, who did not make  
 “ the heaven and the earth, be destroyed beneath  
 “ the whole heaven together with their worship-  
 “ pers <sup>a</sup>.”

322. *Dionysii adv. Paul. Samos. Quæst. VIII.*

p. 263.

In this passage Paul brings an objection to the divinity of Christ, from the circumstance of his parents missing him on their return from Jerusalem, and finding him in the temple. After quoting the passage, he asks, “ How can you glorify him who “ was twelve years old, and sought after, on account “ of whom his parents were grieved until they found “ him, if he is without beginning and coeternal with “ the Father <sup>b</sup> ?”

The answer to this objection is the same as that made to all the others, and Dionysius, in the course of his reply, says, “ The mother of God returned “ seeking her Lord and God, him who became her “ Son <sup>c</sup> :” and again, at p. 265. “ The mother of my

<sup>a</sup> Ταύτης ἀνάξει τῆς θεωρίας οἱ δούλοι τῶν κατακρημισθέντων δαιμόνων, οἱ λέγοντες, τὸν Κύριον τῆς δόξης δούλον, ἢ ἓνα τῶν κατ' ἐξαιρέτων δειδικαιωμένων· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἡμᾶς διδάσκει ἡ γραφή, ἵνα μορφῇ δούλου κάμψωμεν γόνυ καὶ ὁμώσωμεν ἐν αὐτῇ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐδιδάχθημεν ἔχειν Θεὸν ἕτερον πλὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν· οὐχ ἅγιος ἄνθρωπος, οὔτε δούλος ἐποίησε τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν· θεοὶ δὲ, οἱ τὸν οὐ-

ρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἐποίησαν, ἀπολέσθωσαν ὑποκάτωθεν παντός τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ οἱ προσκυνῶντες αὐτοῖς.

<sup>b</sup> Πῶς αὐτὸν δοξάζεις τὸν δωδεκαετῆ καὶ ζητούμενον, δι' ὃν οἱ γονεῖς ὠδυνῶντο ἕως εὔρον, εἰ οὗτος ἀναρχος καὶ συναϊδιος τοῦ Πατρὸς;

<sup>c</sup> Ἡ μὲν θεοτόκος ὑπέστρεψε τὸν Κύριον αὐτῆς καὶ Θεὸν ζητοῦσα τὸν γενόμενον αὐτῆς υἱόν. p. 264.

“ God says to my God, *We have sought thee sorrowing*. It is written in the prophet Hosea, (xii. 4.) *They wept with the Holy Spirit, and made supplication unto me ; they found me in my house, and there I spake with them : but the Lord God the Almighty shall be their memorial*<sup>d</sup>. Do you see where he was found who was sought with weeping? There the Lord God spoke to them, saying, *How is it that ye sought me? Wist ye not that I must be in my Father's house*<sup>c</sup>? He says by the prophet, *They found me in my house, and in the Gospels, I must be in my Father's house*: for all things that the Father hath are his<sup>f</sup>.”

323. *Dionysii adv. Paul. Samos. Quæst.* IX. p. 266.

It is plain from this question, that when Christ was called God by Dionysius and the catholic church, they were understood by Paul to mean that he was the God, who is spoken of by Isaiah xl. 28. where we translate the words, *The everlasting God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth, &c.*

<sup>d</sup> This is very different from our version.

<sup>e</sup> It is plain that Dionysius attached this meaning to the words *ἐν ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μου*, (Luke ii. 49.) which is probably the true meaning. The word *house* is supplied in the Syriac, Persian, and Armenian versions, (vid. Griesbach.) and in *Dialog. I. contra Macedon.* (Ath. vol. II. p. 554.) we read *ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ πατρὸς μου*. So Epiphanius explains our Saviour to have meant, *ὅτι ὁ ναὸς εἰς ὄνομα Θεοῦ, ταυτέστι τοῦ αὐτοῦ πατρὸς, φικδομήθη*. *Hæc.* XXX. vol. I. p. 155.

<sup>f</sup> Λέγει ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Θεοῦ μου τῷ Θεῷ μου, ὅτι ἀδυνάμεθα ζητοῦντές σε· γέγραπται ἐν τῷ προφήτῃ Ἰσηὲ, λέγων, Ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἔκλαυσαν, φησὶ, καὶ ἐδεήθησάν μου, ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου εὑρεσάν με· καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐλάλησα πρὸς αὐτούς· ὁ δὲ Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ἔσται μνημόσυνον αὐτῶν. Ὁρῆς ποῦ εὑρέθη ὁ ζητούμενος μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ ; ἐκεῖ ἐλάλησεν αὐταῖς· Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς λέγων, Τί ὅτι ἐζητεῖτέ με ; οὐκ οἴδατε, φησὶν, ὅτι ἐν ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μου δεῖ με εἶναι ; ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου εὑρεσάν με, λέγει διὰ τοῦ προφήτου· ἐν δὲ εὐαγγελίῳ, Ἐν ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μου δεῖ με εἶναι· πάντα γὰρ ὅσα ἔχει ὁ πατήρ, αὐτοῦ ἐστίν.

Paul's version was rather different, but equally expressive: he says, "It is written in Isaiah, *The mighty God, the everlasting, hungereth not, neither is weary: there is no searching of his understanding.* But it is written of Jesus, that he both hungered and was weary. But the everlasting Lord, as I said before, is not hungry nor weary."

Dionysius says in his reply, p. 267, "Concerning God being hungry or not, or eating or not eating, no one can tell how it is: but I know that it is written, *The God of gods hath said, If I were hungry, I would not tell thee:* (Psalm l. 12.) and we find that this same God is Jesus Christ; that when he is hungry, he says to no one, I am hungry; but angels coming after his temptation ministered unto him. It is written, *Will I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats?* (Psalm l. 13.) Thus saith God: but He did not say, I have not eaten, for God cannot lie; for He is Truth: Abraham set before God the calf which he had dressed<sup>ε</sup>, and the loaves which Sarah baked; and God ate, and did not conceal from him that *I will return unto thee according to the time of life, and Sarah shall have a son.* (Gen. xviii. 10.) Observe God saying, *I will return to thee, &c.* Is it not plain that he is the same who says to his disciples, *I go and come to you, and will receive you with me?* (John xiv, 2, 3.) This is the God who said, *If I were hungry, I would not tell thee:* he is the same, and is not changed: the Word who became flesh, who was God and

<sup>ε</sup> Ἐποίησε, which is an instance in how many senses Dionysius used the word. See p. 396.



“willingly hungered, does not say, *I am hungry* <sup>h</sup>,” &c.

Afterwards, having quoted those words of Isaiah, (xl. 31.) *They that wait upon God shall run and not be weary*, or, as he translates it, *and not be hungry*; he says that it may be asked, “Why then did not the apostle find it so? but he writes, that thrice he suffered shipwreck: he does this to stop your wicked belief, and to prove that Christ was not merely a holy man, but holy God: for men entertained Paul who was holy, one of whom was Onesimus the friend of the apostle—but we find none of these things in Christ: but we find, according to what is written in the Old Testament, that the same God who spake is come to us: he who returned to Abraham *according to the time of life*, who ate with Abraham, the same came to us and was hungry, who said, *If I were hungry, I would not tell thee*: the Word being made flesh was hungry, who giveth food to all flesh, Jesus Christ <sup>i</sup>.”

<sup>h</sup> Περὶ δὲ τοῦ πεινᾶσαι τὸν Θεόν, ἢ μὴ πεινᾶσαι, ἢ φαγεῖν ἢ μὴ φαγεῖν, τὸν τρόπον οὐδεὶς δύναται φράσαι· οἶδα δὲ ὅτι γέγραπται, ὅτι εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἐὰν πεινάσω οὐ μὴ σοι εἶπω· εὐρίσκομεν δὲ ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ Θεὸς Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός· ὅτι πεινάσας οὐδενὶ εἶπεν, ὅτι πεινώ· ἀλλὰ προσελθόντες οἱ ἄγγελοι μετὰ τὸν πειρασμὸν διηκόνουν αὐτῷ· γέγραπται δὲ, μὴ φάγωμαι κρέα ταύρων ἢ αἷμα τράγων πίωμαι; ὡσεὶ, φησὶ, λέγει ὁ Θεός· ἀλλ' οὐκ εἶπεν ὅτι οὐκ ἔφαγον· ἀψευδὴς γὰρ ὁ Θεός· ἀλήθεια γὰρ παρέθηκεν Ἀβραάμ (l. forsan ἀληθεία γὰρ παρέθηκεν Ἀβραάμ) τῷ Θεῷ τὸ μασχάριον ὃ ἐποίησε, καὶ τοὺς

ἀζύμους οὓς ἔπεψε Σάρρα, καὶ ἔφαγεν ὁ Θεός· καὶ οὐκ ἀπέκρινεν αὐτὸν, ὅτι ἐπανελύσομαι πρὸς σε εἰς ὥρας, καὶ ἔσται τῇ Σάρρα υἱός· ἀκούετε Θεοῦ, ἐπανελύσομαι πρὸς σε εἰς ὥρας· ἀρ' οὐ φανερόν ἐστιν ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ λέγων τοῖς μαθηταῖς, ὅτι ἵπάγω καὶ ἔρχομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ παραλήψομαι ὑμᾶς μετ' ἐμοῦ; οὗτος ὁ Θεὸς ὁ εἰρηκός, ἐὰν πεινάσω, οὐ μὴ σοι εἶπω· αὐτός ἐστι καὶ οὐκ ἠλλοίωται, γενόμενος σὰρξ ὁ Λόγος ὃν Θεὸς καὶ πεινάσας ἐκὼν, οὐκ εἶπεν ὅτι πεινώ.

<sup>i</sup> P. 269. — τούτου ποιεῖ σου τὴν κακοπιστίαν ἐμφραγήνην, ὅτι οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ἦν ἅγιος ὁ Χριστὸς, ἀλλὰ Θεὸς ἅγιος· — τούτων δὲ οὐδὲν εὐρί-

324. *Dionysii adv. Paul. Samos. Quæst. X.* p. 270.

Paul having quoted those words of Peter, (Acts ii. 36.) *that God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ*, proceeds to ask, how it could be that he was made Lord and Christ by God: “For your writings say, that he who was crucified was God, and coeternal with the Father; but he who was crucified says himself to Mary, *Touch me not; for I am not yet ascended to my Father.* (John  $\xi$ x. 17.) But you do not suffer it to be said, that he was not yet ascended; but you write every where, that he was coeternal with the Father, though he said, *I am not yet ascended to the Father* <sup>k</sup>.”

Dionysius begins his answer with acknowledging unequivocally, “that I have written, and now write, and confess and believe and preach, that Christ is coeternal with the Father, the only-begotten Son and Word of the Father<sup>l</sup>.” Afterwards he says, “I will now come with God’s assistance to explain what is meant by the words, *God hath made him Lord and Christ.* It is written, that *God so loved the world, that He gave His only-begotten Son* into the world: Christ Jesus, who exists eternally, Christ the Lord, is become our God: and

σκομεν ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ· ἀλλ’ εὐρίσκομεν ὅτι ὅσα ἐν τῇ καλαιᾷ γέγραπται, λέγων, ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ αὐτὸς ἐπανῆλθε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὁ πρὸς Ἀβραὰμ ἐπανελθὼν εἰς ὥρας· ὁ φαγὼν πρὸς Ἀβραὰμ, ἐλθὼν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπέιπασεν, ὁ εἰρηκῶς, ἐλὼν πενῶσιν, οὐ μὴ σοι εἰπῶ· σὰρξ γενόμενος ὁ Λόγος ἐπέιπασεν, ὁ διδοὺς τροφήν πασῇ σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός.

<sup>k</sup> Τὰ γὰρ παρ’ ὑμῶν γραφέντα Θεὸν ἔχει τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, καὶ συναϊδίον τῷ Πατρὶ· αὐτὸς δὲ λέγει ὁ

σταυρωθεὶς, Μὴ μου ἅπτου, φησὶ τῇ Μαρίᾳ, οὕτω γὰρ ἀναβέβηκα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου· ἀλλ’ ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἀνέχεσθε εἰπεῖν, ὅτι οὕτω ἀνέβη· ἀλλὰ γράφετε πανταχοῦ, ὅτι συναϊδῶς ἦν τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὁ λέγων, οὕτω ἀναβέβηκα πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα.

<sup>l</sup> Ὅτι μὲν ἔγραψα, καὶ γράφω, καὶ ὁμολογῶ, καὶ πιστεύω, καὶ κηρύττω συναϊδίον τῷ Πατρὶ τὸν Χριστόν, τὸν μονογενῆ υἱὸν καὶ Λόγον τοῦ Πατρὸς.

E e

“ we became his people, who before *as sheep had gone astray*; but now we have returned to the *Shepherd and Bishop of our souls*: (1 Pet. ii. 25.)  
 “ we have returned to him who existed eternally,  
 “ Christ the Lord: for Christ the Lord was born  
 “ for our sakes: for as to us a child was born, the  
 “ Son, who is eternal, the same is become my sal-  
 “ vation: we were before not his people, as we knew  
 “ him not. The Word of the Father was not *pro-*  
 “ *duced* by a word, like the multitude of the blessed  
 “ spirits above; but being the Word of the sub-  
 “ stance of the Father, he was *begotten*: for the  
 “ Word, Jesus Christ, was not created <sup>m</sup>.”

P. 274. “ And as to the true Jesus, the God of  
 “ Israel, saying, *I am not yet ascended to my Fa-*  
 “ *ther*, they had not yet seen him going up whither  
 “ he was before: these are the words of God the  
 “ Word, when he was man, *What if ye see the Son*  
 “ *of man going up whither he was before?* (John  
 “ vi. 62.) and again, *No man hath ascended up to*  
 “ *heaven, but he that came down from heaven, the*  
 “ *Son of man, who is in heaven*. He is become my  
 “ God and Lord, Jesus, who is one, the Word: there  
 “ is one substance of him and one person: it is he  
 “ to whom all things were subjected by the Father;  
 “ not being inferior to the Father, he prayed for us,

<sup>m</sup> Ἐλθω τοίνυν σὺν Θεῷ ἐπὶ τὴν διήγησιν, τί τὸ εἰρημένον, ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸν καὶ Κύριον αὐτὸν ὁ Θεὸς ἐποίησε· γέγραπται ὅτι οὕτως ὁ Θεὸς ἠγάπησε κ. τ. λ. γέγονεν ἡμῖν εἰς Θεὸν ὁ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ὃ ἂν αἰεὶ Χριστὸς Κύριος, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐγενόμεθα αὐτοῦ λαός, οἱ ποτὲ ὡς πρόβατα πλανώμενοι, νῦν δὲ κ. τ. λ. ἐπὶ τὸν ὄντα αἰεὶ Χριστὸν Κύριον ἐπεστράφημεν· ἡμῖν

γὰρ ἐγένετο Χριστὸς Κύριος ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐγενήθη παιδίον ὁ υἱός, ὃν αἰδίως, αὐτὸς ἐγένετό μοι εἰς σωτηρίαν· ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἦμαν πάλαι λαός αὐτοῦ, καθότι ἠγνοοῦμεν· οὐ λόγῳ παρήχθη ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὥσπερ ἢ τῶν ἄνω ἁγίων πνευμάτων πληθὺς, ἀλλὰ Λόγος ὢν ἐκ τῆς ἰσοστάσεως τοῦ πατρὸς ἐγενήθη· οὐ γὰρ κτιστὸς ὁ Λόγος Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός.

“ saying, *Holy Father, sanctify them, keep them in the world.*” (John xvii. 11, 17<sup>n</sup>.)

At p. 277. he says, “ But Christ died for all: let us therefore consider him that endured such opposition to himself for us sinners, that we may not be weary and faint in our souls: it is he that came down to Abraham; he came down to Moses to free the people; and now in the latter times coming for our sakes, not in the form of fire, but was conceived in the womb of the Virgin Mary, the Holy Ghost having come upon her—For the only-begotten God, the Word, who came down from heaven, was conceived and born of the Virgin Paradise that possesses all things: the Holy Ghost came upon her, the power of the Highest overshadowed her, and the holy thing that was born was the child Jesus; the mighty God, the powerful, endured the cross despising the shame.”

Ἡ Καὶ περὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν τὸν ἀληθινὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Θεὸν Ἰσραὴλ, ὅτι ὄψω κ. τ. λ. οὐδέπω ἦσαν θεωρήσαντες αὐτὸν ἀνερχόμενον ὅπου ἦν τὸ πρότερον αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ φωνὴ τοῦ ἀνθρωπισθέντος Θεοῦ Λόγου, τὸ, ἐὰν οὖν ἴδῃτε κ. τ. λ. — αὐτὸς ἐγένετό μοι εἰς Θεὸν καὶ Κύριον Ἰησοῦν ὃ εἰς ὧν Λόγος· μία αὐτοῦ ὑπόστασις καὶ ἐν πρόσωπον αὐτός ἐστιν ἢ ὑπετάγη τὰ πάντα παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς· οὐκ ὧν ἔλαττον τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν προσήξατο, λέγον, Πάτερ ἄγιε κ. τ. λ.

Ἡ Ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν ἀναλογισάμεθα οὖν τὸν τὴν τοιαύτην ὑπομενηκότα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀντιλογίαν, ἵνα μὴ κάμωμεν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐκλυόμενοι· αὐτός ἐστιν ὃ καταβάς ἐπὶ Ἀβραάμ· αὐτός ἐπὶ Μωϋσῆ κατέβη ἐξελέσθαι τὸν λαόν· καὶ νῦν δι' ἡμᾶς

ἐκ' ἐσχάτων ἐλθὼν οὐκ ἐν σχήματι πυρὸς, ἀλλὰ συνελήφθη ἐν γαστρὶ παρθένου Μαρίας, τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐπελθόντος ἐκ' αὐτῆν—Ὁ γὰρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς μονογενὴς Θεὸς Λόγος ἐγενήθη κρυφορρηθεὶς ἐκ παρθενικοῦ Παραδείσου ἐρχοτός τὰ πάντα· πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐκ' αὐτῆν, δύναμις ὑψίστου ἐπισκιάζουσα, καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἅγιον τὸ παιδίον Ἰησοῦς, ὃ ἰσχυρὸς Θεός, ὃ ἐξουσιαστής ὑπέμεινε σταυρὸν ἀσχύνης καταφρονήσας.

I have translated this passage according to the reading and punctuation of the edition to which I refer, that of Rome 1796. A Roman editor would be pleased with finding the Virgin Mary called, “ *the virgin Paradise that possesses all things.*” But perhaps we

## DIONYSIUS ROMANUS. A. D. 260.

The history of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, has also led to the mention of his namesake, who was bishop of Rome. Of the writings of the latter, only a few fragments are preserved in the works of Athanasius; nor is much more known of his history than that he succeeded Xystus or Sixtus the Second, as bishop of Rome in the year 259, the see having remained vacant nearly a year. He died in 269.

We have seen that he wrote to the bishop of Alexandria concerning the Sabellian heresy; and Athanasius informs us, that as soon as he heard of the charges which were brought against Dionysius of Alexandria, "he wrote at once against the followers of Sabellius, and against those opinions for which Arius was afterwards expelled from the church; declaring that the opinion of Sabellius, and of those who say that the Word of God is a creature, or workmanship, and made, though directly opposite to each other, were equally impious<sup>p</sup>." In another work he tells us, "that when some brought accusations to the bishop of Rome against the bishop of Alexandria, as if he had

should read κροφορηθείς ἐκ παρθενικοῦ Παραδείσου τοῦ ἔχοντος τὰ πάντα πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπ' αὐτήν, *the Holy Spirit of Him that possesses all things came upon her.* Or if we follow the present punctuation, the words ἔχοντος τὰ πάντα may be taken to signify that Mary bore Jesus in her womb, who might truly be called every thing: Jesus, who was all in all was conceived by the Virgin: as Athanasius says, αὐ-

τὸς δυνατὸς ὢν καὶ δημιουργὸς τῶν ὄλων ἐν τῇ παρθένῳ κατασκευάζει ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὸ σῶμα. *De Incarn.* 8. vol. I. p. 54. So also Epiphanius, πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἶπομεν ταύτην μεγάλην, χωρήσασαν τὸν ἀχώρητον, ὃν οὐρανὸς καὶ γῆ χωρεῖν οὐ δύνανται; *Hær. XXX.* vol. I. p. 157: and again, *Hær. LXXVIII.* 8. p. 1040.

<sup>p</sup> *De Sentent. Dionys. Alex.* I. p. 252. c. 13.

“ called the Son a creature, and not consubstantial  
 “ with the Father, the synod at Rome was offended,  
 “ and the bishop of Rome sent the judgment of  
 “ them all to his namesake <sup>1</sup>.”

In another work he gives us the sentiments of Dionysius in his own words. The bishop, after having condemned those who opposed the catholic doctrine of the Trinity, continues thus: “ Nor would  
 “ one find less fault with those who think that the  
 “ Son is a creature, supposing that the Lord was  
 “ made, like any of the things that are really made;  
 “ whereas the holy scriptures testify that he had a  
 “ suitable and becoming generation, not a kind of  
 “ formation and creation. It is therefore no small  
 “ blasphemy, but the greatest, to say that the Lord  
 “ was in any sense formed. For if the Son was  
 “ made, there was a time when he was not; but he  
 “ was always, since he is in the Father, as he him-  
 “ self says. (John xiv. 11.) — And why should I  
 “ discuss this matter more at length to you who are  
 “ spiritual, and clearly understand the absurdities  
 “ which arise from calling the Son *a creature*?  
 “ which, as it appears to me, must have escaped the  
 “ attention of those persons who began this doctrine,  
 “ and therefore they have altogether erred from  
 “ the truth, misunderstanding the meaning of those  
 “ words of the holy and prophetic scriptures, *The*  
 “ *Lord established me in the beginning of his*  
 “ *ways.* (Prov. viii. 22.) For there is not one mean-  
 “ ing only to the word *established*, (ἐκτίσεν,) as you  
 “ well know: for we must understand *established*  
 “ in this place to mean, *He placed me over the*

<sup>1</sup> De Synodis, p. 757. c. 43.

“works which were made by Him, but which were made by the Son himself: but established cannot be taken in this place for made: for there is a difference between establishing and making: Is not He thy Father that hath bought thee? hath He not made thee and established thee? (Deut. xxxii. 6.) as Moses says in his great song in Deuteronomy. In answer to whom we might also say, O rash and venturous men, is the firstborn of every creature himself a creature? he that was conceived of the womb before the morning, who said in the person of Wisdom, *Before all the hills he begetteth me?* (Prov. viii. 25.) and in many places of the holy scriptures one may find the Son spoken of as *begotten*, but not as *made*: by which passages those persons are plainly convicted of forming false notions concerning the generation of the Lord, who dare to speak of his divine and ineffable generation as a creation<sup>r</sup>.”

Ὶ Οὐ μείον δ' ἂν τις καταμέμφοιτο καὶ τοῖς ποιήματα τὸν υἱὸν εἶναι δεξαζόμενος καὶ γεγονέναι τὸν Κύριον, ὅσπερ ἐν τῷ ὄντως γενομένῳ, νομίζοντας τὰν θεῶν λογίαν γέννησιν αὐτῶ τὴν ἀμύττουσαν καὶ πρέπουσαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ πλάσῃ τινα καὶ ποιήσιν προσμαρτυρούμεν. Βλάσφημον ἂν οὐ τὴ τῶν χειρῶν, μέγιστον μὲν οὖν, χειροποίητον τρόπον τινα λέγειν τὸν Κύριον. Βί γὰρ γέγονεν ἰδίῃ ἢ ὅτε οὐκ ἦν αἰεὶ δὲ ἦν, εἴ γε ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ ἔστιν, ὡς αὐτός φησι.—Καὶ τί ἂν ἐπὶ πλέον περὶ τούτων πρὸς ἡμᾶς διαλεγόμεν, πρὸς ἄνδρας πνευματοφόρους καὶ σαφῶς ἐπισταμένους τὰς ἀτοπίας τὰς ἐκ τοῦ ποιήματα λέγειν τὸν υἱὸν ἀκακηντιύσας; αἷς μοι δοκοῦσι μὴ προσεσχικέναι τὸν νοῦν οἱ καθηγησάμενοι τῆς δόξης ταύτης, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κομιδῇ

τοῦ ἀληθεῶς διημαρτηκέναι, ἑτέρως ἢ βούλεται ταύτῃ ἡ θεία καὶ προφητικὴ γραφὴ, τὸ, Κύριος ἔκτισέ με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ, ἐκδεξάμενοι. Οὐ μία γὰρ ἡ τοῦ Ἐκτίσεν, ὡς ἴστε, σημασία. Ἐκτίσεν γὰρ ἐνταῖθα ἀκουστῶν, ἀντὶ τοῦ, Ἐπέστησε ταῖς ὄψ' αὐτοῦ γεγονόσιν ἔργοις, γεγονόσι δὲ δι' αὐτῶ τοῦ υἱοῦ· οὐκὶ δὲ γε τὸ Ἐκτίσεν νῦν λέγοιτο ἂν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐποίησε· διαφέρει γὰρ τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ κτίσαι. Οὐκ αὐτὸς οὗτός σου πατὴρ ἐκτίσασά σε καὶ ἐποίησέ σε καὶ ἔκτισέ σε; τῆ ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ μεγάλη ἄδη ὁ Μωσῆς φησι. Πρὸς οὓς καὶ εἶποι ἂν τις, ὧ βίβλοκίνδυνοι ἄνθρωποι, ποιήματα ὁ πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, ὁ ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἐωσφόρου γεννηθεὶς, ὁ εἶπεν ὡς Σοφία, Πρὸ δὲ πάντων βουνοῦν γεννᾷ με; καὶ πολλαχοῦ δὲ τῶν θεῶν λο-

325. CONCILIUM ANTIOCHENUM, A. D. 269.

We have yet another document connected with the history of these two bishops, in some letters of the council of Antioch concerning the heresy of Paul of Samosata. This council was held in the year 269, as mentioned above; and after many sittings the Fathers excommunicated Paul. Before however they proceeded to this step, they addressed a letter to him, in which their object was to give to Paul a summary of their religious creed, which, as they say, "had been preserved in the catholic church from the time of the apostles to that day."

The letter is a long one, and it will be necessary to transcribe nearly the whole of it. The Fathers begin with professing their belief in one uncreated invisible God; after which they go on to say, "We acknowledge and preach, that this begotten Son, the only-begotten Son, is the image of the invisible God, begotten before all creation, the Wisdom and Word and Power of God, who was before the worlds, God, not by foreknowledge, but in essence and substance Son of God, as we have known him in the Old and New Testament. But if any one should contend, that we are not to believe and acknowledge the Son of God to be God before the foundation of the world, and should say that we make two Gods, if we preach the Son of God to be God, we consider such an one to depart from

γιόν γεγενῆσθαι ἀλλ' οὐ γεγεῶναι  
τὸν υἱὸν λεγόμενον εἶραι τις ἂν ἕφ'  
ὄν καταφανῶς ἐλέγχονται τὰ ψεῦδη  
περὶ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου γεννήσεως ὑπο-  
λαμβάνοντες, οἱ ποιῆσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν

θείαν καὶ ἄρρητον γέννησιν λέγειν  
τολμῶντες. Athanas. de Decret.  
Syn. Nic. c. 26. p. 231. et  
apud Routh Reliq. Sacr. tom.  
III. 180.



“ the ecclesiastical canon, and all the catholic church  
 “ agrees with us. For concerning him it is written,  
 “ *Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever, &c.*  
 “ (Psalm xlv. 6.) and again Isaiah, *Our God repay-*  
 “ *eth judgment, and will repay; He himself will*  
 “ *come and save us, &c.* (xxxv. 4.) and again, *In thee*  
 “ *shall they pray, for God is in thee; and there is*  
 “ *no God but thou, for thou art God, and we*  
 “ *knew it not, the God of Israel, the Saviour:* (xlv.  
 “ 14.) and the apostle says, *Of whom as concerning*  
 “ *the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God bless-*  
 “ *ed for ever. Amen.* (Rom. ix. 5.) in which pas-  
 “ sages the words *who is over all, and there is no*  
 “ *God but thou,* are to be understood with reference  
 “ to all created things—and all the divinely in-  
 “ spired scriptures declare the Son of God to be  
 “ God. We believe that he always was with the  
 “ Father, and fulfilled his Father’s will in the crea-  
 “ tion of the universe: *for He spake, and they*  
 “ *were made; He commanded, and they were cre-*  
 “ *ated.* (Psalm cxlviii. 5.) He who commands an-  
 “ other, must command some one who we are per-  
 “ suaded was no other than the only-begotten Son  
 “ of God, himself God, to whom also He said, *Let*  
 “ *us make man,*” &c. They then quote John i. 3.  
 and Col. i. 16. to shew that the world was created  
 by Christ “ as really existing and acting, being at  
 “ once the Word of God, by whom the Father made  
 “ all things, not as by an instrument, nor as by  
 “ [His own] knowledge, which had no substantial  
 “ existence: for the Father begat the Son as a living  
 “ self-substantial energy, working all things in all  
 “ things: nor was the Son a spectator only, or  
 “ merely present, but actually efficient for the cre-

“ation of the universe—It was he who, fulfilling  
 “his Father’s counsel, appeared to the patriarchs  
 “——being spoken of one while as an Angel, one  
 “while as the Lord, one while as God. For it is  
 “impious to think that the God of the universe is  
 “called an Angel: but the Angel of the Father is  
 “the Son, himself being Lord and God<sup>s</sup>.”

P. 473. “We believe also that the Son, who was  
 “with the Father, being God and Lord of all created  
 “things, was sent from heaven by the Father, and  
 “took our flesh and became man: wherefore the  
 “body, which he had from the Virgin, contained *all*  
 “*the fulness of the Godhead bodily*, and is un-  
 “changeably united with the Godhead and become  
 “God: on which account this same God and man,

<sup>s</sup> Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν υἱὸν γεννητὸν, μονογενῆ υἱὸν, εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀοράτου Θεοῦ τυγχάνοντα, πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, σοφίαν καὶ Λόγον καὶ δύναμιν Θεοῦ, πρὸ αἰώνων ὄντα, οὐ προγνώσει ἀλλ’ οὐσία καὶ ὑποστάσει Θεῖν, Θεοῦ υἱὸν, ἔντε παλαιᾶ καὶ νέα διαθήκη ἐργακότες ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ κηρύσσομεν. Ὅς δ’ ἂν ἀντιμάχῃται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Θεῖν μὴ εἶναι πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου πιστεύειν καὶ ὁμολογεῖν, φάσκων δύο Θεοὺς καταγγέλλεσθαι, ἐὰν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ Θεὸς κηρύσσῃται, τοῦτον ἀλλότριον τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ κανόνος ἠγνούμεθα· καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ καθολικαὶ ἐκκλησίαι συμφωνοῦσιν ἡμῖν. Περὶ γὰρ τούτου γέγραπται, (Psalm xlv. 6. Isaiah xxxv. 4. xlv. 14. Rom. ix. 5.) τοῦ, ὃ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων, καὶ τοῦ, πλην σου, νοουμένου ἐπὶ πάντων γεννητῶν—καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ θεόπνευστοι γραφαὶ Θεὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ μνηνοῦσιν—Τοῦτον πιστεύομεν σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ αἰεὶ ὄντα ἐκπεπληρωκέαι τὸ πατρικὸν βούλημα πρὸς τὴν κτίσιν τῶν ὄλων· Αὐτὸς γὰρ κ.

τ. λ. ὃ δὲ ἐντελλόμενος ἐτέρῳ ἐντέλλεται τινί· ἂν οὐκ ἄλλον πεπεσμεθα ἢ τὸν μονογενῆ υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Θεῖν, ὃ καὶ εἶπε, Ποιήσωμεν κ. τ. λ.—οὕτω δὲ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄντος καὶ ἐνεργούντος, ὡς Λόγου ἅμα καὶ Θεοῦ· δι’ οὗ ὁ Πατὴρ πάντα πεποίηκεν, οὐχ ὡς δι’ ὄργάνου, οὐδ’ ὡς δι’ ἐπιστήμης ἀνυπόστατου· γεννήσαντος μὲν τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ὡς ζῶσαν ἐνέργειαν καὶ ἐνυπόστατον, ἐνεργῶντα τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν· οὐχὶ βλέποντος δὲ μόνον οὐδὲ παρόντος μόνου τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνεργούντος πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὄλων δημιουργίαν, ὡς γέγραπται κ. τ. λ.—Τοῦτον εἶναι, ὃς ἐκκληρῶν τὴν πατρικὴν βουλὴν τοῖς πατριαρχαῖς φαίνεται, καὶ διαλέγεται ἐν ταῖς αἰταις περικοπαῖς καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς κεφαλαίοις, ποτὲ μὲν ὡς ἄγγελος, ποτὲ δὲ ὡς Κύριος, ποτὲ δὲ Θεὸς μαρτυρούμενος. Τὸν μὲν γὰρ Θεὸν τῶν ὄλων ἄσβεστος ἄγγελος νομίσαι καλεῖσθαι· ὃ δὲ ἄγγελος τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ υἱὸς ἐστίν, αὐτὸς Κυρίως καὶ Θεὸς ὢν. Apud Routh Reliq. Sacr. II. 466.

“ Jesus Christ, was predicted in the law and the prophets, and is believed by the whole church under heaven to be God, and to have humbled himself from having been equal to God, but to have been man, and of the seed of David according to the flesh. It was God who performed the miracles and wonders which are written in the Gospels; but we believe that he became partaker of flesh and blood, and was tempted in all things like as we are, without sin †.”

The reader will observe, that this passage contains a quotation of Col. ii. 9. *For in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily*, which words must convey to every unprejudiced mind a plain and unequivocal assertion of the divinity of Christ; and I mention them for the sake of pointing out the Socinian tendency of that otherwise excellent work, the Lexicon of Schleusner. He interprets this passage to mean, that *the whole body of believers are collected in Christ as in their head*. It is hardly necessary to point out the absurdity of this interpretation, which does the most forcible violence to almost all the words of the sentence, giving them an

† Τὸν δὲ υἱὸν παρὰ τῷ Πατρὶ ὄντα Θεὸν μὲν καὶ Κύριον τῶν γεννητῶν πάντων, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀποσταλέντα ἐξ οὐρανῶν, καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐνηθροπῆκεναι. Διόπερ καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς παρθένου σώμα χωρῆσαν πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς Θεότητος σωματικῶς, τῇ Θεότητι ἀτρέπτως ἦνται καὶ θεοποιήται· οὗ χάριν ὁ αὐτὸς Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς προεφητεύετο ἐν νόμῳ καὶ προφήταις καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν πάσῃ πεπίστευται Θεὸς μὲν κενώσας ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ, ἄνθρωπος δὲ καὶ ἐκ

σπέρματος Δαβὶδ τὸ κατὰ σάρκα. Τὰ μὲν σημεῖα καὶ τὰ τέρατα τὰ ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις ἀναγεγραμμένα ὁ Θεὸς ἦν ἐπιτέλεσας· τὸ δὲ σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος μετεσχρῆκεναι τὸν αὐτὸν πεπειραμένον κατὰ πάντα καθ' ὁμοίτητα, χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας. Dr. Routh agrees with Turrrianus in reading τῷ δὲ σαρκὸς and πεπειραμένος; but these alterations are needless, if we supply πιστεύομεν, as we must supply it at the beginning of this section.

highly figurative instead of a literal signification, extracts a sense from them which has no connexion with the context, and is contradicted by the authority of all the Fathers who quote the passage. The Improved Version translates the passage thus; *In him dwelleth all the fulness of the Deity bodily*, and we find in the note this commentary of Pierce; “ All those blessings which proceed from the God-head, and wherewith we are filled, dwell in Christ truly and substantially.” Mr. Belsham renders it, *In him resideth substantially a fulness of divine communications*; but he has not acquainted us with the process by which *θεότης* comes to signify *divine communications*. There can be little doubt that St. Paul had in his view the absurd notions of the Gnostics concerning the *pleroma*. In the preceding verse he guards his brethren against the subtleties of false philosophy, and he tells them, that the real *pleroma*, i. e. the full majesty of the Godhead, resided in Christ, and in him only. He had said the same in chap. i. 19. and we may observe, that the passage was understood in no other way by Irenæus, and even by the Gnostics<sup>u</sup>, and by all the Fathers of the three first centuries. See p. 412.

326. *Concil. Antioch. Epist. ad Dionysium et Maximum.*

Another letter is also preserved by Eusebius<sup>x</sup>, which was written by the same council to Dionysius bishop of Rome, and Maximus bishop of Alexandria, in which the Fathers give an account of their proceedings; and towards the end of it there is this declaration of their sentiments upon the question in

<sup>u</sup> Iren. I. 3. 4. See Origen.      <sup>x</sup> VII. 30. apud Routh Reliq. vol. III. p. 128. IV. p. 307. Sac. II. 477. Athanas. vol. I. p. 940.

dispute. " God, who clothed himself with and bore  
 " the human nature, was neither without a participa-  
 " tion in those passions, which are properly and pri-  
 " marily human ; neither were the actions, which  
 " are properly and primarily divine, excluded from  
 " the human nature, in which he was, and which he  
 " made the instrument of performing these actions.  
 " Properly and primarily he was formed as man in  
 " the womb ; and God was in the womb in a se-  
 " condary sense, being substantially united to the hu-  
 " man nature <sup>γ</sup>."

The principal difficulty in translating this passage is caused by the word *προηγούμεως*, but the meaning of it is made plain by its being opposed to *κατὰ δεύτερον λόγον* : and Dr. Routh has correctly pointed out, that in the former part of the passage it is to be taken in conjunction with *ἀνθρωπίνων* and *θείων*, and not with *ἀμέτοχον* and *ἄμοιρον*. When our Saviour felt hunger or sorrow, they were the feelings which belonged to him properly as man : they did not belong to him as God, but God felt them, because He had united himself to man. So also when he worked miracles, they were the works which properly belonged to him as God : and the man Jesus worked miracles, because the Deity was residing in him. In the same manner that which was formed in the womb of Mary, was strictly and properly the human nature of Jesus. If we say that God was in the womb of the Virgin, we may speak correctly ; but we are then not speaking of God in His distinct di-

<sup>γ</sup> Οὔτε δὲ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων προηγούμεως παθῶν ἀμέτοχος ἦν ὁ φερέσας καὶ ἐνδυσάμενος τὸ ἀνθρώπινον Θεός· οὔτε τῶν θείων προηγούμεως ἔργων ἄμοιρον τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, ἐν ᾧ ἦν, καὶ

δι' οὗ ταῦτα ἐποίηι. Ἐπλάσθη προηγούμεως ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἐν γαστρὶ, καὶ κατὰ δεύτερον λόγον Θεός ἦν ἐν γαστρὶ συνουσιωμένος τῷ ἀνθρώπινῳ. Apud Routh Reliq. Sacr. II. 485.

vine nature, but we are speaking of Him as united to the human nature. In this sense, but in this sense only, God was in the womb of the Virgin.

We may well be surprised, as Dr. Routh observes, how any person could consider this passage as lowering the divinity of Christ, and containing a doctrine which was in unison with that of the heretic Paul. It asserts Jesus Christ to be God in the highest sense of the term. It states him to have been God before his incarnation in the womb of the Virgin; and clearly distinguishes between his divine and human natures; which is diametrically opposite to the opinion of Paul, who denied his preexistence, and ascribed to him only one nature, the human.

We may add to these official accounts of the council's proceedings a passage from Athanasius, who, speaking of the Fathers assembled at Antioch, says, that "they used great care to confute the opinions of Paul, and to prove that the Son existed before all things, and that God was not born from a human being, but that being God he took on him the form of a servant, and being *the Word became flesh*, as St. John says<sup>2</sup>."

327. *Symbolum Antiochenum.*

In the Acts of the council of Ephesus, which was held A. D. 431. to consider the doctrines of Nestorius, there is a creed or exposition of faith which is said to be that "of the bishops assembled at Nice in the council, and a declaration of the same council against Paul of Samosata." There seems to be

<sup>2</sup> Τὴν φροντίδα εἶχον πᾶσαν, ὅπερ ἐπενόησεν ὁ Σαμοσατεὺς ἀνελεῖν, καὶ δεῖξαι πρὸ πάντων εἶναι τὸν υἱόν, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γέγονε Θεός, ἀλλὰ Θεὸς ὃν ἐνεδύσατο δούλου μορφὴν, καὶ Λόγος ὃν γέγονε σὰρξ. Ex Athanas. de Syn. Arim. et Seleuc. apud Routh. II. 488.

no doubt but that the name of *Nice* in this passage is a mistake, and that we ought to read *Antioch*. Paul of Samosata had been dead many years before the council of Nice, nor had that council any thing to do with condemning his tenets: but we are told, that this creed “ was brought forward to convict the heretic Nestorius of holding the same opinions with Paul of Samosata, who was anathematized 160 years before by the orthodox bishops.” From the year 269, when the council of Antioch was held, to 431, when that of Ephesus assembled, the interval is just 162 years; so that it seems quite certain that the creed, which was produced against Nestorius at the council of Ephesus, was that of the Fathers assembled in the year 269 at Antioch to condemn Paul of Samosata. The creed is as follows :

“ We acknowledge our Lord Jesus Christ, begotten of the Father according to the Spirit before the worlds, in the latter days born of the Virgin according to the flesh, one Person compounded of heavenly divinity and human flesh, and one with respect to his being man<sup>a</sup>: both altogether God, and altogether man; altogether God, even with the body, but not God with respect to the body; and altogether man with the divinity, but not man with respect to the divinity: thus altogether to be worshipped even with the body, but not to be worshipped with respect to the body; altogether worshipping<sup>b</sup> even with the divinity, but not worshipping with respect to the divinity; altogether un-

<sup>a</sup> There seems some corruption here: it is proposed to read, καθὸ Θεός καὶ καθὸ ἄνθρωπος πρόσωπον ἓν.

<sup>b</sup> i. e. Christ in his human nature, while he was upon earth, worshipped the Father.

“ created even with the body, but not uncreated with  
 “ respect to the body ; altogether formed, even with  
 “ the divinity, but not formed with respect to the  
 “ divinity ; altogether of one substance with God,  
 “ even with the body, but not of one substance with  
 “ God with respect to the body ; like as he is not of  
 “ one substance with men with respect to his divi-  
 “ nity, although even with the divinity he is of one  
 “ substance with us according to the flesh : for when  
 “ we say that he is of one substance with God ac-  
 “ cording to the Spirit, we do not say that he is of  
 “ one substance with men according to the Spirit ;  
 “ and again, when we preach that he is of one sub-  
 “ stance with men according to the flesh, we do not  
 “ preach that he is of one substance with God ac-  
 “ cording to the flesh ; for as according to the Spirit  
 “ he is not of one substance with us, since in this  
 “ respect he is of one substance with God, so neither  
 “ according to the flesh is he of one substance with  
 “ God, since in this respect he is of one substance  
 “ with us ; and like as these points have been distin-  
 “ guished and explained, not with a view to divide  
 “ the one Person which is indivisible, but in order  
 “ to shew that the properties of the flesh and the  
 “ Word are not confounded, we thus declare the  
 “ circumstances of the indivisible union <sup>c</sup>.”

<sup>c</sup> Ὁμολογοῦμεν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν  
 Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς  
 κατὰ πνεῦμα πρὸ αἰώνων γεννηθέντα,  
 ἐκ ἑσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐκ παρθένου  
 κατὰ σάρκα τεχθέντα, ἐν πρόσωπον  
 σύνθετον ἐκ θεότητος οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀν-  
 θρωπείας σαρκός· καὶ καθὼς ἄνθρωπος,  
 ἐν καὶ ὅλον Θεόν, καὶ ὅλον ἄνθρωπον·  
 ὅλον Θεὸν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ σώματος,  
 ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καθὼς σῶμα Θεῶν· καὶ ὅλον

ἄνθρωπον μετὰ τῆς θεότητος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ  
 κατὰ τὴν θεότητα ἄνθρωπον· οὕτως ὅλον  
 προσκυνητὸν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ σώματος,  
 ἀλλ' οὐχὶ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα προσκυνητόν·  
 ὅλον προσκυνῶντα καὶ μετὰ τῆς θεότη-  
 τος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα προσ-  
 κυνῶντα· ὅλον ἄκτιστον καὶ μετὰ τοῦ  
 σώματος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα  
 ἄκτιστον· ὅλον πλαστὸν καὶ μετὰ  
 τῆς θεότητος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ κατὰ τὴν



## 328. ARCHELAUS, A. D. 278.

Archelaus was bishop of Caschar in Mesopotamia, and we have still remaining a disputation which he held with Manes or Manichæus<sup>d</sup>. The conference between these two persons took place first at Caschar, and afterwards at Diodoris, a village not far off. The date of it is supposed to be about the year 278. The disputation is said to have been originally written in Syriac; but the account which we have of it is in Latin, and the translation seems to have been made, not from the original Syriac, but from a Greek version.

I do not pretend to decide the question, whether the account, which we have of this dispute, is genuine or no. Beausobre has written at considerable length to prove that the conference never took place, and that the work in question was written A. D. 330 or 340<sup>e</sup>. The names of those who have adopted or opposed this notion, may be seen in Dr. Routh's *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, vol. IV. p. 133-4. I have already

θεότητα πλαστόν ὄλον ὁμοούσιον Θεῶν  
καὶ μετὰ τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ  
κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ὁμοούσιον τῶν Θεῶν ὥσπερ  
οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶν  
ὁμοούσιος, καίτοι γε μετὰ τῆς θεό-  
τητος ὢν κατὰ σάρκα ὁμοούσιος ἡμῖν·  
καὶ γὰρ ὅταν λέγωμεν αὐτὸν κατὰ  
πνεῦμα Θεῶν ὁμοούσιον, οὐ λέγομεν  
κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀνθρώποις ὁμοούσιον· καὶ  
πάλιν, ὅταν κηρύσσωμεν αὐτὸν κατὰ  
σάρκα ἀνθρώποις ὁμοούσιον, οὐ κηρύσ-  
σομεν αὐτὸν κατὰ σάρκα ὁμοούσιον  
Θεῶν· ὥσπερ γὰρ κατὰ πνεῦμα ἡμῖν οὐκ  
ἐστὶν ὁμοούσιος, ἐπειδὴ Θεῶν ἐστὶ κατὰ  
τοῦτο ὁμοούσιος, οὕτως οὐδὲ κατὰ σάρ-  
κα ἐστὶ Θεῶν ὁμοούσιος, ἐπειδὴ ἡμῖν  
ἐστὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ὁμοούσιος· ὥσπερ δὲ

ταῦτα διήρθηται καὶ σεσαφηνίσται,  
οὐκ εἰς διαίρεσιν τοῦ ἐνὸς προσώπου  
τοῦ ἀδιαίρετου, ἀλλ' εἰς δήλωσιν τοῦ  
ἀσυγχύτου τῶν ἰδιωμάτων τῆς σαρκὸς  
καὶ τοῦ Λόγου, οὕτω καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀδι-  
αιρέτου συνθέσεως πρὸς βεβούμεν. Con-  
cil. Eph. part. III. c. 6. p. 979.  
tom. III. Concil. Labb. It is  
printed also in *Reliq. Sacr.* II.  
524. and in the edition of the  
works of Dionysius Alex. p.  
289.

<sup>d</sup> See Epiphanius. *Hæc.* LXVI.  
10. vol. I. p. 627.

<sup>e</sup> *Hist. de Manichée*, vol. I.  
p. 129—154.

mentioned that in the course of the dispute Archelaus calls the Virgin Mary *the Mother of God*: (see p. 108.) and in a fragment of another work of the same Archelaus, we find the following remarkable passage concerning the prodigies which accompanied our Lord's crucifixion, "These divine wonders proclaimed with a loud voice that he was "God<sup>f</sup>." It may be mentioned, that Archelaus quotes Luke iv. 34. "We know thee who thou art, "*the holy God*<sup>g</sup>." There is no other authority for this reading.

### 329. THEONAS, A. D. 290.

Theonas was raised to the see of Alexandria in the year 282, and occupied it for nineteen years. A letter of his is extant, which he addressed to Lucianus, who held a high station in the household of the emperor Diocletian. The letter was certainly written in Greek; but we have only a Latin translation of it. Lucianus was a Christian, as were several other persons, who held similar employments. Theonas in this letter gives directions to them all, how they should conduct themselves in their several situations: and addressing himself particularly to him, who had the care of the emperor's library, he says, that he should take every opportunity to bring the scriptures before the notice of the emperor: "He will sometimes speak in commendation of the "Gospel and of the apostle Paul: mention may be "made incidentally of Christ; and he will explain

<sup>f</sup> — τῶν θεοπεπῶν τούτων θαυμάτων ἀνακηρυττόντων αὐτὸν εἶναι Θεὸν λαμπρῆ τῇ φωνῇ. apud Routh Rel. Sacr. IV. p. 284.

<sup>g</sup> Scimus te qui sis sanctus Deus. Rel. Sacr. vol. IV. p. 257.

“ by degrees that he is the only God <sup>h</sup>.” That this is the true meaning of the words *ejus sola divinitas*, seems clear from a passage which Dr. Routh has quoted from the Roman Martyrology, (August. 31.) where we are told that “ Aristides presented to the emperor Hadrian a volume upon the Christian religion, in which he explained our doctrine, and proved in the clearest manner, that Christ Jesus is the only God <sup>i</sup>.” The two expressions have evidently the same meaning; and since Theonas unquestionably believed in God the Father, he must have considered Jesus Christ to be one with the Father, or he could not have styled him *the only God* <sup>k</sup>. He wrote to turn the emperor from polytheism to the worship of the one true God, and he expressly says that the only God is Christ. We may also compare this expression with the quotation from Tertullian at the end of N<sup>o</sup>. 98. p. 183.

### 330. LUCIANUS, A. D. 300.

Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian <sup>l</sup>, as well as Athanasius <sup>m</sup> and Hilary <sup>n</sup>, have preserved a creed or exposition of faith, which was brought forward at the sixth council of Antioch, held in the year 341: and Sozomen <sup>o</sup> informs us, that it was said to be found

<sup>h</sup> — insurgere poterit Christi mentio, explicabitur paulatim ejus sola divinitas. Epist. ad Lucianum, apud Routh. Rel. Sacr. III. p. 311.

<sup>i</sup> — et quod Christus Jesus solus esset Deus, præsente ipso imperatore luculentissime peroravit. Rel. Sacr. I. p. 78.

<sup>k</sup> In the same way Athanasius uses the very strong expres-

sion, *μόνος δὲ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐγνωρίσθη Θεὸς ἀληθινὸς Θεοῦ Θεὸς Λόγος*. De Incarn. 47. vol. I. p. 88. This treatise was written before the Arian controversy arose.

<sup>l</sup> II. 10.

<sup>m</sup> De Synod. Arim. et Seleuc. §. 23. vol. I. p. 735.

<sup>n</sup> De Synod. §. 28. p. 1168.

<sup>o</sup> III. 5.

in the hand-writing of Lucianus. He was a presbyter of the church of Antioch, celebrated for his knowledge of the scriptures, and suffered martyrdom at Nicomedia about the year 311, in the persecution of Maximinus P.

Dr. Routh<sup>q</sup> does not venture to admit this creed as a genuine composition of Lucianus, though Baronius, Cave, Basnage, and Bull have maintained its authenticity. A question of this nature can never be decided so as to exclude further doubt or controversy: and without entering more into the dispute, I shall only mention, that if the creed was a forgery, the Arians were the authors of it.

It is unquestionable, that the council held at Antioch in 341 was composed mostly of persons inclined to Arianism. They first drew up a short confession of faith, which differed considerably from that of the council of Nice, and did not give satisfaction. They then put forth another, which they asserted to have been found in the hand-writing of Lucianus. It is also true, that Sozomen (who is the only writer that mentions the latter circumstance) says, that he did not know whether it was genuine or no. But one argument used by bishop Bull<sup>r</sup> is surely sufficient to incline us to receive the creed. If it was forged by the Arians under the name of Lucianus, is it probable that they would have drawn up a confession of faith, which entirely contradicted their own doctrines? The bishop contends that this is the fact: and whether it is so or no, the reader may judge for himself. If we are to decide, that it was

<sup>p</sup> See the *Synopsis Scriptura* ascribed to Athanasius, vol. II. p. 204.

<sup>q</sup> Rel. Sacr. III. p. 295.

<sup>r</sup> Defens. Sect. II. 13. 4. &c.

not composed by Lucianus at the end of the third century, we must then take it as containing the doctrines of the Arians in the year 341: and it is at least satisfactory to see that the Arians at that period differed in so small a degree from the catholic church.

“ We believe according to the evangelical and  
 “ apostolical tradition in one God, Father Almighty,  
 “ the Creator and Maker of all things: and in one  
 “ Lord Jesus Christ, His only-begotten Son, God,  
 “ by whom all things were made; who was begot-  
 “ ten of the Father before all worlds, God of God<sup>s</sup>,  
 “ universal of universal, alone of alone, perfect of  
 “ perfect<sup>t</sup>, King of King, Lord of Lord, the living  
 “ Word, Wisdom, Life, true Light, the Way of  
 “ Truth, the Resurrection, Shepherd, Door; un-  
 “ changeable and unalterable; the unvarying image  
 “ of the Divinity, Substance and Power and Counsel  
 “ and Glory of the Father: begotten before every  
 “ creature; who was at the beginning with God, the  
 “ Word, God, according to what is said in the Gos-  
 “ pel, *And the Word was God, by whom all things*  
 “ *were made, and in whom all things subsist*; who  
 “ in the latter days came down from above, and was  
 “ born of a Virgin according to the scriptures; and  
 “ was made man, a Mediator between God and men,  
 “ the Apostle of our faith, and Prince of life, as he  
 “ says, *I came down from heaven, not that I might*  
 “ *do my own will, but the will of Him that sent*  
 “ *me*: who suffered for us, and rose again for us on

<sup>s</sup> Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ. Hippolytus had used the same expression, Θεὸς ὑπάρχων ἐκ Θεοῦ. II. p. 29.

<sup>t</sup> Τέλειον ἐκ τελείου, which expression was applied to the Son

by Clement of Alexandria, μήτι οὖν ὁμολογήσουσιν ἄκουτες τὸν Λόγον τέλειον ἐκ τελείου φύντα τοῦ Πατρὸς; Pæd. I. 6. p. 113.

“ the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sat  
 “ down on the right hand of the Father, and cometh  
 “ again with glory and power to judge quick and  
 “ dead. And in the Holy Ghost, which was given  
 “ for consolation and satisfaction, and for the per-  
 “ fecting of them that believe : as also our Lord  
 “ Jesus Christ charged his disciples, saying, *Go ye,*  
 “ *and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name*  
 “ *of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy*  
 “ *Ghost,* evidently of the Father who is truly Fa-  
 “ ther, and of the Son who is truly Son, and of the  
 “ Holy Ghost, who is truly Holy Ghost ; the names  
 “ not being merely given, or without reality, but  
 “ signifying strictly the proper person and glory and  
 “ office of each of those who are named ; so that  
 “ they are three in person, but one in agreement u.”

u Πιστεύομεν ἀκολουθῶν τῇ εὐ-  
 ἀγγελικῇ καὶ Ἀποστολικῇ παραδόσει,  
 εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα,  
 τὸν τῶν ὄλων δημιουργὸν τε καὶ ποιη-  
 τήν· καὶ εἰς ἓνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν,  
 τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, Θεὸν, δι'  
 οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο· τὸν γεννηθέντα  
 πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς,  
 Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, ὄλον ἐξ ὄλου, μόνον ἐκ  
 μόνου, τέλειον ἐκ τελείου, βασιλεία  
 ἐκ βασιλείας, Κύριον ἀπὸ Κυρίου  
 Λόγον ζῶντα, Σοφίαν, ζωὴν, φῶς ἀλη-  
 θινὸν, δδὸν ἀληθείας, ἀνάστασιν, ποι-  
 μένη, θύραν, ἄτρεπτόν τε καὶ ἀναλ-  
 λαίωτον· τὴν τῆς θεότητος, οὐσίας τε  
 καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ βουλῆς καὶ δόξης  
 τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀπαράλλακτον εἰκόνα·  
 τὸν πρωτότεκον πάσης κτίσεως· τὸν  
 ὄντα ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν, Λόγον  
 Θεόν, κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τῷ εὐαγ-  
 γελίῳ, Καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος, δι' οὗ τὰ  
 πάντα ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα  
 συνέστηκε· τὸν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμε-  
 ρῶν κατελθόντα ἄνωθεν, καὶ γεννη-  
 θέντα ἐκ παρθένου κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς,

καὶ ἄνθρωπον γενόμενον, μεσίτην Θεοῦ  
 καὶ ἀνθρώπων, Ἀπόστολόν τε τῆς πί-  
 στεως ἡμῶν καὶ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς,  
 ὡς φησὶν ὅτι καταβέβηκα ἐκ τοῦ οὐ-  
 ρανοῦ, οὐχ ἵνα ποιῶ τὸ θέλημα τὸ  
 ἐμὸν, ἀλλὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός  
 με· τὸν παθόντα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ ἀνα-  
 στάντα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ,  
 καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς οὐρανοῦς, καὶ καθε-  
 σθέντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ πάλ-  
 λιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως  
 κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· καὶ εἰς τὸ  
 Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ εἰς παρακλήσιν  
 καὶ ἁγιασμὸν καὶ εἰς τελείωσιν τοῖς πι-  
 στεύουσι διδόμενον, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Κύ-  
 ριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς διατάξατο  
 τοῖς μαθηταῖς, λέγων, Πορευθέντες  
 κ. τ. λ. ὁπλον ὅτι Πατὴρ ἀληθινῶς  
 ὄντος Πατρὸς, καὶ υἱοῦ ἀληθινῶς υἱοῦ  
 ὄντος, καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου ἀληθινῶς  
 ὄντος Πνεύματος ἁγίου· τῶν ὀνομάτων  
 οὐχ ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ ἀργῶς κειμένων, ἀλλὰ  
 σημαίνοντων ἀκριβῶς τὴν ἰδίαν ἐκά-  
 στου τῶν ὀνομαζομένων ὑπόστασιν τε  
 καὶ δόξαν καὶ τάξιν, ὡς εἶναι τῇ μὲν

The last clause of this creed furnishes an argument for its authenticity, which is not noticed by bishop Bull, but which perhaps carries some weight. The word *ἰπόστασις* is here taken in the sense of *person*, which is known to be the meaning given to the term in the time of Lucianus<sup>z</sup>: but it afterwards came to signify the same as *οὐσία*, *substance*: and it is used in this sense in two other creeds which were drawn up at this same council of Antioch<sup>γ</sup>.

#### METHODIUS, A. D. 305.

The only work of this Father, from which I shall give any extracts, is *the Banquet of ten Virgins*, or the book *concerning Chastity*. We know that he left other writings, of which a few fragments remain; and there are some entire pieces ascribed to him, which many persons have received as genuine: but the evidence against their authenticity seems decisive. Photius also informs us<sup>z</sup>, that *the Banquet of ten Virgins* had been interpolated by the Arians: we may therefore safely appeal to it notwithstanding this objection: for the Arians would not be likely to have inserted any thing which confirmed the proofs of Christ's divinity.

Methodius is supposed to have been bishop of Olympus in Lycia, and afterwards of Tyre, and to have suffered martyrdom at Chalcis in the year 311 or 312. We learn from Epiphanius<sup>α</sup>, that he was also called Eubulius.

*ἰποστάσει τρία, τῇ δὲ συμφωνίᾳ ἓν.*  
The last words of this creed closely resemble the expression of Origen, that the Father and the Son are *δύο τῇ ἰποστάσει, ἓν δὲ τῇ ὁμοσίᾳ καὶ τῇ συμφωνίᾳ.*

c. Cels. VIII. 12. p. 751.

<sup>z</sup> See page 341, &c.

<sup>γ</sup> See Athanasius de Synodis §. 24, 25. vol. I. p. 737-8.

<sup>α</sup> Cod. 237.

<sup>α</sup> Hær. LXIV. 63. vol. I. p. 590.

The *Banquet of ten Virgins* is a curious and entertaining work: and the plan of it can hardly fail to remind the reader of the Decamerone of Boccaccio. In both works ten speakers are introduced, each of whom successively takes the turn of discoursing to the rest. The characters introduced by Methodius are all females, and evidently allegorical. Ten of them meet in the garden of Arete (Virtue) the daughter of Philosophy, and after amusing themselves in gathering flowers and admiring the beauty of the place, which is described as *a second Paradise*, Arete persuades them to sit down, and each to deliver a discourse in praise of Virginité. The proposal is accepted; and the ladies entertain each other with expatiating upon this topic. Their speeches only take up one day; and it could be wished, that between this work and the Decamerone there had also been the distinction of greater propriety and decency in some of the expressions. The description of the garden of Arete at the beginning of the book, its flowers and fruits, the fertilizing brooks and incense-breathing air, will often call to mind the beautiful though florid expressions of Boccaccio. We are at present concerned with a graver subject; and the work will supply some unequivocal attestations to the doctrine of Christ's divinity.

331. *Methodii Symposion*. p. 69, 70.

It is here observed, that our Saviour, much more than the prophets and just men of old, declared the excellence of virginité, for that before his time man had never arrived at perfection: "To accomplish  
" which, the Word was sent into the world, and first  
" assumed our form, which was spotted with many  
" sins, that we in turn, for whose sake he bore it,



“ might be able to contain the divine form——for “ he chose to clothe himself with human flesh, when “ he was God, for this reason, that seeing the divine “ original of life as in a picture, we might also be “ able to imitate him who painted it <sup>b</sup>.” I cannot help observing the extreme unfairness, not to say dishonesty, of Beausobre, who, because he found some Arianisms in Methodius, says of him, “ that he “ had no idea of the hypostatic union of the Word “ with the human nature <sup>c</sup>.” The first quotation, which I have given, seems purposely designed to refute this assertion. We here find Methodius saying, that *the Word, being God, assumed human flesh*: and nearly all the following quotations contain the same doctrine.

332. *Methodii Symposion.* p. 79.

“ ——for Christ was this, a man filled with un- “ mixed and perfect divinity, and God contained in “ man <sup>d</sup>.”

333. *Methodii Symposion.* p. 80.

“ For this reason the Lord says that he came into “ life from heaven, having left the companies and “ hosts of angels <sup>e</sup>.”

334. *Methodii Symposion.* p. 105.

Having spoken of the corruption of mankind after

<sup>b</sup> Ὅπερ τελεσιουργῆσαι κατα-  
πεμφθεὶς ὁ Λόγος εἰς τὸν κόσμον τὴν  
ἡμετέραν μορφήν πρότερον ἀνέλαβε  
πολλοῖς ἀμαρτήμασι κατεστνημένῃ,  
ἵνα διὰ τὴν θεῖαν ἡμεῖς, δι' οὗς αὐτὸς  
ἐφόρεσε, πάλιν χωρῆσαι δυνηθῶμεν  
——ταύτη γὰρ ἡρετίσατο τὴν ἀν-  
θρωπινὴν ἐνδύσασθαι σάρκα Θεὸς ὢν,  
ὅπως ὡσπερ ἐν πίνακι θεῖον ἐκτύπωμα  
βίου βλέποντες, ἔχωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸν  
γράφαντα μιμεῖσθαι.

<sup>c</sup> Méthodius n'avait aucune

idée de l'Union hypostatique du  
Verbe avec la Nature Humaine.  
Hist. de Manichée, vol. I. p.  
118.

<sup>d</sup> —— τοῦτο γὰρ εἶναι τὸν Χρι-  
στὸν, ἄνθρωπον ἀκράτῃ θεότητι καὶ  
τελείᾳ πεπληρωμένον, καὶ Θεὸν ἐν ἄν-  
θρώπῳ κεχωρημένον.

<sup>e</sup> Διὰ τοῦτό φησιν ὁ Κύριος, ἐαυ-  
τὸν εἰς τὸν βίον ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐλη-  
λυθέναι, καταλειπούτα τὰς τάξεις  
καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα τῶν ἀγγέλων.

the flood, the speaker observes, that “ God, lest man-kind should be altogether destroyed by forgetting what was right, commanded His own Son to communicate to the prophets his advent into the world, which was to be by the flesh <sup>f</sup>.”

335. *Methodii Symposion*. p. 105.

“ In another way one might say that the bride was the unpolluted flesh of the Lord, for sake of which he left the Father and came hither, and was united to it by taking the human nature <sup>g</sup>.”

336. *Methodii Symposion*. p. 111.

The passage in the book of Revelations, xii. 5. is here said not to allude to the birth of Christ, but to the admission of believers into the church: “ For the mystery of the incarnation of the Word was fulfilled long ago before the Revelation: but John speaks of things present and to come: whereas Christ, who was conceived long ago, was not *caught up*, as soon as he was born, *to the throne of God*, through fear of the Serpent hurting him: but he was born and came down from his Father’s throne for this very reason, that he might conquer the dragon, waiting for his attacking him in the flesh <sup>h</sup>.”

<sup>f</sup> Ὁ οὖν Θεός, ἵνα μὴ πάντῃ τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀίστωθῆ λήθῃ τῶν καλῶν, τὸν ἴδιον παῖδα τοῖς προφήταις ἐκέλευσεν ὑπαγγῆσαι τὴν ἐσομένην ἐαυτοῦ παρουσίαν διὰ σαρκὸς εἰς τὸν βίον.

<sup>g</sup> Διηγήσεται δὲ τις ἐτέρως τὴν νύμφην φάναι τὴν σάρκα τὴν ἀμόλυτον τοῦ Κυρίου, ἧς χάριν τὸν Πατέρα καταλείψας κατήλθεν ἐνταῦθα καὶ προσκολληθῆ καὶ ἐγκατέσκηψεν ἐνανθρωπήσας εἰς αὐτήν.

<sup>h</sup> Πάλαι γὰρ πρὸ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως ἐπεκλήρωτο μυστήριον τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοῦ Λόγου. Ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης περὶ παρόντων καὶ μελλόντων θεσμῶν δὲ ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς πάλαι κηθεὶς οὐχ ἤρπασθη, ὅπως ἐτέχθη, πρὸς τὸν θρόνον τοῦ Θεοῦ, φόβῳ τοῦ μὴ λυμῆνασθαι αὐτὸν τὸν ὄφιν· ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο ἐγενήθη καὶ κατήλθεν αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν θρόνων τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἵνα τὸν δράκοντα χειρώσῃται, μείνας ἐπιτρέχοντα τῇ σαρκί.

337. *Methodii Symposion.* p. 112.

The following remark is made upon the words spoken by God at our Saviour's baptism. "*Thou art my beloved Son, this day have I begotten thee*<sup>i</sup>. We must observe, that He declares him to "be His Son indefinitely and without reference to "time. For He says to him, *Thou art*, not *Thou hast become*: shewing that he had neither been "recently adopted as a Son, nor yet was he one, who "having previously existed afterwards had an end, "but having been begotten before, both would be "and was the same. But the words, *This day have I begotten thee*, mean, You already preexisted before the worlds in heaven, and I wished also to "beget you to the world; which means, to make "known that which was unknown before<sup>k</sup>."

Another quotation from Methodius has already been given at p. 137.

## ARNOBIUS, A. D. 306.

Arnobius was certainly educated in heathenism and taught rhetoric at Sicca in Africa. The work which he has left, consisting of seven books *against the Gentiles* is said by some to have been written while he was only a catechumen; but Lardner doubts this. There are also disputes as to the time in which he flourished. Tillemont and Beausobre place him as early as the year 297, but I have adopted

<sup>i</sup> See p. 149. N<sup>o</sup>. 76.

<sup>k</sup> Παρατηρητέον γὰρ, ὅτι τὸ μὲν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ εἶναι ἀορίστως ἀπεφήνατο καὶ ἀχρόνως. Εἰ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἔφη, καὶ αὐτὸν, Γέγονας· ἐμφαίνων μῆτε πρόσφατον αὐτὸν τετυχέναι τῆς υἰοθεσίας· μῆτε αὖ προϋπάρξαντα μετὰ ταῦτα

τέλος ἐσχηκέναι, ἀλλὰ προγεννηθέντα καὶ ἔσεσθαι καὶ εἶναι τὸν αὐτόν· τὸ δὲ, Ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε, ὅτι προόντα ἤδη πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἐβουλήθη καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ, γενῆσαι, ὃ δὴ ἐστὶν πρόσθεν ἀγνωστοῦμενον γνωρίσαι.

the later date, which is that assigned to him by Lardner. His work *against the Gentiles* is a most forcible exposure of the follies and inconsistencies of paganism, and is full of very curious and interesting information. From the nature of the work we should not expect much illustration of the doctrines of Christianity; but there are nevertheless a few passages which seem to shew very plainly, that in those days it was the universal belief, that Jesus Christ was God.

338. *Arnobii adversus Gentes* lib. I. p. 19, 20.

We may learn what the belief and practice of Christians were at the beginning of the fourth century, by observing what were the objections brought against their doctrine by their enemies. Accordingly we find in Arnobius, that the heathens said, "The gods are not angry with you for worshipping God Almighty; but because you contend, that a man, who was born, and (which is disgraceful to low persons) put to death by crucifixion, was God, and believe that he is still alive, and worship him with daily supplications<sup>1</sup>."

It follows from this passage, that the heathens must have known that Christ was worshipped by the Christians as God: it must have been well understood in those days, that Christ was not considered to be a mere man; and we may observe that the word here translated *worship* is stronger when applied to Christ, than when applied to God Almighty:

<sup>1</sup> Sed non, inquit, idcirco dii vobis infesti sunt, quod omnipotentem colatis Deum; sed quod hominem natum, et quod personis infame est vilibus cru-

cis supplicio interemptum, et Deum fuisse contenditis, et superesse adhuc creditis, et quotidianis supplicationibus adoratis.

in the latter case it is *colatis*, in the former *adoratis*: so that we cannot doubt but that religious worship was paid to Christ; and yet the object of Arnobius throughout this work, as of all the apologists for Christianity, was to shew, that the Christians worshipped only one God.

339. *Arnobii adversus Gentes* l. I. p. 24.

But we may hear Arnobius himself explaining in what sense he called Christ *God*. He shews in the first place, that even if Christ had been born like ordinary men, still he deserved to be worshipped as God. “ Even if that were true——still in return  
“ for so many and bountiful gifts, which we have  
“ obtained from him, he would deserve to be called  
“ and entitled God. But when he is really God,  
“ and without the uncertainty of any doubtful matter, do you think we can deny that he is worshipped in the highest degree by us, and called the  
“ Guardian of our society? What! some one will  
“ say in a violent passion, is that Christ God? Yes,  
“ we answer, God, and God in the highest sense <sup>m</sup>.”

340. *Arnobii adversus Gentes* l. I. p. 25.

He then goes on to shew that Christ did not work his miracles by magic. “ But it is plain that Christ  
“ did all his works by the power of his own name  
“ without any assistance, without observing any rite  
“ or any law, and what was peculiar, fitting and

<sup>m</sup> Natum hominem colitis. Etiam si esset id verum, tamen pro multis et tam liberalibus donis, quæ ab eo profecta in nobis sunt, Deus dici appellatione debet. Cum vero Deus sit re certa, et sine ullius rei dubitationis ambiguo, inficiatu-

ros arbitramini nos esse, quam maxime illum a nobis coli, et Præsidem nostri corporis nuncupari? Ergone, inquiet aliquis furens, iratus, et percitus, Deus ille est Christus? Deus, respondebimus, et interiorum potentiarum Deus.

“ worthy of the true God, he gave nothing injurious  
 “ or detrimental, but beneficial, salutary, and full of  
 “ useful blessings, by the bounty of his mhnificent  
 “ power. What do you say then? Was he then  
 “ mortal, or one of us, before whose power and be-  
 “ fore whose voice, uttered in usual and ordinary  
 “ words, diseases, fevers, and other bodily torments,  
 “ fled? Was he one of us, whose presence and sight  
 “ that race of dæmons buried deep in the body  
 “ could not endure, and, frightened by the new  
 “ power, retired from possession of the limbs <sup>n</sup>?”

341. *Arnobii adversus Gentes* l. I. p. 28.

In the same manner he goes through nearly all the miracles of Jesus, prefacing each by saying, “ Was he one of us?” *Unus fuit e nobis?* and concludes thus; “ It is clearer than the sun itself, that “ he was more powerful than the fates, when he “ unloosed and conquered what had been bound by “ perpetual chains and unalterable necessity <sup>o</sup>.” We must remember what ideas the heathens entertained of the fates, who were considered to be more powerful even than the gods themselves <sup>p</sup>; and when we

<sup>n</sup> Atqui constitit Christum sine ullis adminiculis rerum, sine ullius ritus observatione, vel lege, omnia illa quæ fecit nominis sui possibilitate fecisse: et quod proprium, consentaneum, dignum Deo fuerat vero, nihil nocens, aut noxium, sed opiferum, sed salutare, sed auxiliariis plenum bonis potestatis munificæ liberalitate donasse. Quid dicitis, O iterum? Ergo ille mortalis, aut unus fuit e nobis, cujus imperium, cujus vocem popularibus et quotidianis

verbis missam, valetudines, morbi, febres, atque alia corporum cruciamenta fugiebant? Unus fuit e nobis, cujus præsentiam, cujus visum gens illa nequibat ferre mersorum in visceribus dæmonum, conterritaque vi nova membrorum possessione cedebat?

<sup>o</sup> Sole ipso est clarius, potentior illum fuisse quam fata sunt, cum ea solvit et vicit, quæ perpetuis nexibus et immobili fuerant necessitate devincta.

<sup>p</sup> Thus Lactantius, speaking

find a Christian writer telling his adversaries that Christ was superior to the fates, we shall see at once, that it could never have been believed that Christ was a mere man, but that he must have been considered as God.

342. *Arnobii adversus Gentes* l. I. p. 31.

“ Was it therefore human, or out of a mouth  
“ nourished with earthly food could such power be  
“ given, such authority proceed, and was it not di-  
“ vine, was it not holy? or, if the thing admits of  
“ any excess, something more than divine and more  
“ than holy?”

343. *Arnobii adversus Gentes* l. I. p. 32.

“ There was nothing magical, as you suppose,  
“ nothing human, juggling, or illusive, no deceit lay  
“ hid in Christ, although you deride us according to  
“ custom, and break out into indecent laughter. He  
“ was the sublime God, God of the highest origin;  
“ God was sent as a Saviour from unknown regions,  
“ and from God the Sovereign of all, &c<sup>r</sup>.”

344. *Arnobii adversus Gentes* l. I. p. 37.

“ But they say, if Christ was God, why did he  
“ appear in the form of a man? and why was he put  
“ to death after the manner of man? Could that in-  
“ visible power, which has no bodily substance, in-

of the fates, says, Tanta vis est,  
ut plus possint quam cælestes  
universi, quamque ipse Rector ac  
Dominus. Instit. I. 11. p. 45.

¶ Ergo illud humanum fuit,  
aut ex ore terrenis stercoreibus  
innutrito tale potuit jus dari, ta-  
lis licentia proficisci, et non di-  
vinum et sacrum? aut si aliquam  
superlationem res capit, plus-  
quam divinum et sacrum?

† Nihil, ut remini, magicum,  
nihil humanum, præstigiosum  
aut subdolum, nihil fraudis deli-  
tuit in Christo, derideatis licet  
ex more atque in lasciviam dis-  
solvamini cachinnorum. Deus  
ille sublimis fuit, Deus radice  
ab intima, Deus ab incognitis  
regnis, et ab omnium Principe  
Deus sospitator est missus.

“troduce and adapt itself to the world, be present  
 “at the councils of mortals, in any other way than  
 “by assuming some covering of more substantial  
 “matter, which might be seen by the eyes, and  
 “on which the gaze of the dullest sight might fix  
 “itself? For what mortal is there, who could see  
 “him, or discern him, if he had wished to introduce  
 “himself on earth such as is his original nature, and  
 “such as he thinks fit to be in his own proper qua-  
 “lity or divinity? He therefore assumed the form  
 “of man, and confined his own power under the  
 “likeness of mankind, that he might be seen and  
 “beheld, that he might speak and teach, and per-  
 “form all those things, to do which he came into  
 “the world, observing the command and disposition  
 “of the Sovereign King — But he was put to  
 “death, you say, after the manner of men. Not he  
 “himself; for death cannot happen to what is di-  
 “vine; nor can that which is one and simple, and  
 “not formed by the union of any parts, fall away  
 “by mortal dissolution. Who then was it, that was  
 “seen to hang upon the cross? who was it that  
 “died? The human nature, which he had assumed,  
 “and which he bore together with his own <sup>s</sup>.”

<sup>s</sup> Sed si Deus, inquit, fuit  
 Christus, cur forma est in homi-  
 nis visus? et cur more est inter-  
 emptus humano? An aliter po-  
 tuit invisibilis illa vis et habens  
 nullam substantiam corporalem,  
 inferre et commodare se mundo,  
 conciliis interesse mortalium,  
 quam ut aliquod tegmen mate-  
 riæ solidioris assumeret, quod  
 oculorum susciperet injectum, et  
 ubi se figere inertissimæ posset  
 contemplationis obtutus? Quis

est enim mortalium, qui quiret  
 eum videre, quis cernere, si ta-  
 lem voluisset inferre se terris,  
 qualis ei primigenia natura est,  
 et qualem se ipse in sua esse  
 voluit vel qualitate vel numine?  
 Assumpsit igitur hominis for-  
 mam, et sub nostri generis si-  
 militudine potentiam suam clau-  
 sit, ut et videri posset et cons-  
 pici, verba faceret et doceret,  
 atque omnes exequeretur res  
 eas, propter quas in mundum



345. *Arnobii adversus Gentes* l. II. p. 85.

“ And therefore Christ, who, although you do not wish to hear it, is God, Christ, I say, who is God, (for this must often be repeated, that the ears of unbelievers may be opened,) speaking by the command of the Sovereign God under the form of man — hath taught us ;” &c. &c.

## PETRUS ALEXANDRINUS, A. D. 306.

Peter succeeded Theonas in the see of Alexandria about the year 300. The persecution of Diocletian was felt severely in his days; and after retiring for a time to escape the fury of it, he at length suffered martyrdom <sup>u</sup> in the year 310. We have accounts of several works written by this Father, but only a few fragments remain, from which the following extracts are taken; and it will perhaps be thought that they confirm what Ephrem patriarch of Antioch said of Peter, “ that he held the union of two natures in the “ one person of Christ <sup>x</sup>.”

I have already observed at p. 83. that this writer, speaking of the offerings of the Magi, says, that they

vererat faciendas, summi regis imperio et dispositione servatis. — Sed more est hominis interemptus. Non ipse: neque enim cadere divinas in res potest mortis occasus; nec interitionis dissolutione dilabi id, quod est unum et simplex, nec ullarum partium congregatione compactum. Quis est ergo visus in patibulo pendere, quis mortuus est? homo, quem induerat, et secum ipse portabat.

<sup>l</sup> Et ideo Christus licet vobis invitis Deus, Deus inquam Christus, hoc enim sæpe dicen-

dum est, ut infidelium dissiliat et dirumpatur auditus, Dei Principis jussione loquens sub hominis forma—præcepit &c.

<sup>u</sup> Athanas. Apol. c. Arian. 59. vol. I. p. 177. Vita Antonii, 47. p. 832. Eriphanus, Hær. LXVIII. 3. vol. I. p. 719.

<sup>x</sup> Ὅτι δὲ δύο φύσεων ἕνωσιν καὶ μίαν ἕννοσιν καὶ πρόσωπον ἐν ὁμολογεῖν, τοῦ ἑρθοῦ φρονήματός ἐστιν, καὶ τῶν πατέρων κήρυγμα, Ἰωάννης μὲν ὁ Χρυσόστομος—μαρτυρεῖ—ἀλλὰ καὶ Πέτρος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ μάρτυς. Phot. Cod. 229.

“ presented gold and frankincense and myrrh, as to “ a king and God and man :” and another fragment has been quoted at p. 130.

346. *Petri Alex. ex Libro de Divinitate.* (Rel. Sacr. vol. III. p. 345.)

Speaking of the angel's salutation to Mary he says, “ We may now understand those words of Gabriel, “ *The Lord be with thee*, to mean, God the Word be “ with thee ; for they signify that he was conceived “ in the womb, and became flesh †.”

347. *Petri Alex. ex Hom. de Adventu Salvatoris.* (Rel. Sacr. vol. III. p. 346.)

“ He says to Judas, *Betrayest thou the Son of “ man with a kiss ?* (Luke xxii. 48.) This and similar passages, and all the miracles which he did, “ and his powerful works, prove him to be God who “ became man : both together therefore prove that “ by nature he was God, and by nature was made “ man †.”

LACTANTIUS, A. D. 310.

It has been said that the name of this writer was Lucius Cœlius, or Cœcilius, Firmianus Lactantius. By birth he was probably an African, and he was a scholar of Arnobius : but whether he was converted to Christianity from heathenism, has been disputed. Lardner thinks that he was from the first a Christian. Diocletian sent for him to Nicomedia, where he

† Τὸ γὰρ, ὁ Κύριος μετὰ σοῦ, νῦν ἐστὶν ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ Γαβριὴλ, ἀντὶ τοῦ, ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος μετὰ σοῦ· σημαίνει γὰρ αὐτὸν γενόμενον ἐν μήτρᾳ καὶ σάρκα γενόμενον.

‡ Καὶ τῷ Ἰουδα φησὶ, Φιλήματι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδως; ταῦ-

τα, τὰ τε τούτους ὁμοία, τὰ τε σημεῖα πάντα ἃ ἐποίησε, καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις δεικνύουσιν αὐτὸν Θεὸν εἶναι ἐνανθρωπήσαντα· τὰ συναμφοτέρα τούτων δείκνυται, ὅτι Θεὸς ἦν φύσει, καὶ γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος φύσει.

taught rhetoric for some years, and was in that city during the persecution which Diocletian raised against the Christians. He is supposed to have left Nicomedia about the year 314, and to have gone into Gaul, where he held the situation of preceptor to Crispus the eldest son of Constantine. Some writers have said that he lived in extreme poverty: but Lardner seems not without reason to doubt the truth of this statement. He died at an advanced age.

Lactantius wrote several works; but the following are all which have come down to us, and they were written in the order here observed.—Symposium (if genuine): of the Workmanship of God: Divine Institutions, and the Epitome of them: of the Wrath of God: of the Deaths of Persecutors: but there are doubts whether this last treatise was written by Lactantius.

Of these works the Divine Institutions in seven books are the longest and most important. They seem to have been written at different times. They are dedicated to Constantine, but there is considerable internal evidence of parts of them having been composed before that emperor's accession. Lardner thinks that the design of them was formed as early as the year 303.

It was my intention at first to have brought the testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to a close, without taking any thing from the works of Lactantius; and I should have excluded him, not because he lived to witness the commencement of the Arian heresy, but because there is so little of Christianity in his works; and because we find, as might be expected, that he was but slightly acquainted with the

doctrinal parts of our religion. The following passage taken from the *Defence of the Nicene Faith*<sup>a</sup>, will shew what were the sentiments of bishop Bull upon this subject, and what was the impression upon his mind after reading the works of this writer. “Lactantius is the only Father who remains  
 “ to be consulted upon this question; and since his  
 “ opinion is not to be held of much weight, as I have  
 “ elsewhere observed, I may speak of him a little  
 “ more at length. He was a rhetorician, not a  
 “ theologian; nor did he ever hold a place among  
 “ the doctors of the church. Beside which, if we  
 “ may judge from his writings, such as have come  
 “ down to our times, he was extremely ignorant of  
 “ the scriptures and of the doctrine of the church.  
 “ Whence not only upon this question, but also in  
 “ other most important matters of our religion, he  
 “ fell into most grievous and absurd errors, such as  
 “ would hardly be pardoned in a catechumen. It  
 “ is not to be wondered at therefore, if he mistook  
 “ the metaphorical generation of the Son, by which  
 “ he proceeded from the Father, and was as it were  
 “ born for the purpose of creating this universe, (of  
 “ which indeed he had read something in Christian  
 “ writers,) for his real production and generation<sup>b</sup>.”

The bishop then goes on to point out instances, where the MSS. of Lactantius differ exceedingly from one another, so that some of the strange sentiments ascribed to this writer may reasonably be considered as spurious; and he also shews, that some

<sup>a</sup> III. 10. 20. Pope Damasus, in a letter to Jerom, declared that he could not endure to read the works of Lac-

tantius, because they were too prolix, and not godly enough.

<sup>b</sup> See what Waterland says of Lactantius, IV. p. 111, &c.

passages of his works are evidently infected with the absurd errors of the Manichees.

These reasons, as observed above, inclined me at first to take no notice of the writings of Lactantius. But since there are some expressions in his works, which may be construed without unfairness into an acknowledgment of the Son of God not having existed always, it might be said perhaps, that if Lactantius was excluded from the list of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, the omission was made from a consciousness that his evidence was against us.

I shall therefore begin my quotations from Lactantius, with producing those passages which seem to contradict the catholic doctrine of the eternal existence of the Son. I shall make no comment upon them separately, nor endeavour to give to them another and more orthodox interpretation: but having laid these passages before the reader, I shall then select other expressions which seem to shew that Lactantius did believe in the divinity of Jesus Christ in the fullest and highest sense of the term. The reader will then judge for himself, whether the doctrines, which are contained in these two different series of quotations, can be reconciled with each other. If they can, we must conclude that some of his expressions are to be taken in a sense different from that which appears to be plain and obvious: if they cannot, we must say with bishop Bull, that Lactantius was no divine, and knew little or nothing of the doctrinal parts of our religion.

The following passages might be quoted as proving that Lactantius did not believe in the eternal generation of Jesus Christ.

“ Since God had perfect providence in counsel, and

“ perfect wisdom in action, before he began upon this  
 “ work of the world, (because the source of full and  
 “ complete good resided in Him as it always does,)  
 “ that good might rise out of Him, like a stream,  
 “ and flow in a long course, He produced a Spirit  
 “ like to Himself, which was to be endued with the  
 “ power of God His Father—God therefore, when  
 “ He began to frame the world, appointed this His  
 “ first and highest Son over the whole work, and at  
 “ the same time employed him both as an adviser  
 “ and a creator in devising, arranging, and com-  
 “ pleting all things, since he is perfect in providence  
 “ and reason and power <sup>c</sup>.”

“ God therefore, the contriver and appointer of all  
 “ things, before He began upon this beautiful fabric  
 “ of the world, begat an holy and incorruptible  
 “ Spirit, whom He called His Son. And although  
 “ He afterwards created other innumerable spirits  
 “ by him, whom we call angels, yet He thought him  
 “ alone, who was the first-begotten, worthy of re-  
 “ ceiving the divine name, inasmuch as he possessed  
 “ his Father’s power and majesty <sup>d</sup>.” The same

<sup>c</sup> Cum esset Deus ad excogitandum providentissimus, ad faciendum solertissimus, antequam ordiretur hoc opus mundi, (quoniam pleni et consummati boni fons in ipso erat, sicut est semper,) ut ab eo bonum tanquam rivus oriretur, longeque profuere, produxit similem sui Spiritum, qui esset virtutibus Dei Patris præditus.—Exorsus igitur Deus fabricam mundi illum primum et maximum Filium præfecit operi universo; eoque simul et consiliatore usus est et artifice in excogitandis, ornandis, perficiendisque rebus,

quoniam is et providentia, et ratione, et potestate perfectus est. Instit. II. 9. vol. I. p. 143.

<sup>d</sup> Deus igitur machinator constitutorque rerum, antequam præclarum hoc opus mundi adiretur, sanctum et incorruptibilem Spiritum genuit, quem Filium nuncuparet; et quamvis alios postea innumerabiles per ipsum creavisset, quos angelos dicimus, hunc tamen solum primogenitum divini nominis appellatione dignatus est, patria scilicet virtute ac majestate pollentem. Instit. IV. 6. p. 284.

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sentiment is thus expressed in the Epitome of the Institutions: "God in the beginning, before He created the world, begat unto Himself from the fountain of His own eternity, and from His own divine and everlasting Spirit, a Son who was incorruptible, faithful, corresponding to the power and majesty of his Father. This is the Power, the Reason, the Word, and Wisdom of God.—Of all the angels whom the same God formed out of His spirits, he alone was taken into a partnership of supreme power, he alone was called God. For *all things were made by him, and without him nothing<sup>e</sup>.*"

"Perhaps some one may ask, who is this that is so powerful, so dear to God, and what name does he bear, whose first birth not only preceded the world, but he even arranged it by his wisdom, and formed it by his power. In the first place we are to know, that his name is understood not even by the angels who abide in heaven, but by himself alone and God the Father<sup>f</sup>."

The following attempt at explaining the mode of the generation of the Son, if it has any intelligible meaning, may be thought to be not in accordance

<sup>e</sup> Deus in principio antequam mundum institueret, de æternitatis suæ fonte, deque divino ac perenni Spiritu suo Filium sibi ipse progenuit, incorruptum, fidelem, virtuti ac majestati patriæ respondentem. Hic est virtus, hic ratio, hic sermo Dei, hic sapientia.—Denique ex omnibus angelis, quos idem Deus de suis spiritibus figuravit, solus in consortium summæ potestatis adscitus est, solus Deus nuncupatus. Omnia enim per ipsum et sine ipso

nihil. Epit. Instit. XLII. vol. II. p. 30.

<sup>f</sup> Fortasse quærat aliquis hoc loco, quis sit iste tam potens, tam Deo carus, et quod nomen habeat, cujus prima nativitas non modo antecesserit mundum, verum etiam prudentia disposuerit, virtute construxerit. Primum scire nos convenit, nomen ejus ne angelis quidem notum esse, qui morantur in cælo, sed ipsi soli ac Deo Patri. Instit. IV. 7. vol. I. p. 286.

with the catholic doctrines. “ How then did He  
“ beget him ? In the first place the divine works can  
“ neither be known nor declared by any one : but  
“ yet the scriptures teach, that this Son of God is  
“ the Word or Reason of God ; and also that the  
“ other angels are spirits of God. For a word is  
“ spirit (or breath) put forth with a significant sound.  
“ And yet since the breath and a word are put forth  
“ from different parts, (for the breath proceeds from  
“ the nostrils, a word from the mouth,) there is a  
“ great difference between this Son of God and other  
“ angels. For they went forth from God as silent spi-  
“ rits, because they were created not to deliver the  
“ doctrine of God, but to minister to Him. But the  
“ Son, although he is himself a spirit, yet proceeded  
“ from the mouth of God with a voice and sound, like  
“ a word, I mean in the same manner that he would  
“ use his voice [when speaking] to the people, i. e.  
“ that he was to become the teacher of the doctrine  
“ of God and of the heavenly secret which was to be  
“ declared to men ; which very word God spoke at  
“ the beginning, that He might speak to us by him,  
“ and he might reveal to us the voice and will of  
“ God. He is therefore properly called the Word of  
“ God ; because God, by a certain inconceivable power  
“ of His majesty, comprehended that vocal spirit  
“ which proceeds out of his mouth, which He had  
“ conceived, not in the womb, but in the mind, into a  
“ form which had its own proper sense and wisdom ;  
“ and He also fashioned His other spirits into an-  
“ gels.—Our words, although they are blended  
“ with the air and vanish, yet generally remain being  
“ comprehended in letters : how much more must  
“ we believe that the voice of God continues for ever,



“ and is accompanied with sense and power, which  
 “ he derived from God the Father like a river from  
 “ its source. But if any one wonder that God  
 “ should be begotten of God by a putting forth of  
 “ the voice and breath, he will cease to wonder, if  
 “ he knows the sacred sayings of the prophets.” He  
 then quotes Psalm xxxiii. 6. xlv. 1. Eccus. xxiv. 3.  
 John i. 1—3<sup>5</sup>.

“ But in what manner and with what commands  
 “ he was sent by God upon earth, the Spirit of God  
 “ declared by the prophets, teaching that it would  
 “ come to pass, that when he had faithfully and con-  
 “ stantly fulfilled the will of the supreme Father, he

<sup>5</sup> Quomodo igitur procreavit? Primum nec sciri a quaquam possunt nec enarrari opera divina: sed tamen sanctæ literæ docent, in quibus cautum est, illum Dei Filium Dei esse sermonem, sive etiam rationem; itemque cæteros angelos Dei spiritus esse. Nam sermo est spiritus cum voce aliquid significante prolatus. Sed tamen quoniam spiritus et sermo diversis partibus proferuntur, (siquidem spiritus naribus, ore sermo procedit,) magna inter hunc Dei Filium et cæteros angelos differentia est. Illi enim ex Deo taciti spiritus exierunt; quia non ad doctrinam Dei tradendam sed ad ministerium creabantur. Ille vero cum sit et ipse Spiritus, tamen cum voce ac sono ex Dei ore processit, sicut verbum, ea scilicet ratione, quia voce ejus ad populum fuerat usus; id est, quod ille magister futurus esset doctrinæ Dei et cœlestis arcani ad hominem proferendi; quod ipsum

primo locutus est, ut per eum ad nos loqueretur, et ille vocem Dei ac voluntatem nobis revelaret. Merito igitur Sermo et Verbum Dei dicitur; quia Deus procedentem de ore suo vocalem Spiritum, quem non utero sed mente conceperat, inexcogitabili quadam majestatis suæ virtute ac potentia in effigiem, quæ proprio sensu ac sapientia vigeat, comprehendit, et alios item spiritus suos in angelos figuravit.—Nostræ voces, licet auræ misceantur atque evanescant, tamen plerumque permanent literis comprehensæ: quanto magis Dei Vocem credendum est et manere in æternum et sensu ac virtute comitari, quam de Deo Patre tanquam rivus de fonte traduxerit. Quod si quis miratur ex Deo Deum prolatione vocis ac spiritus potuisse generari, si sacras voces Prophetarum cognoverit, desinet profecto mirari. Instit. IV. 8. p. 289.

“ should receive everlasting judgment and dominion.  
 “ —But he exhibited his fidelity to God. For he  
 “ taught that there is one God, and that He alone  
 “ ought to be worshipped; nor did he ever call him-  
 “ self God, because he could not have preserved his  
 “ fidelity, if, when he was sent to take away the  
 “ other gods and to preach only one, he had men-  
 “ tioned another beside that one. This would have  
 “ been, not to preach one God, nor Him who sent  
 “ him, but to do his own business, and to separate  
 “ himself from Him, whom he came to reveal.  
 “ Therefore because he was thus faithful, because  
 “ he assumed nothing whatever to himself, that he  
 “ might fulfil the commands of Him who sent him,  
 “ he received the dignity of an everlasting Priest,  
 “ the honour of supreme King, the power of a Judge,  
 “ and the name of God<sup>h</sup>.”

These are the passages which might be quoted as lowering the divinity of the Son, and as shewing that Lactantius did not believe him to have been begotten from all eternity, and to be coeternal with the Father. I shall now produce other passages where Lactantius speaks of Christ as God without

<sup>h</sup> Quomodo autem et cum quibus mandatis a Deo mitteretur in terram, declaravit Spiritus Dei per prophetam, docens futurum, ut cum voluntatem summi Patris fideliter et constanter implexisset, acciperet iudicium atque imperium sempiternum.—Ille vero exhibuit Deo fidem. Docuit enim quod unus Deus sit, eumque solum coli oportere; nec unquam se ipse Deum dixit, quia non servasset fidem, si missus ut deos tolleret et unum assereret, in-

duceret alium præter unum. Hoc erat non de uno Deo facere præconium, nec ejus qui miserat, sed suum proprium negotium gerere, ac se ab eo, quem illustraturus venerat, separare. Propterea quia tam fidelis extitit, quia sibi nihil prorsus assumpsit, ut mandata mittentis impleret, et Sacerdotis perpetui dignitatem, et Regis summi honorem, et Judicis potestatem, et Dei nomen accepit. Instit. IV. 14. p. 309.

any reserve or limitation, and where he seems to consider him as united in the Godhead with the Father.

348. *Lactantii Instit.* l. II. c. 17. vol. I. p. 180.

“ God neither requires any name, since He is alone ; nor do the angels, because they are immortal, either suffer or wish themselves to be called gods, it being their sole and single duty to serve at the beck of God, nor to do any thing at all without His command.—But He, the Governor of the world, and Director of the universe— alone possesses power over all things together with His Son<sup>i</sup>.”

349. *Lactantii Instit.* l. IV. c. 10. p. 292.

Having mentioned it as the fixed determination of God, “ that the Son of God should descend upon earth to form a temple to God, and to teach righteousness, but not in the character of an angel, or in celestial power, but in the figure of a man and in a human nature,” he says, that he will prove all the circumstances in Christ’s life and sufferings to have been predicted by the prophets: “ And when I shall have proved all these things by the writings of those very persons, who killed their God when in a mortal body, what will prevent the conclusion, that true wisdom is to be found in this religion only<sup>k</sup>?”

<sup>i</sup> Nam Deus neque nomine, cum solus sit, eget; neque angeli, cum sint immortales, dici se deos aut patiuntur aut volunt; quorum unum solumque officium est servire nutibus Dei, nec omnino quidquam nisi iussu facere.—Ille autem Præses mundi, et Rector universi—

solus habet rerum omnium cum Filio potestatem.

<sup>k</sup> In primis scire homines oportet, sic a principio processisse dispositionem summi Dei, ut esset necesse, appropinquante sæculi termino, Dei Filium descendere in terram, ut constitueret Deo templum doceret-

350. *Lactantii Instit.* l. IV. c. 11. p. 297.

“ He commanded His first-begotten Son, the Creator of all things, and His adviser, to descend from heaven, to teach the Gentiles<sup>1</sup>,” &c.

351. *Lactantii Instit.* l. IV. c. 12. p. 299.

This and a few following passages prove that Lactantius fully believed in the miraculous conception of Jesus. “ That holy Spirit of God descended from heaven, and chose the blessed Virgin, into whose womb he might infuse himself. But she being filled by the influence of the divine Spirit conceived<sup>m</sup>,” &c.

352. *Lactantii Instit.* l. IV. c. 25. p. 339.

“ That it might be certain he was sent from God, it was necessary for him to be born, not as a man is born, who is formed on each side from a mortal parent; but that it might appear in his human nature that he was from heaven, he was created without the cooperation of a father. For he had God as his spiritual Father; and as God was the Father of his spirit [his divine nature], without a mother, so the mother of his body [his human nature] was a virgin without a father<sup>n</sup>.”

que justitiam : verumtamen non in virtute angeli, aut potestate cœlesti, sed in figura hominis et conditione mortali — Quæ omnia cum probavero eorum ipsorum literis, qui Deum suum mortali corpore utentem violaverunt, quid aliud obstabit &c.?

<sup>1</sup> Sed illum Filium suum primogenitum, illum opificem rerum, et consiliatorem suum delabi jussit e cœlo, ut religionem &c. &c.

<sup>m</sup> Descendens itaque de cœlo

sanctus ille Spiritus Dei sanctam Virginem, cujus utero se insinuaret, elegit. At illa divino Spiritu hausto repleta concepit, et sine ullo tactu viri repente virginalis uterus intumuit.

<sup>n</sup> Sed tamen ut certum esset a Deo missum, non ita illum nasci oportuit, sicut homo nascitur ex mortali utroque concretus : sed ut appareret etiam in homine illum esse cœlestem, creatus est sine opera genitoris. Habebat enim spiritalem Pa-

353. *Lactantii Instit.* l. IV. c. 12. p. 300.

Having quoted some prophecies which spoke of the miraculous conception, he observes, “ The prophet has declared by this name (Emmanuel), that God was to come to men in the flesh. For Emmanuel signifies *God with us* : which means, that when he was born of a virgin, men were to confess that he was God with them, i. e. on earth and in mortal flesh. Whence David in the 84th Psalm (lxxxv. 11.) says, *Truth hath sprung out of the earth*, because God, in whom is Truth, took an earthly body, that he might open the way of salvation to those who were earthly °.”

354. *Lactantii Instit.* l. IV. c. 13. p. 303.

“ In his first spiritual birth he was without a mother, because he was begotten of God the Father alone without the aid of a mother. But in the second carnal birth he was without a father, since he was begotten in the womb of a virgin without the aid of a father; that, bearing a middle substance between God and man, he might lead this our frail and weak nature to immortality. He was made the Son of God by the Spirit, and Son of man by the flesh, i. e. both God and man. The power of God appeared in him by the works which he did, the weakness of man by the suffering which he underwent.—That he was God and

trem Deum; et sicut Pater Spiritus ejus Deus sine matre, ita mater corporis ejus virgo sine patre.

° Propheta declaravit hoc nomine, quod Deus ad homines in carne venturus esset. Emmanuel enim significat *Nobiscum Deus*; scilicet quia illo per

virginem nato confiteri homines oportebat Deum secum esse, id est, in terra, et in carne mortali. Unde David in Psalmo lxxxiv. *Veritas*, inquit, *de terra orta est*; quia Deus, in quo veritas est, terrenum corpus accepit, ut terrenis viam salutis aperiret.

“ man, made up of each nature, we learn by the predictions of the prophets <sup>p</sup>.”

We find the same doctrine thus expressed in the Epitome (c. 43. p. 32.) “ The Almighty Father commanded him to come down to earth, and put on a human body—he was therefore born again as a man of a virgin without a father : that like as in his first spiritual birth he was created and made a holy Spirit of God alone, so in his second carnal birth being born of his mother only he might become holy flesh, that by him the flesh which had been subject to sin might be freed from death. —He was with us on earth, when he put on flesh, and nevertheless he was God in man, and man in God : but that he was both, was declared before by the prophets <sup>q</sup>.”

355. *Lactantii Instit.* l. IV. c. 14. p. 308.

“ Who then would not think that the Jews were deprived of their understandings, who, when they

<sup>p</sup> In prima enim natiuitate spiritali ἀμήτητος fuit, quia sine officio matris a solo Deo Patre generatus est. In secunda vero carnali ἀπάτωρ fuit, quoniam sine patris officio virginali utero procreatus est, ut mediam inter Deum et hominem substantiam gerens nostram hanc fragilem imbecillumque naturam quasi manu ad immortalitatem posset educere. Factus est et Dei Filius per Spiritum, et hominis per carnem ; id est, et Deus et homo. Dei virtus in eo ex operibus quæ fecit apparuit, fragilitas hominis ex passione quam pertulit—Et Deum fuisse et hominem ex utroque genere permistum, prophetis vaticinan-

tibus discimus.

<sup>q</sup> Jussit igitur eum summus Pater descendere in terram et humanum corpus induere—renatus est ergo ex virgine sine patre, tanquam homo ; ut quemadmodum in prima natiuitate spiritali creatus, et ex solo Deo sanctus Spiritus factus est, sic in secunda carnali ex sola matre genitus caro sancta fieret, ut per eum caro, quæ subjecta peccato fuerat, ab interitu liberaretur—Fuit nobiscum in terra, cum induit carnem ; et nihilominus Deus fuit in homine et homo in Deo. Utrumque autem fuisse a prophetis ante prædictum est.

“ read and heard these things, laid wicked hands upon their God <sup>r</sup> ?”

356. *Lactantii Instit.* l. IV. c. 18. p. 320.

“ They met together that they might condemn their God <sup>s</sup>.”

357. *Lactantii Instit.* l. IV. c. 18. p. 322.

“ What shall we say of the indignity of this cross, on which God was suspended and fastened by the worshippers of God <sup>t</sup> ?” It seems very improbable that in so short a sentence the word *God* should have two different meanings, which it must have, unless we suppose the same God who was worshipped by the Jews to have been nailed to the cross.

358. *Lactantii Instit.* l. IV. c. 18. p. 324.

“ But that it should come to pass, that the Jews would lay hands upon their God and put him to death, the following testimonies of the prophets have shewn <sup>u</sup>.”

359. *Lactantii Instit.* l. IV. c. 22. p. 333.

Speaking of unbelievers, he says, “ They deny that it could come to pass, that an immortal nature should lose any thing. They deny it being worthy of God, that he should wish to become man, and to burden himself with the infirmity of the flesh <sup>x</sup>.”

<sup>r</sup> Quis non igitur captos mentibus tum fuisse Judæos arbitretur, qui cum hæc legerent et audirent, nefandas manus Deo suo intulerunt ?

<sup>s</sup> Coierunt, ut Deum suum condemnarent.

<sup>t</sup> Quid de hujus crucis indignitate dicemus, in qua Deus a cultoribus Dei suspensus est atque suffixus ?

<sup>u</sup> Fore autem ut Judæi manus inferrent Deo suo, eumque interficerent, testimonia prophetarum hæc antecesserunt.

<sup>x</sup> Negant fieri potuisse, ut naturæ immortalis quidquam decederet. Negant denique Deo dignum, ut homo fieri vellet, seque infirmitate carnis oneraret. The same observation is made in the *Epitome*, c. 50. p. 37.

360. *Lactantii Instit.* l. IV. c. 24. p. 338.

He argues, that God could not have taught men how to lead a good life, unless he had shewn, by his own example, that the human nature is capable of leading such a life; and he says that he has shewn, “that neither could man have his doctrine perfect, unless he was also God, that he might lay the necessity of obedience upon men by authority from heaven; nor could God, unless he was clothed in a mortal body, that by fulfilling his own precepts by actions, he might bind others in the necessity of obedience <sup>y</sup>.”

361. *Lactantii Instit.* l. IV. c. 25. p. 339.

“Therefore he came as a Mediator, i. e. God in the flesh, that the flesh might follow him, and that he might rescue man from death <sup>z</sup>.”

362. *Lactantii Instit.* l. IV. c. 26. p. 343.

“But the following is the reason, why the supreme Father chose particularly that kind of death, with which he permitted him to be visited. For perhaps a person may say, If he was God, and wished to die, why did he not suffer some honourable kind of death?” He then gives some reasons why the death of the cross was chosen, and adds, “This also was a principal cause, why God preferred the cross, because by that he would be exalted, and the sufferings of God would be made known to all nations <sup>a</sup>.”

<sup>y</sup> — neque hominem perfecta doctrina esse posse, nisi sit idem Deus, ut auctoritate cœlesti necessitatem parendi hominibus imponat; neque Deum, nisi mortali corpore induatur, ut præcepta sua factis adim-

plendo, cæteros parendi necessitate constringat.

<sup>z</sup> Itaque idcirco Mediator advenit, id est Deus in carne, ut caro eum sequi posset et eriperet morti hominem.

<sup>a</sup> Cur autem summus Pater



363. *Lactantii Instit.* l. IV. c. 29. p. 350.

“ Perhaps some one may ask, how, when we say  
 “ that we worship one God, we yet assert that there  
 “ are two Gods, God the Father and God the Son :  
 “ which assertion has driven many into the greatest  
 “ error : who, although what we say seems to be  
 “ probable, yet think that we fail in this one point,  
 “ that we acknowledge a second and a mortal God.  
 “ Concerning his mortality we have already spoken :  
 “ let us now explain his unity. When we speak of  
 “ God the Father and God the Son, we do not speak  
 “ of a different God, nor do we separate both ; be-  
 “ cause neither can the Father be without the Son,  
 “ nor the Son be separated from the Father ; since  
 “ indeed neither can the Father have His name  
 “ without a Son, nor can the Son be begotten with-  
 “ out a Father. Since therefore the Father makes  
 “ the Son, and the Son the Father, both have one  
 “ mind, one Spirit, one substance : but the one is as  
 “ it were an overflowing fountain, the other like a  
 “ stream flowing from it : the one is as the sun, the  
 “ other as a ray proceeding from the sun ; who, be-  
 “ cause he is both faithful and dear to the supreme  
 “ Father, is not separated from Him, as neither is a  
 “ stream from its fountain, nor a ray from the sun,  
 “ because the water of the fountain is in the stream,  
 “ and the light of the sun is in the ray. In the  
 “ same manner neither can the voice be separated  
 “ from the mouth, nor the power or the hand from

id potissimum genus mortis elegerit, quo affici eum sineret, hæc ratio est. Dicit enim fortasse aliquis, Cur si Deus fuit et mori voluit, non saltem honesto aliquo mortis genere affectus est ?

—Illa quoque præcipua fuit causa, cur Deus crucem maluerit, quod illa exaltari eum fuit necesse, et omnibus gentibus passionem Dei notescere.

“ the body. Since therefore he is called by the pro-  
 “ phets the Hand and Power and Word of God, it  
 “ follows that there is no distinction, because the  
 “ tongue, the minister of the word, and the hand,  
 “ in which is the power, are inseparable parts of the  
 “ body.—This world is one house of God : and  
 “ the Son and the Father, who together inhabit the  
 “ earth, are one God, because one is as two, and two  
 “ as one. Nor is that to be wondered at, because  
 “ the Son is in the Father, (for the Father loveth  
 “ the Son ;) and the Father is in the Son, because  
 “ he faithfully obeys his Father’s will, nor ever does  
 “ or would do any thing, except what his Father  
 “ wills or commands.—Wherefore since the mind  
 “ and will of one is in the other, or rather there is  
 “ one in both, both are properly called one God ;  
 “ because whatever is in the Father passes to the  
 “ Son, and whatever is in the Son descends from the  
 “ Father. The supreme and only God therefore  
 “ cannot be worshipped except through the Son.  
 “ He who thinks that he worships the Father only,  
 “ as he does not worship the Son, also does not wor-  
 “ ship the Father. But he who receives the Son,  
 “ and bears his name, together with the Son wor-  
 “ ships the Father also ; since the Son is the Am-  
 “ bassador, and Messenger, and Spirit of the supreme  
 “ Father <sup>b</sup>.”

<sup>b</sup> Fortasse quærat aliquis, quomodo, cum Deum nos unum colere dicamus, duos tamen esse asseveremus, Deum Patrem et Deum Filium ; quæ asseveratio plerosque in maximum impedit errorem. Quibus cum probabilia videantur esse, quæ dicimus, in hoc uno labare nos ar-

bitrantur, quod et alterum et mortalem Deum fateamur. De mortalitate jam diximus ; nunc de unitate doceamus. Cum dicimus Deum Patrem et Deum Filium, non diversum dicimus, nec utrumque secernimus ; quia nec Pater sine Filio esse potest, nec Filius a Patre secerni, si

H h

The corresponding passage in the Epitome is this.  
 “ Nor yet is this to be taken, as if there are two  
 “ Gods. For the Father and the Son are one. For  
 “ since the Father loves the Son, and gives all things  
 “ to him, and the Son faithfully obeys the Father,  
 “ nor wishes any thing except what the Father  
 “ wishes, such a close connexion cannot be sepa-  
 “ rated, so as that they can be called two in whom  
 “ both substance and will and faith are one. There-  
 “ fore the Son is by the Father, and the Father by  
 “ the Son; one honour is to be given to each as to  
 “ one God, and is to be so divided by two worships,  
 “ that the very division is connected by an insepara-  
 “ ble union. He will leave himself neither one nor

quidem nec Pater sine Filio nuncupari, nec Filius potest sine Patre generari. Cum igitur et Pater Filium faciat, et Filius Patrem, una utrique mens, unus spiritus, una substantia est: sed ille quasi exuberans fons est, hic tanquam defluens ex eo rivus; ille tanquam sol, hic quasi radius a sole porrectus: qui quoniam summo Patri et fidelis et carus est, non separatur; sicut nec rivus a fonte, nec radius a sole; quia et aqua fontis in rivo est, et solis lumen in radio: æque nec vox ab ore sejungi, nec virtus aut manus a corpore divelli potest. Cum igitur a prophetis idem manus Dei et virtus et sermo dicatur, utique nulla discretio est; quia et lingua sermonis ministra, et manus, in qua est virtus, individue sunt corporis portiones.—Sic hic mundus una Dei domus est: et Filius ac Pater, qui unanimes incolunt mundum, Deus unus,

quia et unus est tanquam duo, et duo tanquam unus. Neque id mirum, cum et Filius sit in Patre, quia Pater diligit Filium, et Pater in Filio, quia voluntati Patris fideliter paret, nec unquam faciat aut fecerit, nisi quod Pater aut voluit aut jussit.—Quapropter cum mens et voluntas alterius in altero sit, vel potius una in utroque, merito unus Deus uterque appellatur, quia quidquid est in Patre ad Filium transfuit, et quidquid in Filio a Patre descendit. Non potest igitur ille summus, ac singularis Deus nisi per Filium coli. Qui solum Patrem se colere putat, sicut Filium non colit, ita ne Patrem quidem. Qui autem Filium suscipit et nomen ejus gerit, is vero cum Filio simul et Patrem colit, quoniam legatus et nuntius et sacerdos summi Patris est Filius.

“ the other, who separates either the Father from  
 “ the Son, or the Son from the Father <sup>c</sup>.”

364. *Lactantii Instit.* l. IV. c. ult. p. 353.

The following passage concerning heretics is of importance, as shewing the belief of Lactantius himself: “ Some who are not sufficiently instructed in  
 “ sacred literature, when they cannot reply to the  
 “ enemies of truth, who object that it is either im-  
 “ possible or unbecoming that God should be con-  
 “ fined in the womb of a woman, and that that  
 “ heavenly majesty cannot be lowered to such weak-  
 “ ness, as to be the contempt and scorn of men, and  
 “ at last even to suffer tortures and be nailed to an  
 “ accursed cross,—all which things, when they  
 “ could not defend or refute by ingenuity or learn-  
 “ ing, they have departed from the right path, and  
 “ corrupted the scriptures, that they might compose  
 “ a new doctrine for themselves without any root  
 “ and stability.” He then names the Phrygians, Novatians, Valentinians, and Marcionites, &c. “ or  
 “ whatever other name they bear,—they have  
 “ ceased to be Christians; who, losing the name of  
 “ Christ, have assumed human and foreign titles. It  
 “ is the catholic church alone which retains the true  
 “ worship <sup>d</sup>”.

<sup>c</sup> Nec tamen sic habendum est, tanquam duo sint Dii. Pater enim ac Filius unum sunt. Cum enim Pater Filium diligat, omniaque ei tribuat, et Filius Patri fideliter obsequatur, nec velit quidquam, nisi quod Pater, non potest utique necessitudo tanta divelli, ut duo esse dicantur, in quibus et substantia et voluntas et fides una est. Ergo et Filius per Patrem, et Pater

per Filium. Unus est honos utrique tribuendus, tanquam uni Deo, et ita dividendus est per duos cultus, ut divisio ipsa compage inseparabili vinciat. Neutrum sibi relinquet, qui aut Patrem a Filio, aut Filium a Patre secernit. c. 49. p. 37.

<sup>d</sup> Quidam vero non satis celestibus literis eruditi, cum veritatis accusatoribus respondere non possent objicientibus

365. *Lactantii Instit.* l. V. c. 3. p. 369.

Having spoken of Apollonius of Tyanea, and exposed his false pretensions to divinity, he adds, "But ours was able to be believed to be a God, since he was not a conjurer; and he was believed to be so, because he was really God<sup>e</sup>."

If we compare the words of Lactantius in this place with those of Eusebius in his work against Hierocles, it is plain, that Lactantius was arguing against this same Hierocles, who wrote a book called Philalethes, the object of which was to compare Apollonius Tyaneus with Jesus Christ. Hierocles lived at the beginning of the fourth century, and was a violent opponent of Christianity: and from an extract, which Eusebius makes from his work, we may perceive that the fact of Jesus being looked upon as God by the Christians was well known to Hierocles. After having specified many miracles worked by Apollonius, he says, "I have mentioned these, that a comparison may be drawn between the accurate and safe judgment passed by us in

vel impossibile vel incongruens esse ut Deus in uterum mulieris includeretur, nec cœlestem illam majestatem ad tantam infirmitatem potuisse deduci, ut hominibus contemptui, derisui, contumeliæ et ludibrio esset, postremo etiam cruciamenta perferret, atque execrabili patibulo figeretur; quæ omnia cum neque ingenio neque doctrina defendere ac refutare possent, depravati sunt ab itinere recto et cœlestes literas corruerunt, ut novam sibi doctrinam sine ulla radice ac stabilitate ponerent.—Cum enim Phry-

ges, aut Novatiani, aut Valentiniani, aut Marcionitæ, aut Anthropiani, aut Ariani, seu quilibet alii nominantur, Christiani esse desierunt, qui Christi nomine amisso humana et externa vocabula induerunt. Sola igitur catholica ecclesia est, quæ verum cultum retinet. I have taken no notice of the word *Ariani* in my translation of this passage, because it is wanting in the oldest MSS.

<sup>e</sup> Noster vero et potuit Deus credi, quia magus non fuit; et creditus est, quia vere fuit.

“ each case, and the silliness of the Christians. For  
 “ we do not consider the worker of these miracles to  
 “ have been God, but a man highly favoured by the  
 “ gods: whereas the Christians on account of a few  
 “ miracles call Jesus God<sup>f</sup>.” Such is the testi-  
 mony of an heathen.

The reader is now enabled to draw his own inference concerning the doctrines of Lactantius; and perhaps we must conclude that there are some expressions in the preceding quotations, which it is impossible to reconcile with each other. Thus much however seems certain, concerning the belief of this writer. He believed that Christ was present with God, and assisted Him in the creation of the world; that he was not born of Joseph and Mary, but that he was conceived miraculously by Mary who was a virgin; that he was of one substance with God; and that no persons worship God the Father, unless they worship inclusively God the Son.

We may think that Lactantius was heterodox, or that he did not understand his own opinions concerning the generation of the Son, but still his words are plain and positive concerning the articles of belief just mentioned; and any one of these is fundamentally subversive of the notion of Lactantius being an Unitarian. His assertion, which is twice repeated, that Christ is of one substance with the Father, would also seem to separate him decidedly from the Arian tenets. Some of his expressions might possibly be brought within the verge of Semi-arianism; but we must remember, that the illustra-

<sup>f</sup> . . . ἔπερ ἡμεῖς μὲν τὸν οἱ δὲ δι' ἄλλας τερατείας τινὰς τὸν  
 τῶν αὐτῶν πεποιηκότα, οὐ θεὸν, ἀλλὰ Ἰησοῦν Θεὸν ἀναγορεύουσι. Euseb.  
 θεοῦς κεχαρισμένον ἄνδρα ἡγοῦμεθα. c. Hierocl. p. 512.

tion which he uses of the sun and the ray is also used by Origen (N<sup>o</sup>. 262.) and Dionysius of Alexandria, (N<sup>o</sup>. 302, 303.) as proving that there never was a time when the Son did not exist. Lactantius certainly speaks sometimes as if he believed the Son to have been begotten at some definite period of time: and bishop Bull, as we have seen, conceives him to have spoken of that figurative generation of the Son, when he went forth from the Father to create the world. There is no doubt that some of the Fathers mention more than one generation of the Son, and that they considered this which immediately preceded the creation to have been one of them: but if Lactantius thought that the Son proceeded from the Father, as a ray from the sun, he could hardly have conceived that they were not always co-existent.

## CONCLUSION.

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WE have now brought the testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to a close. The catholic church has always appealed to these testimonies, as supporting the doctrine of the eternal and consubstantial divinity of Jesus Christ. The Unitarians appeal to the same authority in proof of what they call *the simple humanity* of Christ. The reader will draw his own inference, as to which of these two opposite doctrines is most supported by the writings of the three first centuries.

We must remember also, that when the Fathers, who were assembled at Nice in the year 325, appealed to their predecessors as maintaining the same doctrine, which was professed at that council, they had many more documents before them than what we now possess. The works of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, which remain to us, are perhaps not a hundredth part of those, which were extant at the beginning of the fourth century<sup>a</sup>: and yet with this multitude of evidence before them, which was open to their opponents as well as to themselves, they did not hesitate to declare, that all the Fathers who had preceded them, believed in the divinity of Christ. Where were the Unitarian teachers when this con-

<sup>a</sup> The author of the *Synopsis Scripturæ*, ascribed to Athanasius, after enumerating the books of the New Testament, observes that ὕστερον κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀκο-

λουθίαν καὶ συμφωνίαν ἀλλὰ μυρία καὶ ἀναρίθμητα βιβλία ἐξεπονήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ καιροὺς μεγάλων καὶ σφωτάτων θεοφόρων πατέρων. vol. II. p. 131.



fidant assertion was made? If the writers of the three first centuries believed, as we are repeatedly told, in *the simple humanity of Jesus*, why was not a whisper of this belief heard at the council of Nice? There is not the smallest particle of evidence to shew, that the Unitarian or Socinian doctrines were so much as thought of at that council. It is true indeed, that those who were inclined to Arianism appealed to the early Fathers in support of their opinions, and we will consider the justice of this appeal presently. But the reader must remember, that an Arian of the fourth century would have been little less shocked than the most orthodox catholic, at hearing it asserted, that Jesus Christ had always been believed to be a mere man. I repeat therefore, that the total absence of all mention of Unitarianism at the council of Nice is a very strong argument against the notion, that the early Fathers were Unitarians. We might believe perhaps, though the hypothesis is highly improbable, that the bishops assembled at that council all agreed in drawing up a profession of faith, which they knew to be fundamentally opposed to the doctrines held in the three preceding centuries: yet surely they would not have dared to assert, with such a mass of evidence before them, that they were preaching the same doctrine which had always been preached. They would have taken the bolder and more consistent ground of saying, that the Fathers who preceded them had gradually corrupted the purity of the gospel. But their language was the very opposite of this. They drew up the exposition of their faith in the plainest and strongest terms, explaining every article so as to meet the varied objections and subtle sophistry of

conflicting heresies : they were driven to assert the divinity of Christ with more minuteness and precision of language than it had ever been necessary to use before ; and yet they asserted, that every article of their belief had been held and preached from the days of the apostles to their own. Nor did any person venture to rise up and contradict them by saying, that the catholic church for the first three centuries had believed in *the simple humanity of Jesus Christ*.

But we are told by modern Unitarians, that such was the belief of the early Fathers : and that the reader may be able to understand what is the point in dispute between the Unitarians and ourselves, I will quote some of their own assertions concerning the doctrines of the early ages of Christianity.

“ It is absolutely necessary, that the less learned  
 “ should be told, what upon inquiry will be found to  
 “ be undeniably true, viz. that the Fathers of the  
 “ first three centuries, and consequently, *all Chris-*  
 “ *tian people, for upwards of three hundred years*  
 “ *after Christ, till the council of Nice, were gene-*  
 “ *rally Unitarians, what is now called either Arian*  
 “ *or Socinian* <sup>b</sup>.” This is one of the many passages, in which modern writers have spoken of the Arians and Socinians, as if their creeds were the same. The Arians at the time of the council of Nice professed to believe, that when God determined to create matter (*τὴν γενητὴν φύσιν*) he first created his Son, the Word, and that this Word was Christ. (Athanas. Orat. II. c. Arian. 24. vol. I. p. 492.) Was Mr. Lindsey aware of this, when he wrote the above sentence ? Or would he have subscribed the solemn

<sup>b</sup> Lindsey, Apology, p. 23, 24.

declaration which was appended to one of their Confessions of faith, "If any one say that the Son of Mary  
"is a mere man, let him be anathema <sup>c</sup>?"

"The Unitarians have made it evident from undoubted testimonies of the Fathers, that the opinion of the Ante-Nicene doctors was either thoroughly Arian, or very near being so, unquestionably nearer to the error whereinto Arius had fallen, than to the fancies of the schoolmen, or, which is all one, to the decretory articles of our modern Homoousians." Gilbert Clerke, *Ante-Nicænismus*, præf.

"The great body of primitive Christians, both Jews and Gentiles, for the two first centuries and upwards, were Unitarians and believers in the simple humanity of Jesus Christ." Belsham's *Calm Inquiry*, p. 255.

When the modern Unitarians profess their belief in the simple humanity of Christ, they mean this. They believe that Jesus had only one nature, viz. the human: that he was in every sense of the term a mere man, born in the ordinary way; that he had no preexistence: that he was not in any sense of the term God, except as Moses or Elijah might be called God, when they received a divine commission. It is true, that between this doctrine and that of the first Socinians there have been many and various shades of difference. Mr. Belsham himself says, "In the simple form in which they [Lindsey, Priestley, &c.] professed it, [Unitarianism,] it differed almost as much from Socinianism as it did from Athanasianism itself <sup>d</sup>." It is plain therefore,

<sup>c</sup> Εἰ τις ἄνθρωπον μόνον λέγει τὸν  
ἐκ Μαρίας υἱὸν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. Ath.  
de Synodis, vol. I. p. 743.

<sup>d</sup> Works of Dr. Parr, vol.  
VIII. p. 155.

that either Socinianism or Unitarianism must be wrong. Some have approached nearer to the Arian notions : some have allowed that religious worship may be paid to Christ : some have believed that since his ascension he has existed in a much more exalted state. Many other variations might be pointed out ; but, without examining them separately, I assert, upon the authority of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, that the doctrine which they held is wholly irreconcilable with any modification of the Unitarian creed.

There is not one of the Ante-Nicene writers from Barnabas to Lactantius, who does not mention that Christ was *born of a virgin*. This circumstance alone destroys the notion of Christ being born in the ordinary way. The Unitarians deny that Christ was born of a virgin : they reject all idea of his miraculous conception : and yet they claim the Ante-Nicene Fathers as agreeing with themselves !

There is not one of these Fathers who does not speak of Christ *being made man*, of his *coming in the flesh*. The expressions Θεὸς ἐνανθρωπήσας, *God becoming man*, Θεὸς ἐσαρκωθείς, *God being incarnate*, are very common in their writings, and may frequently be found in the preceding quotations. Had these Fathers been Unitarians, had they believed that Jesus Christ was a mere man, could they or would they have spoken of him in this way ?

At N<sup>o</sup>. 45, 133, and 259, I have quoted the creeds of Irenæus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, and Origen, and at p. 73. I have asked whether modern Unitarians would subscribe these creeds. Most assuredly they would not : at least, if they do, they must believe that Jesus Christ was *incarnate*, that

he was *born of a virgin*, that he was *the Maker of heaven and earth*: that he was *man and God*. If the Unitarians, by adopting these early creeds, acknowledge their belief in these doctrines, then there is little or no difference between us: but if they reject these doctrines, then they reject the authority of Irenæus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, and Origen; and what becomes of their assertion, that the Fathers of the three first centuries were Unitarians?

If we look to the history of heresies, we shall find more reasons for thinking that the simple humanity of Christ was not the doctrine of the first ages. It is true, that there were persons in very early times, who believed that our Saviour was a mere man. The names of Ebion, Cerinthus, Carpocrates, and others are recorded, who denied that there was any thing miraculous in his conception or birth; but they differed greatly among themselves: and some of them allowed, that a sort of divine nature belonged to Christ. There is a curious passage in Athanasius, from which it would appear, that in his opinion no heretic before Arius really denied the divinity of Christ: he calls the Arian heresy τῶν ἄλλων αἱρέσεων ἐσχάτην καὶ τρυγίαν· ἐκεῖναι μὲν γὰρ ἢ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν τοῦ κυρίου πλανῶνται, αἱ μὲν οὕτως, αἱ δὲ ἐκείως καταψευδόμεναι, ἢ μηδὲως ἐπίδειμηκέναι τὸν κύριον, ὡς Ἰουδαῖοι νομίζοντες ἐπλανήθησαν· αὕτη δὲ μόνη μανικώτερον εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν θεότητα κατατετόλμηκε λέγουσα μηδὲως εἶναι τὸν λόγον, μηδὲ τὸν πατέρα αἰεὶ πατέρα εἶναι. Epist. ad Episc. Ægypt. et Lyb. 17. vol. I. p. 287-8. He probably thought that the former heretics all believed *Christ* to be God, or an emanation from God, but they denied either the union of the divine and human natures in *Jesus*, or the reality of the

body of *Jesus*. Athanasius certainly does not represent Paul of Samosata as believing Jesus to have been a mere man in the Unitarian sense, though this is generally said to have been his belief, see vol. I. p. 229. 273. 510-1. 640-1. 739. 920. 938. 942. vol. II. p. 35. and p. 397. of this work. Their followers were few : and what is most important, the Fathers of each of the three first centuries have left the most unequivocal declarations, that they believed these notions to be heretical. The reader is referred to N<sup>o</sup>. 57. for the opinion of Irenæus ; to N<sup>o</sup>. 105, 106. for that of Tertullian : and to N<sup>o</sup>. 259. for that of Origen. In these places they expressly declare, that they did not agree with those persons who believed Jesus Christ to be a mere man, or who denied his pre-existence. Again I ask, how then could Irenæus, Tertullian, and Origen agree with the Unitarians, who do believe Jesus Christ to be a mere man, and who do deny his preexistence? Beside which it is notorious, that the prevailing heresies in the second and third centuries were of those who denied the human nature of Christ. Marcion, Valentinus, and others of the same school, were so convinced of Jesus Christ being God, that they could not believe him to be man : they held, that his body was an illusion : which makes it extremely improbable, that the majority of Christians in those days believed in the simple humanity of Christ. The same conviction led in the third century to the Patripassian and Sabellian heresies <sup>e</sup>. The leaders of these sects could

<sup>e</sup> The Sabellian heresy may be traced back to a period long antecedent to the time of Sabel-  
lius : Justin Martyr, about the year 140, condemned some opinions which were very si-

not persuade themselves that Christ was a man: and one taught that he was actually God the Father; the other believed that he was an emanation from God.

It is not my intention to enter at length into the controversy between bishop Horsley and Dr. Priestley, concerning the identity of the Ebionites and Nazarenes: but a perusal of the Ante-Nicene Fathers enables me to make a few remarks upon some of the assertions of Dr. Priestley. He dwelt much upon the fact of the Ebionites, who followed so close upon the apostolical times, being Unitarians: and because the first writers did not speak of them as heretics, he wishes to conclude that these doctrines were not thought heretical; but that at first the majority of Christians agreed with them, i. e. were Unitarians. The support which Dr. Priestley wishes to derive for the Unitarian opinions will be destroyed, if we can prove either of these two things; that the Ebionites were called *heretics* by the early writers; or that the doctrines of the Ebionites were different from those of the modern Unitarians: for if the Ebionites and the modern Unitarians did not hold the same opinions, one of them must be wrong. I shall therefore proceed to comment upon some of the assertions advanced by Dr. Priestley.

1. He lays great stress upon the fact of the Ebionites not believing in the miraculous conception of Jesus: upon which I would observe, that Origen informs us there were two sects of Ebionites, and that one sect of them did believe in the miraculous con-

ular: (Apol. I. 63. p. 81. Dial. cum Tryph. 128. p. 221.) ryllus, and Noëtus, led very naturally to Sabellianism. and the notions of Praxeas, Be-

ception. (c. Celsus V. 61. p. 625. and 65. p. 628. Euseb. H. E. III. 27. p. 121. Theodorit. Hær. Fab. II. 1. vol. IV. p. 219.)

2. Dr. Priestley says, that Tertullian is the first Christian writer who expressly calls the Ebionites heretics, and that Irenæus never confounds them with the heretics<sup>f</sup>. This assertion is not true. Dr. Priestley indeed says in another place<sup>g</sup>, that Irenæus nowhere *directly* calls the Ebionites heretics. But this expression will not save him from the charge of making an unfounded assertion. In the first place Irenæus states his doubts very strongly whether the Ebionites can be saved, on account of their disbelief in the divinity of Christ, which approaches very near to a direct declaration of their being heretics<sup>h</sup>. But he expressly calls them heretics, as the reader will perceive, who instead of confining himself to the passages where the word *Ebionite* occurs, refers back to the former part of the argument. At p. 98. Irenæus writes thus: "Since the means of detecting and convincing all *heretics* are various and multifarious, and we have proposed to ourselves to refute all according to their peculiar tenets, we have deemed it necessary to begin by noticing the source and root of them." He then mentions several persons, the discussion of whose doctrines occupies the remainder of the book. He begins with Simon Magus; and observes of him, that all *heresies* took their rise with him<sup>i</sup>. He

<sup>f</sup> History of early Opinions, vol. III. p. 201.

<sup>g</sup> Vol. I. p. 281.

<sup>h</sup> III. 19. 1. p. 212.

<sup>i</sup> Eusebius also says, "We

"have received, that Simon Magus was the beginning of every *heresy*." H. E. II. 13. All the Fathers agreed in this statement.



then notices Menander, Saturninus, Basilides, Carpocrates, Cerinthus, *the Ebionites*, &c. It is surely impossible to deny, that this classification *directly* and expressly includes the Ebionites in the number of heretics: and when Irenæus has finished his enumeration, he says, “ From these, who have now been “ mentioned, many varieties of heresies have been “ derived, because many of them, *or rather all of “ them*, wish to be teachers, and to leave *the heresy “ to which they belonged*; and imagining one new “ doctrine after another, they set up themselves as “ the inventors<sup>k</sup>.”

But there is another passage which Dr. Priestley must have overlooked, where Irenæus, in the compass of one short sentence, *directly* calls the Ebionites heretics. Speaking of the principles of the Gospel, he says, “ There is such a certainty about “ the Gospels, that even *heretics* themselves bear “ testimony to them, and each of them endeavours “ to confirm his own doctrine out of them. For *the “ Ebionites*, who use the Gospel of Matthew only, “ &c. &c!<sup>l</sup>” Surely Irenæus, by mentioning the Ebionites first, must have believed them to be heretics in no small or unimportant points: so that Dr. Priestley’s argument, which is drawn from the fact

<sup>k</sup> Ab his autem, qui prædicti sunt, jam multæ propagines multarum hæresum factæ sunt, eo quod multi ex ipsis, immo omnes velint doctores esse, et abscedere quidem ab hæresi in qua fuerunt; aliud autem dogma ab alia sententia, et deinceps alteram ab altera componentes, nove docere insistent, semetipsos adinventores sententiæ, quamcumque compegerint, enar-

rantes. I. 28, 1. p. 106.

<sup>l</sup> III. 11, 7. p. 189. Tanta est autem circa evangelia hæc firmitas, ut et ipsi hæretici testimonium reddant eis, et ex ipsis egrediens unusquisque eorum conetur suam confirmare doctrinam. Ebionæi etenim eo Evangelio, quod est secundum Mattheum, solo utentes, ex illo ipso convincuntur, non recte præsumentes de Domino.

of their not being called heretics till the time of Tertullian, falls to the ground.

3. Dr. Priestley concludes one of his chapters with this remark, "that no person can reflect upon this subject without thinking it a little extraordinary, that the Jewish Christians, in so early an age as they are spoken of by the denomination of Ebionites, should be acknowledged to believe nothing either of the divinity, or even of the preexistence of Christ, if either of those doctrines had been taught them by the apostles<sup>k</sup>." The remark certainly seems to carry with it some weight; but the force of it ceases at once, if we remember that *the Ebionites openly rejected the authority of the apostles*. Eusebius tells us, that "they used only the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and made little account of the others<sup>l</sup>:" and Irenæus, whose authority is much more valuable, and his expressions more precise, tells us, that "they used only the Gospel of St. Matthew<sup>m</sup>." This alone might make us cease to wonder, that *the Ebionites disbelieved the divinity or preexistence of Christ, if either of these doctrines had been taught them by the apostles*. But the reader must not suppose that the three other Gospels were all which the Ebionites rejected of the holy scriptures. Those primitive Unitarians, *who were not looked upon as heretical by the early church*, took the liberty of getting rid of all St. Paul's Epistles at once, calling that apostle an apostate from the law<sup>n</sup>. Surely there can no longer

<sup>k</sup> History of early Opinions, III. p. 210. 11, 7. p. 189.

<sup>n</sup> Irenæus I. 26. 2. p. 105.  
Origen. c. Celsum, V. 65. p. 628.

<sup>l</sup> III. 27. p. 121.

<sup>m</sup> I. 26, 2. p. 105; and III. Eus. H. E. III. 27. p. 121.

be any doubt whether the Ebionites were heretical. If they were not, the whole catholic church from that time to the present has been in the grossest heresy; and so have all the Unitarians, who admit, not only the Gospels, but the whole of St. Paul's Epistles.

4. I would also notice some other points of the Ebionite creed, which if they were correct, must bring, not only ourselves, but the Unitarians also, under the charge of grievous error. The Ebionites retained all the customs of the Jewish law, thinking that the new revelation made by Christ, and justification through him, did not dispense with them<sup>o</sup>. They denied the inspiration of the prophets, and thought that they spoke from themselves<sup>p</sup>.

Lastly, Dr. Priestley has entirely suppressed, that though the Ebionites believed Christ to be a mere man with respect to his birth, they thought that an angel resided in him<sup>q</sup>. I do not mention this part of their creed with a view to vindicate the absurdity of it; but rather to shew, that their opinions were not free from vain and unfounded imaginations, and that they differed essentially from those of the modern Unitarians.

<sup>o</sup> Irenæus ib. and V. 1, 3. p. 293. Tertull. de Præscript. hæret. 33. p. 214. Origen. c. Cels. II. 1. p. 385, 386. and V. 61. p. 625. and Hom. III. in Gen. 5. p. 68.

<sup>p</sup> Method. Sympos. p. 113. ἵτε δὲ περὶ τὸν τοῦ πνεύματος ἐσφαλμένοι, ὡς οἱ Ἐβιοναῖοι, ἐξ ἰδίας κινήσεως τοὺς προφήτας λελαληκέναι φιλονεικοῦντες. This may explain a passage in Epiphanius, which Dr. Priestley did not understand.

Epiphanius says of the Ebionites, "they detest the prophets:" (Hær. 30.) which Dr. Priestley thinks altogether improbable, and he adds erroneously, that *Epiphanius is the only writer who asserts any such thing.* (III. p. 217.) It appears that Methodius asserts the same thing, and enables us to understand what Epiphanius meant.

<sup>q</sup> Tertullian. de Carne Christi, 14. p. 319.

I shall close this discussion with repeating what was said above, that if the Ebionites were heretical, the early church was not Unitarian: if the Unitarians think that they were not heretical, why do they differ from them on such fundamental points?

In the course of the preceding pages, I have been led to point out, that several statements made by the Unitarians were unfounded. It had been asserted, that Jesus Christ was nowhere called *Creator*, Δημιουργός. I have shewn at p. 58. that this epithet is applied to Christ by nearly all the Fathers. It has been asserted, that Christ is not spoken of as an object of religious worship. I have shewn at p. 42. and 143. that all the Ante-Nicene Fathers considered it a duty to worship Christ. It had been said, that the word *Almighty* was never applied to Christ. I have proved at p. 163, &c. that in many places the Fathers called Christ Almighty. The reader will perhaps remember the incorrect statements which I quoted from Mr. Lindsey, Mr. Jones, and Mr. Belsham, concerning the words of St. Paul, Rom. ix. 5. (p. 87, &c.) and the false assertions which had been made concerning Acts xx. 28. (p. 18, &c.) In their interpretations of other texts, the Unitarians have equally forgotten that they are opposing themselves to all the writers of the three first centuries. Thus they say, that the creation of the world is not attributed to Christ in John i. 3. or Heb. i. 2.: and yet I will venture to assert, that there is not one of the Ante-Nicene Fathers who quotes these passages, without shewing, beyond all doubt, that he understood these texts of *all things being created by Christ*. I repeat, that as to the opinion of the Fathers, and their unanimous consent

upon this point, there is no room for contradiction or uncertainty: it only remains for the Unitarians to say, that all the Fathers were mistaken, that they were not such good judges of the style and language of the apostles as we are, though Greek was the vernacular language of many of them, and some lived so near to the time of St. John, that it is hardly possible to suppose them so grossly ignorant of his meaning.

To many persons it will appear a necessary consequence, that the Ante-Nicene Fathers believed Christ to be God, when they find him spoken of as the Creator of the world: as being conceived by the Virgin of the Holy Ghost; as having appeared to the patriarchs; as having taken our human flesh; as being worshipped, &c. &c. But I have also brought forward many instances, in which the Fathers expressly say, that Christ was God and man, that he was begotten of the *substance* of God, that he had existed from all eternity, that he was one with the Father. Will any rational person believe that the Fathers would have used these expressions, if they had held that Jesus Christ was a mere man?

We may observe also, that there is not the slightest trace of the notion of Christ's divinity having been introduced by later writers, and having been unknown to those of earlier times. The reader is requested to compare the short Epistles of Ignatius with the voluminous works of Origen, and to see whether the doctrines which the Unitarians deny, are not to be found in the one as plainly as in the other. If this had not been the case, we need not have given up our argument: for who would expect, that in seven short letters written by a man

who was then on his road to execution, we should find a declaration of all the articles of his belief? And yet Ignatius several times calls Christ God, he speaks of him as God born in the flesh, conceived of a virgin by the Holy Ghost, as being with the Father before the worlds, as existing in the Father, as being eternal and invisible, and yet for our sakes becoming visible. It is trifling to ask, whether a man who wrote this, believed Jesus Christ to be a mere human being: we may find his divinity expressed in more minute and circumstantial terms by Origen and the later Fathers, when they were driven by opposite heresies to express themselves precisely, but it is evident to the plainest understanding, that Ignatius acknowledged two natures in Christ, that he believed him to be God, and to have been so from all eternity. It is for the Unitarians to shew, how he could believe Christ to have been God from all eternity, and yet not have believed him to be consubstantial with the Father.

To sum up the whole, I conceive it to be proved by the preceding quotations, that the Ante-Nicene Fathers believed Jesus Christ to have two natures, the human and the divine: that they believed him to have existed as God before he took our human nature; that he was begotten of the substance of God, and was united with him in essence, though distinct in person; that it was he who created the world, and who appeared to the patriarchs: that he had existed from all eternity, and though proceeding from the Father, was always coexistent with him, as the effulgence of light is with the light from which it emanates: in one word, that the Son was as truly God, and truly eternal, I

mean in the same sense and fulness of expression, as God the Father.

I must now make a few remarks concerning the assertion of the Arians, that the writings of the Ante-Nicene Fathers support their doctrines. It cannot be pressed too strongly upon the theological student, that between Arians and Unitarians the difference is immense. It is fortunate also for the defenders of the catholic doctrines, that the peculiarities of the Arian creed lie in a small compass. Some difficulties have been raised by the distinction of Arianism and Semi-Arianism<sup>r</sup>: but still it is not difficult to point out the precise line which separated the supporters of the Nicene doctrines from their opponents. In this respect it is more easy to combat an Arian than an Unitarian. The belief of Unitarians, as observed before, has been so modified and altered from the times of Socinus to our own, that it is difficult to say what is, and what is not, acknowledged by them all, as the summary of their faith: and in endeavouring to disprove any of their tenets, we may unintentionally hurt the feelings of some who call themselves Unitarians, but who have not yet brought themselves to go all lengths with their acknowledged leaders. But it is not so with the Arian tenets. The opinions of the Arians are on record as a matter of history<sup>s</sup>: and the catholics at the council of Nice very wisely brought the points under dispute into a small compass, and if I may

<sup>r</sup> See the tenets of the Semi-Arians in Epiphanius, Hær. LXXIII. vol. I. p. 845.

<sup>s</sup> They are stated very fully by Athanasius, de Decret. Syn. Nic. 6. vol. I. p. 213. and Epist.

ad Episc. Æg. et Lyb. p. 281. and their subterfuges and evasions are clearly exposed in §. 19, &c. of the same treatise, p. 224, &c.

so say, drove their opponents into a corner, and tendered to them the *shibboleth* of catholicism, which, according as they accepted or refused it, proved them to be catholics or Arians. Thus the following questions were put to persons suspected of Arianism: Was there ever a time when the Son did not exist? Was the Son of one substance with the Father? These two questions were found to be the only tests which the Arians could not evade. They were willing to call Jesus Christ God, and to say that he was very God, ἀληθινὸς Θεός<sup>t</sup>; they allowed that he was begotten of the Father; and they expressed great horror at the idea of Christ being a *creature*. But they constantly affirmed, that there was a time when Christ was not, and they denied his consubstantiality with the Father. Accordingly we find that the creed, which the council adopted, provided against every subterfuge and equivocation upon these two articles: and the questions given above were the touchstone by which all persons were tried, whose faith was in any way doubtful.

It is needless to observe, that the difference between catholics and Arians was slight, when compared with that between catholics and Unitarians; but whoever is acquainted with the history of the council of Nice will know, that the orthodox party by no means considered the dispute to turn upon mere words: nor can we ever say with truth, that the difference between the two parties in those days was small or unimportant. If Christ was of a different substance from the Father, and yet each is God, it would surely be very difficult to comprehend

<sup>t</sup> Some of them would not agree to this. Athanas. Epist. ad Episc. Ægypt. et Lyb. vol. I. p. 281 and 283.



that there are not two Gods: and if there was a time when Christ was not, it is almost impossible to conceive, that Christ, who took our nature upon him, was that very God who had existed from all eternity. We cannot be surprised therefore, that both parties were anxious to claim the early Fathers as supporting their respective tenets: and we cannot quote the Ante-Nicene Fathers as agreeing perfectly with ourselves, unless we shew that their doctrines are opposed to those of the Arians, as well as to those of the Unitarians.

But the two tests mentioned above will make this part of our task comparatively easy. If we can shew that the Ante-Nicene Fathers believed Jesus Christ to have been begotten *of the substance* of the Father, and to have existed from all eternity, the leading tenets of the Arians are overthrown. But these two points are surely proved, even to demonstration, by the quotations in the preceding pages. With respect to the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son, the reader is referred to N<sup>o</sup>. 305: and with respect to his eternity, the expressions used at N<sup>o</sup>. 21, 48, 100, 159, 206, 262, 300, 301, 302, 303, 316, 318, 320, 324, p. 421. seem to leave no doubt, that the persons who used them never imagined a time when Christ did not exist.

Seeing therefore that we are encompassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us hold fast the profession of our faith, and, without forgetting that charity which becomes true believers, let us earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered to the saints. We have indeed a cloud of witnesses to prove that the faith delivered by our Lord to his apostles, and by the apostles to their

successors, was essentially that which our church professes and cherishes. If the preceding pages should have unfolded this series of testimony, so as to convince the mind of any one person, who before was wavering; if they should lead any one sincere inquirer after truth to a conviction of his own belief being that of the primitive church, the earnest hopes of the writer will not be altogether disappointed: and let us also hope and pray, that He who has promised, that blasphemy against the Son of Man shall be forgiven, will hereafter have mercy upon those, who having a zeal, but not after knowledge, have been led by ignorance and error to speak lightly of his holy name.

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