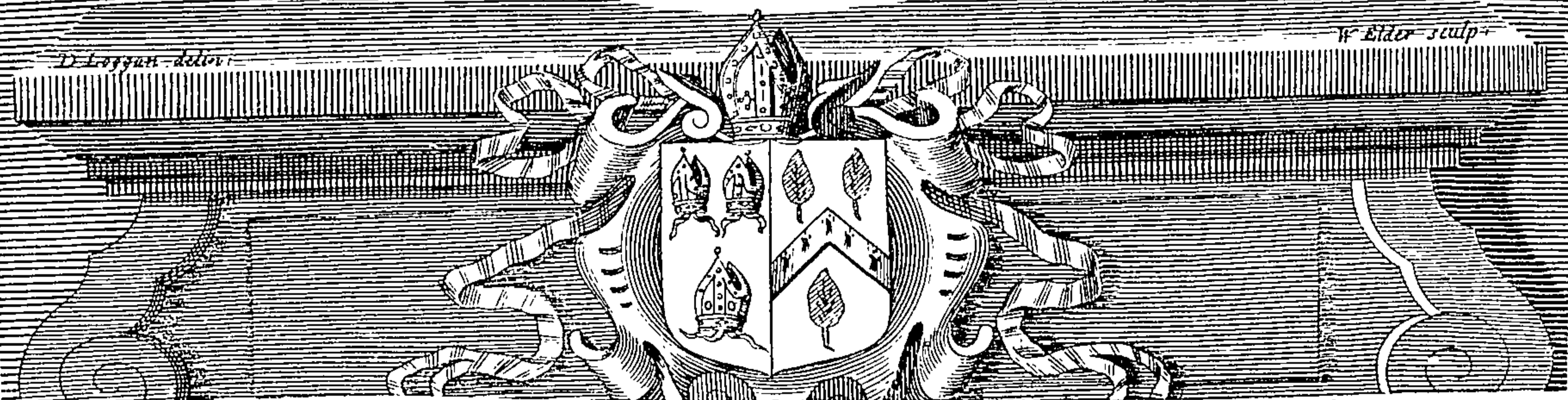




D. Loggan delin.

W. Bider sculp.



Reverendus admodum, in Christo Pater
D. JOHANNES PEARSON ^{Right} Cestriensis Episcopus.

Ætatis suæ 70.

A N
EXPOSITION
OF THE
CREED.

B Y

J O H N,
Prætorius
L O R D B I S H O P
O F
C H E S T E R.

The Seventh Edition Revised and Corrected.

L O N D O N:

Printed for *B. Griffin*, and *Sam. Keble*, and are
to be sold at the *Turks-Head* in
Fleetstreet, 1701.

T O T H E
Right Worshipful and Well-beloved
T H E
P A R I S H I O N E R S
O F
S^{t.} C L E M E N T S
E A S T - C H E A P .

Mercy unto you, and Peace, and Love be multiplied.



I should be at any time unmindful of your Commands, you might well esteem me unworthy of your continued Favours ; and there is some reason to suspect I have incurred the interpretation of forgetfulness, having been so backward in the performance of my Promises. Some years have passed since I preached unto you upon such Texts of Scripture as were on purpose selected in relation to the C R E E D , and was moved by you to make those Meditations publick. But you were pleased then to grant what my inclinations rather led me to, that they might be turned into an Exposition of the Creed it self ; which, partly by the difficulty of the Work undertaken, partly by the intervention of some other employments, hath taken me up thus long,
A for

The Epistle Dedicatory.

for which I desire your pardon. And yet an happy excuse may be pleaded for my delay, meeting with a very great felicity, that as Faith triumpheth in good Works, so my Exposition of the Creed should be contemporary with the re-edifying of your Church. For though I can have little temptation to believe that my Book should last so long as that Fabrick; yet I am exceedingly pleased that they should begin together; that the Publishing of the One should so agree with the Opening of the Other. This, I hope, may perswade you to forget my slackness, considering ye were not ready to your own expectation; your experience tells you the excuse of *Church work* will be accepted in Building, I beseech you let it not be denied in Printing.

That blessed Saint, by whose name your Parish is known, was a fellow-labourer with *St. Paul*, and a Successour of *St. Peter*; he had the honour to be numbered in the Scripture with them *whose names are written in the book of life*; and when he had sealed the Gospel with his Blood, he was one of the first whose memory was perpetuated by the building a Church to bear his Name. Thus was *St. Clement's* Church famous in *Rome* when *Rome* was famous for the *faith spoken of throughout the whole world*. He wrote an Epistle to the *Corinthians* infested with a Schism, in imitation of *St. Paul*, which obtained so great Authority in the Primitive times, that it was frequently read in their publick Congregations; and yet had for many hundred years been lost, till it was at last set forth out of the Library of the late King.

Now as by the Providence of God, the memory of that Primitive Saint hath been restored in our Age,
so

The Epistle Dedicatory.

so my design aimeth at nothing else but that the Primitive Faith may be revived. And therefore in this Edition of the Creed I shall speak to you but what St. Jude hath already spoken to the whole Church. *Beloved, when I gave all diligence to write unto you of the common salvation, it was needful for me to write unto you, that ye should earnestly contend for the Faith which was once delivered to the Saints.* If it were so needful for him then to write, and for them to whom he wrote to contend for the first Faith, it will appear as needful for Me now to follow his Writing, and for You to imitate their Earnestness, because the reason which he renders, as the cause of that necessity, is now more prevalent than it was at that time, or ever since. *For, saith he, there are certain men crept in unawares, who were before of old ordained to this condemnation; ungodly men, turning the grace of God into lasciviousness, denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ.* The Principles of Christianity are now as freely questioned as the most doubtful and controverted points; the grounds of Faith are as safely denied as the most unnecessary superstructions; That Religion hath the greatest advantage which appeareth in the newest dress, as if we looked for another *Faith to be delivered to the Saints*: Whereas in Christianity there can be no concerning Truth which is not antient; and whatsoever is truly new, is certainly false. Look then for purity in the Fountain, and strive to embrace the first Faith, to which you cannot have a more probable guide than the Creed, received in all Ages of the Church; and to this I refer you, as it leads you to the Scriptures, from whence it was at first deduced, that while *those which are unskilful and unstable, wrest the words of God himself unto their own damnation*; ye
A 2
may

The Epistle Dedicatory.

may receive so much instruction as may set you beyond the imputation of unskilfulness, and so much of confirmation as may place you out of the danger of instability; which as it hath been the constant endeavour, so shall it ever be the Prayer of him, who after so many encouragements of his labours amongst you, doth still desire to be known as

Your most faithful

Servant in the Lord,

20 MA 59

JOHN PEARSON.

T O

T O T H E
R E A D E R .

I Have in this Book undertaken an Exposition of the Creed, and think it necessary in this Preface to give a brief Account of the Work, lest any should either expect to find that here which was never intended, or conceive that which they meet with such as they expected not.

The Creed, without controversie, is a brief comprehension of the objects of our Christian Faith, and is generally taken to contain all things necessary to be believed. Now whether all things necessary be contained there, concerneth not an Expositor to dispute, who is obliged to take notice of what is in it, but not to enquire into what is not : whether all truths comprehended in the same be of equal and absolute necessity, we are no way forced to declare ; it being sufficient, as to the design of an Exposition, to interpret the words, and so deliver the sense, to demonstrate the truth of the sense delivered, and to manifest the proper necessity of each truth, how far, and in what degree, and to what purposes, it is necessary.

This therefore is the Method which I proposed to my self, and have prosecuted in every Article. First, to settle the words of each Article according to their Antiquity and Generality of reception in the Creed. Secondly, to explicate and unfold the Terms, and to endeavour a right notion and conception of them as they are to be understood in the same. Thirdly, to shew what are those truths which are naturally contained in those terms so explicated, and to make it appear that they are truths indeed, by such arguments and reasons as are respectively proper to evidence the verity of them. Fourthly, to declare what is the necessity of believing those truths, what efficacy and influence they have in the Soul, and upon the Life of a Believer. Lastly, by a recollection of all, briefly to deliver the sum of every particular truth, so that every one when he pronounceth the Creed may know what he ought to intend, and what he is understood to profess, when he so pronounceth it.

In the prosecution of the Whole, according to this Method, I have considered, That a Work of so general a Concernment must be exposed to two kinds of Readers, which though they may agree in judgment, yet must differ much in their capacities. Some there are who understand the Original Languages of the holy Scripture, the Discourses and Tractates of the ancient Fathers, the Determinations of the Councils, and History of the Church of God, the constant profession of settled Truths, the rise and increase of Schisms and Heresies. Others there are unacquainted with such conceptions, and incapable of
such

To the Reader.

such instructions ; who understand the Scriptures as they are translated ; who are capable of the knowledge of the Truths themselves, and of the proofs drawn from thence ; who can apprehend the nature of the Christian Faith, with the power and efficacy of the same, when it is delivered unto them out of the Word of God, and in a Language which they know. When I make this difference, and distinction of Readers, I do not intend thereby, that because one of these is Learned, the other is Ignorant ; for he which hath no skill of the learned Languages, may notwithstanding be very knowing in the Principles of Christian Religion, and the reason and efficacy of them.

According to this distinction I have contrived my Exposition, so that the Body of it containeth fully what can be delivered and made intelligible in the English Tongue, without inserting the least sentence or phrase of any learned Language, by which he who is not acquainted with it might be disturbed in his Reading, or interrupted in his Understanding. Not that I have selected only such notions as are common, easie, and familiar of themselves, but have endeavoured to deliver the most material conceptions in the most plain and perspicuous manner ; as desirous to comprize the whole strength of the Work, as far as it is possible, in the Body of it. The other Part I have placed in the Margin, (but so as oftentimes it taketh up more room, and yet is never mingled or confounded with the rest,) in which is contained whatsoever is necessary for the illustration of any part of the Creed, as to them which have any Knowledge of the Latine, Greek, and Original Languages, of the Writings of the ancient Fathers, the Doctrines of the Jews, and the History of the Church, those great advantages toward a right perception of the Christian Religion.

Now being the Creed comprehendeth the Principles of our Religion, it must contain those Truths which belong unto it as it is a Religion, and those which concern it as it is Ours. As it is a Religion, it delivereth such Principles as are to be acknowledged in Natural Theology, such as no man which worshippeth a God can deny ; and therefore in the proof of these, I have made use of such arguments and reasons as are most proper to oppose the Atheists, who deny there is a God to be worshipped, a Religion to be professed. As it is Our Religion, it is Christian and Catholick. As Christian, it containeth such Truths as were delivered by Christ and his Apostles, and those especially concerning Christ himself, which I have prosecuted constantly with an Eye to the Jews, who obstinately deny them, expecting still another Messias to come ; wherefore I shew out of the Law and the Prophets which they acknowledge, what was foretold in every particular concerning the Messias, and prove all those to be completed by that Christ in whom we believe. As our Religion is Catholick, it holdeth fast that faith which was once delivered to the Saints, and since preserved in the Church ; and therefore I expound such verities, in opposition to the Hereticks arising in all ages, especially against
the

To the Reader.

the Photinians, who of all the rest have most perverted the Articles of our Creed, and found out followers in these latter Ages, who have erected a new Body of Divinity in opposition to the Catholick Theology. Against these I proceed upon such Principles as they themselves allow, that is, upon the Word of God delivered in the Old and New Testament, alledged according to the true sense, and applied by right reason: not urging the Authority of the Church which they reject, but only giving in the Margin the sense of the Primitive Fathers, for the satisfaction of such as have any respect left for Antiquity, and are perswaded that Christ had a true Church on the earth before these times.

In that part, which, after the demonstration of each Truth, teacheth the necessity of the believing it, and the peculiar efficacy which it hath upon the life of a Christian, I have not thought fit to expatiate or enlarge my self, but only to mention such effects as flow naturally and immediately from the Doctrine, especially such as are delivered in the Scriptures; which I have endeavoured to set forth with all possible plainness and perspicuity. And indeed in the whole Work, as I have laid the foundation upon the written Word of God, so I have with much diligence collected such places of Scripture as are pertinent to each Doctrine, and with great faithfulness delivered them as they lie in the Writings of those holy Pen-men; not referring the Reader to places named in the Margin, (which too often I find in many Books multiplied to little purpose) but producing and interweaving the sentences of Scripture into the Body of my Exposition, so that the Reader may understand the strength of all my reason without any farther enquiry or consultation. For if those words which I have produced, prove not what I have intended, I desire not any to think there is more in the places named to maintain it.

At the Conclusion of every distinct and several Notion, I have recollected briefly and plainly the sum of what hath been delivered in the explication of it, and put it, as it were, into the mouth of every Christian, thereby to express more fully his faith, and to declare his profession. So that if the Reader please to put those Collections together, he may at once see and perceive what he is in the whole obliged to believe, and what he is by the Church of God understood to profess, when he maketh this publick, antient, and Orthodox Confession of Faith.

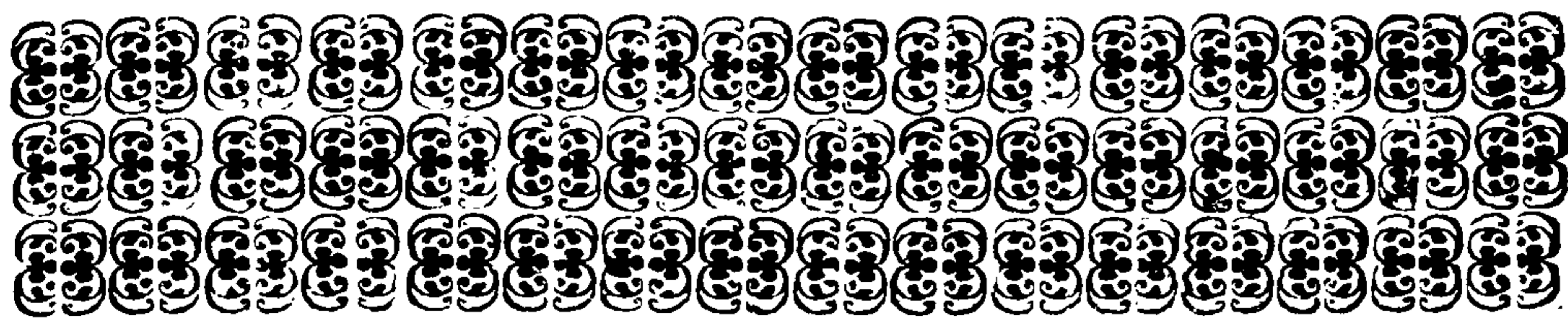
I have nothing more to add; but only to pray, that the Lord would give You and Me a good understanding in all things.

THE

T H E
C R E E D.

I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth; and in Jesus Christ, his only Son our Lord, which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried, he descended into Hell, the third day he rose again from the dead, he ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty: from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholick Church, the Communion of Saints, the Forgiveness of sins, the Resurrection of the body, and the Life everlasting.

20 MA 59



AN
EXPOSITION
 OF THE
CREED.

ARTICLE I.

**I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker
 of Heaven and Earth.**



S the first Word *Credo, I believe*, giveth a denomination to the whole Confession of Faith, from thence commonly called the *CREED*; so is the same word to be imagin'd not to stand only where it is express'd, but to be carried through the whole Body of the Confession. For although it be but twice actually rehearsed, yet must we conceive it virtu-

ally prefixed to the Head of every Article: that as we say, *I believe in God the Father Almighty*, so we are also understood to say, *I believe in Jesus Christ his only Son, our Lord*; as *I believe in the Holy Ghost*, so also, *I believe the Catholick Church*. Neither is it to be joined with every compleat Article only; but where any Article is not a single verity, but comprehensive, there it is to be look'd upon as affixed to every part, or single truth contained in that Article: as, for example, in the first, *I believe in God, I believe, that God to be the Father, I believe that Father to be Almighty, I believe that Father Almighty to be the Maker of Heaven and Earth*. So that this *Credo, I believe*, rightly considered, multiplieth it self to no less than a double number of the Articles, and will be found at least twenty four times contained in the *CREED*. Wherefore being a word so pregnant and diffusive, so necessary and essential to every part of our Confession of Faith, that without it we can neither have *CREED* nor Confession, it will require a more exact consideration, and more ample explication, and that in such a notion as is properly applicable to so many and so various Truths.

Now by this previous expression, *I believe*, thus considered, every particular Christian is first taught, and then imagined, to make confession of his

Faith : and consequently this word, so used, admits a threefold consideration. First, as it supposeth Belief, or Faith, which is confessed. Secondly as it is a Confession, or external expression of that Faith so supposed. Thirdly as both the Faith and Confession are of necessary and particular obligation. When therefore we shall have clearly delivered, First, what is the true nature and notion of Belief; Secondly what the duty of confessing of our Faith; Thirdly, what obligation lies upon every particular person to believe and confess; then may we be conceived to have sufficiently explicated the first word of the *C R E E D*, then may every one understand what it is he says, and upon what ground he proceeds, when he professeth, *I Believe*.

For the right understanding of the true nature of Christian Faith, it will be no less than necessary to begin with the general notion of Belief; which being first truly stated and defined, then by degrees deduced into its several kinds, will at last make the nature of Christian Faith intelligible: a design, if I mistake not, not so ordinary and usual, as useful and necessary.

Belief in general I define to be *an Assent to that which is Credible, as Credible*. By the word * *Assent* is expressed that Act or Habit of the Understanding, by which it receiveth, acknowledgeth and embraceth any thing as a Truth; it being the || nature of the Soul so to embrace whatsoever appeareth true unto it, and so far as it so appeareth. Now this *Assent*, or Judgment of any thing to be true, being a general Act of the Understanding, and so applicable to † other Habits thereof as well as to Faith, must be specified by its proper Object, and so limited and determined to its proper Act, which is the other part left to compleat the Definition.

* Clem. Alex. Πίστις ἢ πρόληψις ἐκδοτικὸς ὄντων, θεοσεβείας συγκατάθεσις.
Strom. lib. 2. S. Basil. Πίστις ἢ ἐν ἑστῇ συγκατάθεσις ἀδιάκριτος ἢ ἀκινδύνων ἐν πληροφροῦν ἀληθείας ἢ κηρυχθέντων Θεῷ χάριτι.
Ascer. Fide. The Basilidians, ὁ δὲ ζῶντα γὰρ οἱ ἀπὸ βασιλείου δὲ τῶν πῖστιν ψυχῆς συγκατάθεσιν πρὸς τι ἢ μὴ κινδύνων ἀδύσιν διατὸ μὴ παρῆνα.
Clem. Alex. lib. 2. Theodoret. de Prov. Sermon. 1. κατὰ τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον, πίστις ὄντων ἐκδοτικὸς τῶν ψυχῆς συγκατάθεσις.

This Object of Faith is exprest by *that which is Credible*; for every one who believeth any thing, doth thereby without question assent unto it as to that which is credible; and therefore all belief whatsoever is such a kind of Assent. But though all belief be an Assent to that *which is Credible*, yet every such Assent may not be properly Faith; and therefore those words make not the Definition compleat. For he which sees an action done, knows it to be done, and therefore assents unto the truth of the performance of it because he sees it: but another person to whom he relates it, may assent unto the performance of the same action, not because himself sees it, but because the other relates it; in which case *that which is Credible* is the Object of Faith in one, of evident knowledge in the other. To make the definition therefore full, besides the material Object or thing believed, we have added the formal Object, or that whereby it is properly believed, expressed in the last term, *as Credible*; which being taken in, it then appears that, First, whosoever believeth any thing, assenteth to something which is to him credible, and that as 'tis credible; and again, whosoever assenteth to any thing which is credible as 'tis credible, believeth something by so assenting: which is sufficient to shew the definition compleat.

And yet he also afterwards acknowledgeth they had that definition from the Greeks. Τῶν μὲν γὰρ πῖστιν καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι φιλόσοφοι εἰσάγουσιν ἢ ἐβελέσιον τὴν ψυχῆς συγκατάθεσιν. *Credere est cum assensu cogitare*, S. August. *Et de Sp. S. Lit. cap.* Quid est credere, nisi consentire verum esse quod dicitur? So I take the *συγκατάθεσις* used by the Greek Fathers to signifie assensum or assensionem, as A. Gellius translateth the Stoick, *συγκατατίθεται, sua assentione approbat*, l. 19. 1. and before him Cicero, nunc de assensione atq; approbarione, quam Græci *συγκατάθεσιν* vocant, pauca dicamus, in Lucullo. So *ἀπιστία* and *συγκατάθεσις* are opposed by the Greeks. As Sextus Empiricus speaking of Admetus seeing Alcestis brought back by Hercules from Hades, Ἐπει μὲν τοῖς ἦδεν ὅτι τέθνηκε ἀειπάτο αὐτῷ ἢ διάνοια ἀπὸ τῆς συγκατάθεσεως, καὶ πρὸς ἀπιστίαν ἐκλίπε, Pyrrh. Hipot. l. 13. 3. || φιλαλήθης ἢ ψυχῆς ἐδέποτε κατὰ τὸ ψεύδος ἀνεχόμενῃ διατίθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ φανέν ἀληθῆς πάντως καὶ ἀθύς, Simplic. in 3. Arist. de Anim. Cl. Alex. l. 2. Strom. Καὶ τις τάλιθες σκοπῆ, εὐρήσει τὸ ἀνθρώπου φύσει διαβεβλημένον καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῷ ψεύδους συγκατάθεσιν, ἔχοντα τὴν ἀφορμὰς πρὸς πῖστιν τάλιθῃ. † As *συγκατάθεσις* the Greek word used for this Assent is applied to other acts of the understanding as well as that of Belief. So Clemens Alexandrinus, speaking of the definition of Faith, Ἄλλοι δ' ἀφανῆς πρὸς γὰρ ἐναλίγκῳ συγκατάθεσιν ἀπέδωκαν ἔν τῶ πῖστιν, ὡς ἀπὸ ἀμέλει τὸ ἀπόδειξιν ἀγνωσκίμῃ καὶ πρὸς γὰρ φανερῶν συγκατάθεσιν, Strom. l. 2. and again, Πᾶσα ἐνδοξία, καὶ κείτις καὶ ἐσβλητικὸς οἷς σῶμα καὶ ζῶντα καὶ αἰετὸν γένει ἢ ἀνθρώπων, συγκατάθεσις ὄντων ἢ δ' ἐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πῖστις ἐν ἀν. ἢ τὸ ἀπιστία, ἀπιστεύσεις ἔνα τὸ κρίσεις, δὲ καὶ τῶ δέκνυσι τὴν συγκατάθεσιν τε καὶ πῖστιν.

But

But for the explication of the same, farther observations will be necessary. For if that which we believe be something which is credible, and the notion under which we believe be the Credibility of it; then must we first declare what it is to be *Credible*, and in what *Credibility* doth consist, before we can understand what is the nature of *Belief*.

Now that is properly *Credible* which is not apparent of it self; nor certainly to be collected, either antecedently by its cause, or reverly by its effect; and yet, though by none of these ways hath the attestation of a truth. For those things which are apparent of themselves, are either so in respect of our Sense, as that Snow is white, and Fire is hot; or in respect of our Understanding, as that the whole of any thing is greater than any one part of the whole, that every thing imaginable, either is, or is not. The first kind of which being propounded to our sense, one to the sight, the other to the touch, appear of themselves immediately true, and therefore are not termed *Credible*, but *evident* to sense; as the latter kind, propounded to the understanding, are immediately embraced and acknowledged as truths apparent in themselves, and therefore are not called *Credible*, but *evident* to the understanding. And so those things which are * apparent, are not said properly to be believed, but to be known.

Again, other things, though not immediately apparent in themselves, may yet appear most certain and evidently true, by an immediate and necessary connexion with something formerly known. For being every natural cause actually applied doth necessarily produce its own natural effect, and every natural effect wholly dependeth upon, and absolutely presupposeth its own proper cause; therefore there must be an immediate connexion between the cause and its effect. From whence it follows that, if the connexion be once clearly perceived, the effect will be known in the cause, and the cause by the effect. And by these ways, proceeding from principles evidently known by consequences certainly concluding, we come to the knowledge of propositions in Mathematicks, and conclusions in other Sciences: which propositions and conclusions are not said to be *Credible*, but *Scientifical*; and the comprehension of them is not *Faith*, but *Science*.

Besides, some things there are, which, though not evident of themselves, nor seen by any necessary connexion to their causes or effects, notwithstanding appear to most as true by some external relations to other truths; but yet so, as the appearing truth still leaves a possibility of falshood with it, and therefore doth but incline to an *Assent*. In which case whatsoever is thus apprehended, if it depend upon real Arguments, is not yet call'd *Credible*, but *Probable*: and an Assent to such a Truth is not properly *Faith*, but *Opinion*.

But when any thing propounded to us is neither apparent to our sense, nor evident to our understanding, in and of it self, neither certainly to be collected from any clear and necessary connexion with the cause from which it proceedeth, or the effects which it naturally produceth, nor is taken up upon any real Arguments or reference to other acknowledged Truths, and yet notwithstanding appeareth to us true, not by a manifestation, but attestation of the truth, and so moveth us to assent not of it self, but by vertue of the Testimony given to it; this is said || properly to be *Credible*; and an *Assent* unto this, upon such *Credibility*, is in the proper notion *Faith* or *Belief*.

Having thus defined and illustrated the nature of *Faith* in general, so far as it agreeth to all kinds of belief whatsoever; our method will lead us on to descend by way of division, to the several kinds thereof, till at last we come to the proper notion of *Faith* in the Christians *Confession*, the design of our present disquisition, and being we have placed the formality of the Object of all

* Apparentia non habent fidem, sed agnitionem. Greg. 4. Dial. cap. 5. Habet Fides oculos suos quibus quodammodo videt verum esse quod nondum videt, & quibus certissime videt nondum se videre quod credit. S. August. Ep. 222.

|| Aristot. Probl. 18. 3. αι δια των μαθητων παδ'ιτοι αισεις.

belief in *Credibility*, it will clearly follow, that diversity of *Credibility* in the Object will proportionably cause a distinction of *Assent* in the Understanding, and consequently a several kind of *Faith*, which we have supposed to be nothing else but such an *Assent*.

Now the *Credibility* of Objects, by which they appear fit to be believed, is distinguishable according to the diversities of its foundation, that is, according to the different *Authority* of the *Testimony* on which it depends. For we having no other certain means of assuring our selves of the truth, and consequently no other motives of our *Assent* in matters of mere *Belief*, than the *Testimony* upon which we believe; if there be any fundamental distinction in the *Authority* of the *Testimony*, it will cause the like difference in the *Assent*, which must needs bear a proportion to the *Authority* of the *Testimony*, as being originally and essentially founded upon it. It is therefore necessary next to consider, in what the *Authority* of a *Testimony* consisteth, and so to descend to the several kinds of *Testimonies* founded upon several *Authorities*.

The strength and validity of every *Testimony* must bear proportion with the * *Authority* of the *Testifier*; and the *Authority* of the *Testifier* is founded upon his *Ability* and *Integrity*: his *Ability* in the knowledge of that which he delivereth and asserteth; his *Integrity* in delivering and asserting according to his knowledge. For two several ways he which relateth or testifieth any thing may deceive us; one, by being ignorant of the truth, and so upon that ignorance mistaking, he may think that to be true which is not so, and consequently deliver that for truth, which in it self is false, and so deceive himself and us; or if he be not ignorant, yet if he be dishonest or unfaithful, that which he knows to be false he may propound and assert to be a truth, and so though himself be not deceived, he may deceive us. And by each of these ways, for want either of *Ability* or *Integrity* in the *Testifier*, who so grounds his *Assent* unto any thing as a truth, upon the testimony of another, may equally be deceived.

But whosoever is so *able* as certainly to know the truth of that which he delivereth, and so *faithful* as to deliver nothing but what and as he knoweth, he, as he is not deceived, so deceiveth no man. So far therefore as any person testifying appeareth to be knowing of the thing he testifies, and to be faithful in the relation of what he knows, so far his testimony is acceptable, so far that which he testifieth is properly *Credible*. And thus the *Authority* of every *Testifier* or Relater is grounded upon these two foundations, his *Ability* and *Integrity*.

Now there is in this case, so far as it concerns our present design, || a double *Testimony*: the *Testimony* of man to man, relying upon humane *Authority*, and the *Testimony* of God to man, founded upon Divine *Authority*: which two kinds of *Testimony* are respective grounds of two kinds of *Credibility*, *Humane* and *Divine*; and consequently there is a two-fold *Faith* distinguish'd by this double Object, a *Humane* and a *Divine Faith*.

Humane Faith is an *Assent* unto any thing *Credible* merely upon the *Testimony* of man. Such is the belief we have of the words and affections one of another. And upon this kind of *Faith* we proceed in the ordinary affairs of our life; according to the opinion we have of the ability and fidelity of him which relates or asserts any thing we believe or disbelieve. By this a friend assureth himself of the affection of his friend: by this the * Son acknowledgeth his Father, and upon this is his obedience wrought. By virtue of this *Humane Faith* it is that we doubt not at all of those things which we never saw, by reason of their distance from us, either by time or place. Who doubts whether there be such a Country as *Italy*, or such a City as *Constantinople*, though he never pass'd

* Τὸ γὰρ ποῖόν τινα φαίνεται, τὸν λέγοντα πιστεύομεν τὸ το δ' ἔστιν, ἀν' ἀγαθὸς φαίνεται, ἢ δ' οὐκ ἢ ἀμω. *Aristot. Rhet. lib. i. cap. 8:*

|| Testimoniorum quæ sunt genera? Divinum & humanum. Divinum, ut oracula, ut auspicia, ut varinationes, & responsa sacerdotum, aruspicum, conjectorum: Humanum, quod spectatur ex auctoritate, & ex voluntate, & ex oratione aut libera aut expressa; in quo insunt scripta, picta, promissa, jurata, quæ sita. *Cicero Orat. Partit.*

* Non dicant non credimus quia non vidimus; quoniam si hæc dicant, coguntur fateri incertos sibi esse Parentes suos. *De fide rerum invisib. amongst the works of Saint Augustin.*

Αὐτὸν γὰρ εἰς δὲ δὶδὲ τὸ ποτ' ἰγνέτο. Ἄλλ' ὑπονοῦμεν πάντες, ἢ πιστεύομεν. *Menander apud Stob.*

pass'd any of our four Seas? Who questions now whether there were such a Man as *Alexander* in the East, or *Cesar* in the West? and yet the latest of these hath been beyond the possibility of the knowledge of man these sixteen hundred years. There is no * Science taught without original belief, there are no || Letters learnt without preceding faith. There is no Justice executed, no commerce maintained, no business prosecuted without this; * all secular affairs are transacted, all great achievements are attempted, all hopes, desires and inclinations are preserved by this Humane Faith grounded upon the Testimony of man.

In which case we all by easie experience may observe the nature, generation and progress of *Belief*. For in any thing which belongeth to more than ordinary knowledge, we believe not him whom we think to be ignorant, nor do we assent the more for his assertion, though never so confidently delivered: but if we have a strong opinion of the knowledge and skill of any person, what he affirmeth within the compass of his knowledge, that we readily assent unto; and while we have no other ground but his affirmation, this *Assent* is properly *Belief*. Whereas if it be any matter of concernment in which the interest of him that relateth or affirmeth any thing to us is considerable, there it is not the skill or knowledge of the Relater which will satisfy us, except we have as strong an opinion of his fidelity and integrity: but if we think him so just and honest, that he hath no design upon us, nor will affirm any thing contrary to his knowledge for any gain or advantage, then we readily assent unto his affirmations; and this *Assent* is our *Belief*. Seeing then our *Belief* relies upon the ability and integrity of the Relater, and being the knowledge of all men is imperfect, and the hearts of all men are deceitful, and so their integrity to be suspected, there can be no infallible universal ground of *Humane Faith*.

But what satisfaction we cannot find in the testimony of man, we may receive in the testimony of God. || *If we receive the witness of man, the witness of God is greater.* Yea, let God be true, the ground of our *Divine, and every man a liar*, the ground of our *Humane Faith*.

As for the other Member of the Division, we may now plainly perceive that it is thus to be defined; *Divine Faith is an Assent unto something as Credible upon the Testimony of God.* This *Assent* is the highest kind of *Faith*, because the object hath the highest *Credibility*, because grounded upon the *Testimony of God*, which is *infallible*. *Balaam* could tell *Balak* thus much, *'God is not a man, that he should lye;* and a better Prophet confirm'd the same truth to *Saul*, *The strength of Israel will not lye;* and because he will not, because he cannot, he is the strength of *Israel*, even *my God, my strength, in whom I will trust.*

For first, God is of infinite knowledge and Wisdom, as *Hannah* hath taught us, *the Lord is a God of knowledge*, or rather, if our language will bear it, of *knowledges*, which are so plural, or rather infinite in their plurality, that the *Psalmit* hath said, *Of his understanding there is no number.* He knoweth therefore all things, neither can any truth be hid from his knowledge, who is essentially truth, and essentially knowledge, and, as so, the cause of all other truth and knowledge. Thus the understanding of God is infinite in respect of * comprehension, and not so only, but of certainty also and evidence. Some things we are said to know which are but obscurely known, we see them but as in a Glass, or through a Cloud: But + *God is light, and in him is no darkness at all:* he seeth without any obscurity, and whatsoever is propounded to his understanding is most clear and evident; 5 *neither is there any Creature that is*

* ὑποβάθρα μέντοι ἢ κρηπίς τῆς ὀπίσθι- μως ἢ πίστεως. Theodor. The- rap. 1.

|| Οὐ γὰρ τὰ πρῶτα σοι- χεῖα μάθειν οἶόν τε μὴ πῶς γεωμετρίας ἢ πεπισθότα. ibid.

* Πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τελευτῶντα, ἢ τὰ ὑπὸ ἐξῆς ἀλλολεῖων τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς πίστεως τελευτῶν. Cyril. Catech. V. Orig. cont. Celsum, lib. 1. Euf. de præp. Evang. 1. 1. c. 5.

Arnob. adver. Gent. 1. 2.

|| 1 John 5. 9. Rom. 3. 4. Quam indignum, ut humanis testimoniis de alio credamus, Dei oraculis de se non credamus! S. Ambros. l. de Abraham c. 3.

Πᾶς δ' ἔκ ἐυλογώτερον πάντων τῶ ἀνθρώπων πίστεως ἡγετη- μῶν ἐκεί- νων, μᾶλλον πιστεύειν τῷ θεῷ; Orig. ad. Cels. l. 1.

1 Numb. 23. 19. 1 Sam. 15.

29. Psal. 18. 2.

3 1 Sam. 2. 3. תועת קא

לתי

Lxx. Θεός γνώσεων κύ- εως

3 Psal. 147. 5, in the Heb.

לתיבתאין ספר

* Cujus simplicita multiplex, &

uniformiter de Civit. Dei,

multiformis, incomprehensibili comprehensione omnia incomprehensibilia comprehendit. S. Augustinus, lib. 12. cap. 18. || 1 Job. 1. 5. 2 Heb. 4. 13.

not manifest in his sight; but all things are naked and opened unto the eyes of him with whom we have to do; Wherefore being all things are within the compass of his knowledge, being all things which are so, are most clear and evident unto him, being the knowledge he hath of them is most certain and infallible, it inevitably followeth that he cannot be deceiv'd in any thing.

¶ Deut. 32. 4.
 * Δύναται ὁ
 καὶ ἡμᾶς
 πάντα ὁ Θεὸς
 ἀπὸρ δὴ ὡδᾶ
 εἰδῆ, ὅτι
 Θεὸς εἶναι, καὶ
 ἀγαθὸς εἶναι,
 καὶ σοφὸς εἶναι,
 καὶ ἐξιστάται.
 Orig. contra
 Celsum.
 ¶ Si vellent in-
 venire quod
 omnipotens
 non potest,
 habent pro-
 fus, ego di-
 cam, mentiri
 non potest.
 S. August. de
 Civ. Dei, l. 22.
 c. 25.
 * 2 Tim. 2.
 13.
 * Heb. 6.
 17. 18.
 * Heb. 6. 13.
 * Ut sit om-
 nium po-
 tens, mori
 non potest,
 falli non po-
 test, mentiri
 non potest.
 August. de
 Symb. ad Ca-
 techum.
 ¶ Deus facere
 fraudem ne-
 scit, pati non
 potest. Chry-
 sol. Serm. 62.
 * Autoritas
 Dei consistit
 in intrinseca
 repugnantia
 deceptionis
 seu falsitatis
 quam habet;
 divinum ju-
 dicium, & in
 intrinseca re-
 pugnantia
 actus volun-
 tatis impe-
 rantis testi-
 monium ex-
 trinsecum
 non consen-
 tiens iudicio
 interno;
 quæ per ter-
 minos positi-
 vos actus in-
 tellectus in-
 fallibiliter
 veri, & actus
 voluntatis intrinsecè & necessariò recti, poterit explicari, Francisc. de Ovied. Traët. de Fide Contr. 2. pun. 2. * 1 Joh. 5. 10.
 ¶ Divina est Auctoritas cui credimus; divina est doctrina quam sequimur. Leo, Serm. 7. in Nativ.

Secondly, the Justice of God is equal to his knowledge, nor is his holiness inferior to his wisdom: a God of truth, || saith Moses, and without iniquity, just and right is he. From which internal, essential and infinite rectitude, goodness and holiness, followeth an impossibility to declare or deliver that for truth which he knoweth not to be true. For if it be against that finite purity and integrity which is required of man, to lye, and therefore sinful, then must we conceive it absolutely inconsistent with that transcendent purity and infinite integrity which is essential unto God. Although therefore the power of God be infinite, though he can do all things; yet we may safely say, without any * prejudice to his Omnipotency, that he || cannot speak that for truth which he knoweth to be otherwise. For the perfections of his will are as necessarily infinite as those of his understanding; neither can he be unholy or unjust more than he can be ignorant or unwise. * If we believe not, yet he abideth faithful, he cannot deny himself. Which words of the Apostle, though properly belonging to the promises of God, yet are as true in respect of his assertions; neither should he more deny himself in violating his fidelity, than in contradicting his veracity. * 'Tis true, that ² God willing more abundantly to shew unto the Heirs of promise the immutability of his counsel, confirmed it by an oath; that by two immutable things, in which it was impossible for God to lye, we might have a strong consolation: but 'tis as true, that all this confirmation is only for our consolation; otherwise it is as impossible for God to lye, without an oath, as with one; for being he can ³ swear by no greater, he sweareth only by himself, and so the strength even of the Oath of God relieth upon the veracity of God. Wherefore being God as God is of infinite rectitude, goodness and holiness, being it is manifestly repugnant to his purity, and inconsistent with his integrity, to deliver any thing contrary to his knowledge, it clearly followeth that he cannot deceive any man.

It is therefore most infallibly certain, that God being infinitely wise, cannot * be deceived; being infinitely good, cannot || deceive: and upon these two immoveable pillars standeth the Authority of the Testimony of God. For since we cannot doubt of the witness of any one, but by questioning his ability, as one who may be ignorant of that which he affirmeth, and so deceived; or by excepting against his integrity, as one who may affirm that which he knoweth to be false, and so have a purpose to deceive us: where there is no place for either of these exceptions, there can be no doubt of the truth of the Testimony. But where there is an intrinsecal * repugnancy of being deceived in the understanding, and of deceiving in the Will, as there certainly is in the understanding and will of God, there can be no place for either of those exceptions, and consequently there can be no doubt of the truth of that which God testifieth. And whosoever thinketh any thing comes from him, and assenteth not unto it, must necessarily deny him to be wise or holy: + He that believeth not God, said the Apostle, hath made him a liar. That truth then which is testified by God, hath a Divine Credibility: and an assent unto it as so credible, is Divine Faith. In which the material Object is the Doctrine which God delivereth, the formal Object is that Credibility founded on the || Authority of the deliverer. And this I conceive the true nature of Divine Faith in general.

But those faithful people to whom the Prophets spake, believed the same truth, and upon the testimony of the same God, delivered unto them not by God, but by those Prophets, whose words they therefore assented unto as certain truths, because they were assured that what the Prophets spake was immediately revealed to them by God himself, without which assurance no faith could be expected from them. When God *appeared* unto *Moses* in a *flame of fire out of the midst of a Bush*, and there immediately revealed to him first himself, saying, *I am the God of thy Fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob*, and then his will to bring the children of *Israel* out of the Land of *Egypt*, *Moses* clearly believed God both in the Revelation of himself and of his will, and was fully satisfied that the *Israelites* should be delivered, because he was assured it was God who promised their deliverance: yet notwithstanding still he doubted whether the *Israelites* would believe the same truth, when it should be delivered to them, not immediately by God, but by *Moses*, *And Moses answered and said, But behold they will not believe me, nor hearken unto my voice; for they will say, The Lord hath not appeared unto thee.* Which words of his first suppose, that if they had heard the voice of God, as he had, they would have assented to the truth upon a testimony Divine; and then as rationally affirm, that it was improbable they should believe, except they were assured it was God who promised, or think that God had promised by *Moses*, only because *Moses* said so. Which rational objection was clearly taken away when God endued *Moses* with power of evident and undoubted miracles; for then the Rod which he carried in his hand was as infallible a sign to the *Israelites* that God had appeared unto him, as the flaming Bush was to himself; and therefore they which saw in his hand God's Omnipotency, could not suspect in his tongue God's Veracity; inasmuch as when *Aaron* became to *Moses* instead of a Mouth, and *Moses* to *Aaron* instead of God, *Aaron* spake all the words which the Lord had spoken unto *Moses*, and did the signs in the sight of the people, and the people believed. For being perswaded by a lively and active presence of Omnipotency that God had appeared unto *Moses*, and what was delivered to them by him came to him from God, and being sufficiently assured out of the very sense and notion of a Deity, that whatsoever God should speak, must of necessity be true, they presently assented, *and believed the Lord, and his Servant Moses; Moses*, as the immediate Propounder, God, as the original Revealer: they believed *Moses* that God had revealed it, and they believed the Promise, because God had revealed it. So that the Faith both of *Moses* and the *Israelites* was grounded upon the same testimony or revelation of God, and differed only in the proposition or application of the testimony; *Moses* receiving it immediately from God himself, the *Israelites* mediately by the ministry of *Moses*.

In the like manner the succeeding Prophets were the instruments of Divine Revelation, which they first believed as revealed to them, and then the people as revealed by them: for what they delivered was not the testimony of man, but the testimony of God delivered by man. It was *he* who spake by the mouth of his holy Prophets which have been since the world began: the mouth, the instrument, the articulation was theirs; but the words were God's. *The Spirit of the Lord spake by me, saith David, and his word was in my tongue.* It was the word of the Lord, which he spake by the hand of *Moses*, and by the hand of his Servant *Abijah* the Prophet. The hand the general instrument of man, the mouth the particular instrument of speech, both attributed to the Prophets as merely instrumental in their prophecies. The words which *Balaam's* Ass spake were as much the Ass's words, as those which *Balaam* spake were his; for *the Lord opened the mouth of the Ass, and the Lord put a word*

Exod. 3. 2.

Exod. 4. 1.

Exod. 4. 16.
Exod. 4. 30, 31.

Exod. 11. 31.

Luke 1. 70.

2 Sam. 23. 2.
1 King 3. 53.
1 King 14. 18.

Numb. 22. 28.

Numb. 23. 5.

in Baalaam's mouth ; and not only so, but a bridle with that word, *only the word that I shall speak unto thee, that thou shalt speak.* The Prophets, as they did not frame the notions or conceptions themselves of those truths which they delivered from God, so did they not loosen their own tongues of their own instinct, or upon their own motion, but as moved, impelled, and acted by God. So we may in correspondence to the antecedent and subsequent words interpret those words of S. Peter, that *no Prophecy of the Scripture is of any * private interpretation*: that is, that no Prophecy which is written did so proceed from the Prophet which spake or wrote it, that he of himself or by his own instinct did open his mouth to prophecy ; but that all Prophetical Revelations came from God alone, and that whosoever first delivered them was antecedently inspired by him, as it followeth, *for the Prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.* That therefore which they delivered was the word, the Revelation of God ; which they assented unto as to a certain and infal- lible truth, credible upon the immediate testimony of God, and to which the rest of the Believers assented upon the same testimony of God mediate- ly delivered by the hands of the Prophets.

Numb. 22. 27.

2 Pet. 1. 20
* ιδίας ἐπιλα-
σέως

Thus God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in times past unto the Fathers by the Prophets, and by so speaking propounded the Object of Faith both to the Prophets and the Fathers, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, and by so speaking hath enlarged the Object of Faith to us by him, by which means it comes to be the Faith of Jesus. Thus the only-begotten Son, who was in the bosom of the Father, the express image of his Person, he in whom it pleased the Father that all fulness should dwell, he in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, revealed the will of God to the Apostles, who being assured that he knew all things, and convinced that he came forth from God, gave a full and clear assent unto those things which he delivered, and grounded their Faith upon his words as upon the immediate testimony of God. I have given unto them, saith Christ unto his Father, *the words which thou gavest me, and they have received them, and have known surely that I came out from thee, and they have believed that thou didst send me.* Besides this delivery of these words by Christ to the Apostles, they received the Promise of the Spirit of truth, which should guide them into all truth, and teach them all things, and bring all things into their remembrance whatsoever Christ had said unto them. So clearly, so fully, so constantly were they furnished with Divine Illuminati- ons and Revelations from God, upon which they grounded their own Faith ; that each of them might well make that profession of S. Paul, *I know whom I have believed.* Thus the Faith of the Apostles, as of Moses and the Prophets, was grounded upon the immediate Revelations of God.

Heb. 1. 16

vers. 2.

Rev. 14. 12.

John 1. 18.

1 Pet. 1. 3.

1 L. 1. 19.

1. cl. - 9.

John 16. 32.

John 17. 8.

John 16. 13.

John 14. 26.

2 Tim. 1. 12.

But those Believers to whom the Apostles preached, and whom they con- verted to the Faith, believed the same truths which were revealed to the Apostles, though they were not so revealed to them as they were unto the Apostles, that is immediately from God. But as the Israelites believed those truths which Moses spake, to come from God, being convinced by the con- stant supply of Miracles wrought by the Rod which he carried in his hand: so the blessed Apostles, being so plentifully endued from above with the power of Miracles, gave sufficient testimony that it was God which spake by their mouths, who so evidently wrought by their hands. They which heard S. Pe- ter call a lame man unto his legs, spake a dead man alive, and strike a living man to death with his tongue, as he did Ananias and Sapphira, might easily be persuaded that it was God who spake by his mouth, and conclude that where they found him in his Omnipotency, they might well expect him in his Ve- racity.

racity. These were the persons for whom our Saviour next to the Apostles
 prayed, because by a way next to that of the Apostles they believed. *Neither
 John 17. 20. pray I for these alone, saith Christ, but for them also who shall believe on me through
 their word.* Thus the Apostles believed on Christ through his own word, and
 the primitive Christians believed on the same Christ through the Apostles
 word : and this distinction our Saviour himself hath clearly made ; not that
 the word of the Apostles was really distinct from the word of Christ, but on-
 ly it was called theirs, because delivered by their Ministry, otherwise it was
 the same word which they had heard from him, and upon which they them-
 selves believed. *That which was from the beginning, saith S. John, which we have
 1 John 1. 1, 3. heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands
 have handled of the word of life, That which we have seen and heard, declare we
 unto you.* And this was the true foundation of Faith in all them which belie-
 ved, that they took not the words which they heard from the Apostles to be
 the words of the men which spake them, no more than they did the power
 of healing the sick, or raising the dead, and the rest of the miracles, to be the
 power of them that wrought them ; but as they attributed those miraculous
 works to God working by him, so did they also that saving word to the
 same God speaking by them. When S. Paul preached at *Antioch, almost the
 Acts 13. 44. whole City came together to hear the word of God ;* so they esteemed it, though
 they knew him a man whom they came to hear speak it. This the Apostle com-
 mendeth in the *Thessalonians, that when they received the word of God, which
 1 Thess. 2. 13. they heard of him, they received it not as the word of man, but (as it is in truth,)
 the word of God ;* and receiving it so, they embraced it as coming from him
 who could neither deceive nor be deceived, and consequently as infallibly
 true ; and by so embracing it they assented unto it, by so assenting to it they
 believed it, ultimately upon the testimony of God, immediately upon the te-
 2 Thess. 1. 10. stimony of S. Paul, as he speaks himself, *because our testimony among you was
 believed.* Thus the Faith of those which were converted by the Apostles was
 an assent unto the word as credible upon the testimony of God, delivered to them
 by a testimony Apostolical. Which being thus clearly stated, we may at last
 descend into our own condition, and so describe the nature of our own
 Faith, that every one may know what it is to Believe.

Although Moses was endued with the power of Miracles, and conversed
 with God in the Mount, and spake with him face to face at the door of the
 Tabernacle: although upon these grounds the *Israelites* believed what he de-
 livered to them as the word of God ; yet neither the Miracles nor Moses did
 for ever continue with them ; and notwithstanding his death, they and their
 Posterity to all Generations were obliged to believe the same truths. Where-
 fore it is observable which S. Stephen saith, *he received the lively Oracles to give
 Acts. 7. 38. unto them ;* the Decalogue he received from the hand of God, *written with
 the finger of God ;* the rest of the Divine patefactions he wrote himself, and so
 delivered them not a mortal word to die with him, but *living Oracles,* to be in
 force when he was dead, and oblige the People to a belief, when his Rod
 had ceased to broach the Rocks and divide the Seas. Neither did he only tie
 them to a belief of what he wrote himself, but by foretelling and describing
 the Prophets which should be raised in future Ages, he put a farther obliga-
 tion upon them to believe their Prophecies as the Revelations of the same God.
 Thus all the *Israelites* in all Ages believed Moses, while he lived, by belie-
 ving his words ; after his death, by believing his writings. *Had ye believed
 John 5. 46, 47. Moses, saith our Saviour, ye would have believed me ; for he wrote of me. But
 if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words ?* Wherefore the
 Faith of the *Israelites* in the land of *Canaan* was an Assent unto the truths of the
 Law

Law as credible upon the testimony of God delivered unto them in the Writings of Moses and the Prophets,

In the like manner is it now with us. For although Christ first published the Gospel to those *who beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten Son of the Father*; although the Apostles first converted those unto the Faith who heard them speak with Tongues they never learn'd, they never heard before, and discover the thoughts of men they never saw before, who saw the lame to walk, the blind to see, the dead to revive, and the living to expire at their command: yet did not these Apostles prolong their lives by virtue of that power which gave such testimony to their Doctrine, but rather shortned them by their death. Nor did that power of frequent and ordinary miraculous operations long survive them; and yet they left as great an obligation upon the Church in all succeeding Ages to believe all the truths which they delivered, as they had put upon those persons who heard their words and saw their works; because they wrote the same truths which they spake, assisted in writing by the same Spirit by which they spake, and therefore require the same readiness of assent so long as the same truths shall be preserved by those Writings. While *Moses* lived and spake as a Mediator between God and the *Israelites*, they believed his words, and so the Prophets while they preached. When *Moses* was gone up to Mount *Nebo*, and there died, when the rest of the Prophets were gathered to their Fathers, they believed their Writings, and the whole object of their Faith was contained in them. When the Son of God came into the World to reveal the will of his Father, when he *made known unto the Apostles, as his friends, all things that he had heard of the Father*, then did the Apostles believe the Writings of *Moses* and the Prophets, and the words of Christ, and in these taken together was contained the entire object of their Faith, *and they believed the Scripture, and the word which Jesus had said*. When Christ was ascended up into Heaven, and the Holy Ghost came down, when the words which Christ had taught the Apostles were preached by them, and many thousand Souls converted to the Faith, they believed the Writings of the Prophets and the Words of the Apostles; and in these two was comprised the compleat object of their Faith. When the Apostles themselves departed out of this life, and confirmed the truth of the Gospel preached by the last of sufferings, their death, they left the sum of what they had received, in writing, for the continuation of the Faith in the Churches which they had planted, and the propagation thereof in other places, by those which succeeded them in their ordinary function, but were not to come near them in their extraordinary gifts. *These things were written, saith S. John, the longest Liver, and the latest Writer, that ye might believe, that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name.*

John 1. 14.

John 15. 15.

John 2. 22.

¹ John 20. 31.
² Eph. 2. 20.
 prophetæ & Apostoli, super quos omnium Ecclesiarum fundamenta locantur. S. Hieron. in Psal. 17.
 Super Prophetas ædificatur Orbis terrarum, credens in Domino. Ruff. ib.
^{*} Durand. l. 3. Dist. 24. q. 1. Sect. 9. Fides est habitus quo assentimus dictis Scripturæ propter auctoritatem Dei revelantis.

Those Christians then which have lived since the Apostles death, and never obtain'd the wish of *S. Augustine*, to see either Christ upon earth or *S. Paul* in the Pulpit, have believed the writings of *Moses* and the Prophets, of the Apostles and Evangelists, in which together is fully comprehended whatsoever may properly be termed matter of Divine Faith; and so *the household of God is built upon the Foundation of the Apostles and Prophets*, who are continued unto us only in their Writings, and by them alone convey unto us the truths which they received from God, upon whose testimony we believe. And therefore he which put their Writings into the definition of Faith, considering Faith as now it stands with us, is none of the smallest of the * Schoolmen. From whence we may at last conclude, that the true nature of the Faith of a

Christian, as the state of Christ's Church now stands and shall continue to the end of the world, consists in this, that it is an *Assent unto truths credible upon the testimony of God delivered unto us in the Writings of the Apostles and Prophets.*

To *believe* therefore as the word stands in the Front of the *CREED*, and not only so, but is diffused through every Article and Proposition of it, is to assent to the whole and every part of it, as to a certain and infallible truth revealed by God, (who by reason of his infinite knowledge cannot be deceived, and by reason of his transcendent holiness cannot deceive) and delivered unto us in the Writings of the blessed Apostles and Prophets immediately inspired, moved and acted by God, out of whose Writings this brief summ of necessary points of Faith was first * collected. And as this is properly to *believe*, which was our first consideration; so to say *I believe*, is to make a confession or external expression of the Faith, which is the second Consideration propounded.

Faith is an habit of the intellectual part of man, and therefore of it self invisible; and to believe is a spiritual act, and consequently inmanent and internal, and known to no man but him who believeth: *For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of a man which is in him?* Wherefore Christ being not only the great Apostle, sent to deliver these revealed truths, and so the Author of our Faith, but also the Head of the Church, whose Body consisteth of faithful Members, and so the Author of union and communion, which principally hath relation to the unity of Faith, he must needs be imagin'd to have appointed some external expression and communication of it: especially considering that the found of the Apostles was to go forth unto the ends of the World, and all Nations to be called to the profession of the Gospel, and gathered into the Church of Christ; which cannot be performed without an acknowledgement of the truth, and a profession of Faith, without which no entrance into the Church, no admittance to Baptism. *What doth hinder me to be Baptized?* saith the Eunuch. *And Philip said, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.* So believing with all his heart, as Philip required, and making profession of that Faith, he was admitted. *For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.* The *belief* of the *heart* is the internal habit residing in the Soul, and act of Faith proceeding from it, but terminated in the same. The *confession* of the *mouth* is an external signification of the inward habit or act of Faith, by words expressing an acknowledgment of those truths which we believe or assent to in our Souls. || The ear receiveth the word, *faith cometh by hearing*; the ear conveyeth it to the heart, which being opened receiveth it, receiving believeth it; and then *out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.* In the heart Faith is seated; with the tongue confession is made; between these two Salvation is * compleated. *If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.* This Faith of the heart every one ought, and is presum'd to have; this confession of the mouth every one is known to make, when he pronounceth these words of the *CREED*, *I believe*; and if true, he may with comfort say, *the word of Faith is nigh me, even in my mouth and in my heart*: first in my heart really assenting, then in my mouth clearly and sincerely professing with the Prophet David, *I have be-*

* Οὐχ ὡς ἔδοξε ἀνθρώποις σωθέντων τὰ πείσεως, ἀλλ' ἐκ πάντων γενομένων τὰ κατεώτατα συλλεχέντα μίαν ἀγαπῆσιν καὶ πίστεως διδασκαλίαν. Cyril. Catech. Ecclesiarum Patres de populorum salute solliciti, ex diversis voluminibus Scripturarum collegerunt testimonia divinis graviora Sacramentis. Euseb. Gall. in Sym.

¹ 1 Cor. 2. 11.
² Act. 8. 36, 37.

³ Rom. 10. 10. Habes, homo, unde credere debeas, corde fit confessio ad justitiam; habes unde debeas confiteri, ore confessio fit ad salutem.

Chrysol. Serm. 56. || Sermo creat auditum, auditus concipit fidem, credulitas paturit fides, confessio nem credulitas nutrit, confessio perpetuam dat salutem, Chrysol. Serm. 66.

⁴ Mat. 12. 34.
⁵ Magnum filii, per hoc fidei nostrae vi-

demus esse compendium, quando inter cor & linguam totum salutis humanæ versatur & geritur Sacramentum. Chrysol. Serm. 56. Quod à te & pro te reposcitur, intra te est, i. e. oris famulatus & cordis effectus. Euseb. Gall. 5 Rom. 10. 9. ⁶ Rom. 10. 8. De hoc sine dubio legimus per Prophetam, propè est, inquit, in ore tuo, & in corde tuo. Euseb. Gall. 7 Psal. 116. 10.

lieved,

lieved, therefore have I spoken. Thus briefly from the second Consideration concerning Confession implied in the first words *I believe*, we shall pass unto the third Consideration, of the necessity and particular obligation to such a Confession.

If there were no other Argument, yet being the Object of Faith is supposed infallibly true, and acknowledged to be so by every one that believeth, being it is the nature of Truth not to hide it self, but rather to desire the light that it might appear; this were sufficient to move us to a *Confession* of our Faith. But besides the nature of the thing, we shall find many Arguments obliging, pressing, urging us to such a profession. For first, from the same God, and by the same means by which we have received the Object of our Faith, by which we came under a possibility of Faith, we have also received an express command to make a *Confession* of the same: ¹ *Be ready, saith St. Peter, always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you; and there can be no reason of hope but what is grounded on Faith, nor can there be an Answer given unto that without an acknowledgement of this.* Secondly, 'tis true indeed that the great promises of the Gospel are made unto Faith, and glorious things are spoken of it; but the same promises are made to the *Confession of Faith* ² together with it; and we know who it is hath said, ³ *Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in Heaven.* Besides, the profession of the faith of one Christian confirmeth and edifieth another in his, and the mutual benefit of all layeth an obligation upon every particular. Again, the matters of Faith contain so much purity of Doctrine, perswade such holiness of life, describe God so infinitely glorious, so transcendently gracious, so loving in himself, so merciful in his Son, so wonderful in all his works, that the sole confession of it glorifieth God; and how can we expect to enter into that glory which is none of ours, if we deny God that glory which is his? Lastly, the concealing those truths which he hath revealed, the not acknowledging that Faith which we are thought to believe, is so far from giving God that glory which is due unto him, that it dishonoureth the Faith which it refuseth or neglecteth to profess, and casteth a kind of contumely upon the Author of it, as if God had revealed that which man should be ashamed to acknowledge. Wherefore he that came to save us hath also said unto us, ⁴ *Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and my words, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he shall come in his own glory, and in his Father's, and of the holy Angels.* Such a necessity there is of Confession of Faith, in respect of God, who commanded it, and is glorified in it; in respect of our selves, who shall be rewarded for it; and in respect of our Brethren, who are edified and confirmed by it. Which necessity the Wisdom of our Church in former Ages hath thought a sufficient ground to command the recitation of the *CREED* at the * first initiation into the Church by Baptism, (for which purpose it was taught and expounded to those which were to be baptized imme-

¹ 1 Pet. 3. 15.

² Rom. 10. 10.

³ Mat. 10. 32.

⁴ Luke 9. 26.

* Ο ἄκακός τε ἀληθείας ἀκλινοῦ ἐν ἑαυτῷ κατέχων ὃν διὰ τὸ βαπτισμαῖος ἐληθε. *Iren. l. 1. c. 1.*

Cum sub tribus & testatio fidei & sponsio salutis pignorentur,

necessariò adjicitur Ecclesiæ mentio, quoniam ubi tres, id est, Pater, Filius, & Spiritus Sanctus, ibi Ecclesia, quæ trium corpus est. *Tertul. de Baptif.* In quem tingere? in poenitentiam? quo ergò illi præcursorem? in peccatorum remissionem quam verbo dabit? in semetipsum, quem humilitate celabit? in Spiritum Sanctum qui nondum à Patre descenderat? in Ecclesiam, quam nondum Apostoli struxerant? *Id.* Dehinc ter mergimur, amplius aliquid respondentes quàm Dominus in Evangelio determinavit. *Id. de Cor. Militis.* Sed & ipsa interrogatio quæ fit in Baptismo testis est veritatis, nam cum dicimus, *Credis in vitam æternam, & remissionem peccatorum per sanctam Ecclesiam?* intelligimus remissionem peccatorum non nisi in Ecclesia dari. *S. Cypriano, Ep. ad Januarium, &c.* Quod si aliquis illud opponit, ut dicat eandem Novatianum Legem tenere quam Catholica Ecclesia teneat, eodem Symbolo quo & nos baptizare, eundem nôsse, Deum Patrem, eundem Filium Christum, eundem Spiritum Sanctum, ac propterea usurpare eum potestatem baptizandi posse quod videatur in interrogatione Baptismi à nobis non discrepare: sciat quisquis hoc opponendum putat, non esse unam nobis & schismaticis Symboli Legem, neq; eandem interrogationem. Nam cum dicunt, *Credis remissionem peccatorum, & vitam æternam per Sanctam Ecclesiam?* mentiuntur in interrogatione, quando non habeant Ecclesiam. *Idem Epist. ad Magnum.* Mos ibi (id est Romæ) servatur antiquus, eos qui gratiam Baptismi suscepturi sunt, publicè, i. e. fidelium populo audiente, Symbolum reddere. *Ruffin. in Symb.* Solenne est in lavacro, post Trinitatis confessionem interrogare, *Credis in Sanctam Ecclesiam? Credis remissionem peccatorum?* *S. Hieron. contra Lucifer.* Mens Hæretica reliquit Doctorem à quo fidem Ecclesiæ didicerat, oblita est præcepti Dei sui, hoc est, fidei ipsius Dominicæ quæ in Symbolo continetur, quam se die baptismatis servaturum esse promiserat. *Id. Com. in Prov.* Interrogatus es, *Credis in Deum Patrem*

particular application ; therefore must it needs be proper for me to say *I believe*, Gal. 2. 20. and to make profession of my *faith in the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me.*

Being then I have described the true nature and notion of *Belief*, the duty of *confessing* our Faith, and the obligation of every particular Christian to *believe* and to *confess* ; being in these three explications all which can be imaginably contained in the first word of the *CREED* must necessarily be included ; it will now be easie for me to deliver, and for every particular person to understand what it is he says, and upon what ground he proceeds, when he begins his *Confession* with these words, *I believe*, which I conceive may in this manner be fitly expressed.

Although those things which I am ready to affirm be not apparent to my sense, so that I cannot say I see them ; although they be not evident to my understanding of themselves, nor appear unto me true by the virtue of any natural and necessary cause, so that I cannot say I have any proper knowledge or science of them : yet being they are certainly contained in the Scriptures, the writings of the blessed Apostles and Prophets ; being those Apostles and Prophets were endued with miraculous power from above, and immediately inspired with the Holy Ghost, and consequently what they delivered was not the word of man, but of God himself ; being God is of that universal knowledge and infinite wisdom, that it is impossible he should be deceived ; of that indefectible holiness and transcendent rectitude, that it is not imaginable he should intend to deceive any man, and consequently whatsoever he hath delivered for a truth must be necessarily and infallibly true ; I readily and stedfastly assent unto them as most certain truths, and am as fully and absolutely, and more concerningly perswaded of them, than of any thing I see or know. And because that God who hath revealed them hath done it not for my benefit only, but for the advantage of others, nor for that alone, but also for the manifestation of his own glory ; being for those ends he hath commanded me to profess them, and hath promised an eternal reward upon my profession of them ; being every particular person is to expect the justification of himself, and the Salvation of his Soul, upon the condition of his own Faith : as with a certain and full perswasion I assent unto them, so with a fixed and undaunted resolution I will profess them ; and with this faith in my heart, and confession in my mouth, in respect of the whole body of the *CREED*, and every Article and particle in it, I sincerely, readily, resolvedly say, *I believe.*

I believe in GOD.

HAVING delivered the Nature of *Faith*, and the act *Belief* common to all the Articles of the *Creed* ; that we may understand what it is to *believe* ; we shall proceed to the explication of the Articles themselves, as the most necessary objects of our *Faith*, that we may know what is chiefly to be believed. Where immediately we meet with another word as general as the former and as universally concerned in every Article, which is *GOD* ; for if to *believe* be to assent upon the testimony of God, as we have before declared, then wheresoever belief is expressed or implied, there is also the name of *God* understood, upon whose testimony we *believe*. He therefore whose authority is the ground and foundation of the whole, his existence begins the *Creed*, as the foundation of that authority. For if there can be no divine Faith without the attestation of *God*, by which alone it becomes divine, and there can be no such attestation, except there were an existence of the testifier, then must it needs
be.

* Θεός, θεός
 * ΕΘΘ ἠγόταν
 κατόρχονταί
 τινος, θεός
 λέγειν, ἐπευ-
 φημι ζουδ' οὐς.
 Hesyeb. Lex.

|| For Ser. 181.
 which is upon
 the Creed, we
 find these words:
 Non dicit, Cre-
 do Deum, vel
 Credo Deo,
 quamvis & hæc
 salutis necessa-
 ria sint. Aliud
 enim est cre-
 dere illi, aliud
 credere illum;
 aliud credere
 in illum. Cre-
 dere illi, est credere vera esse quæ loquitur;
 Credere illum, credere quia ipse est Deus;
 Credere in illum, diligere illum.

And though that collection of Sermons de tempore under the name of S. Augustine be not all his, (divers of them being Translations of the Greek Homilies) yet this distinction may be collected out of other parts of his works. For first, he distinguisheth very clearly and seriously between credere Deo, and credere in Deum. Nunquam aliquis Apostolorum dicere auderet, Qui credit in me. Credimus Apostolo, sed non credimus in Apostolum. *Tract. 54. in Psalm.* And again Credimus Paulo, sed non credimus in Paulum; credimus Petro, sed non credimus in Petrum. Secondly, he distinguisheth between credere Deum, and credere in Deum. Multum interest utrum quis credat ipsum esse Christum, & utrum credat in Christum. Ille credit in Christum qui & sperat in Christum, & diligit Christum. *De verbis Dom. Serm. 61.* And, which is the sum of all, he puts a high value upon the preposition, as if by virtue of the addition in, the phrase did properly signifie so great an accession unto faith. Quid est credere in Deum? credendo amare, credendo diligere, credendo in eum ire, & eius membris incorporari, *Tract. 29. in Job.* Which doctrine of S. Augustine's, being taken notice of by Peter Lombard, hath since been continued by the Schoolmen; and Aquinas, *Sum. 2. 22. q. 2. S. 2. ad primum*, bringing all three under one act of Faith, hath been contradicted by Durand, in 3. *Sent. dist. 23. q. 7. S. 6.* credere in Deum non est præcisè actus fidei, sed fidei & charitatis simul; & sunt etiam plures, & non unus actus tantum: by whose subtle, but yet clear determination (as many of his are beyond the rest of the Schools) whatsoever is added by the preposition to believe, appears not to be a part of Belief, but an act superadded to the act of faith. * For אֱלֹהִים is sometimes joined with אֲנִי, sometimes with אֲנִי: when with אֲנִי, it answers properly to πιστεύω τὸ θεῶν, credere Deo, (אֲנִי being nothing else but a significator of the case;) when with אֲנִי, it corresponds to πιστεύω εἰς τὸ θεῶν, credere in Deum, (אֲנִי being a preposition of the same nature with εἰ or in) But yet there is so little, or rather no difference in the Hebrew, that in the first place where it is used, and that of the father of the faithful even for the act of justifying faith, אֱלֹהִים אֲנִי בְּיָהוָה Gen. 15. 6. it is translated by the LXX. καὶ ὁπίσθεν σεν' Ἀβραμ' πρὸς θεῶν, not εἰς θεῶν, and that translation warranted by S. Paul, Rom. 4. 3. Gal. 3. 6. and S. James 2. 23. In the same manner 2 Kings 17. 14. אֱלֹהִים אֲנִי בְּיָהוָה אֲנִי בְּיָהוָה אֲנִי בְּיָהוָה is translated by the LXX. (as that Translation is preserved in the Alexandrian and Complutensian Copies) οὐκ ἠπίσταντο αὐτῶν καὶ εἰς τὸ θεῶν. Besides, the same phrase is used in the same place both to God and to man, as Exod. 14. 31. וַיֵּאמְרוּ בְּיָהוָה וּבַמֶּשֶׁה עַבְדּוֹ and they believed in God, and in his servant Moses, which the Chaldee Paraphrase explaineth thus וַיֵּאמְרוּ בְּיָהוָה וּבַמֶּשֶׁה עַבְדּוֹ and they believed in the word of God, and in the prophecy of Moses his servant. And וַיֵּאמְרוּ בְּיָהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְהַצְלִיחַ 2 Chron. 20. 20. אֱלֹהֵינוּ בְּיָהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְהַצְלִיחַ Believe in the Lord your God, so shall ye be established; believe in his Prophets, so shall ye prosper. For although the Vulgar Latin, which our Translation followeth, hath made that distinction which the Hebrew maketh not, Credite in Domino Deo vestro & securi eritis; credite Prophetis ejus, & cuncta evenient prospera: yet the Septuagint acknowledgeth no necessity of receding from the original phrase ἐμπιστεύσατε ἐν κυρίῳ πρὸς θεῶν ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐμπιστεύθησθε ἐμπιστεύσατε ἐν προφήταις αὐτῶν, καὶ εὐδοθήσθε. Nor is it only attributed to Moses as joined with God, and so taken as it were into the same phrase, but separately by himself, as Exod. 19. 9. The Lord said unto Moses, Lo I come unto thee in a thick cloud, that the people may hear when I speak with thee, וְנִסְכַּךְ יֵאמְרוּ לְעוֹרֶיךָ and believe in thee for ever. And therefore when it was objected to S. Basil that they did believe in Moses, as well as that they were baptized into Moses: and generally, ἡ πίστις ὁμολογῆσαι ἡδὲ καὶ εἰς τὸς εὐαγγελιστὰς καὶ εἰς τὸν θεόν, the Father doth not deny the language, but interprets it, ἡ εἰς αὐτὸν πίστις ἐστὶν ἢ καὶ εἰς ἀναφέρεται. De Sp. S. c. 14. Neither is this only spoken of Moses and the Prophets, that the Israelites believed in them, but of David not as a Prophet, but as a bare relater of his own actions, 1 Sam. 27. 12. וַיֵּאמֶר אַכִּישׁ בְּדָוִד, καὶ ὁπίσθεν σεν' Ἀχίς ἐν Δαυὶδ, Vulg. Et credidit Achis in David Est ergo fides nostra primò quidem omnium in Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, consequenter verò etiam in omnes sanctos Patriarchas, vel Prophetas, vel Apostolo. Christi. *Orig. in Apol. Pamphil.* To conclude, this general phrase of believing in, is originally attributed sometimes to the supreme author of our Faith, as to God; sometimes to the interventient messengers, as the Prophets; sometimes to the motives of our faith, Psal. 78. 22. וְלֹא הָאֱמִינוּ בְּנִפְלְאוֹתָיו LXX. καὶ ἐκ ὁπίσθεν σεν' εἰς τοὺς θαυμαστίους αὐτῶν, and they believed not for his wondrous works; sometimes to the object of it, or that which is believed, as Pl. 117. 66. בְּמִצְוֹתַי הָאֵלֶּיךָ, I have believed in thy Commandments, as Mar. 1. 15. πιστεύσατε ἐν πρὸς εὐαγγελιστῶν.

¹Deut. 10. 17.
²Psal. 136. 2.
³Dan. 2. 47.
 and 11. 36.
⁴Gen. 14. 18,
 19, 20, 22.
⁵Rom. 9. 5.
⁶Ephes. 4. 6.
 Imprimis ne-
 cesse est con-
 cedatis esse
 aliquem subli-
 miorem Deum
 & mancipem
 quendam divi-
 nitatis, qui ex
 hominibus De-
 os fecerit. Ter-
 tul. ad Gentes.
⁷Gal. 4. 8.
⁸Ego dixi Di-
 estis; sed in eo
 indulti nomi-
 nis significatio
 est: & ubi re-
 fertur, ego dixi,
 loquentis est
 potius sermo
 quam rei no-
 men. S. Hilat.
 de Trin. l. 7.
 || Deus plenæ
 ac perfectæ di-
 vinitatis est no-
 men. Hilar. de
 Trin. l. 11.
 Deus substan-
 tiæ ipsius no-
 men, id est, Di-
 vinitatis. Ter-
 tul. adv. Herm.

is styled *God of gods; The Lord our God is God of gods, and Lord of lords*: and in the same respect is called *the most high God*, (others being but inferiour, or under him,) and *God over or above all*. This eminency and excellency, by which these titles become proper unto him and incomunicable to any other, is grounded upon the divine nature or essence, which all other who are called gods have not, and therefore are not by nature gods. *Then when ye knew not God, saith S. Paul, ye did service to them which by nature are not Gods*. There is then a God by nature, and others which are called gods, but by nature are not so: for either they have no power at all, because no being, but only in the false opinions of deceived men, as the gods of the Heathen; or if they have any real power or authority, from whence some are * called *gods* in the Scripture, yet have they it not from themselves or of their own nature, but from him who *only hath immortality*, and consequently only Divinity, and therefore is the *only true God*. So that the Notion of a Deity doth at last expressly signifie a Being or nature of || infinite perfection; and the infinite perfection of nature or Being consisteth in this, that it be absolutely and essentially necessary, an actual being of it self; and potential or causative of all Beings beside it self, independent from any other, upon which all things else depend, and by which all things else are governed. 'Tis true indeed, that to give a perfect definition of *God* is impossible, neither can our finite reason hold any proportion with infinity: but yet a sense of this Divinity we have, and the first and common Notion of it consists in these three particulars, that it is a Being of it self, and independent from any other; that it is that upon which all things which are made depend; that it governs all things. And this I conceive sufficient as to the first consideration, in reference to the Notion of a *God*.

As for the existence of such a Being, how it comes to be known unto us, or by what means we are assured of it, is not so unanimously agreed upon, as that it is. For although some have imagined that the knowledge of a Deity is connatural to the Soul of man, so that every man hath a connate inbred notion of a *God*; yet I rather conceive the Soul of man to have no connatural knowledge at all, no particular notion of any thing in it from the beginning; but being we can have no assurance of its preexistence, we may more rationally judge it to receive the first apprehensions of things by sense, and by them to make all rational collections. If then the Soul of man be at the first like a fair smooth Table without any actual characters of knowledge imprinted in it; if all the knowledge which we have comes successively by sensation, instruction, and rational collection; then must we not refer the apprehension of a Deity to any connate notion or inbred opinion; at least we are assured God never chargeth us with the knowledge of him upon that account.

Again, although others do affirm, that the existence of God is a truth evident of it self, so as whosoever hears but these terms once named, that *God is*, cannot chuse but acknowledge it for a certain and infallible truth upon the first apprehension; that as no man can deny that the whole is greater than any part, who knoweth only what is meant by *whole*, and what by *part*; so no man can possibly deny or doubt of the existence of *God*, who knows but what is meant by *God*, and what it is *to be*; Yet can we not ground our knowledge of God's existence upon any such clear and immediate evidence: nor were it safe to lay it upon such a ground, because whosoever should deny it, could not by this means be convinced; it being a very irrational way of instruction to tell a man that doubts of this truth, that he must believe it because 'tis evident unto him, when he knows that he therefore only doubts of it, because it is not evident unto him.

Although

Although therefore that, *God is*, be of it self an immediate, certain necessary truth, yet must it be * evidenced and made apparent unto us by its connexion unto other truths; so that the being of the Creator may appear unto us by his Creature, and the dependency of inferiour Entities lead us to a clear acknowledgement of the supreme and independent Being. The Wisdom of the Jews thought this method proper; ¹ for by the greatness and beauty of the creatures, proportionably the maker of them is seen: and not only they, but St. Paul hath taught us, that ² the invisible things of God from the Creation of the World are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal Power and Godhead. For if || Phidias could so contrive a piece of his own work, as in it to preserve the memory of himself, never to be obliterated without the destruction of the work, well may we read the great Artificer of the World in the Works of his own hands, and by the existence of any thing demonstrate the first Cause of all things.

* Hæc propositio, Deus est, quantum in se est, per se nota est, quia prædicatum est idem cum subiecto, Deus enim est suum esse. Sed quia nos non scimus de Deo quid est, non est nobis per se nota, sed indiget demonstrari per ea quæ sunt

magis nota quoad nos, & minus nota quoad naturam, scilicet per effectus. *Aquin. 1. p. q. 2. art. 1. 1. Wisd. of Sol. 13. 5. 2. Rom. 1. 20. This place must be vindicated from the false gloss of Socinus, who contends that it cannot be proved from the Creature that there is a God, and therefore to this place of S. Paul answers thus: Sciendum est verba à creatione mundi debere conjungicam verbo Invisibilia—* Ait igitur eo in loco Apostolus, *eternam divinitatem Dei*, i. id quod nos Deus perpetuo facere vult, (*Divinitas enim hoc sensu alibi quoque apud ipsam enunciat, ut Col. 2. 9. eternamq; potentiam*, i. promissiones quæ nunquam intercedunt, quo sensu paulò superius dixerat *Evangelium esse potentiam Dei*) hæc, inquam, quæ nunquam postquam mundus creatus est ab hominibus visa fuerant, i. non fuerant eis cognita, per opera, hoc est per mirabile ipsius Dei & divinorum hominum, præsertim v. Christi & Apostolorum ejus, operationes, conspecta fuisse. *In which explication there is nothing which is not forced and distorted: for though his first observation seem plausible, yet there is no validity in it. He bringeth only for proof Mat. 13. 35. κερυμυδιὰ ὑποκαθολῆς κόσμου, which proves not an all that ὑποκρίσεως has the same sense: and it is more probable that it hath not, because that is usually expressed by ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως, Mat. 10. 6. and 13. 19. 2 Pet. 3. 4. never by ὑποκρίσεως. Besides, the κερυμυδιὰ in S. Matthew bears not that Analogy with ἀσέβεια which Socinus pretends, signifying not things unseen or unknown till then, but only obscure sayings or parables; for which purpose those words were produced out of the Psalms by the Evangelist, to prove that the Messias was to speak in Parables, in the Original עֲשֵׂה אֵימָנוּתָא לְפָנֵינוּ, LXX. περιβλήματα ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, i. wise, ancient sayings, which were not unseen and unknown, for it immediately followeth, which we have heard and known, and our Fathers have told us, Psal. 78. 3. And though he would make out this Interpretation, by accusing other Interpreters of unfaithfulness, Pleriq; interpretes ex præpositione ἀ ex fecerunt, contra ipsorum Gæcorum Condicum fidem, qui non ἐκ κτίσεως sed ὑποκρίσεως habent: yet there is no ground for such a calumny, because ὑποκρίσεως may be, and is often, rendred ἐ or ex as well as ἐκ, as Mat. 3. 4. ὑποκρίσεως τειχῶν καμήλων, ἐ πῖλις καμήλων 7. 4. ὑποκρίσεως ὄφθαλμοῦ σου, ex oculo tuo, 16. ὑποκρίσεως ἀκανθῶν, ex spinis; and even in the sense which Socinus contends for, Mat. 17. 18. ὑποκρίσεως ὄφθους ἐκείνης, V. T. ex illâ horâ, as Tully, ex eo die, and Virgil, Ex illo Corydon, Corydon est tempore nobis, and, Tempore jam ex illo casus mihi cognitus urbis Trojanæ. So the Greek ὑποκρίσεως the Latins render ex parte, ὑποκρίσεως ἴσως, ex æquo: of which examples are innumerable. There is no unfaithfulness then imputable to the Interpreters: nor can such pitiful Criticisms give any advantage to the first part of Socinus's Exposition. Howsoever the Catholick interpretation depends not on those words ὑποκρίσεως, but on the Consideration of the persons, that is the Gentiles, and the other words, ποιήμασι νοῦμα, which he farther perverts, rendring them the miraculous Operations of Christ and his Apostles, or, as one of our Learned men, their doings, mistaking ποίημα, which is from the passive πεποιήμα, for ποιήσιν, from the active ἐποίησα. for ποίημα is properly the thing made or created, not the operation or doing of it; as κτίσις is sometimes taken for the Creature, sometimes for the Creation, but κτίσμα is the Creature only. As therefore we read, 1 Tim. 4. 4. πᾶν κτίσμα Θεοῦ καλόν. So Eph. 2. 10. αὐτὰ γὰρ ἔσμεν ποίημα. In this sense spake Thales properly, Πρεσβύτατον ἦν ὄντων Θεός, ἐγγύνητον γὰρ κάλλιστον κόσμου, ποίημα γὰρ Θεοῦ. Laert. The other Interpretations, which he was forced to, are yet more extravagant: as when he renders the eternal Godhead, that which God would always have us do, or, his everlasting will, and proves that rendition by another place of S. Paul, Col. 2. 9. For in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, that is, says he, all the will of God: (whereas it is most certain, that where the Godhead is, especially where the fulness, even all the fulness of the Godhead is, there must be all the Attributes as well as the Will of God :) and when he interprets the eternal Power to be the promises which shall never fail; and thinks he has sufficiently prov'd it, because the same Apostle calls the Gospel the power of God. For by this way of Interpretation no sentence of Scripture can have any certain sense. || In the shield of Pallas. Arist. de mundo.*

We find by the experience of our selves, that some things in this World have a beginning before which they were not; the account of the years of our Age sufficiently infer our Nativities, and they our Conceptions, before which we had no Being. Now if there be any thing which had a beginning, there must necessarily be something which had no beginning, because nothing can be a beginning to it self. Whatsoever is, must of necessity either have been made, or not made; and something there must needs be which was never made, because all things cannot be made. For whatsoever is made, is made by another, neither can any thing produce it self; otherwise it would follow, that the same thing is and is not at the same instant in the same respect: it is, because a producer; it is not, because to be produced: it is therefore in being, and is not in being; which is a manifest contradiction. If then all things which are made were made by some other, that other which produ-

ced them either was it self produced, or was not : and if not, then have we already an Independent Being ; if it were, we must at last come to something which was never made, or else admit either a circle of productions, in which the effect shall make its own cause, or an * infinite succession in casualties, by which nothing will be made : both which are equally impossible. Something then we must confess was never made, something which never had beginning. And although these effects or dependent Beings singly considered by themselves, do not infer one supreme Cause and Maker of them all, yet the admirable order and || connexion of things shew as much ; and this one supreme Cause is *God*. For all things which we see or know have their Existence for some end, which no man who considereth the uses and utilities of every Species can deny. Now whatsoever is and hath its being for some end, of that the end for which it is must be thought the Cause; and a final Cause is no otherwise the cause of any thing than as it moves the efficient Cause to work : from whence we cannot but collect a prime efficient Cause of all things, indued with infinite Wisdom, who having a full comprehension of the ends of all, designed, produced, and disposed all things to those ends.

* Ἀλλὰ μὴν οἷον γ' ὅτιν ἄρ- χή τις, καὶ ἐκ ἀπειρα τὰ αἰ- τία τῶν ὄντων, ἕτ' εἰς ἐλευθερίαν, ἕτε κατ' εἶδος, δῆλον. *Arist. Metaph. l. 2. c. 2.* and again, εἰπερ μὴ δέν ὄντι τὸ πρῶτον ὅλως αἰ- τιον ἔδεν ἔστι. || Πῶθεν δῆλον εἰ ὅλως ὄντι θε- ὄς, ἐκ τῆς τῶν ὄντων συστάσε- ὡς τε καὶ δια- μυνῆς. *Justin. Quest. & Resp. ad Græcos.*

* Ἐν ὅσοις τέ- λοις τί ἐστι, τέ- τε ἐνεκα κερσι- πῶαι τὸ πρῶ- τερον καὶ τὸ ἐ- φεξῆς ἐκ ἐν ὡς πρῶτιστα, ἔ- τω πέφυκεν, ἄν μήτι ἔμποδί- ζη, ἕτω πρῶτ- τῆται ἕκαστον. πρῶτιστα, ὃ ἐνεκά τε, καὶ πέφυκεν ἀεὶ τῶν ἐνεκα. *Arist. Phys. l. 2. c. 8.*

|| Ἄτοπον τὸ μὴ οἰεσθαι, ἐνε- κα τῶν γίνεσθαι, ἕαν μὴ εἴδωσι τὸ κινῆν βυ- λευσάμενον. καὶ τοι καὶ ἡ τέχνη ἢ βυ- λᾶσθαι καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἐν τῷ ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ ἢ ναυπη- γικῆς ὁμοίας ἀντὶ φύσει ἐ- ποιεῖ. *Arist. ib.* * Καθ' ἃς ὁμοί- ἐν τῷ κυβερ- νήτης, ἐν ἄρ- ματι ἡνίο- χος, ἐν χορῶν ὃ κορ. φᾶσθαι ἐν πόλει ὃ νό-μος, ἐν στρατο- πέδῳ δὲ ἡγε- μῶν. τῆτο θε- ὄς ἐν κόσμῳ. *Arist. de Mund.*

Again, as all things have their Existence, so have they also their operations for some * end ; and whatsoever worketh so, must needs be directed to it. Although then these creatures which are indued with reason can thereby ap- prehend the goodness of the end for which they work, and make choice of such means as are proportionable and proper for the obtaining of it, and so by their own counsel direct themselves unto it: yet can we not conceive that other natural Agents, whose operations flow from a bare Instinct, can be di- rected in their actions by any counsel of their own. The stone doth not deli- berate whether it shall descend, nor doth the wheat take counsel whether it shall grow or no. Even men in natural actions use no act of deliberation : we do not advise how our heart shall beat, though without that pulse we cannot live ; when we have provided nutriment for our stomach, we take no coun- sel how it shall be digested there, or how the chyle distributed to every Part for the reparation of the whole ; the Mother which conceives taketh no care how that *Conceptus* shall be framed, how all the parts shall be distinguished, and by what means or ways the Child shall grow within her womb : and yet all these operations are directed to their proper ends, and that with a greater Reason, and therefore by a greater Wisdom, than what proceeds from any thing of humane understanding. What then can be more clear, than that those natural Agents which work constantly for those ends which they them- selves cannot perceive, must be directed by some high and over-ruling Wis- dom? and who can be their directour in all their operations tending to those ends, but he which gave them their being for those ends? and who is that, but the great Artificer who works in all of them? For Art is so far the imitation of Nature, that if it were not in the Artificer, but || in the thing it self which by Art is framed, the works of Art and Nature would be the same. Were that which frames a Watch within it, and all those curious wheels wrought without the hand of man, it would seem to grow into that form ; nor would there be any distinction between the making of that Watch, and the growing of a Plant. Now what the Artificer is to works of Art, who orders and dis- poses them to other ends than by nature they were made, that is the Maker of all things to all natural Agents, directing all their operations to ends which they cannot apprehend ; and thus appears the Maker to be the Ruler of the World, * the steerer of this great Ship, the law of this universal Common- wealth, the General of all the hosts of Heaven and Earth. By these ways, as
by

by the * testimony of the Creature, we come to find an eternal and independent Being, upon which all things else depend, and by which all things else are governed; and this we have before supposed to be the first notion of *God*.

Neither is this any private collection or particular ratiocination, but the publick and universal reason of the world. || No Age so distant, no Country so remote, no people so barbarous, but gives a sufficient testimony of this truth. When the *Roman* Eagle flew over most parts of the habitable world, they met with Atheism no-where, but rather by their miscellany Deities at *Rome*, which grew together with their victories, they shewed no Nation was without its God. And since the later Art of Navigation improved hath discovered another part of the world, with which no former commerce hath been known, although the Customs of the people be much different, and their manner of Religion hold small correspondency with any in these parts of the world professed, yet in this all agree, that some religious observances they retain, and a Divinity they acknowledge. Or if any Nation be discovered which maketh no profession of Piety, and exerciseth no religious observances, it followeth not from thence that they acknowledge no God: for they may only deny his Providence, as the *Epicureans* did; or if any go farther, their numbers are so few, that they must be inconsiderable in respect of mankind. And therefore so much of the *Creed* hath been the general *Confession* of * all Nations, *I believe in God*. Which were it not a most certain truth grounded upon principles obvious unto all, what reason could be given of so universal a consent; or how can it be imagined, that all men should || conspire to deceive themselves and their posterity?

Nor is the reason only general, and the consent unto it universal, but God hath still preserved and quickened the worship due unto his Name, by the patefaction of himself. Things which are to come are so beyond our knowledge, that the wisest man can but conjecture: and being we are assured of the contingency of future things, and our ignorance of the concurrence of several free causes to the production of an effect, we may be sure that certain and infallible predictions are clear divine patefactions. For none but he who made all things, and gave them power to work, none but he who ruleth all things, and ordereth and directeth all their operations to their ends, none but he upon whose will the actions of all things depend, can possibly be imagined to foresee the effects depending merely on those causes. And therefore by what means we may be assured of a Prophecy, by the same we may be secured of a Divinity. Except then all the Annals of the world were forgeries, and all remarks of History designed to put a cheat upon posterity, we can have no pretence to suspect God's existence, having so ample testimonies of his influence.

The works of nature appear by observation uniform, and there is a certain sphere of every body's power and activity. If then any action be performed which is not within the compass of the power of any natural agent, if any thing be wrought by the intervention of a body which beareth no proportion to it, or hath no natural aptitude so to work; it must be ascribed to a Cause transcending all natural causes, and disposing all their operations. Thus every Miracle proves its author, and every act of omnipotency is a sufficient demonstration of a Deity. And that man must be possessed with a strange opinion of the weakness of our Fathers, and the testimony of all former Ages, who shall deny that ever any Miracle was wrought. *We have heard with our ears, O God, our Fathers have told us what works thou didst in their days, in the times of old. Blessed be the Lord God, who only doth wondrous works.*

Nor are we only informed by the necessary dependency of all things on God,

* Habet Dominus testimonium totum hoc quod sumus, & in quo sumus. *Tertul.*
|| Ἀρχαῖος τις λόγος ἢ πεισιτέλης ἐστὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ὡς ἐκ θεῶν τὰ πάντα, ἢ διὰ θεῶν ἡμῖν σωθέντων. *Arist. de Mundo.*

* Nulla gens usquam est adeo contra leges morisque projecta, ut non aliques Deos credat. *Sen.*

|| Nec in hunc furorem omnes mortales consensissent alloquendi surda numina & inefficaces Deos. *Sen.*

Psal. 44. 5.

78. 12.

Rom. 2. 15.

God, as effects upon their universal cause, or his external manifestations unto others, and the consentient acknowledgment of mankind; but every particular person hath a particular Remembrancer in himself, as a sufficient testimony of his Creator, Lord, and Judge. We know there is a great force of Conscience in all men, by which their *thoughts* are ever *accusing, or excusing them*; they feel a comfort in those vertuous actions which they find themselves to have wrought according to their Rule, a sting and secret remorse for all vicious acts and impious machinations. Nay those who strive most to deny a God, and to obliterate all sense of Divinity out of their own Souls, have not been least sensible of this Remembrancer in their Breasts. 'tis true indeed, that a false opinion of God, and a superstitious persuasion which hath nothing of the true God in it, may breed a remorse of Conscience in those who think it true; and therefore some may hence collect that the force of Conscience is only grounded upon an opinion of a Deity, and that opinion may be false. But if it be a truth as the testimonies of the wisest Writers of most different persuasions, and experience of all sorts of persons of most various inclinations, do agree, that the remorse of Conscience can never be obliterated, then it rather proveth than supposeth an opinion of a Divinity; and that man which most peremptorily denieth God's existence is the greatest argument himself that there is a God. Let *Caligula* profess himself an Atheist, and with that profession hide his head, or run under his bed, when the thunder strikes his ears, and lightning flashes in his eyes; those terrible works of nature put him in mind of the power, and his own guilt of the justice of God; whom while in his wilful opinion he weakly denieth, in his involuntary action he strongly asserteth. So that a Deity will either be granted or extorted, and where it is not acknowledged it will be manifested. Only unhappy is that man who denies him to himself, and proves him to others; who will not * acknowledge his existence, of whose power he cannot be ignorant. ¹ *God is not far from every one of us.* The proper discourse of *S. Paul* to the Philosophers of *Athens* was, that *they might feel after him and find him.* Some Children have been so ungracious as to refuse to give the honour due unto their Parent, but never any so irrational as to deny they had a Father. As for those who have dishonoured God, it may stand most with their interest, and therefore they may wish there were none; but cannot consist with their reason to assert there is none, when even the very Poets of the Heathen have taught us ² *that we are his off-spring.*

* Hæc est
summa delicti,
nolle agnosce-
re quem igno-
rare non possis.
S. Cypr. de Idol.
Van.

¹ *Act. 17. 27.*

² *Act. 17. 28.*

It is necessary thus to believe there is a *God*, First, because there can be no Divine Faith without his belief. For all Faith is therefore only Divine because it relieth upon the authority of God giving testimony to the object of it; but that which hath no being can have no Authority, can give no Testimony. The ground of his Authority is his Veracity, the foundations of his Veracity are his omniscience and Sanctity, both which suppose his essence and existence, because what is not is neither knowing nor holy.

Secondly, it is necessary to believe a Deity, that thereby we may acknowledge such a nature extant as is worthy of, and may justly challenge from us, the highest worship and adoration. For it were vain to be religious and to exercise devotion, except there were a Being to which all such holy applications were most justly due. Adoration implies submission and dejection, so that while we worship we cast down our selves: there must be therefore some great eminence in the object worshipped, or else we should dishonour our own nature in the worship of it. But when a Being is presented of that intrinsecal and necessary perfection, that it depends on nothing, and all things else depend on that, and are wholly governed and disposed by it, this worthily calls us to

our

our knees, and shews the humblest of our devotions to be but just and loyal retributions.

This necessary truth hath been so universally received, that we shall always find all nations of the World more prone unto Idolatry than to Atheism, and readier to multiply than deny the Deity. But our Faith teacheth us equally to deny them both, and each of them are renounced in these words, *I believe in God*. First, *in God* affirmatively, *I believe* he is, against Atheism. Secondly, *in God* exclusively, not in Gods, against Polytheism and Idolatry. Altho' therefore the *Existence* and *Unity* of God be two distinct truths, yet are they of so necessary dependence and intimate coherence, that both may be expressed by * one word, and included in one || *Article*.

* Solum Deum confirmas quem tantum Deum nominas, Tertul. de Testim. Animæ c. 2.

When Leo Bi-

shop of Rome in an Epistle to Flavianus had written these words *Fidelium universitas profitemur credere se in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, & in Jesum Christum Filium ejus*: one of the Eutychians objected with this question, *Cur non dixerit in unum Deum Patrem, & in unum Jesum juxta Nicæni Decretum Concilii?* To which Vigilus Bishop of Trent, or rather of Tapus, gives this answer, *Sed Romæ & antequam Nicæna Synodus conveniret, à temporibus Apostolorum usque ad nunc, ita fidelibus Symbolum traditur, nec præjudicant verba ubi sensus incolumis permanet. magis enim cum D. J. Christi sententia hæc fidei professio facit dicentis, creditis in eum & in me credite: nec dixit in unum Deum Patrem, & in unum me ipsum. Quis enim nesciat unum esse Deum, & unum J. Christum filium ejus?* Vigil. l. 4. contr. Eutych. || Rab. Chasdai in Or. Adonai. R. Joseph. Aibo in aikarim:

And that the Unity of the Godhead is concluded in this Article is apparent, not only because the *Nicene* Council so expressed it by way of exposition, but also because this Creed in the * Churches of the East, before the Council of *Nice*, had that addition in it, *I believe in one God*. We begin our *Creed* then as || *Plato* did his chief and prime Epistles, who gave this distinction to his friends, that the Name of *God* was prefixed before those that were more serious and remarkable, but of *Gods*, in the plural, to such as were more vulgar and trivial. ¹ *Unto thee it was shewed, saith Moses to Israel, that thou mightest know that the Lord he is God, there is none else beside him.* And as the Law, so the Gospel teacheth us the same, ² *We know that an Idol is nothing in the World, and there is none other God but one.* This Unity of the Godhead will easily appear as necessary as the existence, so that it must be as impossible there should be more Gods than one, as that there should be none: which will clearly be demonstrated, first, out of the nature of God, to which multiplication is repugnant; and, secondly, from the Government as he is Lord, in which we must not admit Confusion.

* Orientales Ecclesiæ omnes ista tradunt, Credo in uno Deo patre omnipotenti.

Ruff. in Symb. Bene hæc omnia poterunt ad solos Hæreticos pertinere, quia falsaverunt Symbolum, dum alter dixerit duos Deos, cum Deus unus sit. Optat. l. 1.

Nos enim & scimus, & legi-

mus, & credimus, & tenemus, unum esse Deum, qui fecit cælum pariter ac terram, quoniam nec alterum novimus nec nosse, cum nullus sit, aliquando poterimus. Novatianus de Trinit. c. 30. And before all these Irenæus, citing under the title of Scripture, a passage out of the Book of Hermas called Pastor. Bene ergo Scriptura dicit, primo omnium crede quoniam unus est Deus, qui omnia constituit & consummavit, & fecit ex eo quod non erat, ut essent omnia, omnium capax, & qui à nemine capiatur, l. 4. c. 37. || Euseb. in præp. Evang. the passage is yet extant in the Epistles of Plato. ¹ Deut. 4. 35. ² 1 Cor. 8. 4.

For first, the nature of God consists in this, that he is the prime and original cause of all things, as an independent Being upon which all things else depend, and likewise the ultimate end or final cause of all; but in this sense two prime causes are unimaginable, and for all things to depend of one, and to be more independent beings than one, is a clear contradiction. This primity God requires to be attributed to himself; *Hearken unto me, O Jacob, and Israel my called, I am he, I am the first, I also am the last.* And from this primity he challengeth his Unity; *Thus saith the Lord the King of Israel, and his redeemer the Lord of Hosts, I am the first and I am the last, and beside me there is no God.*

Isa. 48. 12.

44. 6.

Again, if there were more Gods than one, then were not all perfections in one, neither formally, by reason of their distinction, nor eminently and virtually, for then one should have power to produce the other, and that nature which is producible is not divine. But all acknowledge God to be absolutely and infinitely perfect, in whom all perfections imaginable which are simply such must

jection, we may learn to know whose that nature is to which we owe our adorations, lest our minds should wander and fluctuate in our worship about various and uncertain objects. If we should apprehend more Gods than one, I know not what could determinate us in any instant to the actual adoration of any one: for where no difference doth appear, (as, if there were many, and all by nature Gods, there could be none) what inclination could we have, what reason could we imagine, to prefer or elect any one before the rest for the object of our devotions? Thus is it necessary to believe the Unity of God in respect of us who are obliged to worship him.

Secondly, It is necessary to believe the Unity of God in respect of him who is to be worshipped. Without this acknowledgment we cannot give unto God the things which are God's, it being part of the worship and honour due unto God, to accept of no compartner with him. When the Law was given, in the observance whereof the Religion of the *Israelites* consisted, the first precept was this prohibition; *Thou shalt have no other gods before me*; and whosoever violateth this, denieth the foundation on which all the rest depend as the * *Jews* observe. This is the true reason of that strict precept by which all are commanded to give divine worship to *God only*, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*; because he alone is God: him only shalt thou fear, because he alone hath infinite power; in him only shalt thou trust, because *he only is our rock and our salvation*; to him alone shalt thou direct thy devotions, because *he only knoweth the hearts of the children of men*. Upon this foundation the whole heart of man is intirely required of him; and engaged to him. *Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one God: And (or rather, Therefore) thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might*. Whosoever were truly and by nature God, could not chuse but challenge our love upon the ground of an infinite excellency, and transcendent beauty of holiness; and therefore if there were more Gods than one, our love must necessarily be terminated unto || more than one, and consequently divided between them; and as our love, so also the proper effect thereof, our chearful and ready obedience, which, like the Child propounded to the judgment of *Solomon*, as soon as 'tis divided, is destroyed. *No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other: or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other.*

Exod. 20. 3.

* Moses Maimon. de Fund. legis c. 3.

† Matt. 4. 10.

Psal. 62. 2.

2 Chron. 6. 30.

Deut. 6. 4, 5.

|| Numerus divinitatis summa ratione constare debet, vel quoniam & cultura ejus in anceps deduceretur.

Ecce enim,

duos intuens Deos tam pares quam duo summa magna; quid facerem si ambos colerem? vererer ne abundantia officii superstitio potius quam religio crederetur: quia duos tam pares & in altero ambos possem in uno demereri: hoc ipso testimonium præstans paritati & unitati eorum, dum alterum in altero venerarer, dum in uno mihi duo sunt. Tertul. adv. Marcion. l. 1. c. 5. † Matth. 6. 24.

Having thus described the first *notion* of a *God*, having demonstrated the *Existence* and *Unity* of that *God*, and having in these three particulars comprised all which can be contained in this part of the Article, we may now clearly deliver, and every particular Christian understand, what it is he says when he makes his *Confession* in these words, *I believe in God*; which in correspondence with the precedent discourse may be thus expressed:

Forasmuch as by all things created is made known the *eternal power and Godhead*, and the dependency of all limited Beings infers an infinite and independent essence; whereas all things are for some end, and all their operations directed to it, although they cannot apprehend that end for which they are, and in prosecution of which they work, and therefore must be guided by some universal and over-ruling wisdom; being this collection is so evident, that all the Nations of the earth have made it; being God hath not only written himself in the lively characters of his Creatures, but hath also made frequent patefactions of his Deity by most infallible Predictions and super-
E
natural

natural operations; therefore I fully assent unto, freely acknowledge, and clearly profess this truth, that *there is a God.*

Again, being a prime and independent Being supposeth all other to depend, and consequently no other to be God; being the intire fountain of all perfections is incapable of a double Head, and the most perfect government of the Universe speaks the supreme dominion of one absolute Lord; hence do I acknowledge that God to be but one, and in this Unity or rather singularity of the Godhead, excluding all actual or possible multiplication of a Deity, *I believe in God.*

I believe in God the Father.

After the Confession of a *Deity*, and assertion of the Divine *Unity*, the next Consideration is concerning God's *Paternity*; for that *one God is Father of all*, and *to us there is but one God, the Father.*

Eph. 4. 6.
1 Cor. 8. 6.

Now, although the Christian notion of the divine Paternity be some way peculiar to the Evangelical patefaction; yet * wheresoever *God* hath been acknowledged, he hath been understood and worshipped as a *Father*: the very Heathen || Poets so describe their Gods, and their vulgar names did carry *father* * in them, as the most popular and universal notion.

* Omnem Deum qui ab homine colitur necesse est inter solennes ritus & precationes

Patrem nuncupari; non tantum honoris gratiâ, sed & rationis, & quod antiquior est homine, & quod vitam, salutem, victum præstat ut pater. Itaque & Jupiter à precantibus Pater vocatur, & Saturnus, & Janus, & Liber, & cæteri deinceps. Lactan. de ver. Sap. l. 4. c. 3. || That so frequent in Homer, πάντες ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε eundemque appellans dicit Ennius, Divumque hominumque pater rex. Ver. de L. L. l. 4. as Servius observes of Virgil, à Poëta penè omnibus Diis nomen paternum additur, ut fiant venerabiliores: And before him Lucilius,

Ut nemo sit nostrum quin pater optimu' Divum,
Et Neptunu' pater, Liber, Saturnu' pater, Mars,
Janu', Quirinu' pater nomen dicatur ad unum. Lactan. ib.

* As Jupiter, which is Jovis pater, or Ζεῦ πάτερ, otherwise Diespater, or Διιπάταρ and Marspiter, of whom Servius apud Pontifices Marspiter dicitur. Aneid. l. 3. So Semipater for Semo, and Σερδονάταρ for Sardus the proper Deity of Sardinia Ptolem.

This name of *Father* is a relative; and the proper foundation of Paternity, as of a Relation, is Generation. As therefore the phrase of generating is diversly attributed unto several acts of the same nature with Generation properly taken, or by consequence attending on it: so the title of *Father* is given unto divers persons or things, and for several reasons unto the same God. *These are the generations of the heavens and the earth, when they were created, in the day that the Lord God made the earth and the heavens,* saith *Moses*. So that the creation or production of any thing by which it is, and before was not, is a kind of generation, and consequently the Creator or Producer of it a kind of *Father*. *Hath the rain a Father? or who hath begotten the drops of dew?* By which words *Job* signifies, that as there is no other cause assignable of the Rain but God, so may he as the cause be called the *Father* of it, though not in the most proper sense, * as he is the *Father* of his Son: and so the || Philosophers of old, who thought that God did make the World, called him expressly, as the *Maker*, so the *Father* of it. And thus *to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things*; to which the words following in the *Creed* may seem to have relation, *the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth.* But in this mass of Creatures and body of the Universe, some works of the Creation more properly call him *Father* as being more rightly sons: such are all the rational and intellectual off-spring of the Deity. Of merely natural Beings and irra-

Gen. 2. 4.

Job 38. 28.

* Ἐτέρος γὰρ τις ἕτερος πατέρα θεῶν ἀκούει, ἢ ἑτέρος ἕτερος. Severus in Job. || Plutarch of Plato, calling God πατέρα πάντων καὶ κοσμοκράτην, says, τὴν μεταφορὰν χρωάμενος, ὡστερ εἶπαι, τὴν αἰτίον πατέρα τῶν κόσμου κέκληται.

Platon. Quest. And Alcimus, πάντες δὲ ὄντι τῶ αἰτίου τῶ πάντων. 1 Cor. 8. 6.

tional

tional agents he is* the Creatour of rational, as so, the Father also; they are his Creatures, these his Sons. Hence he is stiled the Father of Spirits, and the blessed Angels, when he laid the foundations of the Earth, his Sons; ² When the morning-stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy: hence Man, whom he created after his own image, is called his ³ off-spring, and Adam, the immediate work of his hands, ⁴ the son of God: hence may we all cry out with the Israelites taught by the Prophet so to speak, ⁵ Have we not all one Father? hath not one God created us? Thus the first and most universal Notion of God's Paternity in a borrowed or metaphorical sense is founded rather upon Creation than Procreation.

* So Plurarch answers the Question, why Plato terms God the maker and Father of all things. Ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ θεῶν ὡς γεννητῶν καὶ ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων πατρίε ὅτι πάντες ὁ ἀλλήλων καὶ ἀλλήλων ἀδελφοί; Father of Gods and

men, Maker of things inanimate and irrational. ἢ ἢ ἄλλοι οὐκ ἐστὶν χρύσιτος πατέρα καλλῆσαι τὸν παροχόντα τὸ σπέρμα, καίπερ ἐν τῷ σπέρματι γεγνητός. Non enim agri pater, si Chrysippo credimus, is dicitur qui cum conserit, quam e semine deinde fruges nascantur: as the Latine Translation most absurdly. For there is neither corn, nor field, nor any seed belonging to them in the words of Plurarch: But χόρειον (not χωρίον) is the secunda, the coat (or rather coats, in the acception of Chrysippus and the language of those times) in which the Fœtus is involved in the mothers womb. Though therefore both the Secunda and the Fœtus be made of the seed of the male in the Philosophy of Chrysippus, yet he is not called the Father of the after-birth, but of the child; the one being endued with life and reason, and the other not. ¹ Heb. 12. 9. ² Job 38. 7. ³ Act. 17. 28. ⁴ Luke 3. 38. ⁵ Malach. 2. 10.

Unto this act of Creation is annexed that of Conservation, by which God doth uphold and preserve in being that which at first he made, and to which he gave its Being. As therefore it is the Duty of the Parent to educate and preserve the Child, as that which had its Being from him; so this paternal education doth give the name of* Father unto Man, and Conservation gives the same to God.

* So Eustathius observes out of an ingenious Etymologist: Πατὴρ θεός ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν πατρῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅτι ἅς τὸς πατέρας τῆσάν. II. Θ. ¹ Deut. 32. 6.

Again, Redemption from a state of misery, by which a people hath become worse than nothing, unto a happy condition, is a kind of Generation, which joyned with love, care, and indulgence in the Redeemer, is sufficient to found a new Paternity, and give him another title of a Father. Well might Moses tell the people of Israel, now brought out of the land of Egypt from their brick and straw, unto their Quails and Manna, unto their Milk and Honey, ¹ is not he thy Father that hath bought thee? hath he not made thee, and established thee? Well might God speak unto the same people as to ² his Son, even his first born, ³ Thus saith the Lord thy Redeemer, and he that formed thee from the womb; Hearken unto me, O house of Jacob, and all the remnant of the house of Israel, which are born by me from the belly, which are carried from the womb. and just is the acknowledgment made by that people instructed by the Prophet, ⁴ Doubtless thou art our Father, though Abraham be ignorant of us, and Israel acknowledge us not; thou, O Lord, art our Father, our Redeemer, from everlasting is thy Name. And thus another kind of paternal Relation of God unto the sons of men is founded on a Restitution or temporal Redemption.

² Exod. 4. 22. ³ Isa. 44. 24. 46. 3. ⁴ Isa. 63. 16.

Besides, if to be born causeth Relation to Father, then to be born again maketh an addition of another: and if to generate foundeth, then to regenerate addeth a Paternity. Now though we cannot enter the second time into our mother's womb, nor pass through the same door into the Scene of life again; yet we believe and are persuaded, that ⁵ except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God. A double birth there is, and the world consists of two, the first and the second man. And though the incorruptible seed be the Word of God, and the dispensers of it in some sense may say, as S. Paul spake unto the Corinthians, ⁶ I have begotten you through the Gospel: yet he is the true Father, whose Word it is, and that is God, even ⁷ the Father of lights, who of his own will begat us with the word of truth. Thus ⁸ whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God; which Regeneration is as it were a second Creation: ⁹ for we are God's workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works. And he alone who did create us out of nothing, can beget us again, and make

⁵ John 3. 3. ⁶ Totum hominum genus quodammodo sunt homines duo, primus & secundus. Prosp. ⁷ 1 Cor. 4. 15. ⁸ 1 John 5. 1. ⁹ Ephes. 2. 10.

Gen. 30. 1, 2.

us of the new Creation. When *Rachel* called to *Jacob*, *Give me children or else I die*; he answered her sufficiently with this question, *Am I in God's stead?* And if he only openeth the womb, who else can make the *Soul* to bear? Hence hath he the name of *Father*, and they of *Sons* who are born of him; and so from that internal act of spiritual Regeneration another title of paternity redoundeth unto the Divinity.

* Οὐ γὰρ ἀντὶ θεῶν ἐγὼ εἶμι τὸ μόνον! δυναμὴς τὰς ψυχῶν μήτρας ἀνοιγνύμεναι, καὶ ἀπέρεν ἐν ἀύλαις ἀρετῶν, καὶ ποιεῖν ἐγκύμονας ἐν τικτέσας τὰ καλά. Philo de Alleg.

² Matt. 19. 28.

³ Luke 20.

35, 36.

⁴ Rom. 8. 17.

* Col. 3. 24.

Heb. 9. 15.

⁵ 1 Joh 3. 2.

καὶ ἔτι ἐφάνησαν ἡμεῖς.

⁶ 1 Pet. 1. 3, 4.

Nor is this the only second birth or sole Regeneration in a Christian sense; the Soul, which after its natural Being requires a birth unto the life of Grace, is also after that born again into a life of Glory. Our Saviour puts us in mind of *the Regeneration*, *when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory*. The Resurrection of our bodies is a kind of coming out of the womb of the earth, and entring upon immortality, a nativity into another life. For *they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, are the sons of God, being the sons of the resurrection*; and then as sons, *they become heirs, coheirs with Christ, receiving the promise and reward of eternal inheritance*. *Beloved, now we are the sons of God, saith S. John, even in this life by Regeneration, and it doth not yet appear, or, it hath not been yet made manifest, what we shall be; but we know, that if he appear, we shall be like him*: the manifestation of the Father being a sufficient declaration of the condition of the Sons, when the Sonship it self consisteth in a similitude of the Father. And *blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which according to his abundant mercy hath begotten us again unto a lively hope, by the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead; to an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for us*. Why may not then a second kind of *Regeneration* be thought a fit addition of this paternal relation?

|| *Caii Inst.* 1. tit. 5. §. 1.

Adoptio naturalis similitudo est, ut aliquis filium habere possit, quem non generavit.

τί ἐστιν υἱοθεσία; νομίμη πρᾶξις μιμημένη τὴν φύσιν πατρὸς παίδων παρρησιαστικῶν ἐπινοουμένων.

Theoph. inst. 1. tit. 11.

* Ἡ υἱοθεσία Ῥωμαϊκῆ φωνῇ λέγεται ἀδοπτικῶν αὐτῆν ἔσα ἡλικίαν ἰσομα εἰς δὲ ὄνομα εἰς δὲ ὄνομα.

Neither is there only a natural, but also a voluntary and civil, foundation of Paternity: for the Laws have found a way by which a man may become a Father without procreation: and this imitation of *||* nature is called Adoption, taken in the general * signification. Although therefore many ways God be a Father, yet lest any way might seem to exclude us from being his Sons, he hath made us so also by Adoption. Others are wont to fly to this, as to a comfort of their solitary condition, when either *||* Nature hath denied them, or death bereft them of their offspring. Whereas God doth it not for his own, but for our sakes; nor is the advantage his, but ours. *Behold what manner of Love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God*; that we, the sons of disobedient and condemned *Adam* by natural generation, should be translated into the glorious liberty of the sons of God by Adoption; that we, who were aliens, strangers and enemies, should be assumed *unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, on whom all the family of heaven and earth is named, and be made partakers of the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the Saints*. For as in the legal Adoption, the Father hath as *||* full and absolute power over his adopted son as over his own issue; so in the spiritual, the adopted sons have a clear and undoubted right of inheri-

διαρῆται, εἰς ἀδελφωτικὴν, καὶ τὴν ὁμόνομον ἀδοπτικὴν. *Theoph. ibid.* || *Caii Inst.* 2. tit. 5. §. 4. Spadones autem qui generare non possunt, a doptare possunt; & licet filios generare non possint, quos adoptaverunt filios habere possunt, *Ulp. tit. 5. 6.* Hi qui generare non possunt, velut spado, utroque modo possunt adoptare. Idem juris est in cœleste, *Theoph. tit. 11.* τυχόντων ἢ ἔχοι τις παῖδας διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐλθεῖν ὅτι γάμων, ἢ ἐλθεῖν ἰδίῳ, μὴ παιδοποιῆσαι ὅ, ἢ παιδοποιῆσαι μὲν, ἀπὸ ἀλλοδαπῶν ὅ τῆς, τὸ ἐν τῷ φύσεως ἐλάττωμα ἢ τὸ συμβᾶν δυσύχημα βελόουτος ὀπικεῖσαι, ἔλαβεν εἰς υἱοθεσίαν τινά. *Leonis Novel.* 27. τοῖς ἀτυχῶσιν ἀπαιδίαν λύειν βελόουτος τὸ δυσύχημα νόμος υἱοθετεῖσθαι προστάσσει, καὶ γνάμη ἐμῆνο κτῶσαι, ὃ μὴ ἂν πορὸν λαβεῖν παρὰ τῷ φύσεως. ⁷ 1 Joh. 3. 1. ⁸ Eph. 3. 15. * In alienam familiam transitus, is the description in *Agellius*, l. 5. 19. Cum in alienam familiam inque liberorum locum extranei sumuntur, aut per prætorem fit, aut per populum, : quod per prætorem fit, adoptio dicitur; quod per populum, arrogatio, *Ib.* ⁹ Eph. 1. 13. || As appears out of the form of Rogation yet extant in this manner: Velitis, jubeatis, Quirites, uti Lucius Valerius Lucio Titio, tam jure legeque Filius sibi fiet, quam si ex eo patre matreque familias ejus natus esset, utique ei vitæ necisque in eo potestas fiet, uti patri endo filio est? *Ib.*

tance

tance. He then who hath ¹ *predestinated us unto the adoption of Children by Jesus Christ to himself*, hath thereby another kind of paternal relation, and so we receive the ² *Spirit of adoption whereby we cry, Abba, Father.*

¹ Eph. 1. 5.

The necessity of this faith in God as in our Father appeareth, first, in that it is the ground of all our filial fear, honour and obedience due unto him upon this relation. ² *Honour thy Father is the first Commandment with promise*, written in tables of stone with the finger God; and, *children obey your parents in the Lord*, is an Evangelical precept, but founded upon principles of reason and justice; for *this is right*, saith S. Paul. And if there be such a rational and legal obligation of honour and obedience to the fathers of our flesh, how much more must we think our selves obliged to him whom we believe to be our heavenly and everlasting Father? ⁴ *A son honoureth his father, and a servant his Master. If then I be a father, where is my honour? and if I be a master, where is my fear? saith the Lord of hosts.* If we be heirs, we must be co-heirs with Christ; if sons, we must be brethren to the only-begotten: but being he came not to do his own will, but the will of him that sent him, he acknowledgeth no fraternity but with such as do the same; as he hath said, ⁵ *Whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother.* If it be required of a Bishop in the Church of God, to be ⁶ *one that ruleth well his own House, having his Children in subjection with all gravity*; what obedience must be due, what subjection must be paid, unto the Father of the family?

² Rom. 8. 15.

³ Eph. 6. 1, 2.

⁴ Malac. 1. 6.

⁵ Matt. 12. 50.

⁶ 1 Tim. 3. 4.

⁷ Luke 11. 2.

⁸ Matt. 6. 8.

⁹ Matt. 7. 9.

10, 11.

ἀντὶ πέρους

σκορπίου τὰ

εὐμύα δὲ τῶν

τὰ χεῖρα αἰσθ-

μένων ἀντὶ τῶν

βελτιόνων.

Zenob.

Ὅτι ἀντὶ πει-

πῆς σκορπίου

ἀνδρῶν.

Lyc-phron:

† Heb. 12.

9, 10.

Quòd si à Do-

mino nonnulla

credimus incur-

ti, cui magis

patientiam

quàm Domino

præbeamus?

Quia insuper

gratulari &

gaudere nos

docet digna-

tione divinæ

castigationis.

Ego, inquit,

quos diligo ca-

stigo. O servum

illum beatum

cujus emenda-

tionem Dominus

instat, cui di-

gnatur irasci

quem admo-

nendi dissimu-

latione non de-

cipit. Tertul-

de Pat:

¹ Dent. 8. 5.

² Psal. 103. 13.

The same Relation in the Object of our Faith is the life of our devotions, the expectation of all our petitions. Christ, who taught his disciples, and us in them, how to pray, propounded not the knowledge of God, though without that he could not hear us; neither represented he his power, though without that he cannot help us; but comprehended all in this Relation, ⁷ *When ye pray say, Our Father.* This prevents all *vain repetitions* of our most earnest desires, and gives us full security to cut off all tautology, for ⁸ *Our Father knoweth what things we have need of before we ask him.* This creates a clear assurance of a grant without mistake of our petition: ⁹ *What man is there of us, who if his son ask bread, will give him a stone? or if he ask fish, will give him a serpent? If we then who are evil know how to give good gifts unto our children; how much more shall our Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?*

Again, *this paternity* is the proper foundation of our Christian patience, sweetning all afflictions with the name and nature of fatherly corrections. [†] *We have had fathers of our flesh which corrected us, and we gave them reverence: shall we not much rather be in subjection to the father of Spirits, and live? especially considering that they chastened us after their own pleasure; but He for our profit, that we might be partakers of his holiness: they, as an argument of their authority; He, as an assurance of his love: they, that we might acknowledge them to be our Parents; He, that he may persuade us that we are his Sons: For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.* And what greater incitement unto the exercise of patience is imaginable unto a suffering soul, than to see in every stroak the hand of a Father in every affliction a demonstration of his love? Or how canst thou repine, or be guilty of the least degree of impatience, even in the sharpest corrections, if ¹ *thou shalt know with thine heart, that as a man chasteneth his son, so the Lord thy God chasteneth thee?* How canst thou not be comforted, and even rejoyce in the midst of thy greatest sufferings, when thou knowest that he which striketh pitieth, he which afflicteth is as it were afflicted with it? ² *for like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him.*

Lastly,

Lastly, the same Relation strongly inferreth an absolute necessity of our imitation ; it being clearly vain to assume the title of Son without any similitude of the Father. What is the general notion of Generation but the production of the like ; Nature, ambitious of perpetuity, striving to preserve the *species* in the multiplication and succession of individuals? And this similitude consisteth partly in essentials, or the likeness of nature ; partly in accidentals or the likeness in || figure, * or affections. ¹ *Adam begat a son in his own likeness, after his image :* and can we imagine those the sons of God which are no way like him? A similitude of nature we must not, of figure we cannot pretend unto : it remains then only that we bear some likeness in our actions and affections. ² *Be ye therefore followers, saith the Apostle, or rather imitators, of God, as dear children.* What he hath revealed of himself, that we must express within our selves. Thus God spake unto the Children of *Israel* whom he styled his Son, ³ *Ye shall be holy, for I am holy.* And the Apostle upon the same ground speaketh unto us, as to *obedient children*, ⁴ *As he that hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation.* It is part of the general beneficence and universal goodness of our God, that ⁵ *he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.* These impartial beams and undistinguishing showers are but to shew us what we ought to do, and to make us fruitful in the works of God ; for no other reason *Christ* hath given us this command, ⁶ *love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven.* No other command did he give upon this ground, but, *Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father is merciful.*

* Πάν τὸ ὁμοίον ἐ-
αυτῶν ὁμοίον ἐ-
αυτῶν ὁμοίον ἐ-
Εἰρη. Ἡερ. 76.
6.

|| Τὸ ἔμοια
γίνεσθαι τοῖς
θεοῦ ὁμοίον τὰ
ἔκγονα, ἔυλο-
γον. Αἰσθ. de
Generat. Ani-
mal. l. 1. c. 9.

* Fortes cre-
antur fortibus
& bonis. Est in
juvencis, est in
equis patrum
Virtus, nec im-
bellem feroces
progenerant a-
quilæ colum-
bam. Hor. Ode.

² Gen. 5. 3.

² Ephes. 5. 1.

μιμηταί. Filii
hominum sunt,
quando male
faciunt ; quan-
do bene, filii
Dei. S. Aug. in

Psal. 52. ³ Lev. 11. 44. and 19. 2. and 20. 7.

⁴ 1 Pet. 1. 15. ⁵ Matt. 5. 44, 45. Vide S. Aug. in Psal. 100. ⁶ Luke 6. 36.

Similitudinem patris actus indicent sobolis ; similitudo operis similitudinem indicet generis : actus nomen confirmet, ut nomen genus demonstrat. Aug. de Temp. Serm. 76.

So necessary is this faith in God as in our Father, both for direction to the best of actions, and for consolation in the worst of conditions.

But although this be very necessary, yet is it not the principal or most proper explication of God's Paternity. For as we find one person in a more peculiar manner the Son of God ; so must we look upon God as in a more peculiar manner the Father of that Son. ¹ *I ascend unto my Father, and your Father,* saith our Saviour ; the same of both, but in a different manner, denoted by the Article prefixed before the one, and not the other : which distinction in the original we may preserve by this translation, *I ascend unto the Father of me, and Father of you ; first of me, and then of you :* not therefore his, because ours ; but therefore ours, because his. So far we are the sons of God, as we are like unto him ; and our similitude unto God consisteth in our conformity to the likeness of his Son. ² *For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the first-born among many brethren.* He the first-born, and we sons, as brethren unto him : he ³ *appointed heir of all things, and we heirs of God, as joint-heirs with him.* Thus God ⁴ *sent forth his Son, that we might receive the adoption of Sons.* And because we are Sons, *God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father.* By his mission are we adopted, and by his Spirit call we God our Fa-

² Joh. 20. 17.
ἀναβαίνω
πρὸς τὸ πατέρα
με, καὶ τὸν πατέρα
ὑμῶν. Had
πατέρα in both
places had its
article ; there
would have
seemed two Fa-
thers : had the
article been pre-
fixed to πατέρα
ὑμῶν, he would
have seemed
first ours, then
Christ's : but
being prefixed to
πατέρα με it
shews God to be
principally and originally Christ's, and by our reference unto him, our Father, Πατέρα με μὲν καὶ φύσιν ἐν τῇ θεότητι, καὶ πατέρα ὑμῶν διὰ χάριν ἐν τῇ υἱοθεσίᾳ. Εἰρη. Ἡερ. 69. §. 55. ἐκ εἰπῶν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ διελεῖν, καὶ εἰπῶν πρῶτον τὸ δικαίον, πρὸς τὸν πατέρα με, ὅπερ ἦν καὶ φύσιν. εἰτ' ἐπαναγαγὼν καὶ πατέρα ὑμῶν ὅπερ ἦν καὶ θεῶν. S. Cyril. Catech. 7. Ἐτέρως ἢν αὐτὸς πατὴρ, καὶ ἕτερος ἡμῶν ; πάνυ μὲν ἐν. εἰ γὰρ τῶν δικαίων ἕτερος θεὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, πολλῶν μᾶλλον τῶν ἡμῶν. Ἐπειδ' ἂν γὰρ εἶπε, εἶπέ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. ἵνα μὴ εἰπὸν τέτι' ἴσον τι φαντασθῶσι, εἰρήνησι τὸ ἐνυλλαγμένον. S. Chrysost. ad locum. ² Rom. 8. 29. ³ Heb. 1. 2. ⁴ Gal. 4. 4, 5, 6. Hoc facit Deus ex filiis hominum filios Dei, quia ex filio Dei fecit Deus filium hominis. S. Aug. in Psal. 52.

principally and originally Christ's, and by our reference unto him, our Father, Πατέρα με μὲν καὶ φύσιν ἐν τῇ θεότητι, καὶ πατέρα ὑμῶν διὰ χάριν ἐν τῇ υἱοθεσίᾳ. Εἰρη. Ἡερ. 69. §. 55. ἐκ εἰπῶν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ διελεῖν, καὶ εἰπῶν πρῶτον τὸ δικαίον, πρὸς τὸν πατέρα με, ὅπερ ἦν καὶ φύσιν. εἰτ' ἐπαναγαγὼν καὶ πατέρα ὑμῶν ὅπερ ἦν καὶ θεῶν. S. Cyril. Catech. 7. Ἐτέρως ἢν αὐτὸς πατὴρ, καὶ ἕτερος ἡμῶν ; πάνυ μὲν ἐν. εἰ γὰρ τῶν δικαίων ἕτερος θεὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, πολλῶν μᾶλλον τῶν ἡμῶν. Ἐπειδ' ἂν γὰρ εἶπε, εἶπέ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. ἵνα μὴ εἰπὸν τέτι' ἴσον τι φαντασθῶσι, εἰρήνησι τὸ ἐνυλλαγμένον. S. Chrysost. ad locum. ² Rom. 8. 29. ³ Heb. 1. 2. ⁴ Gal. 4. 4, 5, 6. Hoc facit Deus ex filiis hominum filios Dei, quia ex filio Dei fecit Deus filium hominis. S. Aug. in Psal. 52.

ther. So are we no longer ¹ servants, but now sons; and if sons, then heirs of God; but still through Christ. 'Tis true indeed, that ² both he that sanctifieth, that is, Christ, and they who are sanctified, that is, faithful Christians, are all of one, the same Father, the same God; for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren: yet are they * not all of him after the same manner, not the ³ many Sons like the Captain of their Salvation: but Christ the beloved, the first-born, the only-begotten, the Son after a more peculiar and more excellent manner; the rest with relation unto and dependence on his Sonship; as given unto him, ⁴ Behold I, and the children which God hath given me; as being so by faith in him, ⁵ For we are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus; as receiving the right of Sonship from him. ⁶ For as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God. || Among all the sons of God there is none like to that one Son of God. And if there be so great a disparity in the Filiation, we must make as great a difference in the correspondent relation. There is one degree of Sonship founded on creation, and that is the lowest, as belonging unto all, both good and bad: another degree above that there is grounded upon regeneration, or Adoption, belonging only to the truly faithful in this life: and a third above the rest founded on the Resurrection, or Collation of the eternal inheritance, and the Similitude of God; appertaining to the Saints alone in the world to come: For ⁷ we are now the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like him. And there is yet another degree of Filiation, of a greater eminency and a different nature, appertaining properly to none of these, but to the true Son of God alone, who amongst all his brethren hath only received the title of his * own Son, and a singular testimony from Heaven, ⁸ This is my beloved Son, even in the presence of John the Baptist, even in the midst of Moses and Elias, (who are certainly the sons of God by all the other three degrees of Filiation) and therefore hath called God after a peculiar way ⁹ his own Father. And so at last we come unto the most singular and eminent paternal relation, * unto the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is blessed for evermore; the Father of him, and of us, but not the Father of us as || of him. Christ hath taught us to say, Our Father: a form of speech which he never used himself: sometimes he calls him the Father, sometimes my Father, sometimes your, but never our: he makes no such conjunction of us to himself, as to make no distinction between us and himself; so conjoining us as to distinguish, though so distinguishing as not to separate us.

¹ Galat. 4. 7.
² Heb. 12. 11.

*Dicimur & filii Dei, sed ille aliter filius Dei: S. August. in Psal. 88. *ὅτι τοίνυν ὁ θεὸς ποιοῦν ὡς καὶ τὰ χριστιανῶς πατρὸς, ἐν δὲ ὁ μόνος γόνος ἡ ἀληθὴς τὸ μόνον υἱὸς ἦν.* S. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. 7.

³ Heb. 2. 10.
⁴ Isai. 8. 18.
Heb. 2. 13.
⁵ Gal. 3. 26.
⁶ Joh. 1. 12.

|| Ergo nemo in filiis Dei similis erat filio Dei. Et ipse dictus est filius Dei, & nos dicti sumus filii Dei: Sed quis erit similis Domino in filiis Dei? Ille unicus, nos multi. Ille unus, nos in illo unum. Ille natus, nos adoptati. Ille ab æterno filius unigenitus per naturam, nos à tempore facti per gratiam. S. Aug. Psal. 88. ⁷ 1 Joh. 3. 2. * Rom. 8. 32. Ut magnificentia Dei dilectionis ex comparationis genere nosceretur, non pene esse Patrem proprio filio suo docuit. Nec utique pro adoptandis adoptato, neque pro creatis creaturæ: sed pro alienis suo, pro connumerandis proprio. Hilar. l. 6. de Trin. ⁸ Mat. 3. 17. and 17. 5. Anne ibi in eo quod dicitur; *Hic est*, non hoc significare viderur, Alios quidem cognominatos ab eo filios, sed hic filius meus est; Donavi adoptionis plurimis nomen, sed iste mihi filius est? Id. ⁹ Joh. 5. 18. *πατὴρ ἰδίου ἐλεγεν ὁ θεός.* as Rom. 8. 32. *ὅς γὰρ τὸ ἴδιον υἱὸν ἐκ ἐξέσωσεν.* * 2 Cor. 11. 31. || Non sicut Christi pater, ita & nostri pater. Nunquam enim Christus ita nos conjunxit, ut nullam distinctionem faceret inter nos & se. Ille enim filius æqualis patri, ille æternus cum patre, patrique coæternus: Nos autem facti per filium, adoptati per unicum. Proinde nunquam auditum est de ore Domini nostri Jesu Christi, cum ad discipulos loqueretur, dixisse illum de Deo summo patre suo, Pater noster; sed aut Pater meus dixit, aut Pater vester; usque adeo ut quodam loco poneret hæc duo. *Vado ad Deum meum*, inquit, *& Deum vestrum*. Quare non dixit Deum nostrum? & patrem meum dixit, & patrem vestrum; non dixit nostrum? Sic jungit nō distinguit, sic distinguit ut non se jungat. Unum nos vult esse in se, unum autem patrem & se. S. Aug. in Joan. Tract. 21.

gnerere nosceretur, non pene esse Patrem proprio filio suo docuit. Nec utique pro adoptandis adoptato, neque pro creatis creaturæ: sed pro alienis suo, pro connumerandis proprio. Hilar. l. 6. de Trin. ⁸ Mat. 3. 17. and 17. 5. Anne ibi in eo quod dicitur; *Hic est*, non hoc significare viderur, Alios quidem cognominatos ab eo filios, sed hic filius meus est; Donavi adoptionis plurimis nomen, sed iste mihi filius est? Id. ⁹ Joh. 5. 18. *πατὴρ ἰδίου ἐλεγεν ὁ θεός.* as Rom. 8. 32. *ὅς γὰρ τὸ ἴδιον υἱὸν ἐκ ἐξέσωσεν.* * 2 Cor. 11. 31. || Non sicut Christi pater, ita & nostri pater. Nunquam enim Christus ita nos conjunxit, ut nullam distinctionem faceret inter nos & se. Ille enim filius æqualis patri, ille æternus cum patre, patrique coæternus: Nos autem facti per filium, adoptati per unicum. Proinde nunquam auditum est de ore Domini nostri Jesu Christi, cum ad discipulos loqueretur, dixisse illum de Deo summo patre suo, Pater noster; sed aut Pater meus dixit, aut Pater vester; usque adeo ut quodam loco poneret hæc duo. *Vado ad Deum meum*, inquit, *& Deum vestrum*. Quare non dixit Deum nostrum? & patrem meum dixit, & patrem vestrum; non dixit nostrum? Sic jungit nō distinguit, sic distinguit ut non se jungat. Unum nos vult esse in se, unum autem patrem & se. S. Aug. in Joan. Tract. 21.

Indeed I conceive this, as the most eminent notion of God's Paternity, so the original and proper explication of this Article of the Creed: and that not only because the ancient Fathers deliver no other exposition of it; but also because that which I conceive to be the first occasion, rise, and original of the Creed it self, requireth this as the proper interpretation. Immediately before the ascension of our Saviour, he said unto his Apostles, *All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth*. Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them

Matt. 28. 18, 19

⁴ Arius and Euzoius, in their Creed delivered to Constantine: Ταύτω ἢ πί-
 σιν παρειλί-
 φάω εν τῷ
 ἁγίων εὐαγγε-
 λίων, λέγον-
 τος τῶ κυρίου
 τοῖς ἑαυτῶ
 μαθελαῖς, Π-
 εδθέντες μα-
 θητεύσατε
 πάντα τὰ ἔθ-
 νη, βαπτίζον-
 τες αὐτοὺς ἐν
 ὀνομα ἢ πα-
 τρός, ἢ ἢ υἱῶ,
 ἢ ἢ ἁγίου
 πνεύματος.
 Socr. l. 1. c. 26.
 And upon the
 exhibiting this
 Confession of
 Faith, they were
 restored to the
 Communion of
 the Church by
 the Synod of Je-
 rusalem; Socr. l.
 2. c. 27.
 In the same
 manner Euse-
 bius delivered
 his Creed unto
 the Council of
 Nice, concluding
 and deducing it
 from the same
 Text, καθὰ ἢ
 ὁ κύριος ἡ-
 μῶν, εὐαγγέλιον
 ἐν τῷ κήρυγ-
 μα τοῦ ἑαυτῶ
 μαθητῶν, ἔπει,
 Πορευθέντες
 μαθητεύσατε,
 &c. Socr. l. 1.
 c. 8: Theodor.
 l. 1. c. 12.

The same is also alledged by the Council of Antioch, under the Emperor Constantius and Pope Julius. Socr. l. 2. c. 10. Vide S. Athanas. in Epist. ad ubique Orthod. Orat. contra Gregales Sabellii, & contra Arianos, ex Deo Deus. Vide Basil. de Spirit. S. So Vigilus Tapsensis Dial. l. 1. makes Arius and Athanasius jointly speak these words: Credimus in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, & in Jesum Christum Filium ejus, Dominum nostrum, & in Spiritum S. Hæc est fidei nostræ Regula, quam cœlesti magisterio Dominus tradidit Apostolis, dicens, Ite, Baptizate, &c. Act. 8. 36, 37. Verse 12. Act. 2. 38. and 8. 16. and 10. 48. and 19. 5.

them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost, From this sacred form of Baptism did the Church derive the * Rule of Faith, requiring the profession of belief in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, before they could be baptized in their Name. When the Eunuch asked Philip, ¹ What doth hinder me to be baptized? Philip said, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest: and when the Eunuch replied, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God; he baptized him. And before that, the Samaritans, ² when they believed Philip preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ, were baptized, both men and women. For as in the Acts of the Apostles there is no more expressed than that they baptized ³ in the name of Jesus Christ: so is no more expressed of the Faith required in them who were to be baptized, than to believe in the same Name. But being the Father and the Holy Ghost were likewise mentioned in the first Institution, being the expressing of one doth not exclude the other, being it is certain that from the Apostles times the names of all three were used; hence upon the same ground was required Faith, and a profession of belief in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Again, as the Eunuch said not simply, I believe in the Son, but I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, as a brief explication of that part of the institution which he had learned before of Philip: so they who were converted unto Christianity were first taught not the bare names, but the explications and descriptions of them in a brief, easie and familiar way; which when they had rendered, acknowledged, and professed, they were baptized in them. And these being regularly and constantly used, made up the Rule of Faith, that is, the Creed. The truth of which may sufficiently be made apparent to any who shall seriously consider the constant practice of the Church, from the first Age unto this present, of delivering the Rule of Faith to those which were to be baptized, and so requiring of themselves, or their Sureties, an express recitation, profession, or acknowledgment of the Creed. From whence this observation is properly deducible; That in what sense the name of Father is taken in the Form of Baptism, in the same it also ought to be taken in this Article. And being nothing can be more clear than that, when it is said, In the name of the Father, and of the Son, the notion of Father, hath in this particular no other relation but to that Son whose name is joined with his; and as we are baptized into no other Son of that Father, but that only-begotten Christ Jesus, so into no other Father, but the Father of that only-begotten: it followeth, that the proper explication of the first words of the Creed is this, I believe in God the Father of Christ Jesus.

In vain then is that vulgar distinction applied unto the explication of the Creed, whereby the Father is considered both personally, and essentially: personally, as the first in the glorious Trinity, with relation and opposition to the Son; essentially, as comprehending the whole Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. For that the Son is not here comprehended in the Father is evident, not only out of the original, or occasion, but also from the very letter of the Creed, which teacheth us to believe in God the Father, and in his Son; for if the Son were included in the Father, then were the Son the Father of himself. As therefore when I say, I believe in Jesus Christ his Son, I must necessarily understand the Son of that Father whom I mentioned in the first Article;

so when I said, *I believe in God the* Father*, I must as necessarily be understood of the Father of him whom I call *his Son* in the second Article.

Now as it cannot be denied that God may several ways be said to be the Father of *Christ*; first, as he was begotten by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin *Mary*; secondly, as he was sent by him with special authority, as the King of *Israel*; thirdly, as he was raised from the dead, out of the womb of the earth unto immortal life, and made heir of all things in his Father's house: so must we not doubt but, besides all these, God is the Father of that Son in a more eminent and peculiar manner, as he is and ever was with God, and God: which shall be demonstrated fully in the second Article, when we come to shew how *Christ* is the only-begotten Son. And according unto this Paternity by way of Generation totally Divine, in which he who begetteth is God, and he which is begotten the same God, do we believe in God, as the eternal Father of an eternal Son. Which Relation is co-æval with his Essence: so that we are not to imagine one without the other; but as we profess him always God, so must we acknowledge him always *Father*, and that in a far more proper manner than the same title can be given to any Creature. Such is the fluctuant condition of humane generation, and of those relations which arise from thence, that he which is this day a son, the next may prove a father, and within the space of one day more, without any real alteration in himself, become neither son nor father, losing one Relation by the death of him that begot him, and the other by the departure of him that was begotten by him. But in the Godhead these Relations are more proper, because fixed, the Father having never been a Son, the Son never becoming Father, in reference to the same kind of generation.

Gennad. de Eccles. dogm. c. 1. Credimus in Deum, eundem confitemur Patrem, ut eundem semper habuisse filium nos credamus. *Chrysol. Serm. 59.* Inest Deo pietas, est in Deo semper affectio, paternitas permanet apud illum: semper ergo filium fuisse credas, ne patrem semper non fuisse blasphemus. *Id. Serm. 62.* Advertite, quod cum Dei patris nomen in Confessione conjungit ostendit quod non ante Deus esse coeperit & postea pater, sed sine ullo initio & Deus semper & pater est. *Aug. de Temp. Serm. 132.* * Deus solus proprie verus est pater, qui sine initio & sine patre est; non enim aliquando coepit esse quod pater est, sed semper pater est, semper habens filium ex se genitum. *Faustinus, lib. contra Arianos.* Ἐπὶ τῷ Θεότητι ὁ μόνος ὁ πατὴρ κρείων ὁ πατὴρ ἐστὶ, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς κρείων υἱὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ ὁπῶς τέτων ὁ μόνον ἐσηκε τὸ πατὴρ ἀλλ' πατὴρ ἐστὶ, καὶ τὸ υἱὸς ἀλλ' υἱὸς ἐστὶ. *S. Athanas. Disp. contra Arianos.* Ἡ ἐπὶ μόνος τῷ Θεότητι τὸ πατὴρ καὶ τὸ υἱὸς ἐσηκε καὶ ἐστὶν ἀλλ' ἴσῳ καὶ ὁ ἀνθρώπων εἰ πατὴρ λέγεται τις, ἀλλ' ἑτέρον γέγονεν υἱὸς, καὶ εἰ υἱὸς λέγεται, ἀλλ' ἑτέρον λέγεται πατὴρ ὥστε ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων μὴ σὺζεσθαι κρείων τὸ πατὴρ καὶ υἱὸς ὄνομα. *S. Athanas. Tom. 1.* Πατὴρ κρείων, ὅτι μὴ καὶ υἱὸς. ὡσαύτως καὶ υἱὸς κρείων, ὅτι μὴ καὶ πατὴρ. τὰ γὰρ ἡμέτερον εἰ κρείων, ἔτι καὶ ἄμφω. *Greg. Naz. Orat. 35.*

A farther reason of the propriety of God's Paternity appears from this, that he hath begotten a Son of the same nature and essence with himself, not only specifically, but individually, as I shall also demonstrate in the exposition of the second Article. For Generation being the production of the like, and that likeness being the similitude of substance; where is the nearest identity of nature, there must be also the most proper Generation, and consequently he which generateth, the most proper Father. If therefore man, who by the benediction of God given unto him at his first creation in these words, *Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth*, begetteth a Son in his own likeness, after his image, that is, of the same humane nature, of the same substance with him, (which if he did not, he should not according to the benediction multiply himself or man at all,) with which similitude of nature many accidental disparities may consist, if by this act of Generation he obtaineth the name of Father, because, and in regard, of the similitude of his nature in the Son; how much more properly must that name belong unto God himself, who hath begotten a Son of a nature and essence so totally like, so totally the same, that no accidental disparity can imaginably consist with that identity?

* Pater cum audis, Filii intellige patrem qui filius supradictæ sit Imago substantiæ. *Ruff. in Sym. Luke 1. 35. Joh 10. 36. and 1. 49. Acts 13. 32, 33. Joh. 1. 1.* Ἡ Ἄνα γὰρ ἐστὶ Θεὸς καὶ ἀμα πατὴρ ἐκ υἱοῦ ἐγένετο ἡ ἴσῳ τῶν ἰσῳσιν ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ πατὴρ ἐστὶν πατὴρ καὶ υἱὸς καὶ ἰσῳσ καὶ ἰσῳσ. *S. Cyril. Dial. de Trin. 2.* Πατὴρ ἀλλ' πατὴρ, καὶ ἐκ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἐκ ἑαυτοῦ ἐστὶν ὁ πατὴρ πατὴρ. *Epiph. Hæres. 62.* Sicut nunquam fuit non Deus, ita nunquam fuit non pater, a quo filius natus.

* Etiam si filius hominis homo in quibusdam similibus, in quibusdam sic dissimilis patri; tamen quia ejusdem substantiæ est, negari verus filius non potest, & quia verus est filius, negari ejusdem substantiæ non potest. *S. Aug. l. 3. cont. Max. c. 15. Vide Tho. Sum. p. 1. quest. 33. art. 2. ad quar. Gen. 1. 28. Gen. 5. 3.*

That God is the Proper and eternal Father of his own eternal Son is now declared: what is the eminency or excellency of this Relation followeth to be considered. In general then we may safely observe, that in the very * name of Father there is something of eminence which is not in that of Son; and some kind of priority we must ascribe unto him whom we call the first; in respect of him whom we term the second Person: and as we cannot but ascribe it, so must we endeavour to || preserve it.

Now that privilege or * priority consisteth not in this, that the essence or attributes of the one are greater than the essence or attributes of the other; (for we shall hereafter demonstrate them to be the same in both) but only in this, that the Father hath that essence of himself, the Son by communication from the Father. From whence he acknowledgeth that he is ¹ *from him*, that he ² *liveth by him*, that the ³ *Father gave him to have life in himself*, and generally referreth all things to him, as received from him. Wherefore in this sense some of the Ancients have not stuck to interpret those words, *the Father is greater than I*, of Christ as the Son of God, as the second Person in the blessed Trinity; but still with reference not unto his Essence, but his Generation, by which he is understood to have his Being from the Father, who only hath it of himself, and is the original of all power and essence in the Son. *I can of mine own self do nothing*, saith our Saviour, || because he is not of himself; and whosoever receives his Being, must receive his power from another, especially where the essence and the power are undeniably the same, as in God they are. *The Son then can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do*, because he hath no * power of himself, but what the Father gave:

* Αυτὸ τὸ ὄνομα τῆ πατρὸς μείζον ἐστὶ τῆ υἱοῦ. *Syn. Sardin. Theod. l. 2. c. 8.* Insinuatur nobis in Patre autoritas, in filio nativitas. *S. August.*

|| Τὸ μὲν ἀγέννητον πατὴρ οἰκείον ἀξίωμα φυλάττει, μηδ' ἐταῦτα εἶναι αὐτῷ αἰτίον λέγοντας. *Alexand. Theodor. l. 1. c. 4.*

* Ἡμεῖς ὅ κατὰ μὲν τὴν αἰτίαν πρὸς τὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γένηται, πρὸς τὰ χεῖρα τῆ πατρὸς φάμεθα, καὶ τὴ φύσεως διαφέρειν ἐκέτι. *S. Basil. contr. Eunom. l. 1.*

¹ John 7. 29.

² John 6. 57. ³ John 5. 26. ⁴ John 14. 28.

μείζων, ἔπειν, ἢ μεγέθει τινὲ ἐδὲ χρόνω, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τῆ πατρὸς γέννησιν. *S. Athanas. contra Arianos. l. 2.* Λέγεται τοίνυν καὶ ἡ τῆς αἰτίας λόγον ἐνταῦθα τὸ μείζον λέγεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆ πατρὸς ἢ ἀρχῆς τῆ φύσεως, καὶ τῆ ἀρχῆς τῆς αἰτίας, καὶ ἀρχῆς τοῦ κινήσεως ἔπειν, ὁ πατήρ με μείζων με ὄντι, καθὸ πατήρ θεολογῶντι. τὸ δὲ πατὴρ τί ἄλλο σημαίνει, ἢ ἔχει τὸ αἰτία εἶναι καὶ ἀρχὴ τῆ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γέννησιν; *S. Basil. cont. Eunom. l. 1.* And the same *S. Basil* doth not only acknowledge this to be true in respect of the Divine Nature of Christ, but thinketh the Divinity of the Son may be proved from hence. Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἅς ταύτης τῆς φωνῆς, τὸ ὁμοῖον εἶναι τῷ ὄντι τῆ πατρὸς δηλοῦναι πεπίσθηκα. τὰς συγκρίσεις οἶδα κρείως ὄντι τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως γινόμεναι. ἀγγελον γὰρ ἀγγελικὸν λέγουσιν μείζονα, καὶ ἀνθρώπον ἀνθρώπου δικαιότερον, καὶ πτηνὸν πτηνῷ ταχύτερον. αἰ τοίνυν αἱ συγκρίσεις ὅτι τῆ ὁμοειδῶν γίνονται, μείζων ἢ καὶ σύγκρισιν εἰρηται ὁ πατήρ τῆ φύσεως, ὁμοῖος τῷ πατρὶ ὁ υἱός. *Ad Casarienses Epist. 141.* τὸ μείζον μὲν ὄντι τῆς αἰτίας, τὸ δὲ ἴσον τῆς φύσεως, *Naz. Orat. 36. Orat. 40.* ἔ καὶ τὴν φύσιν τὸ μείζον, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν δέ. *Vide Epist. in Ancor. c. 17.* εἰ δὲ λέγοι τις μείζονα εἶναι τῆ πατρὸς καθὸ αἰτίας τῆ φύσεως, ἐδὲ τῆ ἀντερῶν. *S. Chrys. Homil. in Joan. 75.* ἴσος τοι γὰρ ἐν καὶ τῆς ἐσσίας λόγον ὑπάρχων ὁ υἱός τῆ πατρὸς, καὶ ὁμοῖος καὶ πάντα, μείζονα αὐτὸν φησιν ὡς ἀναρχόν, ἔχων ἀρχὴν καὶ μόνον τὸ ἐξ ἐ, εἰ καὶ συνδραμον αὐτῷ τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔχει, *S. Cyril. Thesaur. c. 11.* and *Isidore Pelusiota, Epist. 334 l. 3.* cites this saying of an ancient Father: Καὶ τὸ μείζον ἴσαται ἢ ἡννήταρ, καὶ τὸ ἴσον καθὸ θεός καὶ ὁμοῖος. *So Vigilius professes to believe the Son æqualem per omnia Patri, excepto eo quod ille ingentus est, & iste genitus. De Trinit. l. 11.* Ideo totum quod habet, quod potest, non tribuit sibi, sed Patri, quia non est à seipso, sed à Patre. Æqualis est enim Patri, sed hoc quoque accepit à patre. *S. Aug. Epist. 66.* Necessè est quodammodo prior sit, qua Pater sit; quoniam antecedit necessè est eum qui habet originem, ille qui originem nescit. Simul ut hic minor sit, dum in illo esse se scit. habens originem, quia nascitur. *Novatianus.* Major itaq; Pater filio est, & planè major, cui tantum donat esse quantus ipse est, cui innascibilitatis esse imaginem sacramento nativitatìs impertit quem ex se in forma sua generat. *S. Hilar. de Trin. l. 9.* Non præstantem quenquam cuiquam genere substantiæ, sed subjectum alterum alteri nativitate naturæ: Patrem in eo majorem esse quòd Pater est, Filium in eo non minorem esse quòd filius sit. *Id. de Syn. contra Arianos.* Quis Patrem non potiore confitebitur ut ingentum à genito, ut Patrem à filio, ut cum qui miserit ab eo qui missus est, ut volentem ab ipso qui obedat? & ipse nobis testis est. *Pater major me est Id. de Trin. l. 3.* In eo quod in sese sunt Dei, ex Deo Divinitatem cognosce; in eo verò quòd Pater major est, confessionem paternæ autoritatis intellige. *Id. l. 11.* And before all these *Alexander Bishop of Alexandria;* Τὸ δὲ ἀγέννητον τῆ πατρὸς μόνον ἰδίωμα παρεῖναι δεξάζοντες, αἰτεῖ ἢ καὶ αὐτὸ σάσκοντος τῆ σωτῆρος, Ὁ πατήρ με μείζων με ὄντι. *Theodor. Hist. l. 1. c. 1.* Lastly, we have the testimony of *Photius,* that many of the ancient Fathers so expounded it: Τὴν Ὁ πατήρ με μείζων με ὄντι, τῆ εὐαγγελίᾳ φωνῆς, διαφύρας οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐξηλήφασιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ φασὶ τῷ αἰτίῳ μείζονα εἶρηθαι. *Epist. 176.* Æqualis Patri; sed major Pater, quòd ipse dedit ipsi omnia, & causa est ipsi Filio ut sit, ut isto modo sit. *Victor. Afr. l. 1.* Pater, inquit, major me est, meritò major, quia solus hic auctor sine auctore est. *Phabadius.* ¹ John 5. 30. 19. || Quicquid filius habet ut faciat, à Patre habet ut faciat. Quare habet à Patre ut faciat? quia à Patre habet ut filius sit; quia à Patre habet ut possit; quia à Patre habet ut sit. *S. Aug. Tract. 20. in Joan.* * Non alia potentia est in Filio, & alia substantia; sed ipsa est potentia quæ substantia; substantia ut sit, potentia ut possit. Ergò quia filius de Patre est, ideo dixit, *Non potest Filius à se facere quicquam:* quia non est filius à se, ideo non potest à se. *Id.* Totum quod est, de Patre est; totum quod potest, de Patre est; quoniam quod potest & est, de Patre totum est. *Id.* Non potest Filius à se facere quicquam, nisi quod viderit Patrem facientem: quia de Patre est totus filius, & tota substantia & potentia ejus ex illo est qui genuit eum. *Id. Tract. 21.* Et primùm Filium cognosce, cum dicitur, *Non potest filius à se facere quicquam, nisi quod viderit Patrem facientem.* Habes nativitatem Filii, quæ ab se nihil potest facere nisi videat. In eo autem quòd à se nihil potest, innascibilitatis adimit errorem. Ab se enim non potest posse nativitas. *S. Hilar. de Trin. l. 7.* Dum non à se facit, ad id quòd agit secundum nativitatem sibi Pater auctor est. *Id. l. 11.* Autorem discrevit cum ait, *Non potest à se facere:* Obedientiam significat, cum addit, *Nisi quod viderit Patrem facientem.* *Id. de Syn.*

and

and being he gave him all the power, as communicating his entire and undivided Essence, therefore *what things soever he doth, these also doth the Son likewise*, by the same power by which the Father worketh, because he had received the same Godhead in which the Father subsisteth. There is nothing more intimate and essential to any thing than the life thereof, and that in nothing so conspicuous as in the Godhead, where life and truth are so inseparable, that there can be no living God but the true, no true God but the living. ¹ *The Lord is the true God, he is the living God, and an everlasting King*, saith the Prophet *Jeremy*; and *S. Paul* putteth the *Thessalonians* in mind, how they ² *turned from idols, to serve the living and true God*. Now life is otherwise in God than in the Creatures: in him originally, in them derivatively; in him as in the fountain of absolute perfection, and in them by way of dependence and participation: our life is in him, but his is in himself; and * *as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself*: || both the same life, both in themselves, both in the same degree, as the one, so the other; but only with this difference, the Father giveth it, and the Son receiveth it. From whence he professeth of himself, *that the living Father sent him, and that he liveth * by the Father*.

¹ Jer. 10. 10.
² 1 Thess. 1. 9.
* Job. 5. 26.
Sicut habet Pater vitam in semetipso, sic dedit & Filio vitam habere in semetipso: ut hoc solum intersit inter Patrem & Filium, quia Pater habet vitam in semetipso quam nemo ei dedit.

Filius autem habet vitam in semetipso quam Pater dedit. *S. Aug. Tract. 19. in Job.* Incommutabilis est vita Filii, sicut & Patris, & tamen de Patre est: & inseparabilis est operatio Patris & Filii; sed tamen ita operari Filio de illo est de quo ipse est, id est, de Patre. *Id. de Trin. l. 2. c. 1.* || Sicut habet, dedit; qualem habet dedit; quantum habet, tantum dedit. *Id. contra Maxim. l. 3. c. 14.* Ergo quod dicitur *dedit filio*, tale est ac si diceretur, genuit filium; generando enim dedit. Quomodo enim dedit ut esset, sic dedit ut vita esset, & sic dedit ut in semetipso vita esset. *Id. Tract. 22. in Job.* Tali confessione originis suae indiscretæ naturæ perfecta nativitas est. Quod enim in utroque vita est, id in utroque significatur essentia; & vita quæ generatur ex vita, id est, essentia quæ de essentia nascitur, dum non dissimilis nascitur, scilicet quia vita ex vita est, tenet in se indissimilem naturam originis suæ, quia & natæ & gignentis essentia, id est, vitæ quæ habetur & data est, similitudo non discrepet. *S. Hilar. de Synod. Advers. Arianos.* Quia ergo apparet vita Patris hoc esse quod ipse est; sicut habet vitam in se, sic dedit; sic dedit Filio habere vitam, id est, sic est esse Filii, sicut esse Patris. *Vigil. Africanus Disput.* In vita naturæ & essentiæ significatio est, quæ sicut habetur, ita data esse docetur ad habendum. *S. Hilar. ib.* * Propter Patrem vivat Filius quod ex patre Filius est: propter Patrem, quod cruciatum est verbum ex Patris corde, quod à Patre processit, quod ex paterno generatus est utero, quod fons Pater Filii est, quod radix Pater Filii est. *S. Ambros. de Fide, l. 4. c. 5.*

We must not therefore so far endeavour to involve our selves in the darkness of this Mystery, as to deny that glory which is clearly due unto the Father; whose preeminence undeniably consisteth in this, that he is God not of any other, but of himself, and that there is no other person who is God, but is God of himself. It is no diminution to the Son, to say he is from another, for his very name imports as much; but it were a diminution to the Father to speak so of him: and there must be some preeminence, where there is place for derogation. * *What the Father is, he is from none; what the Son is, he is from him: what the first is, he giveth; what the second is, he receiveth.* The first is a Father indeed by reason of his Son, but he is not God by reason of him; whereas the Son is not so only in regard of the Father, but also God by reason of the same.

* Pater de nullo patre, Filius de Deo Patre: Pater quod est à nullo est; quod autem Pater est, propter Filium est. Fi-

lius verò & quod filius est, propter patrem est, & quod est, à Patre est. *S. Aug. Tract. 19. in Job.* Filium dicimus Deum de Deo, Patrem autem Deum tantum, non de Deo. Unde manifestum est quod Filius habet alium de quo sit, & cui filius est; Pater autem non filium de quo sit habeat, sed cui Pater sit. Omnis enim filius de patre est quod est, & patri filius est: nullus autem pater de filio est quod est. *Id. de Trin. l. 2. c. 1.* Filius non hoc tantum habet nascendo, ut Filius sit, sed omnino ut sit. *Ib. l. 5. c. 14.* Filius non tantum ut sit Filius quod relativè dicitur, sed omnino ut sit, ipsam substantiam nascendo habet. *Ibid. c. 15.* Pater non habet patrem de quo sit, Filius autem de Patre est ut sit, atque ut illi co æternus sit. *Ibid. l. 6. c. 10. ab ipso, inquit, sum;* quia Filius de Patre, & quicquid est filius, de illo est cujus est Filius. Ideo Dominum Jesum dicimus Deum de Deo, Patrem non dicimus Deum de Deo: & dicimus Dominum Jesum lumen de lumine, Patrem non dicimus lumen de lumine, sed tantum lumen. Ad hoc ergo pertinet quod dixit, *Ab ipso sum.* *Id. Tract. in Job. 31.* Pater non est si non habeat Filium, & Filius non est si non habeat Patrem: sed tamen Filius Deus de Patre, Pater autem Deus, sed non de Filio: Pater Filii, non Deus de Filio; ille autem Filius Patris, & Deus de Patre. *Id. Tract. 20. in Job.* Hoc tamen inter Patrem & Filium interest, quia Pater à nullo hoc accepit, filius autem per generationem omnia Patris accepit. *Ambr. in Epist. ad Eph. c. 7.* Est ergo Deus Pater omnium, institutor & creator, solus originem nesciens. *Novat. de Trinit. c. 31. whereas he speaks after the Son,* Est ergo Deus, sed in hoc ipsum genitus, ut esset Deus. Pater est Deus de quo Filius est Deus, de quo autem Pater nullus est Deus. *S. Aug. Epist. 66.*

Upon this preeminence (as I conceive) may safely be grounded the congruity of the Divine Mission. We often read that Christ was sent, from whence he bears the name of an *Apostle* himself, as well as those whom he therefore named so, because as the *Father sent him, so sent he them*: The Holy Ghost is also said to be sent, sometimes by the Father, sometimes by the Son: But we * never read that the Father was sent at all, there being an || authority in that name which seems inconsistent with this Mission. In the Parable-
¹ *a certain householder which planted a vineyard first sent his servants to the husbandman, and again other servants, but last of all he sent unto them his Son*: It had been inconsistent even with the literal sense of an historical Parable, as not at all consonant to the rational customs of men, to have said, that last of all the Son sent his Father to them. So God, placing man in the Vineyard of his Church, first sent his servants the Prophets, by whom he ² *spake at sundry times and in divers manners*; but *in the last days he sent his Son*: And it were as * incongruous and inconsistent with the Divine Generation, that the Son should send the Father into the world. ³ *As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father*, saith our Saviour; intimating, that by whom he lived, by him he was sent, and therefore sent by him because he lived by him, laying his Generation as the proper ground of his Mission. Thus he which begetteth sendeth, and he which is || begotten is sent. ⁴ *For I am from him, and he hath sent me*, saith the Son: from whom I received my Essence by communication, from him also received I this Commission. As therefore it is more worthy to give than to receive, to send than to be sent; so in respect of the Sonship there is some priority in the Divine Paternity: from whence divers of the * Ancients read that place of S. *John* with this addition, ⁵ *The Father (which sent me) is greater than I. He then is that* ⁶ *God who sent forth his Son made of a woman, that God who hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father*, So that the authority of sending is in the Father: which therefore ought to be acknowledged, because upon this Mission is founded the highest testimony of his love to man; for *herein is love*, saith S. *John*, *not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins*.

Heb. 3. 1.
John 20. 21.

* Pater enim solus nusquam legitur missus. S. Aug. l. 2. de Trin. c. 5. || Solus Pater non legitur missus, quia solus non habet authorem à quo genitus sit, vel à quo procedat. Et ideo non propter naturæ diversitatem, sed propter ipsam auctoritatem, solus Pater non dicitur missus: non enim splendor aut fervor ignem, sed ignis mittit sive splendorem sive fervorem. S. Aug. Serm. contr. Arian. c. 4. Qui mittit, potestatem suam in eo quod mittit, ostendit. S. Hilar. l. 8. ¹ Matt. 21. 33, &c.

² Heb. 1. 1, 2.

* Si voluisset Deus Pater per subjectam creaturam visibiliter apparere, absurdissime tamen aut à Filio, quem genuit, aut à Spiritu Sancto, qui de illo procedit, missus diceretur. S. August. de Trin. lib. 4. cap. ult. ³ John 6. 57. || Filius est igitur à Patre missus, non Pater à Filio; quia Filius est à Patre natus, non Pater à Filio. Fulgent. l. 8. contra Fabianum, in Collect. Theodul. de S. S. Quis autem Christianus ignorat quod Pater miserit, missusque sit Filius? Non enim genitorem ab eo quem genuit, sed genitum à genitore mitti oportebat. S. Augustin. contra Maximin. lib. 3. c. 14. Ubi audis, *Ipse me misit*, noli intelligere naturæ dissimilitudinem, sed generantis auctoritatem. Idem Tract. 31. in Job. *Ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὁ θεὸς ἐπέλεξε καὶ ὁ ἀποστόλος ἐπέλεξε, ἵνα δείξῃ ὅτι πάντων ἀγαθῶν μίαν εἶναι τὴν πηγὴν, τὴν ἐστὶ τὴν Πατέρα.* Epiph. Hæres. 69. 54. Hence the language of the Schools, Missio importat processionem originis, as Thom. Aquin. 10. q. 42. art. 1. ad primum; or auctoritatem principii, as Durand. l. 1. dist. 15 q. 1. ⁴ John 7. 29. * *λέγουσι γὰρ τὸ ἦν τὸν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κακῶς ἐρμηνεύοντες, ὅτι ὁ ἀποστόλος με πατὴρ μέγαν με ἔειπεν, αἰεὶ ἔειπεν Ἐπιφάνιος τῶν Ἀρειανῶν; and answering, grants in these words which follow, καὶ πρῶτον ὑπὸ ὁ ἀποστόλος με πατὴρ, φάσκει, καὶ ἔχ ὁ κτίσας με.* Hæres. 69. 53. To the same purpose Athanas. de Hum. Nat. susc. & Cyril. Thesaur. l. 11. read it, ὁ πέμψας με πατὴρ. and S. Basil makes Eunomius read it so, in his first Book against him, and with that addition answers it. So the second Confession of the Council of Sirmium, both in the Latin Original, and Greek Translation. S. Hilar. de Syn. S. Athanas. & Socr. l. 2. c. 3. ⁵ Job. 14. 28. ⁶ Gal. 4. 4.

Again, the dignity of the Father will farther yet appear from the order of the Persons in the blessed Trinity, of which he is undoubtedly the first. For although in some passages of the Apostolical discourses the Son may first be named, (as in that of S. Paul, *The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the holy Ghost be with you all*, the latter part of which is nothing but an addition unto his constant Benediction;) and in others the Holy Ghost precedes: the Son (as, *Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord; and there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all*;) yet where the three Persons are barely enumerated, and delivered unto us as
the

2 Cor. 13. 14.

1 Cor. 12. 4, 5, 6.

the * Rule of Faith, there that order is observed which is proper to them; witnesses the form of Baptism in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; which order hath been perpetuated in all Confessions of Faith, and is for ever || inviolably to be observed. For that which is not instituted or invented by the will or design of man, but * founded in the nature of things themselves, is not to be altered at the pleasure of man. Now this priority doth properly and naturally result from the Divine Paternity; so that the Son must necessarily be || second unto the Father, from whom he receiveth his origination, and the Holy Ghost unto the Son. Neither can we be thought to want a sufficient foundation for this priority of the first Person of the Trinity, if we look upon the numerous testimonies of the ancient Doctors of the Church, who have not stuck to call the Father the * origin, || the cause,

* Παρὰ τὸν πατέρα ὁ υἱὸς τῶν ἁγίων πνεύματος τοῖς μαθηταῖς ὡς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ συνεκκείμενον. S. Basil. Epist. 78.

|| Ἀκίνητον καὶ ἀπαρρηχθέν ἵσον οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλοθεν ἢ ἀπο τοῦ πατρὸς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ.

καὶ ἐκ τῆς φύσεως παρελάβομεν, εἰπὼντος, Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα, &c. S. Basil. Epist. 78. * Ἐστὶ τὰ ἕξ ἑσθλὰ ἐκ ἐμῆ παρ' ἡμῶν θέσεως συνιστάμενον, ἀλλ' αὐτῇ τῇ κατὰ φύσιν ἀκολουθία συμβαίνει, ὡς τὸ πνεῦμα πρὸς τὸ φῶς ὅτι τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις λέγεται, δευτέρου ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ. πῶς ἐν εὐλόγων ἀνεπίσταται τὰ ἕξ ἐν ὧν ὅτι πρῶτον καὶ δευτέρου, καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας θέσεως, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ κατὰ φύσιν ἀκολουθίᾳ ἀκολουθίας; S. Basil. advers. Eunom. l. 1. || Δευτέρου μὲν ὁ υἱὸς τῆς πατρὸς τῆς αἰτίας δευτέρου ὅτι καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς αἰτίας λόγος. S. Basil. apud Georg. Pachym. Hist. l. 7. ὡς καὶ τὸ φῶς τὰ ἕξ δευτέρου τῆς πατρὸς, καὶ ἀξιώματι, ὅτι ἀρχὴ καὶ αἰτία τῆς ἐκείνου αὐτῆς ὁ πατήρ, καὶ ὅτι δι' αὐτοῦ ἡ πρῶτος καὶ πρῶτος ἀρχὴ τῆς θεοῦ πατρός, φύσει ὁ υἱὸς δευτέρου, διότι ἡ θεότης ἐν ἐκατέρῳ μία. ἔτι δὲ δηλονότι καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, εἰ καὶ ὑποβέβηκε τὸν υἱὸν τῆς πατρὸς καὶ τῆς ἀξιώματι, ἐκείν' ἂν εἰκότως ὡς ἀλλοθείας ὑπαρχόν εἴσεως. S. Basil. contra Eunom. l. 3. Si unum Deum singulariter nominamus, excludentes vocabulum secundæ personæ, furorem ejus hæresis approbamus quæ ipsum asserit Patrem passum. Phœbad. contra Arian. Illi cui est in Filio secunda persona, est & tertia in Spiritu Sancto. Id. Sic alius à Filio Spiritus, sicut à Patre Filius: sic tertia in Spiritu ut in Filio secunda persona. Ibid. Omne quod prodit ex aliquo, secundum sit ejus necesse est de quo prodit, non tamen est separatum. Secundus autem ubi est, duo sunt; & tertius ubi est, tres sunt; tertius enim est Spiritus à Deo & Filio. Tertul. advers. Praxeam, c. 8. Sic alium à se Paracletum quomodo & nos à Patre alium Filium: ut tertium gradum ostenderet in Paracletum, sicut nos secundum in Filio. Ibid. c. 9. Hic interim acceptum à Patre munus estudit Spiritum Sanctum, tertium numen divinitatis, & tertium nomen Majestatis. Cap. 30: Ὁ ἐξ αἰτίας γεγονὼς υἱὸς, δευτέρου ὅτι ὅτι κατέβηκε, παρὰ τῆς πατρὸς καὶ τὸ εἶναι καὶ τοῖς δεῖν εἶναι εἰληφώς. Euseb. Dem. Evang. l. 4. c. 3. Et quidem confessione communi secunda quidem ab autore nativitas est, quia ex Deo est; non tamen separabilis ab autore, quia in quantum sensus noster intelligentiam tentabit excedere, in tantum necesse est etiam generatio excedat. S. Hilar. de Trinit. l. 12. Tua enim res est, & unigenitus tuus est filius ex te Deo Patre Deus verus, & à te in naturæ tuæ veritate genitus, post te ita confitendus, ut tecum, quia æternæ originis suæ es author æternus. Nam dum ex te est, secundus à te est. Id. This by the Schools is called ordo naturæ, ordo originis, ordo naturalis præsuppositionis. Which being so generally acknowledged by the Fathers, when we read in the Athanasian Creed, In this Trinity none is afore or after other, we must understand it of the priority of perfection or time. * Μικρῶν γὰρ ἂν εἴη καὶ ἀναξίον ἀρχὴν, μάλλον ὅτι μικρῶς τε καὶ ἀναξίως, μὴ θεότης ὡς ἀρχὴ καὶ ἀγαθότης ὡς ἐν τῷ καὶ πνεύματι θεωρεῖται. Naz. Orat. 1. Ὁ 29. Μὴ χερσὶν ἀρχὴν τῆς υἱὸς κατὰ φύσιν τινὸς λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἀρχὴν ἀρχὴν γίνωσκε τὸν πατέρα. ἀρχὴν γὰρ υἱὸς ἀρχενοῦ, ἀκατάληπτος. S. Cyril. Hier. Catech. 11. Ἀρχὴ μὲν ἐν πατρὶ τῆς θεοῦ, ἀρχὴ ὅτι τῆς υἱὸς ὁ πατὴρ. S. Basil. contra Eunom. l. 2. Φαίνεται λοιπὸν ὁ μακάριος Ἐυαγγελιστὴς σαφέστερον ἡμῖν ἐρμηνεύων τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄνομα. ἔδεν γὰρ ἕτερον, ὡς εἶδος, τῆς ἀρχῆς εἶναι φησὶν ἢ αὐτὸν τὸν Πατέρα, ἀλλ' ἔπερ ὁ ζῶν ἔλαμψε λόγος καθάπερ ἐξ ἡλίου τὸ φῶς. ἐκὼν ἀρχὴ τῶν τῶν Πατρὸς; S. Cyril. Alex. Thesaur. c. 32. Cum dixisset, quem mittet Pater, addidit, in nomine meo: non tamen dixit, quem mittet Pater à me, quemadmodum dixit, quem ego mittam vobis à Patre; viz. ostendens quod totius Divinitatis, vel, si melius dicitur, Deitatis, principium Pater est, S. Aug. de Trin. l. 4. c. 20. Unum principium ad creaturam dicitur Deus, non duo vel tria principia. Ad se autem invicem in Trinitate, si gignens ad id quod gignitur principium est, Pater ad Filium principium est, quia gignit eum. S. Aug. de Trin. l. 5. c. 14. Pater ergo principium Deitatis. Gennad. de Eccles. Dogmat. c. 1. In this sense the Greek Fathers used ἀναρχος as proper to the Father, (in the same notion with ἀρχὴν, with relation to the principium productionis,) and denied it to the Son: Ὁ ὅτι υἱὸς, εἰ μὴ ὡς αἰτίον τὸν πατέρα λαμβάνει, εἰ ἀναρχος, ἀρχὴν γὰρ υἱὸς ὁ πατὴρ ὡς αἰτίος. εἰ μὴ ὅτι τῶν πρὸ χρόνων ἀρχὴν, καὶ ἀναρχος. Naz. Orat. 29. Εἰ τις ἀγέννητον καὶ ἀναρχον λέγοι τὸν υἱόν, ὡς δύο ἀναρχαί, καὶ δύο ἀγέννητα λέγων, καὶ δύο ποιῶν θεοί, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. Synod. Sirm. Conf. primâ, thus first translated into Latin; Si quis innascibilem & sine initio dicat Filium, tanquam duo sine principio, & duo innascibilia, & duo innata dicens, duos faciet duos, Anathema sit. S. Hilar. de Synod. In which sense the Platonists did understand ἀγέννητος of God, Ὡς ἐκ ἀγαθὸν τῇ λεγομένῃ ὕλῃ τὸ κοσμεῖσθαι, εἴπερ ἀγέννητος εἴη μὴ ἀπὸ χρόνου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πρὸ αἰτίων, καθ' ὃ σημαίνει καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀγέννητον λέγουσιν. Hierocles de Provid. And the Latins attributing the term principium to the Son, do it with the addition of de or ex principio. Pater principium non de principio, Filius principium de principio. S. Aug. contra Maxim. l. 3. c. 17. Principium ex principio & unum est, & initio caret. Faust. Rheg. Epist. 16. Ex ore, inquit, Altissimi providi. Hæc est enim nativitas perfecta Sermonis, hoc est principium sine principio; hic est ortus habens initium in nativitate, in statu non habens. Phœbad. contra Arian. Sicut in creaturis invenitur principium primum & principium secundum; ita in personis divinis invenitur principium non de principio, quod Pater est, & principium à principio, quod est Filius. Tho. Aquin. 1. q. 33. art. 4. And to this all the Schoolmen writing on his Summes agree, as all the Sentences, 1. Dist. 29. || Αἰτία ὅτι ἡ τῆς θεοῦ φύσις, καὶ τῆς υἱὸς, καὶ τῆς ἁγίου πνεύματος, καὶ τῆς κτίσεως πάσης. S. Athanas. Dissert. Orthod. Ὁ ἄνομ. Ἀλλὰ τίς ὅτι δυνάμει ἀγέννητος καὶ ἀναρχὸς ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἡ τῆς αἰτίας τῆς ἀπάντων ὄντων αἰτίας. ἐν γὰρ τῆς πατρὸς ὁ υἱὸς δι' ὃ τὰ πάντα. S. Basil. Epist. 43. And upon that place, this day have I begotten thee; Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν, γεγονὴν, τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπ' ἧς ἔχει τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐκείνου σημαίνει. Id. contra Eunom. l. 2. Πῶς ἐδέξαντο διαφορὰν καταλείπει, ἔδεν τῶν ἐν αἰτίαις πρὸς τὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐνυπαρχούσαν. Id. l. 1. Πρὸς τὸ, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἦλθον ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς πατρὸς μαρτυρεῖν, ὅτι ἀρχὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ αἰτίαν ὀπηρεζέμενος τῆς πατρὸς ταῦτα λέγει. Id. Epist. 64. Διαφορὰν γὰρ ὑποστάσεων ἐν μόναις ταῖς τρεῖσιν ἰδιοῦσιν, τῇ ἀναξίᾳ καὶ παλαιότητι καὶ αἰτιατῇ υἱοῦ, καὶ τῇ αἰτία ἢ καὶ ἐκπορευθῆναι, ὅτι γινώσκουσι. Damasc. l. 4. c. 5. Τὸν πατέρα τῆς λόγου καὶ τῆς σοφίας, καὶ πρῶτος τῆς πνεύματος τῆς ἁγίου, τῆς πρώτης αἰτίας καὶ ἀρχῆς φανερῶς τῆς θεότητος εἶναι. Zachar. Mitylen. And altho Thomas Aquinas, and Eugenius Bishop of Rome in the Definition of the Council of Florence, have observed that the Greeks in this case do use the term of causa, but the Latins only principium: yet the very Latin Fathers in the 25. Session of the same Council have these words, μίαν γινώσκουσι τὸν πατέρα αἰτίαν, καὶ ῥίζαν, καὶ πηγὴν τῆς θεότητος: and we have before cited Victorinus Afer, who says, Pater

causa est ipsi filio ut fir. So S. Hilary Deum nasci, non est aliud quam in ea natura esse qua Deus est, quia nasci cum causam nativitatis ostendat, non disproficit tamen in genere autoris existere. De Trin. l. 11. Ex spiritu enim spiritus nascens, licet de proprietate Spiritus, per quam & ipse Spiritus est, nascatur, non tamen alia ei praterquam perfectarum atque indemutabilium causarum ad id quod nascitur causa est, & ex causa, licet perfecta atque indemutabili nascens, necesse est ex causa in causa ipsius proprietate nascatur. Id. l. 12. Qui ex eo qui est natus est, intelligi non potest ex eo quod non fuit natus esse, quia ejus qui est ad id quod est causa est, non etiam id quod non est origo nascendi est Ibid. Deus omnium quae sunt causa est. Quod autem rerum omnium causa est, etiam sapientiae suae causa est, nec unquam Deus sine sapientia sua. Igitur sempiternae suae sapientiae causa est sempiterna. S. Aug. l. 83. quest. 16. And as they called the Father the cause of the Son, so they accounted it the propriety of the Father to be without a cause; as appears out of Alexander the Bishop of Alexandria's Epiſt. before produc'd.

* We have cit- ed Phœbadius speaking so before; to which Si quis igitur adhuc & de A- postolo requirit dominicum statum, id est, singularis sub- stantiae dualita- tem quae per naturam auto- ri suo jungitur: & paulo post;

* the Author, the || root, the * fountain, and the † head of the Son, or the whole Divinity.

For by these titles it appeareth clearly, first, that they made a considera- ble difference between the person of the Father, of whom are all things, and the person of the Son, by whom are all things. Secondly, that the difference consisteth properly in this, That as the branch is from the root, and river from the fountain, and by their origination from them receive that being which they have; whereas the root receiveth nothing from the branch, or fountain from the river: So the Son is from the Father, receiving his subfi- stence by generation from him; the Father is not from the Son, as being what he is from none.

Sed cum refertur ex ipso, certè ad Patrem, ut ad rerum omnium respicitur autorem, S. Hilary is known to speak frequently of the authority of the Father, as of the author of his Son, and several places have been already collected, especially by Petavius, to which these may be added, besides what have been already produced. Ipso quod Pater dicitur, ejus quem genuit autor ostenditur. l. 4. cum potius honor filii dignitas sit paterna, & gloriosus autor sit ex quo is, qui tali gloria sit dignus, existit. Ibid. Aliud est sine autore esse semper æternum, aliud quod patri, id est, autori, est coæternum. Ubi enim pater autor, ibi & nativitas est. At verò ubi autor æternus est, ibi & nativitas æterna est: quia sicut nativitas ab autore est, ita ab æterno autore nativitas est. Id. l. 12. Quod verò ex æterno natum est, id si non æternum natum est, jam non erit & pater autor æternus. Si quid igitur ei qui ab æterno patre natus est ex æternitate defuerit, id ipsum autori non est ambiguum defuisse. Id. Natum non post aliquid, sed ante omnia; ut nativitas tantum testetur autorem, non præposterum aliquid in se autore significet. Ib. Natus autem ita, ut nihil aliud quam te sibi significet autorem. Ib. Ipsius tamen autor est Pater generando sine initio. Ruff. in Symb. Si propterea Deum Patrem Deo Filio dicis autorem, quia ille genuit, genitus est iste, quia iste de illo est, non ille de isto; fateor & concedo. S. Aug. contra Maxim. l. 3. c. 14. || Nec dubitaverim Filium dicere & radicis fruticem, & fontis fluvium, & Solis radium. Tertul. adv. praxeam, c. 8. Nec frutex tamen à radice, nec fluvius à fonte, nec radius à Sole discernitur; sicut nec à Deo sermo. Ibid. "Εστὶ μὲν γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ τέλειον ἔχων τὸ εἶναι καὶ ἀνευδρῆς, ρίζα καὶ πηγὴ τῆς ἡμετέρας πνεύματος. S. Basil. Homil. 26. Dominus pater, quia radix est Filii. S. Ambros. in Luc. l. 10. c. 1. ut & de Fide, l. 4. c. 5. S. Cyril of Alexandria speaking of the Baptismal institution, τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀνωτάτω ρίζαν ἡμετέρας ἐκείνα τὸ σύμπαν ἐδέξεν, ἐννοήσεις τὸν Πατέρα. τὸν δὲ γε τῆ ἀνωτάτω ρίζης ἐκπεφυκότα καὶ γεγεννημένον πνεῦμα δεξήσεται τὸν υἱόν. De S. Tim. Dial. 2. * "Αναρχος ὁ πατὴρ πηγὴ τῆς δικαιοσύνης πόσιμα, τῆς μονοθεῦς ὁ πατὴρ. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. 11. In hac ergò natura filius est, & in hoc originis fonte subsistens processit ex sapientie sapientia, ex forti virtus, ex lumine splendore. Vigil. Disp. "Ὡς πᾶμα θεῶ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς πνεύματος, αἴτιον αὐτὸν ἔχον, ὡς πηγὴν ἑαυτῆ, καὶ κεῖθεν πηγάζον. Basil. Homil. 28. Λέγει περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἡμετέρας γένεσιν, κλίνει, ἐστὶν, ἐπὶ αὐτῆς ὡς πόσιμα ἐρῶν, ἐκπορευόμενος δηλοῦσι ἐν τῆ ἀληθείᾳ πηγῆς τῆς ζωῆς τῆς πατρὸς θεοῦ. Act. Concil. Nic. l. 2. c. 22. And S. Cyril. of Alexandria, who often used this expression, gives us the full signification of it in these words, upon 1 of S. John: Ἀδυνασὶ ἢ ἕλως ἐδέξεν τὸ, ὡς ἐν πνεύματι, τὸ πατρὶ τὸν υἱὸν ὑπαρχειν ἐννοεῖν. μόνον γὰρ τὸ ἐξ ἢ τὸ τῆς πηγῆς ἐν τέλει: ὄνομα σημαίνει. Patrem quidem non genitum, non creatum, sed ingenitum profitemur; ipse enim à nullo originem ducit, ex quo & filius nativitatem, & Spiritus Sanctus processionem accepit. Fons ergò ipse & origo est totius divinitatis. Concil. Tolet. an. 11. Quanto magis Dei vocem credendum est & manere in æternum, & sensu ac virtute comitari, quam de Deo Patre tui quam rivus de fonte traduxit? Laſtan. de falsa Sap. l. 4. c. 8. & rursus c. 19. Cum igitur & pater filium faciat, & filius patrem, una utriusque mens, unus spiritus, una substantia est; sed ille quasi exuberans fons est, hic tanquam defluens ex eo rivus; ille tanquam Sol, hic tanquam radius à Sole porrectus. † Caput, quod est principium omnium, Filius: caput autem, quod est principium Christi Deus. Concil. Sirm. accepted and expounded as Orthodox by S. Hilary. Caput enim omnium filius, sed caput filii Deus. S. Hil. de Syn. Cum ipse sit omnium caput, ipsius tamen caput est pater. Ruff. in Symb. Tu capitis caput, & primitu fontis origo. Hilar. ad Leonem. Οὐτε δύο εἰσὶν ἀρχαί, ἀλλὰ κεφαλὴ τῆς ἡμετέρας ὁ πατὴρ, μία ἡ ἀρχή. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. 11. Caput Filii Pater est, & caput Spiritus Sancti Filius, quia de ipso accepit. S. Aug. Quest. Ver. Test. 9. S. Chrysostome is so clearly of the opinion that 1 Cor. 11. is to be understood of Christ as God, that from thence he proves him to have the same Essence with God: Εἰ γὰρ κεφαλὴ γυναικὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ, ὁμοούσιος ἢ ἡ κεφαλὴ τῷ σώματι. κεφαλὴ ἢ αὐτὸ θεός, ὁμοούσιος ὁ υἱὸς τῷ πατρί. Solikewise Theodoret upon the same place: Ἡ ἢ γυνὴ εἰ ποίημα τῶ ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' ἐν τῆς ἰσῆας τῶ ἀνδρός. ἐδ' ὁ υἱὸς ἀρα ποίημα τῶ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῆς ἰσῆας τῶ θεοῦ. So S. Cyril. Κεφαλὴ τῶ Χριστοῦ ὁ Θεός, ὅτι ἐξ αὐτῆ καὶ οὐσίαν. γεγέννηται γὰρ ὁ λόγος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρός. Ad Regim. Ep. 1.

* Laſtan. l. 1. c. 8. S. Hilar. l. 2. Zach. Mytylen. ¶ Laſtan. ib. Synes. Hymn. * S. Hieron. in c. 3. ad Eph.

Some indeed of the Ancients may seem to have made yet a farther difference between the persons of the Father and the Son, laying upon that Relation terms of greater opposition. As if, because the Son hath not his Essence from himself, the * Father had; because he was not begotten of himself, the || Father had been so; because he is not the cause of himself, * the Father were. Whereas, if we speak properly, God the Father hath * neither

*neither his Being from another, nor from himself : not from another, that were repugnant to his Paternity ; not from himself, that were a contradiction in it self. And therefore those expressions are not to be understood positively and affirmatively, but || negatively and exclusively, that he hath his Essence from none, that he is not begotten of any, nor hath he any cause of his existence. So that the proper notion of the Father in whom we believe is this, that he is a Person subsisting eternally in the one infinite Essence of the Godhead ; which essence or subsistence he hath received from no other person, but hath communicated the same essence, in which himself subsisteth by Generation to another person, who by that Generation is the Son.

* Ἄνευ χάριτος ἔνδον πατρὸς, ἔστι γὰρ ἕτερον ἑαυτοῦ τὸ εἶναι. S. Greg. Naz. ὁ ἀγέννητος ἔγεννησεν ἑαυτὸν ἑξ ἑαυτοῦ. S. Athan. Si rursum quod à semetipso sic accipias, nemo sibi ipsi & mu-

nerator & munus est. S. Hilar. de Trin. l. 2: Qui putant Deum ejus potentia esse ut seipsum ipse genuerit, eo plus errant, quod non solum Deus ita non est, sed neque corporalis neque spiritualis creatura. Nulla enim omnino res est quae seipsam gignat ut sit. Et ideo non est credendum, vel dicendum, quod deus genuit se. S. Aug. || This appeareth by those expositions which have been given of such words as seem to bear the affirmation ; as αὐτογένεθλος, αὐτοουῆς, αὐλόγονος, αὐτολογῆς, &c. Ἄυτοουῆς, αὐτογένεθλος, ἔκ' ἐκ τινος ἡνωμένως. Hesych. And, Αὐτολόχουτος, θεός ἀγέννητος, αὐτογέννητος, Id. And after him Suidas ; Αὐτολόχουτος, αὐτογέννητος, ὁ θεός ὁ ἀγέννητος. And if αὐτογέννητος be not αὐτόθεν γεννητός, no more is αὐτόθεος to be taken for αὐτόθεν, or ἑξ ἑαυτοῦ θεός. Eusebius in his Panegyricall Oration gives this title to the Son, Οἷα τὴ καθόλου θεῷ παῖδα γνήσιον καὶ αὐτόθεν προσηκωεῖς. Hist. l. 10. c. 4. and in his Evangelical Demonstration calls him αὐτόθεν, καὶ αὐτόλογον, καὶ αὐτοσοφίαν, καὶ ἔτι ἢ αὐτοκαλὸν καὶ αὐτοαγαθόν. l. 4. c. 2. and in the 13. chapter of the same book, with relation to the former words, τοῦ θεῷ λόγος αὐτοζῶν τυγχάνων, καὶ αὐτοφῶς νεερόν, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα προκαλείλεται. Theodor. terms him, αὐτοδύναμον καὶ αὐτοζῶν καὶ αὐτοσοφίαν. contra Anathem. quartum Cyt. S. Basil. αὐτοζῶν, in Psal. 48. Ὁ de Spiritu Sancto, c. 8. and αὐτοδικαιοσύνην. Epist. 141. S. Chrylost. αὐτοαθανασία, αὐτομακαριότητα. S. Athan. gives him them and many more to the same purpose. And before all these Orig. Ὁν μὲν νομίζομεν καὶ πεπεσμένα ἀρχῆθεν εἶναι θεόν καὶ ἕν ὅθεν οὐ τοῖς αὐτολόγος ὅτι καὶ ἡ αὐτοσοφία, καὶ ἡ αὐτοαλήθεια. And again. Τίς μᾶλλον ἢ Ἰησοῦ ψυχῆς ἢ καὶ παραπλησίως κενόρρηται τῷ κυρίῳ, τῷ αὐτολόγῳ καὶ αὐτοσοφίᾳ, καὶ αὐτοαλήθειᾳ καὶ αὐτοδικαιοσύνῃ. l. 6. Εἰκὼν μὲν τὸ θεῷ ὁ πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως ὅσον ὁ αὐτολόγος, καὶ ἡ αὐτοαλήθεια, ἔτι ἢ καὶ ἡ αὐτοσοφία. lb. And certainly in the same sense that αὐτός is joined with one attribute, it may be joined with any other, and with the Godhead : because all the attributes of God are always the same, not only with themselves, but with the Essence. But in what sense it ought to be understood, when thus used by the Fathers, it will be necessary to enquire, lest it be so attributed to the Son as it prove derogatory to the Father. S. Basil, I confess, may seem so to speak, as if the Son were therefore αὐτοζῶν because he hath life of himself, nor from the Father, (Ὁ consequently he may be termed αὐτόθεος, as God of himself, not from the Father) for he denieth those words, I live by the Father, to be spoken of Christ according to his divine nature, and that only for this reason, that if it were so understood, he could not be called αὐτοζῶν. Εἰ δὲ διὰ τὸ πατέρα ὁ υἱὸς ζῆν, δι' ἑτερον, καὶ ἔστι ἑαυτὸν ζῆν, ὃ δὲ ἑτέρῳ ζῶν αὐτοζῶν εἶναι ἔδύναται ; from whence he concludeth, εἰς τὸ ἐνανθεώπισιν ἔν, καὶ ἕκαστος τὸ θεότητα, τὸ εἰρηναῖον νεῖν δεῖν. contra Eunom. l. 4. But because the Authority of that Book is questioned, I shall produce the same Author upon the same Scripture, speaking to the same purpose, in his 141. Epistle, which is unquestionably genuine : Ἐνταῦθα ἢ τὸ ῥῆτον ἐκ αὐτὴν περαιώνιον, ὡς διμαί, ζῶν ὀνομάζει· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ δι' ἑτερον ζῶν αὐτοζῶν εἶναι ἔδύναται. To which testimonies I answer, first, that these words of his ὡς διμαί (as I think) shew that he doth not absolutely deny these words of Christ to be understood of his Divinity, of which the rest of the Fathers quoted before did understand it ; and not only they but S. Basil himself, in his Book de Spiritu Sancto, c. 8. hath delivered a clear resolution of this point according to that interpretation, wholly consonant to his doctrine of the Trinity in other parts of his works : Ὁμοίως μὲν τοῖς ἰνα μᾶποτε ἐκ τῶ μεγέθους ἢ ἐνεργημένων πεισισαδῶμων εἰς τὸ φανταδῶναι ἀννερχον εἶναι τὸ κύριον, τί φησιν ἡ αὐτοζῶν. Ἐγὼ ζῶ διὰ τὸ πατέρα καὶ ἡ τὸ θεῷ δύναμις ; Οὐ δύναται ὁ υἱὸς ποιεῖν ἄφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἔδεν· καὶ ἡ αὐτοτελής σοφία ; Ἐντολήν ἔλαβον τί εἶπω καὶ τί λαλήσω ; Christ therefore as αὐτοζῶν spake those words, I live by the Father, and by them shewed his origination from him, from whom he received his life, power and wisdom, as receiving his essence, which is the same with them : wherefore those former passages are to be looked upon, as if αὐτός in composition did not deny origination, but participation, or receiving by way of affection. And that he understood it so, appears out of the places themselves : for in the first, after ὁ δι' ἑτερον ζῶν αὐτοζῶν εἶναι ἔδύναται, immediately followeth, ἔστι γὰρ καὶ χάριν ἁγίον αὐτοἁγίον· and in the second, after πᾶν τὸ δι' ἑτερον ζῶν αὐτοζῶν εἶναι ἔδύναται, followeth likewise, ὡς ἔδεν τὸ ὑφ' ἑτέρου θερμαθῆν αὐτοθερμότης εἶναι. The meaning then of S. Basil must be this, that he which receiveth life from another merely as a grace or favour, as the Saints receive their Sanctity, cannot properly be termed αὐτοζῶν, no more than they αὐτοἁγίον· or if he receive it by derivation or participation, as water receiveth heat from fire, he deserveth the same name no more than water heated to be called αὐτοθερμότης. And this is fully consonant to the expressions of the rest of the Ancients : as particularly Athanasius, Οὐ καὶ μετοχὴν ταῦτα ὄν, ἔδεν ἔξωθεν, ὅτι γινόμενων τῶν αὐτῶ καὶ αὐτῶ μετέχοντες, καὶ σοφίζομεν δὲ αὐτῶ, καὶ δυνατὸς καὶ λογικὸς ἐν αὐτῶ γινόμενος· ἀλλ' αὐτοσοφία, αὐτόλογος, αὐτοδύναμις· ἰδία τῶ πατρὸς· ὅθεν αὐτοφῶς, αὐτοδημία, αὐτοδικαιοσύνη, αὐτοαρετή· ἰν fine protrept. And to the same purpose, Ὅτι· μεθεκτὴν ἔχει τὸ δωρεάν, ἀλλ' αὐτοπηγὴ καὶ αὐτόρρηζα πάντων ὅτι τῶ ἀγαθῶν, αὐτοζῶν καὶ αὐτοφῶς, καὶ αὐτοαλήθεια, in the MS. Catena in the K. of France his Library, Petav. de Trin. l. 6. c. 11. All therefore which these compositions signifie, is either a negation of a derivative participation, or an affirmation of a reality and identity of substance, as yet farther appears by S. Epiphanius, αὐτοκτία ὅθεν ὁ θεός πατὴρ καὶ ὁ υἱός, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνῶμα, καὶ ἕχ ἑτεροκτία, and Origen himself upon S. John, ἡ αὐτοδικαιοσύνη ἡ ἐσιώδης Χριστός ὅτι, as also ἡ αὐτοαλήθεια ἡ ἐσιώδης, καὶ ἰν' ἕτως ἔπω, πρωτότυπος τὸ ἐν τῷ λογικῶς ψυχῶς ἀληθείας. To conclude, there is a Catholick sense in which the Son is termed αὐτόθεος, αὐτοσοφία, &c. by the ancient Fathers ; and another sense there is in which these terms are so proper and peculiar to the Father, that they are denied to the Son. Indeed αὐτόθεος, in the highest sense, ἄφ' ἑαυτοῦ θεός, positively taken, belongeth neither to the Son nor to the Father, as implying a manifest contradiction ; because nothing can have its being actually from it self, as communicated to it self, and that by it self, but in a negative way of interpretation, by which that is said to be of it self, which is and yet is not of or from another. αὐτόθεος belongs properly to the Father, neither generated by, nor proceeding from another ; and in that sense it is denied to the Son, because he is generated by the Father, as ἐκ θεῷ θεός, ἐκ σοφῶ σοφία, ἐκ λογικῶ λόγος, καὶ ἐκ πατρὸς υἱός, saith S. Athanasius cont. Ar. Or. 5. from whence he thus proceeds, ἐκτός ἐστι μὴ ἂν τις εἶποι αὐτοσοφίαν εἶναι καὶ αὐτίλογον τὸ θεόν, ἀλλ' ἔστι τὰ τοῦ ἑν ἂν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῶ πατήρ καὶ υἱός. And again εἰ δὲ αὐτοσοφία ὁ θεός, καὶ τὸ ἐκ τέτε ἀτοπον ἄρηται παρὰ Σαβελλίῳ. Lastly, in another sense, in which αὐτός in composition is taken not in obliquo, but in recto αὐτόθεος, that is, αὐτός ὁ θεός, God himself, and αὐτοζῶν, αὐτὴ ἡ ζῶν, life it self ; so all these terms are attributed to the Son as truly, really and essentially, as to the Father. And that the Fathers took it so appears, because they did sometimes resolve the composition : as when Eusebius calleth Christ αὐτόθεν, in the Panegyricke before cited presently after he speaketh thus ; Τί γὰρ καὶ ἐμελλε τῶ παμβασιλείας καὶ πανηγυμένους καὶ αὐτῶ θεῷ λόγῳ ἐκίσαθαι τῶ πνῶματι ; where αὐτῶ θεῷ is the same with αὐτόθεν.

How so.

Howsoever, it is most reasonable to assert that there is but one Person who is from none; and the very generation of the Son and procession of the Holy Ghost undeniably prove, that neither of those two can be that Person. For whosoever is generated is from him which is the Genitor, and whosoever proceedeth is from him from whom he proceedeth, whatsoever the nature of the generation or procession be. It followeth therefore that this Person is the *Father*; which name speaks nothing of dependance, nor supposeth any kind of priority in another.

* Ὅθεν οἱ ἄπο-
στολοι, καὶ πᾶσα
ἐκδοξὴ ἡ ἀγία
γεγραφή, ὅταν
εἴπωσι, ὁ Θεὸς,
ἕτως ἁπλῶ-
τως καὶ ἀπερο-
διόριστως, καὶ ὡς
ἄνωγαν σὺν
ἀφθέρῳ, καὶ χω-
ρὸν ἰδιώματι

From hence it is observed that the name of *God*, taken absolutely, is often in the Scriptures spoken of the Father: as when we read of *God sending his own Son*; of *the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God*; and generally wheresoever Christ is called the Son of God, or the word of God, the name of God is to be taken particularly for the Father, because he is no Son but of the Father. From hence he is styled *one God*, *the true God*, *the only true God*, *the || God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ*.

ὑποστατικῶς, ἢ πατέρα. *Theod. Abucara Opusc. 42.* 2 Cor. 13. 14. 1 Cor. 8. 6. Eph. 4. 6. 1 Thess. 1. 9. Job. 17. 3. 2 Cor. 1. 3. Eph. 1. 3. || Unxit te Deus, Deus tuus. Id enim quod ait, tuus, ad nativitatem refertur; ceterum non perimit naturam. Et dicisco Deus ejus est, qui ex Deo natus in Deum est. Non tamen per id quod Pater Deus est, non & Filius Deus est. Unxit enim te Deus, Deus tuus; designatā videlicet & authoris sui & ex eo geniti significatione, uno eodemque dicto utrumque illum in naturæ ejusdem & dignitatis nuncupatione constituit. *S. Hilar. l. 4.* Deo enim ex quo omnia sunt Deus nullus est qui sine initio æternus est. Filio autem Deus Pater est, ex eo enim Deus natus est. *Id. paulo p. 18.* Cum autem ex Deo Deus est, per id Deus Pater Deo Filio & nativitatis ejus Deus est, & naturæ Pater, quia Dei nativitas & ex Deo est, & in eo generis est natura quæ Deus est. *Id. l. 11. So. S. Cyril. of Jerusalem, Catech. 11.* Θεὸς ὁ ἑνωθεὶς, Θεὸς ὁ ἑνωθεὶς. Θεὸς ἢ πάντων. Θεὸν ὃ ἑαυτῶν πατέρα. ὁπρὸς ἀπόστολους.

Which, as it is most true, and so fit to be believed, is also a most necessary truth, and therefore to be acknowledged, for the avoiding * multiplication and plurality of Gods. For if there were more than one which were from none, it could not be denied but there were more Gods than one. Wherefore this || origination in the Divine Paternity hath anciently been looked upon as the assertion of the Unity: and therefore the Son and Holy Ghost hath been believed to be but one God with the Father, because both from the Father, who is one, and so the * union of them.

* Μήμοι εἴπωσι,
τε, δύο θεοὺς
κυρίουσι, πολυ-
θεϊαν καταγο-
γγέλλει, ἢ δύο
θεοὶ, ἢ ὃ ἂν
δύο πατέρες, ὃ
ἢ ἀρχαὶ εἰσα-
γων δύο, δύο
κυρίουσι θεοὺς.

S. Basil Homil. 26. In duobus ingenitis diversa Divinitas invenitur, in uno autem genito naturalis unitas demonstratur. *Fulgen. Resp. contr. Arian. ad Obj. 5.* Si quis innascibilem & sine initio dicat Filium, tanquam duo sine principio, & duo innascibilia, & duo innata dicens, duos faciat Deos, Anathema sit, *Concil. Sirm.* Deus utique procedens ex Deo secundam personam efficiens, sed non eripiens illud Patri quod unus est Deus. Si enim natus non fuisset, innatus comparatus cum eo qui esset innatus, æquatione in utroque ostensā, duos faceret innatos, & ideo duos faceret Deos. Si non genitus esset collatus cum eo qui genitus non esset, æquales inventi duos Deos merito reddidissent non geniti; atque ideo duos Deos reddidisset Christus, si sine origine esset ut Pater inventus; & ipse principium omnium ut Pater, duo faciens principia, duos ostendisset nobis consequenter & Deos, &c. *Novatian. de Trin. c. 31.* ἢ ὡς πρὸς ἓν ἄρχη, καὶ κατὰ τὸ εἶς θεός. *S. Athan. Orat. 3.* Τηροῦτο μὲν, ὡς ὁ εὐδοκὸς λέγει, εἰς μὲν θεός, εἰς ἓν αἴτιον καὶ ἓν καὶ ἀγίου πνεύματος ἀναφερομένων. *S. Gregor. Naz. Orat. 29.* Ὅπως ἂν μία ἢ ἡ ἀρχή, ἐν ᾗ τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐν ᾗ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον. μία ἢ ἡ εἰκὼν, ὃ τῆς ἐνόητος λόγος ἐδιαφθέρεται. *S. Basil. Homil. 26.* Patri suo originem suam debens, discordiam Divinitatis de numero duorum Deorum facere non potuit, qui ex nullo qui est unus Deus originem nascendo contraxit. *Novatian. c. 31.* Confitemur non Deos duos, sed Deum unum, neque per id non & Deum Dei Filium, est enim ex Deo Deus; non innascibiles duos, quia autoritate innascibilitatis Deus unus est. *S. Hilar. de Synod. whose assertion is,* Unum Deum esse ex quo omnia, unam virtutem innascibilem, & unam hanc esse sine initio potestatem: which words belong unto the Father, and then it followeth of the Son; Non enim Patri adimitur quod Deus unus est, quia & Filius Deus est. Est enim Deus ex Deo, unus ex uno. Ob id unus Deus, quia ex se Deus. Contrā verò non minus per id Filius Deus, quia Pater Deus unus sit. Est enim unigenitus Filius Dei non innascibilis, ut Patri adimat quod Deus unus sit. *De Trin. l. 4.* * φύσις ἢ τοῖς τοῖς μία θεός ἐνωθεὶς ἢ ὁ πατήρ, ἐξ ἧς καὶ πρὸς ἓν ἀνάγεται τὰ ἐξ ἧς. *Greg. Naz. Orat. 32.* Unto which words those of *Theod. Abucara* have relation; Θεὸς ἢ ἐξ αὐτῆς λέγεται, ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἐνωθεὶς, ἢ τοῖς ἀνάπτυσίς καὶ ἀνακεφαλαίωσις, τῆς τριάδος ὁ πατήρ ὄντων, ὡς εἶπεν ὁ Θεολόγος. *Opusc. 42.*

Secondly, It is necessary thus to believe in the *Father*, because our Salvation is propounded to us by an access unto the Father. We are all gone away and fallen from God, and we must be brought to him again. There is no other notion under which we can be brought to God as to be saved, but the notion of the Father; and there is no other person can bring us to the Father, but the Son of that Father: For, as the Apostle teacheth us, *through him we have an access by one Spirit unto the Father*.

Ephes. 2. 18.

Having

Having thus described the true nature and notion of the Divine Paternity, in all the several degrees and eminencies belonging to it, I may now clearly deliver, and every particular Christian understand, what it is he speaks, when he makes his Confession in these words, *I believe in God the Father*: by which I conceive him to express thus much.

As I am assured that there is an infinite and independent Being, which we call a *God*, and that it is impossible there should be more Infinities than one: so I assure my self that this one God is the *Father* of all things, especially of all Men and Angels, so far as the mere act of creation may be stiled generation; that he is farther yet, and in a more peculiar manner, the *Father* of all those whom he regenerateth by his Spirit, whom he adopteth in his Son, as heirs and co-heirs with him, whom he crowneth with the reward of an eternal inheritance in the heavens. But beyond and far above all this, besides his general off-spring, and peculiar people, *to whom he hath given power to become the sons of God*; I believe him the *Father*, in a more eminent and transcendent manner, of one singular and proper Son, his own, his beloved, his only-begotten Son: whom he hath not only begotten of the blessed Virgin, by the coming of the Holy Ghost, and the over-shadowing of his power; not only sent with special authority as the King of *Israel*; not only raised from the dead, and made heir of all things in his house; but antecedently to all this, hath begotten him by way of eternal generation in the same Deity, and Majesty with himself: by which Paternity, coæval to the Deity, I acknowledge him always, *Father*, as much as always *God*. And in this relation, I profess that eminency and priority, that as he is the original Cause of all things as created by him, so is he the fountain of the Son begotten of him, and of the Holy Ghost proceeding from him.

I believe in God the Father Almighty.

After the relation of God's Paternity, immediately followeth the glorious Attribute of his * *Omnipotency*: that as those in Heaven in their Devotions, so we on earth in our confessions might acknowledge that *Holy, holy, holy Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come*; that in our solemn meetings at the Church of God, with the joynt expression and concurring language of the Congregation, we might some way imitate that *voice of a great multitude, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thundrings, saying, Allelujah, for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth.*

* For the oldest & shortest Creed had always this Attribute expressed in it. Inasmuch that Παντοκράτωρ was ordinarily by the Ancients taken for the

Father, as Origen. l. 7. adv. Celsum. Ἐρχήν δ' αὐτὸν ἐκθέδαι αὐταῖς λέξεσι τὰς προφητείας εἶτ' ἐν αἷς Θεὸς Παντοκράτωρ ἐπιγγέλλετο εἶναι ὁ λέγων, εἶτ' ἐν αἷς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἶτ' ἐν αἷς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον λέγον εἶναι ὁμοσεύστον. And according to this general Confession did Polycarpus begin his Prayer at his Martyrdom: Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ τῆ ἀγαπῆτῆς καὶ ἐυλογητῆ παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πατῆρ. Eccl. Smyrn. Epist. * Revel. 4. 8. * Revel. 19. 6. Ὁι παρρησιασθησάντες τῷ παντοκράτῳ πατέρι καλεῖν. Constit. Apost. l. 1. Præm.

This notion of *Almighty* in the *Creed* must certainly be interpreted according to the sense which the original word beareth in the New Testament; and that cannot be better understood than by the *Greek* Writers or Interpreters of the Old, especially when the Notion it self belongs unto the Gospel and the Law indifferently. Now the word which we translate * *Almighty*, the most ancient *Greek* Interpreters used sometimes for the title of God, the *Lord of hosts*, sometimes for his name *Shaddai*, as generally in the book of *Job*: by

* Παντοκράτωρ, translated by Tertul. and S. Aug. Omnipotens; as (Ter-

tullian translates κοσμοκράτορας munditentes) by Prudentius, Omnipollens; by all, Omnipotens, (as S. Hilary translated κοσμοκράτορας mundipotentis;) and, as I conceive, it is translated Capax universorum, by the Latin Interpreter of *Hermas*, Primum omnium crede quod unus est Deus, qui omnia creavit, & consummavit, & ex nihilo fecit. Ipse capax universorum, solus immensus est. l. 2. Mand. 1. Which by the Interpreter of *Irenæus* is thus translated, Omnia capax, & qui à nemine capiatur. l. 4. c. 37.

† Gen. 2. 1.
 ‡ Isa. 45. 12.
 * Κύριος σαβωθ.
 || Εἰ μὴ κύριος σαβωθ ἐγκατέλιπεν ἡμῖν σπέρμα.
 Rom. 9. 29. the words of Isa. 1. 9. Καὶ αἱ βουαὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνίστανται ἐς τὰ ὄντα Κύριος σαβωθ εἰσεληλύθησιν.
 Jam. 5. 4 which are the words of S. James, in relation to Deut. 24. 15.

† Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ. Revel. 4. 8. which were before in Isaiah. Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος κύριος σαβωθ. Isa. 6. 3. Τὸ δ' ὅμοιον ἐρῶμεν καὶ σοὶ ἡ Σαβωθ θανῆς, πολλαχῆ ἤν' ἐπωδῶν παραλαμβάνουμένη· ὅτι ἐμεταλαμβάνουσι τὸ ὄνομα εἰς τὸ Κύριος ἢ δυνάμεων, ἢ Κύριος στρατιῶν, ἢ Παντοκράτωρ, (διαφύρατος γὰρ αὐτὸ ἐξεδέξαντο οἱ ἐρμηνεύοντες αὐτὸ) ἢ δὲν ποιήσουσι. Origen. contra Cels. l. 5. * That παντοκράτωρ should have the signification of government in it, according to the composition in the Greek Language, no man can doubt, who but only considers those vulgar terms of their Politicks, δημοκρατία, and ἀριστοκρατία, from whence it appears that μονοκρατία might as well have been used as μοναρχία· and in that sense αὐτοκράτωρ is the proper title given by the Greeks to the Roman Emperour, not only the later Historians, but even the Coins of Julius Cæsar witness. Hesych. Ἀυτοκράτωρ, ὑπερῆχος, κοσμοκράτωρ, because the Roman Emperour was Ruler of the known world. So the Devils or Princes of the air are termed by S. Paul κοσμοκράτορες, Eph 6. 12. which is all one with ἀρχόντες τοῦ κόσμου, as will appear Joh. 12. 31. and 14. 30. and 16. 11. As therefore Κράτος signifieth of it self Rule and Authority, Hesych. Κράτος, βασιλεία, ἐξουσία· Κρατεῖν, ἀρχὴν, ἐξουσία· to which sense Eustathius hath observed Homer led the following Writers by those words of his, --- σὸν ἢ κράτος αἰὲν ἀέξειν, Iliad. M. τὸ μὲν κράτος συλλαμβάνεται τι τοῖς ὕπερον ἢ βασιλείαν κράτος λέγουσι· whence Æschylus calls Agamemnon and Menelias δίδρονον κράτος Ἀχαιῶν, and Sophocles after him, Δικρατεῖς Ἀτρεΐδης· and as κρατεῖν to rule or govern, (Κρατεῖν, κυριεύειν, ἀρχεῖν from Whence Κρατῆς, ἀρχων, ἐξουσιάζων) So also in composition, παντοκράτωρ, the Ruler of all. Παντοκράτωρ, ὁ Θεός, πάντων κρατῆς. Hesych. Παντοκρατορία, πανταρχία. Suid. || Αἰρετικοὶ ἐκ οἰδασιν ἕνα παντοκράτορα θεόν· παντοκράτωρ γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ πάντων κρατῆς, ὁ πάντων ἐξουσιάζων· οἱ ἢ λέγοντες ἢ μὲν εἶναι τὴν ψυχῆς δεσπότιαν, ἢ ἢ τὴν σώματος, ἢ τὴν τελειον λέγουσιν· ὁ γὰρ ψυχῆς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, σώματος ἢ ἐξουσίαν μὴ ἔχων, πῶς παντοκράτωρ, καὶ ὁ δεσπότης σωμάτων μὴ ἐξουσιάζων ἢ πνευμάτων, πῶς παντοκράτωρ· S. Cyril Catech. 8. Theodotus apud Cl. Alex. p. 804. Ὡς γὰρ τὸ πῦρ ἰσχυρότατον ἤν' εἰσέλθων, καὶ πάντων κρατῆς, ἔτω καὶ ὁ Θεός παντοδύναμος καὶ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ δυνάμενος κρατῆσαι, ποιῆσαι, τρέφειν, αὐξάνειν, σώζειν, σώματος, καὶ ψυχῆς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων. Unus est Dominus Jesus Christus per quem Deus Pater dominatum omnium tenet; unde & sequens sermo Omnipotentem pronunciat Dominum. Omnipotens autem ab eo dicitur, quod omnium teneat potestatem. Ruffin. in Symb.

* Ἐξουσία.
 Luke 12. 5.
 Act. 1. 7.
 Jude 25.
 Revel 5. 13.
 † Ἄς Ἰησοῦς
 κύριος, δεσπότης ἐν μὲν τὸ κυριεύειν καὶ πρώτως ἐν τῇ χειρὶ πάντων, καὶ ὡς πάντων δεσπόζει· τὰ γὰρ σύμπαντα δούλασα. Phot. Ep. 162.

the first they seem to signify the Rule and Dominion which God hath over all; by the second, the strength, force, or power by which he is able to perform all things. ¹ *The heavens and the earth were finished, saith Moses, and all the host of them:* and he which begun them, he which finished them, is the Ruler and Commander of them. Upon the right of Creation doth he justly challenge this dominion. ² *I have made the earth, and created man upon it; I, even my hands have stretched out the heavens, and all their host have I commanded.* And on this dominion or command doth he raise the title of * *the Lord of hosts*; which, though preserved in the || original language both by S. Paul and S. James, yet by S. John is turned into that word which we translate *Almighty*. Wherefore from the use of the sacred Writers, from the * notation of the word in Greek, and from the testimony of the antient || Fathers, we may well ascribe unto God the Father, in the explication of this Article, the dominion over all, and the rule and government of all.

This authority or power properly potestative is attributed unto God in the sacred * Scriptures: from whence those † names or titles which most aptly and fully express dominion, are frequently given unto him; and the rule, empire, or government of the world is acknowledged to be wholly in him, as necessarily following that natural and eternal right of dominion.

What the nature of this authoritative power is, we shall the more clearly understand, if we first divide it into three degrees or branches of it: the first whereof we may conceive, a right of making and framing any thing which he willeth, in any manner as it pleaseth him, according to the absolute freedom of his own will; the second, a right of having and possessing all things so made and framed by him, as his own, properly belonging to him, as to the Lord and master of them, by virtue of direct dominion; the third, a right of using and disposing all things so in his possession, according to his own pleasure. The first of these we mention only for the necessity of it, on the dependence of the other two upon it. God's actual dominion being no otherways necessary, than upon supposition of a precedent act of Creation; because nothing, before it hath a being, can belong to any one, neither can any propriety be imagined in that which hath no entity.

But the second branch, or absolute dominion of this *Almighty*, is farther to be considered in the Independency and Infinity of it. First, it is independent in a double respect, in reference both to the original, and the use thereof. For God hath received no authority from any, because he hath all power originally

originally in himself, and hath produced all things by the act of his own will, without any Commander, Counsellor, or Coadjutor. Neither doth the use or exercise of this dominion depend upon any one, so as to receive any direction or regulation, or to render any account of the administration of it; as being illimited, absolute, and supreme, and so the fountain from whence all dominion in any other is derived. Wherefore he being the ¹ *God of Gods*, is also the *Lord of Lords and King of Kings, the only Potentate*; because he alone hath all power of himself, and whosoever else hath any, hath it from him, either by donation or permission.

The Infinity of God's Dominion, if we respect the Object, appears in the amplitude or extension; if we look upon the Manner, in the plenitude or perfection; if we consider the Time, in the eternity of duration. The amplitude of the Object is sufficiently evidenced by those appellations which the holy Writ ascribeth unto the *Almighty*, calling him the ² *Lord of heaven, the Lord of the whole earth, the Lord of heaven and earth*; under which two are comprehended all things both in heaven and earth. This *Moses* taught the distrustful *Israelites* in the Wilderness: ³ *Behold the heaven and the heaven of heavens is the Lord's thy God, the earth also with all that is therein.* With these words *David* glorifieth God: ⁴ *The heavens are thine, the earth also is thine*; so acknowledging his dominion; *as for the world and the fulness thereof, thou hast founded them*; so expressing the foundation or ground of that dominion. And yet more fully, at the dedication of the Offerings for the building of the Temple, to shew that what they gave was of his own, he saith, ⁵ *Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the Majesty: for all that is in the heaven and in the earth is thine. Thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head above all. Both riches and honour come of thee, and thou reignest over all.* If then we look upon the Object of God's Dominion, it is of that amplitude and extension, that it includeth and comprehendeth all things; so that nothing can be imagined which is not his, belonging to him as the true owner and proprietor, and subject wholly to his will as the sole governour and disposer: in respect of which universal power we must confess him to be *Almighty*.

If we consider the manner and nature of this Power, the Plenitude thereof or perfection will appear: for as in regard of the extension, he hath power over all things; so in respect of the intension, he hath all power over every thing, as being absolute and supreme. This God challenged to himself, when he catechized the Prophet *Jeremy* in a Potter's House, saying, ⁶ *O house of Israel, cannot I do with you as this potter? saith the Lord. Behold, as the clay is in the potter's hand, so are ye in my hand, O house of Israel.* That is, God hath as absolute power and dominion over every person, over every Nation and Kingdom on the Earth, as the Potter hath over the pot he maketh, or the clay he mouldeth. Thus are we wholly at the disposal of his will, and our present and future condition framed and ordered by his free, but wise and just, decrees. *Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour?* And can that earth-artificer have a freer power over his brother potsherd, (both being made of the same metal) than God hath over him, who by the strange fecundity of his omnipotent power, first made the clay out of nothing,, and then him out of that?

The duration of God's dominion must likewise necessarily be eternal, if any thing which is be immortal. For, being every thing is therefore his, because it received its being from him, and the continuation of the creature is as much from him as the first production; it followeth that so long as it is continued it must be his, and consequently, being some of his Creatures are im-

¹ Deut. 10. 17.
 Psal. 135. 3.
² Tim 6. 15.
 μόνος Δυνα-
 στος. Syr.
 46. 6. ὁ Δύνατος
 Δυνάσσης
² Mac. 15. 29.
 ὁ Δυνασσης.
 v. 23. Δυνασσης
 τῶν ἑσπερίων.
³ 24. ὁ τῶν πα-
 τέρων κρείστος,
 ὁ πάντων ἐξ-
 υστίας Δυνασσης.
⁴ Γραβίος κρε-
 ῖστων. Il. θ.
⁵ Dan 5. 23.
 ΐσθ. 3. 11, 13.
 Psal 97. 5.
 Mic. 4. 13.
 Zac. 4. 14.
 and 6. 5.
 Matt. 11. 25.
 Act. 17. 24.
⁶ Deut. 10. 14.
⁴ Psal. 89. 11.
⁵ 1 Chron. 29.
 11. 12.
 מושל בכל
 כבודו
 πάντων ὅντων
 ταῖς θεοῖς
 ὑποχά, ἢ
 πάντων πάντων
 ἵστω οἱ θεοὶ
 κατῶσι. Ze-
 noph. de exped.
 Cyri, l. 2.

⁶ Jer. 18. 6.

Rom. 9. 21

1 Tim. 1. 17.
 Ἰὸ βασιλεὶ ᾧ
 αἰώνων
 2 Psal. 145. 13.
 יְיָ לְעוֹלָם
 לְעוֹלָם
 LXX. βασιλεία
 πάντων ᾧ
 αἰώνων.
 3 Exod. 15. 18.
 יְיָ לְעוֹלָם
 LXX. ἐπ' αἰ-
 να καὶ ἔτι.
 S. Hier. in secu-
 lum & ultra. So
 Aquila, Theod.
 and the fifth E-
 dit. in Psal. 21.
 4. So the LXX.
 again, Dan. 12.
 7. εἰς τὰς αἰ-
 νας καὶ ἔτι and
 Mich. 4. 5. εἰς
 τὴν αἰῶνα καὶ ἔ-
 πέκεινα.
 4 Psal. 16. 2.
 Ille nostra ser-
 vitude non in-
 diget, nos verò
 dominatione illius indigemus, ut operetur & custodiat nos : & ideo verus & solus est Dominus, quia non illi ad suam, sed
 ad nostram utilitatem salutemq; servimus. Nam si nobis indigeret eo ipso non verus Dominus esset, cum per nos ejus ad-
 juvaretur necessitas, sub qua & ipse serviret. S. Aug. de Gen. ad lit. l. 8. c. 11. Dixi Domino, Deus meus es tu, quare? quoniam
 bonorum non egēs. Ille non eget nostri, nos egemus ipsius; ideo verus Dominus. Nam tu non valde verus Dominus servi
 tui; ambo homines, ambo egentes Deo. Si verò putas egere tui servum tuum, ut des panem, egēs & tu servi tui, ut ad-
 juvet labores tuos. Uterque vestrum altero vestrum indiget: itaq; nullus vestrum verè dominus, & nullus vestrum verè
 servus. Audi verum Dominum, cujus verus es servus, Dixi Domino, Deus meus es tu: quare tui dominus? quoniam bono-
 rum meorum non egēs. Id. ad Psal. 69. * Τιμὴ ποιῆται τὸ ἀνευδέες τιμὴ ᾧ ἀπ' ἐκείνου περιειρομένων ἀγαθῶν ὑποδοχὴν.
 Hierocl. in Aurea Car. And again, Ὅστις τιμᾷ τὸ Θεὸν ὡς προσδεδούλον, ἕτος λελυθεν οἰκόμενος ἑαυτὸν τὸ Θεὸν εἶναι
 κρείττονα.

2 Rom. 11. 36.
 Heb. 2. 11.
 2 1 Cor. 8. 6.
 3 Prov. 16. 4.
 4 Psal. 104. 31.
 * Hom. Il. u'.
 Ἡμεῖς δ' νε-
 γάλοιο Διὸς
 πειθόμεθα βο-
 λῆ, Ὅς πᾶσι
 δυνατοῖσι καὶ
 ἀθανάτοισιν
 ἀνδραί.
 || Ἐμοὶ πόλις
 θεὸς καὶ κἀαρ-
 γῆ καὶ νόμος
 καὶ τὸ δίκαιον
 τὸ εὖ ἀδικεῖ
 πάντες κειτῆς
 ὁ δεσπότης
 πρὸς τῆτον ἕνα
 δὴ ζῆν ἑμέ.
 Servius apud
 Menand.
 4 Luke 6. 45.

mortal, his dominion must be eternal. Wherefore S. Paul expressly calleth God *the King eternal*, with reference to that of David, *Thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and thy dominion endureth throughout all generations.* And Moses in his Song hath told us, *The Lord shall reign for ever and ever*: which phrase for ever and ever in the original signifieth thus much, that there is no time to come assignable or imaginable, but after and beyond that God shall reign.

The third branch of God's authoritative or potestative power consisteth in the use of all things in his possession, by virtue of his absolute dominion. For it is the general dictate of reason, that the use, benefit and utility of any thing, redoundeth unto him whose it is, and to whom as to the proprietor it belongeth. 'Tis true indeed, that God, who is all-sufficient and infinitely happy in and of himself, so that no accession ever could or can be made to his original felicity, cannot receive any real benefit and utility from the creature. *Thou art my Lord*, saith David, *my goodness extendeth not to thee.* And therefore our only and absolute Lord, because his goodness extendeth unto us, and not ours to him, because his dominion is for our benefit, not for his own: for us who want, and therefore may receive; not for himself who cannot receive, because he wanteth nothing, whose honour standeth not in his own, but in our * receiving.

But though the universal Cause made all things for the benefit of some creatures framed by him, yet hath he made them ultimately for himself; and God is as universally the final as the efficient cause of his operations. The Apostle hath taught us, that not only *of him, and by him*, as the first Author, but also *to him, and for him*, as the ultimate end, *are all things.* And tis one of the proverbial sentences of Solomon, *The Lord hath made all things for himself, yea even the wicked for the day of evil.* For though he cannot receive any real benefit or utility from the creature, yet he can and doth in a manner receive that which hath some similitude or affinity with it. Thus God *rejoiceth* at the effects of his wisdom, power and Goodness, and taketh delight in the works of his hands. Thus doth he order and dispose of all things unto his own glory, which redoundeth from the demonstration of his Attributes.

An explicit belief of this authoritative power and absolute dominion of the Almighty is necessary, first for the breeding in us an awful Reverence of his Majesty, and entire subjection to his will. For to the highest excellency the greatest honour, to the * supreme authority the most exact obedience is no more than duty. If God be our absolute Lord, we his servants and vassals then is there a right in him to require of us whatsoever we can perform, and, an obligation upon us to perform whatsoever he commandeth. Whosoever doth otherwise, while he confesseth, denieth him; while he acknowledgeth him with his tongue, he sets his hand against him. *Why call ye me Lord, Lord*, saith our Saviour, *and do not the things which I say?*

Secondly, this belief is also necessary to breed in us equanimity and patience in our sufferings, to prevent all murmuring, repining, and objecting against

against

against the actions or determinations of God, as knowing that he, who is absolute Lord, cannot abuse his power; he, whose will is a law to us, cannot do any thing unwisely or unjustly. ¹ *Let the potsherd strive with the potsherds of the earth: shall the clay say to him that fashioneth it, What makest thou? But let the man after God's own heart rather teach us humble and religious silence.* ² *I was dumb, saith he, and opened not my mouth, because thou didst it.* When *Shimei* cast stones at him, and cursed him, let us learn to speak as he then spake; ³ *The Lord hath said unto him, Curse David: who shall then say, Wherefore hast thou done so?*

¹ *Isai. 45. 9.*

² *Phil. 39. 9.*

³ *2 Sam. 16. 17.*

Thirdly, the belief of God's absolute dominion is yet farther necessary to make us truly and sufficiently sensible of the benefits we receive from him, so as by a right value and estimation of them to understand how far we stand obliged to him. No man can duely prize the blessings of Heaven, but he which acknowledgeth they might justly have been denied him: nor can any be sufficiently thankful for them, except it be confessed that he ought him nothing who bestowed them.

But as the original word for *Almighty* is not put only for the *Lord of Hosts*, but often also for the *Lord Shaddai*: so we must not restrain the signification to the power authorative, but extend it also to that power which is properly operative and executive. In the title of the *Lord of Sabaoth* we understand the rule and dominion of God, by which he hath a right of governing all: in the name *Shaddai* we apprehend an infinite force and strength, by which he is able to work and perform all things. For whether we take this word in * composition, as signifying the *All-sufficient*; whosoever is able to suppeditate all things to the sufficing all, must have an infinite power: or whether we deduce it from the || Root denoting *vastation* or *destruction*; whosoever can destroy the being of all things, and reduce them unto nothing, must have the same power which originally produced all things out of nothing, and that is infinite. Howsoever, the first notion of *Almighty* necessarily inferreth the second, and the infinity of God's dominion speaketh him infinitely * powerful in operation. Indeed in earthly Dominions, the strength of the Governour is not in himself, but in those whom he governeth: and he is a powerful Prince whose Subjects are numerous. But the King of Kings hath in himself all power of execution, as well as right of dominion. Were all the force and strength of a Nation in the person of the King, as the authority is, obedience would not be arbitrary, nor could rebellion be successful: whereas experience teacheth us that the most puissant Prince is compelled actually to submit, when the stronger part of his own people hath taken the boldness to put a force upon him. But we must not imagine that the Governour of the world ruleth only over them which are willing to obey, or that any of his creatures may dispute his commands with safety, or cast off the yoke with impunity. And if his dominion be uncontrollable, it is because his power is irresistible. For man is not more inclinable to obey God than man, but God is more powerful to exact subjection, and to vindicate Rebellion. In respect of the infinity, and irresistibility of which active power we must acknowledge him *Almighty*; and so, according to the most vulgar acception, give the second explication of his || *Omnipotency*.

* So R. Solomon will have it compounded of ו the pronoun, וּבְיַד יְהוָה כָּל חַיִּים וְכָל בְּרִיָּה because in God there is sufficiency, that is, sufficient power over every creature: from whence the Lxx. *Ruth* 1. 20, 21. *Job* 21. 15. & 31. *2. translate it in ards, as *Sym. Job* 22. 3. and *Aquila* with him, *Ezek.* 1. 24. || וּבְיַד וּבְיַד vastavit, destruxit, perdidit; from whence וּבְיַד is the destroyer, and because uter destruction requireth power equivalent to production, the Omnipotent; from whence the Lxx. *Job* 8. 3.

translate it ὁ πάντα ποιῶν. And this Etymology rather than the former seemeth to be confirmed by the Propbet *Isai.* 13. 6. How i ye, for the day of the Lord is at hand, כִּשְׁדֵי מִשְׁרֵי יְבוּיָהּ. It shall come as a destruction from the Almighty (destroyer) * *Homer* hath well joyned these two. *Il. θ'.* Ὁ πατήρ ἡμέτερος Κρονίδης, ὕψιστος κρείοντων, εὖ νῦν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ὅτι θεῶν ἐκ ἐπεικτόν. || Hoc nisi credamus, periclitatur ipsum nostrae fidei Confessionis initium, quod nos in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem credere confitemur. Neque enim veraciter ob aliud vocatur Omnipotens, nisi quia quicquid vult potest, nec voluntate cujuspiam creaturae voluntatis omnipotentis impeditur effectus, *S. Aug. Enchir. c. 96.*

* But

* Article 1:
 Πιστεύω εἰς
 θεόν πατέρα
 παντοκράτο-
 ρα. Art. 6. κα-
 θεζόμενον ἐν
 δεξιᾷ θεῦ πα-
 τρός παντο-
 δυνάμει. as it
 is in the ancient
 Copy of the Creed
 taken out of the
 Library of Ben-
 net College, and
 set forth by the
 Archbishop of
 Armagh.
 || As Theophi-
 lus Bishop of
 Antioch, giving
 account of those
 words which
 are attributed
 unto God, as
 θεός, κύριος,
 ὁ θεός, tells us
 he is called
 παντοκράτωρ,
 ὅτι αὐτός τὰ
 πάντα κρατεῖ
 καὶ ἐμπεριέχει.
 τὰ δὲ ὅσα ἡ ψυ-
 χῶν, καὶ τὰ
 βλάστησάντων,
 καὶ τὰ πέ-
 ρατα τῶν οὐρα-
 νίων ἐν τῇ
 χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἔστι.
 Ad Autol. l. 1.
 1 Prou. 30. 4.
 2 Isai. 40. 12.
 3 As Greg. Nyss.
 Οὐκ ἔστι ὅταν
 τῆς Παντοκρά-
 τος φωνῆς ἀκρί-
 σωμένη, ὅτι το
 νοῦν, τὸ
 πάντα τὸ θεόν
 ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ σω-
 χεῖν; Neither,
 says he, Would
 God be termed
 παντοκράτωρ,
 εἰ μὴ πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις τῆ περικρατῆντος αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τῷ εἶναι σωτηρῆντος, ἐδέετο. contra Eunom. l. 1. Creatoris Omni-
 potentia, & Omnipotentis atque omnitenentis virtus, est causa subsistendi omni Creaturae. Quæ virtus ab eis quæ creata
 sunt regendis si aliquando cessaret, simul & illorum cessaret species, omnisq; natura concideret. S. Aug. in Genes. l. 4. c. 12.
 3 Acts 17. 25. 28. 4 Wisd. 11. 25. 5 Neh. 9. 5.

* But because this word *Almighty* is twice repeated in the *Creed*, once in this first Article, and again in the sixth, where *Christ* is represented *sitting at the right hand of God the Father Almighty*; and although in our *English* and the *Latin* the same word be expressed in both places, yet in the ancient *Greek Copies* there is a manifest distinction; being the word in the first Article may equally comprehend God's power in operation, as well as authority in dominion, whereas that in the sixth speaketh only infinity of power, without relation to authority or dominion: I shall therefore reserve the explication of the latter unto its proper place, designing to treat particularly of God's infinite power where it is most peculiarly expressed; and so conclude briefly with two other interpretations which some of the Ancients have made of the original word, belonging rather to Philosophy than Divinity, though true in both. For || some have stretched this word *Almighty* according to the *Greek* notation, to signifie that God holdeth, incircleth, and containeth all things. ¹ *Who hath gathered the wind in his fists; who hath bound the waters in a garment? who hath established all the ends of the earth? who but God?* ² *Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure? who but he?* Thus then may he be called *Almighty*, as holding, containing, and comprehending all things.

* Others extend it farther yet, beyond that of containing or comprehension, to a more immediate influence of sustaining or preservation. For the same power which first gave Being unto all things, continueth the same Being unto all. ³ *God giveth to all life, and breath, and all things. In him we live, move, and have our being,* saith the strangest Philosopher that ever entred *Athens*, the first expositor of that blind inscription, *To the unknown God.* ⁴ *How could any thing have endured, if it had not been thy will? or been preserved, if not called by thee?* as the wisdom of the *Jews* confesseth. Thus did the *Levites* stand and bless: ⁵ *Thou even thou art Lord alone; thou hast made heaven, the heaven of heavens, with all their host, the earth and all things that are therein, the sea and all that is therein, and thou preservest them all.* Where the continual conservation of the creature is in an equal latitude attributed unto God with their first production. Because there is as absolute a necessity of preserving us from returning unto nothing by annihilation, as there was for first bestowing an existence on us by creation. And in this sense God is undoubtedly *Almighty*, in that he doth sustain, uphold, and constantly preserve all things in that being which they have.

From whence we may at last declare what is couched under this Attribute of God, how far this Omnipotency extends it self, and what every Christian is thought to profess, when he addeth this part of the first Article of his Creed, *I believe in God the Father ALMIGHTY.*

As I am persuaded of an infinite and independent essence, which I term a God, and of the mystery of an eternal generation by which that God is a Father: so I assure my self that Father is not subject to infirmities of age, nor is there any weakness attending on the *Ancient of days*; but, on the contrary, I believe Omnipotency to be an essential attribute of his Deity, and that not only in respect of operative and active power, (concerning which I shall have occasion to express my faith hereafter) but also in regard of power authoritative, in which I must acknowledge his antecedent and eternal right of making

king what, and when, and how he pleased, of possessing whatsoever he maketh by direct dominion, of using and disposing as he pleaseth all things which he so possesseth. This dominion I believe most absolute in respect of its Independency, both in the Original, and the Use or exercise thereof: this I acknowledge Infinite for amplitude or extension, as being a power over all things without exception; for plenitude or perfection, as being all power over every thing without limitation; for continuance or duration, as being eternal without end or conclusion. Thus I believe in God the Father Almighty.

Maker of Heaven and Earth.

Although this last part of the First Article were not expressed in the * ancient Creeds, yet the sense thereof was delivered in the || first Rules of Faith, and at last these particular words inserted both in the Greek and Latin Confessions. And indeed the work of Creation most properly followeth the Attribute of Omnipotency, as being the foundation of the first, and the demonstration of the second explication of it. As then we believe there is a God, and that God Almighty; as we acknowledge that same God to be the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in him of us: so we also confess that the same God the Father made both heaven and earth. For the full explication of which operation, it will be sufficient, first, to declare the latitude of the Object, what is comprehended under the terms of heaven and earth; secondly, to express the nature of the action, the true notion of creation, by which they were made; and thirdly, to demonstrate the Person to whom this operation is ascribed.

* For we find it not mentioned by S. Augustine de Fide & Symbolis; neither hath Rufinus expounded it in the Aquileian, or noted it to be found in the Roman or Oriental Creeds. Leo, reciting the three first Articles in his Epistle to Flavianus, maketh no mention of it. Epist. 10. Ma-

simus Taurinensis hath it not in Traditione Symboli, nor Petrus Chrysologus in his Sermon, amongst six several expositions. It is not in the Homilies of Eusebius Gallicanus, or the exposition of Venantius Fortunatus. Marcellus Bishop of Ancyra left it not at Rome with Julius: Nor did Arius in his Catholick Confession unto Constantine acknowledge it. Neither are the words to be found in the Latin or Greek Copy of the Creed written about the beginning of the eighth Century, and published out of the MSS. by the most Reverend and Learned Archbishop of Armagh; or in that which Etherius and Beatus produced against Elipandus Archbishop of Toledo, towards the end of the seventh Century. || As in that delivered by Irenæus, Εἰς ἓνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ἢ πεποιηκότα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς. *Adver. Her. l. 1. c. 2.* And that by Tertul. Unum omnino Deum esse, nec alium præter mundi conditorem, qui universa de nihilo produxerit. *De præscr. adv. Her. c. 13.* And that under the name of Novatian, not in formal words, but with an (id est) by way of explication. Regula exigit veritatis ut primo omnium credamus in Deum Patrem & Dominum Omnipotentem, id est, rerum omnium perfectissimum conditorem, qui cælum alta sublimitate suspenderit, terram dejecta mole solidavit, maria soluto liquore diffudit, & hæc omnia propriis & condignis instrumentis & ornata & plena digessit. *De Trin. c. 1.* It was also observed by Origen, that the Christians were wont most frequently to mention God under that as the most common title. Ἡ γὰρ ἀδείσως ὁμολογοῦσι τὸ κοινὸν ὄνομα, τὸ θεός, ἢ καὶ μετὰ προσθήκης ἢ, ὁ δημιουργὸς ἢ ὁ δυν, ὁ ποιητὴς ἔρανθ καὶ γῆς. *Adv. Celsum, l. 1.* Eusebius delivered the first Article thus in his Confession to the Nicene Council: Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν τῆς ἀπάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀόρατων ποιητὴν and that Council expressed the same without alteration in their Creed. But after the Nicene Council we find added ποιητὴν ἔρανθ καὶ γῆς, by S. Cyril of Jerusalem in his Catechism, and Epiphanius in Ancorato: which addition was received, confirmed and transmitted to us by the Council of Constantinople. By which means at last we find this Article thus expressed in the Western Confessions, Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, creatorem cœli & terræ.

For the first, I suppose it cannot be denied as the sense of the Creed, that under the terms of heaven and earth are comprehended all things; because the first Rules of Faith did so express it, and the most ancient Creeds had either instead of these words, or together with them, the maker of all things visible and invisible, which being terms of immediate contradiction, must consequently be of universal comprehension; nor is there any thing imaginable which is not visible, or invisible. Being then these were the words of the Nicene Creed; being the addition of heaven and earth in the Constantinopolitan could be no diminution to the former, which they still retained together with them, saying, I believe in one God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible; it followeth, that they which in the Latin Church made use only of this last addition, could not choote but take it in the full latitude of the first expression.

And

And well may this be taken as the undoubted sense of the *Creed*, because it is the known language of the sacred Scriptures. *In six days, saith Moses, the Lord made heaven and earth*: in the same time, saith God himself, *the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is*. So that all things by those two must be understood which are contained in them: and we know no Being which is made or placed without them. When God would call a general rendezvous, and make up an universal Auditory, the Prophet cries out, *Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth*. When he would express the full splendour of his Majesty, and utmost extent of his actual dominion, *Thus saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool*. When he would challenge unto himself those glorious attributes of Immensity and Omnipresence, *Do not I fill heaven and earth? saith the Lord*. These two then taken together signifie the Universe, or that which is called the World. *S. Paul* hath given a clear exposition of these words in his explication of the *Athenian Altar*; *God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in Temples made with hands*. For being God is necessarily the Lord of all things which he made, (the right of his direct dominion being clearly grounded upon the first Creation) except we should conceive the Apostle to exempt some creature from the authoritative power of God, and so take some work of his hand out of the reach of his Arm; we must confess that *heaven and earth* are of as large extent and ample signification as the *world and all things therein*. Where it is yet farther observable, that the Apostle hath conjoyned the speech of both Testaments together. For the ancient *Hebrews* seem to have had no word in use among them which singly of it self did signifie the world, as the *Greeks* had, in whose language *S. Paul* did speak; and therefore they used in conjunction the *heaven and earth*, as the *grand extremities within which all things are contained. Nay, if we take the exposition of the later Writers in that language, those two words will not only as extremities comprehend between them, but in the extension of their own significations contain all things in them. For when they divide the universe into || three worlds, the inferiour, superiour, and the middle world; the lower is wholly contained in the name of *earth*, the other two under the name of *heaven*. Nor do the *Hebrews* only use this manner of expression, but even the *Greeks* themselves; and that not only before, but * after † *Pythagoras* had accustomed them to one name. As therefore under the single name of * World or Universe, so also under the conjunctive expression of *heaven and earth*, are contained all things material and immaterial, visible and invisible.

* Καλῶς δὲ πάντες μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐξεδίξαντο τοῖς ἀκροῖς, ἔσαν ἡ τε γῆ, τὰ μέσα συμπειλιφῆναι σοιχεῖα. πῶς δ' ἀκροθιμί; ὅς τε γῆ ἢ τὸ κέντρον πάντων ἐπιπερίληφει; ἢ ἔστι κατ' ἄρχην μὲν ἀρχὴ πάντων ἢ γῆ, πῶς ἔστι τῶν ὀπίσθεν, ἀρχὴ μὲν ὀπίσθεν, ἀρχὴ μὲν ὀπίσθεν, ἀρχὴ μὲν ὀπίσθεν.

Jo. Philop. de Mundi Creat. l. 1. c. 5. τῶ μὲν ἄνω (ἀνω) τὸ πρὸς τὰ πάντα ἀπένεμα, τὸ δὲ κέντρον. ἐν δὲ σφαῖρα ἄλλως μὲν τὸ κέντρον ἀρχή, ἄλλως δὲ ὅτι πᾶσι περιέχοντες ὅρος; Hierocl. in Aur. Carm. For the Rabbins usually divide the whole frame of things into **עולם התחתון** three worlds: the first, **עולם התחתון** the inferiour, or **עולם השפל** the depressed and lowest world; **עולם הזה** that is this world, say they, to wit, this globe of earth on which we live. This they divide into three parts; **ים** the sea, lakes and rivers, **סנה** the desert, solitary and uninhabitable places, **בית המדרש** far from the habitations of men, and **עולם הזה** the earth inhabited. The second is called **עולם התיכון** the middle or inmost world; **עולם הגלגלים** this is the world of the spheres, containing the ærial region and the starry heavens. The third is **עולם העליון** the superiour world; **עולם האלהים** this is the world of Angels, **עולם האלהים** of God, **עולם הנשמות** of Souls, **עולם הרוחני** the spiritual world. Now being these three comprehend all things imaginable; being the first is sufficiently expressed in **ארץ** the earth, and the two last in **שמים** the heaven; it followeth that, in the sense of the Hebrews, heaven and earth signifie all things. * *Εἰς ταῖς ἀληθείαις, αἷς ὅτι θεός, ὅς ἄρα τὸν τέλει καὶ γαίαν μακρὰν. † Πυθαγόρας πρῶτος ἀνέμασε τὴν ἡμῶν ὅλων περιχλωρίαν κόσμον, ἐν τῷ ἐν αὐτῷ τάξεως. Plut. de Plac. Philosoph. l. 2. c. 1. * Si Mundum dixeris, illic erit & cœlum, & quæ in cœlo, & luna, & sidera, & astra, & terra, & freta, & omnis census elementorum. Omnia dixeris, cum id dixeris quod ex omnibus constat. Tertul. de Virg. Veland. c. 4. φασὶ δὲ οἱ σοφοὶ καὶ ἄρα τὸν τέλει καὶ γαίαν καὶ θεός καὶ ἀνθρώπους τῶν κοινῶν ἐξωχρῆν, καὶ σφίαν, καὶ κοσμιότητα, καὶ σωφροσύνην, καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὸ ὅλον ἔστω διὰ ταῦτα κόσμον καλεῖσιν. Jambl. Protrept. but the words are Plato's in Gorgia.*

But as the Apostle hath taught us to reason, *When he saith all things are put under him, it is manifest that he is excepted which did put all things under him*: so when we say, all things were made by God, it is as manifest that he is excepted who made all things. And then the Proposition is clearly thus delivered; All beings whatsoever beside God were made. As we read in *S. John* concerning the *Word*, that *the world was made by him*; and in more plain and exprefs words before, *All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made*. Which is yet farther illustrated by *S. Paul*: *For by him were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers; all things were created by him*. If then there be nothing imaginable which is not either in heaven or in earth, nothing which is not either visible or invisible, then is there nothing beside God which was not made by God.

2 Cor. 1. 27.

Job. 1. 10, 3.

Col. 1. 16.

This then is the unquestionable doctrine of the Christian Faith, That the vast capacious frame of the World, and every thing any way contained and existing in it, hath not its essence from or of it self, nor is of existence absolutely necessary; but what it is, it hath not been, and that being which it hath was made, framed and constituted by another. and as *every house is builded by some man*; for we see the Earth bear no such creature of it self; Stones do not grow into a wall, or first hew and square, then unite and fasten themselves together in their generation; Trees sprout not cross like dry and sapless beams, nor do spars and tyles spring with a natural uniformity into a roof, and that out of stone and mortar: these are not the works of Nature, but superstructions and additions to her, as the supplies of Art, and the testimonies of the understanding of Man, the great Artificer on earth: So if the World it self be but an * house, if the Earth, which *hangeth upon nothing*, be the foundation, and the glorious spheres of Heaven the roof, (which hath been delivered as the most universal Hypothesis) if this be the habitation of an infinite Intelligence, the || Temple of God; then must we acknowledge the world was built by him, and, consequently, that *he which built all things is God*.

Heb. 3. 4.

* Ο αἰδητός ἐστὶν κόσμος ἰδὲν ἅσα ἀνω ὄντιν ἢ οἶκος θεῶν. Philo de somn.

Κόσμος εὐπρεπής, καὶ ἑτοιμος αἰδητός οἶκος τῶν θεῶν. Id. de Plant. Noe.

Θεῶν τι μέγιστος ὁ κόσμος, καὶ οἶκος θεῶν αἰδητός Id. de Mundi Incorr.

† Job 26. 7. || Lucretius calls the Heavens mundi magni & verisimile templum, l. 5.

Τὸ ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρὸς ἀλίθειαν ἱερὸν θεῶν τοιζεῖν σύμπαντα καὶ κόσμον ἵναί. Philo de Monarch.

‡ Psal. 104. 3. § 2 Cor. 12. 2.

From hence appears the truth of that distinction, Whatsoever hath any being is either made or not made: whatsoever is not made, is God; whatsoever is not God, is made. One uncreated and independent essence; all other depending on it, and created by it. One of eternal and necessary existence; all other indifferent, in respect of actual existing, either to be or not to be, and that indifferency determined only by the free and voluntary act of the first Cause.

Now because to be thus made includes some imperfection, and among the parts of the world some are more glorious than others; if those which are most perfect presuppose a maker, then can we not doubt of a creation where we find far less perfection. This house of God, though uniform, yet is not all of the same materials, the footstool and the throne are not of the same mould; there is a vast difference between the heavenly expansions. This first aerial Heaven, where God setteth up his pavilion, where *he maketh the clouds his chariot, and walketh upon the wings of the wind*, is not so far inferior in place as it is in glory to the next, the seat of the Sun and Moon, the two great lights, and Stars innumerable, far greater than the one of them. And yet that second Heaven is not so far above the first as beneath the *third*, into which *S. Paul* was caught. The brightness of the Sun doth not so far surpass the blackness of a wandering cloud, as the glory of that Heaven of presence surmounts the fading beauty of the starry firmament. For in this great Temple

ple of the world, in which the Son of God is the High Priest, the Heaven which we see is but the Veil, and that which is above, the Holy of Holies. This Veil indeed is rich and glorious, but one day to be rent, and then to admit us into a far greater glory, even to the Mercy-seat and Cherubins: For this third Heaven is the ¹ proper habitation of the blessed Angels, which constantly attend upon the Throne. And if those most glorious and happy spirits, those ² morning stars which sang together, those sons of God which shouted for joy when the foundations of the earth were laid, if they and their habitation were made; then can we no ways doubt of the production of all other creatures, so much inferiour unto them.

¹ Ἰδίου οὐρανίου
 εἰον.
 Jude v. 6.
² Job 38: 7. 4.

Forasmuch then as the Angels are termed the *sons of God*, it sufficiently denoteth that they are from him, not of themselves; all filiation inferring some kind of production: And being God hath but one proper and only-begotten Son, whose propriety and singularity consisteth in this, that he is of the same increated essence with the Father, all other off-spring must be made, and consequently even the Angels created sons; of whom the Scripture speaking faith, *Who maketh his Angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire.* For although those words, as first spoken by the Psalmist, do rather express the nature of the wind and lightning: yet being the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* hath applied the same to the Angels properly so called, we cannot but conclude upon his authority, that the same God who *created the wind, and made a way for the lightning of the thunder,* hath also produced those glorious spirits; and as he furnished them with that activity there expressed, so did he frame the subject of it, their immaterial and immortal essence.

Psal. 104. 4.

Amos 4. 13.
 Job 28. 26.

If then the Angels and their proper habitation, the far most eminent and illustrious parts of the World, were made; if only to be made be one character of imperfection; much more must we acknowledge all things of inferiour nature to have dependence on their universal Cause, and consequently this great Universe, or, all things, to be made, beside that one who made them.

This is the first part of our Christian Faith, against some of the ancient Philosophers, who were so wildly fond of those things they see, that they imagined * the Universe to be infinite and eternal, and, what will follow from it, to be even God himself. 'Tis true that the most ancient of the Heathen were not of this opinion, but || all the Philosophy for many Ages delivered the World to have been made.

* Mundum, & hoc quod nomen alio cœlum appellare libuit, cuius circumflexu reguntur cun-

da numen esse credi par est æternum, immensum, neque interitum unquam. *Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 2. c. 10.* || Γενόμενον ἢ ἐν ἀπαντες εἶναι ποιοῦν, says Aristotle, *De Cœlo, l. 1. c. 10.* confessing it the general opinion, that the World was made. Which was so ancient a Tradition of all the first Philosophers, that from Linus, Musæus, Orpheus, Homer, Hesiod and the rest, they all mentioned the Original of the world, entitling their Books Κοσμογονία, or Θεογονία, or the like. Εἰσὶ γὰρ τινες αἱ φασιν ἐθεν ἀρχῆν εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ πάντα γίνεσθαι ἡρόδωτα ἢ τὰ μὲν ἀρθατα διακλύειν, τὰ δὲ πάλιν φέρεσθαι· μάλιστα μὲν οἱ αἱ Ἡσίοδον, ἔτα δὲ καὶ ἡρώδων οἱ πρῶτοι φυσιολογησάντες, says Aristotle, *De Cœlo, l. 3. c. 1.* In which words he manifestly attributes the doctrine of the Creation of the World not only to Hesiod, but to all the first natural Philosophers: which learning, beginning with Prometheus the first Professor of that Science, continued in that family amongst the Atlantidae, who all successively delivered that truth. After them the Ionian Philosophy did acknowledge it, and the Italian received it by Pythagoras, whose Scholars all maintained it, beside Ocellus Lucanus, the first of them that fancied the World not made, whom Plato, though he much esteemed him, yet followed not; for there is nothing more evident than that he held the World was made. λέγωμεν δὲ, δὲ ἢ ἢ ὠτίαν γένεσιν καὶ τὸ πᾶν τὸδε ὁ ἔωρεσας ἔωρεσεν, ἀγαθὸς ἢν. In which words he delivers not only the generation of the Universe, but also the true cause thereof, which is the goodness of God. For he which asks this plain and clear question, ποτερον ἢν αἰετῆς ἡρόσεως ἀρχὴν ἔχον ἐδεμίαν, ἢ γέγονεν, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τινος ἀρχαίως; and answers the question briefly with a γέγονεν. He which gives this general rule upon it, τὸ δ' αὖ ἡροδωτῶ φανερὸν ὅτι αἰετῆς τινος ἀνάγκη εἶναι ἡρόσθαι. and then immediately concludes, τὸν μὲν ἐν ποιητῆν καὶ πατέρα τὸ δε τὰ παντὸς ἀρεῖν τε ἔργον, καὶ ἀρόντα εἰς πάντας ἀδύνατον λέγειν. cannot, (notwithstanding all the shifts of his Greek Expositors) be imagined to have conceived the world not made. And Aristotle, who best understood him, tells us clearly his opinion ἐν τῶ Τιμαίῳ, from whence I cited the precedent words, ἐκὴ γὰρ φησι τὸν ἔργον (where by the way observe that in Plato's *Timæus* ἔργον and κόσμος are made synonymous) ἡρόσθαι μὲν, ἢ μὲν φανερὸν.

When this tradition of the Creation of the world was delivered in all places down successively by those which seriously considered the frame of all things, and the difference of the most ancient Poets and Philosophers from

Moses

Moses was only in the manner of expressing it; those which in after-ages first denied it, made use of very frivolous and inconcluding arguments, grounding their new opinion upon weak foundations.

For that which in the first place they take for granted as an Axiom of undoubted truth, that * *Whatsoever hath a beginning, must have an end*, and consequently, *Whatsoever shall have no end, had no beginning*, is grounded upon no general reason, but only upon particular observation of such things here below as from the ordinary way of Generation tend in some space of time unto Corruption. From whence, seeing no tendency to corruption in several parts of the world, they conclude that it was never generated, nor had any cause or original of its being. Whereas, if we would speak properly, future existence or non-existence hath no such relation unto the first production. Neither is there any contradiction that at the same time one thing may begin to be, and last but for an hour, another continue for a thousand years, a third beginning at the same instant remain for ever: the difference being either in the nature of the things so made, or in the determinations of the will of him that made them. Notwithstanding then their universal rules, which are not true but in some limited particulars, it is most certain the whole world was made, and of it part shall perish, part continue to all eternity; by which something which had a beginning shall have an end, and something not.

The second fallacy which led them to this novelty was the very name of Universe, which comprehendeth in it all things; from whence they reasoned thus: || If the World or Universe were made, then were all things made; and if the world shall be dissolved, then all things shall come to nothing: which is impossible. For if all things were made, then must either all, or at least something, have made it self, and so have been the cause of it self as of the effect, and the effect of it self as of the cause, and consequently in the same instant both have been and not been; which is a contradiction. But this fallacy is easily discovered: for when we say the Universe or all things were made, we must be always understood to except him who made all things, neither can we by that name be supposed to comprehend more than the frame of heaven and earth, and all things contained in them; and so * he which first devised this argument hath himself acknowledged.

Far more gross was that third conceit, that if the world were ever made, it must be after the vulgar way of ordinary natural generations: in which || two mutations are observable, the first from less to greater, or from worse to better; the second from greater to less, or from better to worse. (The beginning of the first mutation is called Generation, the end of it Perfection: the beginning of the second is from the same Perfection, but concludeth in Corruption or Dissolution.) * But none hath ever yet observed that this frame of the world did ever grow up from less to greater, or improve it self from worse to better: nor can we now perceive that it becomes worse or less than it was, by which decretion we might guess at a former increase, and from a tendency to corruption collect its original generation. This conceit, I say, is far more gross. For certainly the Argument so managed proves nothing at all, but only this, (if yet it prove so much) that the whole frame of the world, and the parts thereof which are of greater perfection, were not generated in that manner in which we see some other parts of it are: which no man denies. But that there can be no other way of production beside these

μείζονος ὅπῃ τὸ μείον, καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίονος ὅπῃ τὸ χείρον. Ἐάν ἔν καὶ τὸ ὅλον καὶ τὸ πᾶν γυγνητόν ὄν καὶ φθαρτόν, γυγνηθῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ μείονος ὅπῃ τὸ μείζον μείβεσθαι, καὶ ὅπῃ τὸ χείρονος ὅπῃ τὸ βέλτιον. Ocellus. * Τὸ δὲ γε ὅλον καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἔδεν ἡμῖν ἐξ αὐτῆ παραχεται τεκμήριον τοῦτον. ὅτε γὰρ γυγνηθῆναι αὐτὸ ἔδοξα, ὅτε μὲν ὅπῃ τὸ βέλτιον καὶ τὸ μείζον μεταβάλλον, ὅτε χείρον ποτε ἢ μείον γυγνηθῆναι. ἀλλ' αἰεὶ καὶ ταῦτα καὶ αὐτῆ διατελεῖ. καὶ ἴσον καὶ ὁμοίον αὐτὸ ἑαυτῆ. Ocellus.

* Ocellus Lu-
canus, ἀπὸ τῆς
τῶ πάντων ὁ-
σεως, which
book Aristotle
hath made use
of, and tran-
scribed in many
parts.

|| Τὸ πᾶν γυγ-
νηθῆναι ὅπῃ
σι γίνεσθαι, καὶ
τὸ φθαρθῆναι
ὅπῃ πασιφθί-
ρεται, καὶ τὸ
γε ἀδύνατον.
ἀναρχόν ἔν καὶ
ἀτελεστέον
τὸ πᾶν. Ocel-
lus.

* Τὸ δὲ γε ὅ-
λον καὶ τὸ πᾶν
ὁμοίον ὄν
σύνπαντα κῶ-
μον, διὰ γὰρ
τῶ καὶ ἴσων
συνείας ἔτυ-
χε, ἐν τῆ αὐ-
πάντων δὴ κο-
σμηθείς. Ocel-
lus.

|| Πᾶν τὸ γυγ-
σεως ἀρχῆ αὐ-
ληρὸς καὶ δια-
λύσεως ὁφείλον
κοινωνῆσαι
δύο ὅπῃ δέχε-
ται μέγεθος.
μῆκος μὲν τὴν
ἀπὸ τοῦ μείονος
ὅπῃ τὸ μείζον
καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ
χείρονος ὅπῃ
τὸ βέλτιον.
διδόσκειν ὅ
τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ

petty generations, or that the World was not some other way actually produced, this Argument doth not endeavour to infer, nor can any other prove it.

The next Foundation upon which they cast off the constant doctrine of their Predecessors, was that general Assertion, That it is * impossible for any thing to be produced out of nothing, or to be reduced unto nothing: from whence it will inevitably follow, that the matter of this World hath always been, and must always be. The clear refutation of which difficulty requires an explication of the manner how the World was made: the second part before propounded for the exposition of this Article.

Now that the true nature and manner of this Action may be so far understood as to declare the Christian Faith, and refute the errors of all opposers, it will be necessary to consider it first with reference to the Object or Effect; secondly, in relation to the Cause or Agent; thirdly, with respect unto the Time or Origination of it.

The Action by which the Heaven and Earth were made, considered in reference to the effect, I conceive to be the production of their total Being; so that whatsoever entity they had when made, had no real existence before they were so made. And this manner of production we usually term *Creation*, as excluding all concurrence of any material cause, and all dependence of any kind of subject, as presupposing no privation, as including no motion, as signifying a production out of nothing; || that is, by which something is made, and not any thing preceeding out of which 'tis made. This is the proper and peculiar sense of the word *Creation*: not that it signifies so much by virtue of its origination or vulgar use in the * *Latine* tongue; nor that the *Hebrew* word used by *Moses*, *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth*, hath of it self any such peculiar acception. For it is often used || synonymously with words which signify any kind of production or formation, and by it self it seldom denotes a production out of nothing, or proper creation, but most frequently the making of one substance out of another preexisting, as the ¹ fishes of the water, and ² man of the dust of the earth; the ³ renovating or restoring any thing to its former perfection, for want of *Hebrew* words in composition; or, lastly, the doing some new or * wonderful work, the producing some strange and admirable effect, as the ⁴ opening the mouth of the earth, and the signal ⁵ judgments on the people of *Israel*.

* Ἀμύχανον γὰρ τὸ ὄν ὑπε-τελέσθαι ἐν οὐδὲν μὴ ὄντων, ἢ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν ἀναλυθῆναι. ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἄρα καὶ ἀνάλεθρον τὸ πᾶν. Ocellus.

|| So I conceive it best expressed by Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury: Dicitur aliquid esse factum de nihilo, cum intelligimus esse quidem factum, sed non esse aliquid unde fit factum. *Mentilogii*, c. 8.

* Creatio apud nos generatio vel nativitas dicitur, apud Græcos vero sub nomine creationis ver-

bum facturæ & conditionis accipitur. S. Hieron. ad Eph. 4 || בָּרָא is promiscuously used with עָשָׂה, which is of the greatest latitude, denoting any kind of affection, and with יָצַק, which rather implies a formation out of something, from whence יוֹצֵר a potter. For the first, we read Gen. 2. 3. that God rested from all his work אֲשֶׁר בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים לַעֲשׂוֹת: not that on the sixth day he did the work of two days, that he might rest on the seventh, as Rabbi Solomon; not that in six days he made the roots of things, that they might afterward produce the like, as Aben Ezra; not these or any other Fancies of the Rabbins: as if בָּרָא signified one work and עָשָׂה another; for they both express the production, as appears clearly in the following verse, These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth, בְּהוֹרָאָה when they were created, בְּיוֹם עֲשׂוֹת in the day that the Lord God made the heaven and the earth. So *Isai*. 45. 12. I have made the earth, and created man upon it: where the first expresseth the proper, the second the improper Creation. Which indifferent acception appeareth in collating *Psal*. 115. 15. and 121. 2. with *Isa*. 42. 5. and 45. 18. as also *Isa*. 17. 7. with *Eccl*. 12. 1. From whence the *LXX*. translate בָּרָא indifferently ποιῆν or κτίζειν. For the second, יָצַק is usually rendred by the Targum בָּרָא, and by the *LXX*. though generally πλαττειν, yet sometimes κτίζειν. And that it hath the same signification will appear by conferring Gen. 2. 7. with *Isa* 45. 12. and not only so, but by that single verse, *Isa*. 43. 1. Now thus saith the Lord בָּרָאךְ that created thee, O Jacob, יוֹצֵרךְ and he that formed thee, O *Israel*. Lastly, all these are jointly used in the same validity of expression, *Isa*. 43. 7. Every one that is called by my name: for בָּרָאתִיךְ I have created him for my glory, יָעַצְתִּיךְ I have formed him, yea עָשִׂיתִיךְ I have made him. ¹ As Gen. 1. 21. ² Gen. 1. 27. and 2. 7. ³ *Psal*. 51. 10. *Isa*. 65. 17. * Creatio atque conditio nunquam nisi in magnis operibus nominantur: verbi causa, mundus creatus est, urbs condita est, domus verò, quamvis magna sit, ædificata potius dicitur, quàm condita vel creata. In magnis enim operibus atque facturis verbum creationis assumitur. S. Hier. ad Eph. c. 4. ⁴ *Numb*. 16. 30. ⁵ *Isa*. 45. 7.

We must not therefore weakly collect the true nature of Creation from the force of any word which by some may be thought to express so much, but we must collect it from the testimony of God the Creator, in his word and

and of the world created, in our reason. The opinion of the Church of the Jews will sufficiently appear in that zealous mother to her seventh and youngest son; *I beseech thee, my son, look upon the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein, and consider that God made them of things that were not*: which is a clear description of Creation, that is, production out of nothing. But because this is not by all received as Canonical, we shall therefore evince it by the undoubted testimony of S. Paul, who expressing the nature of Abraham's faith, propoundeth *him whom he believed as God who quickeneth the dead, and calleth those things which be not, as though they were*. For as to be called in the language of the Scripture is to be, (*Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God*, saith S. John in his Epistle, who in his Gospel told us, *he had given us power to become the sons of God*;) so to call is to make, or cause to be. As where the Prophet Jeremmy saith, *Thou hast caused all this evil to come upon them*, the original may be thought to speak no more than this, *thou hast called this evil to them*. He therefore calleth those things which be not, as if they were, who maketh those things which were not, to be, and produceth that which hath a being out of that which had not, that is, out of nothing. This reason, generally persuasive unto Faith, is more peculiarly applied by the Apostle to the belief of the Creation: for *through faith*, saith he, *we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear*. Not as if the earth, which we see were made of air; or any more subtile body, which we see not; nor as if those things which are seen were in equal latitude commensurable with the worlds which were framed: but that those things which are seen, that is, which are, were made of those which * did not appear, that is, which were not.

2 Macc. 7. 23.

1 John 3. 1.

Jer. 32. 22.
נִקְרָא

Heb. 11. 2.

* For *ἵνα μὴ ἐκ φανερῶν* in this place to

be equivalent unto *ὅτι ἐξ ὄντων* in the Maccabees, and that of the same sense with *ἐξ ἄκ ὄντων*, as the Syriack Translation, *ܘܢܗܘܢ ܢܘܩܪܝܢ ܘܢܗܘܢ ܢܘܩܪܝܢ* ex his quæ non conspiciuntur. Which manner of speech may be observed even in the best Greek Authors: as in Aristotle, *μετὰ βέλλον ἢ τὸ μετὰ βέλλον τέτραχός· ἢ γὰρ ἐξ ὑποκειμένου, εἰς ὑποκείμενον, ἢ ἐκ ἐξ ὑποκειμένου εἰς ἄκ ὑποκείμενον, ἢ μὴ ἐξ ὑποκειμένου εἰς ὑποκείμενον, ἢ ἐξ ὑποκειμένου εἰς μὴ ὑποκείμενον*. Where *ἐκ ἐξ ὑποκειμένου* is the same with *ἐξ ἄκ ὑποκειμένου*, and *μὴ ἐξ ὑποκειμένου* with *ἐξ μὴ ὑποκειμένου*.

Vain therefore was that opinion of a real matter coæval with God as necessary for production of the world by way of subject, as the eternal and Almighty God by way of efficient. For if some real and material Being must be presupposed by indispensable necessity, without which God could not cause any thing to be, then is not he independent in his Actions, nor of infinite power and absolute activity; which is contradictory to the divine perfection. Nor can any reason be alledged why he should be dependent in his operation, who is confessed independent in his Being.

And as this coeternity of matter opposeth God's Independency, the proper notion of the Deity, so doth it also contradict his All-sufficiency. For if without the production of something beside himself he cannot make a demonstration of his Attributes, or cause any sensibility of his power and will for the illustration of his own glory; and if without something distinct wholly from himself he cannot produce any thing, then must he * want something external: and whosoever wanteth any thing is not all-sufficient. And certainly he must have a low opinion and poor conception of the infinite and eternal God, who thinks he is no otherwise known to be Omnipotent than by the benefit of another. Nor were the Framers of the Creed so wise in prefixing

* Nemo enim non eget eo de cujus utitur; nemo non subicitur ei cujus eget ut possit uti. Sic & nemo de alio utendo,

do, non minor est eo de cujus utitur; & nemo qui præstat de suo uti, non in hoc superior est eo cui præstat uti. Testul. adv. Hermog. c. 8. || Grande revera beneficium contulit, ut haberet hodie per quem Deus cognosceretur & omnipotens vocaretur: nisi quod jam non omnipotens, si non & hoc potens, ex nihilo omnia proferre. Ibidem. Quomodo ab homine divina illa vis differet, si, ut homo, sic etiam Deus ope indigeat aliena? Indiget autem si nihil moliri potest, nisi ab altero illi materia ministratur, Lactan. l. 2. c. 9.

the *Almighty* before *maker of heaven and earth*, if, out of a necessity of material concurrence, the making of them left a mark of impotency rather than omnipotency.

The supposition then of an eternal Matter is so unnecessary where God works, and so derogatory to the infinity of his power, and all-sufficiency of himself, that the later * Philosophers, something acquainted with the truth which we profess, though rejecting Christianity, have reprov'd those of the School of *Plato*, who deliver'd, as the doctrine of their Master, an eternal Companion, so injurious to the Father and Maker of all things.

Wherefore to give an answer to that general position, That out of nothing nothing can be produced, which || *Aristotle* pretends to be the opinion of all natural Philosophers, I must first observe, that this Universal Proposition was first fram'd out of particular considerations of the works of art and nature. For if we look upon all kinds of * artificers we find they cannot give any specimen of their art without materials. Being then the beauty and uniformity of the world shews it to be a piece of art most exquisite, hence they concluded that the maker of it was the most exact || Artificer, and consequently had his matter from all eternity prepar'd for him. Again, considering the works of nature and all parts of the world subject to generation and corruption, they also * observ'd that nothing is ever generated but out of something preexistent, nor is there any mutation wrought but in a subject, and with a presuppos'd capability of alteration. From hence they presently collect'd, that if the whole world were ever generated, it must have been produced out of some subject, and consequently there must be a matter eternally preexisting.

* *As Hierocles*,
Καὶ τί κατα-
λέγω σοι τέ-
τους, ὅπως γέ-
την Πλατωνι-
κῶν τινες ἐκ
ὀρθῶν τ' ἢ περὶ
τῆς δημιουργίας
θεῶν διασωζέ-
σιν ἔννοιαν ; ἢ
γὰρ ἰκανὸν αὐ-
τὸν εἶναι ὥσθι-
σαν αὐτοῦ ἑλῶς
ὑποσῆσαι δύ-
νασαι κόσμον
οἰκεία δυνάμει
καὶ σοφίᾳ ἐξ
αἰδίου ἐπεργά-
τα· ἀλλ' ἀγνο-
νή τεύχους σω-
εργεία, καὶ τῆ
μὴ παρ' αὐτῶ
ὑποστάσει φύσει
καταχρώμε-
νον, μόνως δη-
μιουργεῖν δύ-
νασαι. *De Pro-*
vid. Ὁ Fato.

|| Πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι ἢ ἐξ ὄντων ἢ ἐκ μὲν ὄντων. τέτων δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐκ μὴ ὄντων γίνεσθαι ἀδύνατον. περὶ γὰρ ταύτης ὁμογνωμονῶσι τ' ὀρθῶς ἅπαντες οἱ περὶ φύσεως. *Physic. l. 4. c. 1.* * Ut igitur Faber cum quid ædificaturus est, non ipse facit materiam, sed eâ utitur quæ sit parata, sic torque item cerâ: sic isti providentiæ divinæ materiam præstò esse oportuit, non quam ipse faceret, sed quam haberet paratam. *Cicero de Nat. Deorum*, Ἀπεικασέον τῶν τεχνῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων τὸν κόσμον. *Methodius* περὶ τῆς γωνησῶ. || *So Hierocles* calls him *κοσμοποιὸν καὶ ἀειστὸ τεχνῶν θεόν*, in *Anr. Carm.* * Ὅτι δὲ αὐτοῦ εἶναι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀπλάως ὄντα ἐξ ὑποκειμένων τινδ; γίνεσθαι, ὅπως κοπῆντι γένεσθαι· ἀν φανερόν· ἀλλ' ἂν γὰρ ὅτι τι ὑποκείται, ἐξ ἧς γίνονται τὰ γινόμενα, οἷον τὰ φυτὰ καὶ τὰ ζῷα ἐκ πνεύματος. *Arist. Phys. l. 1. c. 7.*

Now what can be more irrational, than from the weakness of some creature to infer the same imbecillity in the Creator, and to measure the arm of God by the finger of man? Whatsoever speaketh any kind of excellency or perfection in the Artificer may be attributed unto God: whatsoever signifieth any infirmity, or involveth any imperfection, must be excluded from the notion of him. That wisdom, prescience, and preconception, that order and beauty of operation which is required in an Artist, is most eminently contained in him, who hath *ordered all things in measure, and number, and weight*: but if the most absolute *Idea* in the Artificer's understanding be not sufficient to produce his design without hands to work, and materials to make use of, it will follow no more that God is necessarily tied unto preexisting Matter, than that he is really compounded of corporeal parts.

VVisd. 11. 20.

Again, 'tis as incongruous to judge of the production of the world by those parts thereof which we see subject to generation and corruption, and thence to conclude, that if it ever had a cause of the Being which it hath, it must have been generated in the same manner which they are; and if that cannot be, it must never have been made at all. For nothing is more certain than that this manner of generation cannot possibly have been the first production even of those things which are now generated. We see the Plants grow from a seed; that is their ordinary way of generation: but the first plant could not be so generated, because all feed in the same course of nature is from the preexisting plant. We see from spawn the fishes, and from eggs the fowls receive now the original

original of their being : but this could not at first be so, because both spawn and egg are as naturally from precedent fish and fowl. Indeed because the seed is separable from the body of the plant, and in that separation may long contain within it self a power of germination ; because the spawn and egg are sejungeable from the fish and fowl, and yet still retain the prolifick power of generation ; therefore some might possibly conceive that these seminal bodies might be originally scattered on the earth, out of which the first of all those Creatures should arise. But in viviparous Animals, whose offspring is generated within themselves, whose seed by separation from them loseth all its seminal or prolifick power, this is not only improbable, but inconceivable. And therefore being the * Philosophers themselves confess, that whereas now all animals are generated by the means of seed, and that the animals themselves must be at first before the seed proceeding from them ; it followeth that there was some way of production antecedent to and differing from the common way of generation, and, consequently, what we see done in this generation can be no certain rule to understand the first production. Being then that universal Maxim, that *nothing can be made of nothing*, is merely calculated for the meridian of natural causes, raised solely out of observation of continuing creatures by successive generation, which could not have been so continued without a Being antecedent to all such succession; it is most evident, it can have no place in the production of that antecedent or first being, which we call Creation:

* These words of Aristotle are very observable, in which he disputes against Speusippus and the Pythagoreans, who thought the rudiments of things first made, out of which they grew unto perfection: "Οσοι ὁ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, ὡσπερ εἰ Πυθαγόρειοι καὶ Σπεύσιπποι;

τὸ ἀείρον καὶ κάλλιστον μὴ ἐν ἀρχῇ εἶναι, διὰ τὸ ἐκ τῆς οὐχ ἑστῆς καὶ οὐ ζώον τὰς ἀρχαὶς αἰτία ἔχειν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ καλὸν καὶ τὸ τέλειον ἐν τοῖς ἐκτέτακται, ἐκ ὀρθῶς οἰοῦνται. τὸ γὰρ σπέρμα ἐξ ἑτέρων ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρων τελείων· καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἢ σπέρμα ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τέλειον. οἷον πρότερον ἀνθρώπου ἀνταίτιος ἔστι τὸ σπέρμα, ἢ ἢ ἐκ τῆς γυμνασίου, ἀλλ' ἕτερον ἐξ ἑ τοῦ σπέρματος. By which words Aristotle hath sufficiently destroyed his own Argument, which we produced before out of the first of the Physicks, and is excellently urged in that Philosophical Piece attributed unto Justin Martyr: Εἰ πρῶτον ἔστι τὸ σπέρμα, καὶ ὕστερον τὸ ἐκ σπέρματος γιγνούμενον, καὶ γεννητὰ ἀμφότερα, τῆ ἢ γενέσεται τὰ κενὰ ἐκ σπέρματος γιγνούμενα ὑποκείσθαι τὸ σπέρμα· τῆ ὅ γινέσεται τὰ σπέρματα ὑποκείσθαι τὸ σπέρμα ἢ δύνασθαι. ἐκ ἀρα αἰετὶ τὰ ζῶα καὶ τὰ φυτὰ ἐκ σπέρματος. Aristot. Dogm. Evers. Plut. Sympos. l. 2. Probl. 3. Ὅθεν εἰς λέγει τὸ σπέρμα εἶναι ἢ ἀνθρώπου, ἐστὶ τὰ αἰετὶ εἶναι τὸ ἀλεξίσειδα· ἢ ὅ ἀλεξίσειδος τὸ ὄν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ σπέρμα τὸ ἀνθρώπου λέγουσιν.

Now when we thus describe the nature of Creation, and under the name of *Heaven and Earth* comprehend all things contained in them, we must distinguish between things created. For some were made immediately out of nothing, by a proper, some only mediately, as out of something formerly made out of nothing, by an improper kind of Creation. By the first were made all immaterial substances, all the orders of Angels, and the Souls of men, the Heavens and the simple or elemental bodies, as the earth, the water, and the air. ¹ *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth ; so in the beginning, as without any preexisting or antecedent matter : this earth, when so in the beginning made, was* ² *without form and void, covered with waters likewise made not out of it, but with it, the same which,* ³ *when the waters were gathered together unto one place, appeared as dry Land.* * By the second, all the hosts of the earth, the fowls of the air, and the fishes of the sea. ⁴ *Let the earth, said God, bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit-tree yielding fruit after his kind.* ⁵ *Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may flie above the earth ;* and more expressly yet, ⁶ *Out of the ground God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air.* And well may we grant these plants and animals to have their origination from such principles, when we read, ⁷ *God formed man of the dust of the ground ;* and said unto him whom he created in his own image; ⁸ *Dust thou art.*

¹ Gen. 1. 1.
² Verse 2.
³ Verse 9.
† Hic visibilis mundus ex materia quæ à Deo facta fuerat, factus est & ornatus.
Gennad. c. 10.
⁴ Gen. 1. 11.
⁵ Verse 20.
⁶ Gen. 2. 19.
⁷ Gen. 2. 7.
⁸ Gen. 3. 19.

Having thus declared the notion of *Creation* in respect of those things which were created, the next consideration is of that action in reference to the Agent who created all things. Him therefore we may look upon first

their action. To conceive any such necessity in the divine operations, were to deny all knowledge in God, to reduce him into a condition inferiour to some of the works of his own hands, and to fall under the censure contained in the Psalmist's question, *He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? he that formed the eye, shall he not see? he that teacheth man knowledge, shall he not know?* Those creatures which are endued with understanding, and consequently with a will, may not only be necessitated in their actions by a greater power, but also as necessarily be determined by the proposal of an infinite good: whereas neither of these necessities can be acknowledged in God's actions, without supposing a power beside and above Omnipotency, or a real happiness beside and above All-sufficiency. Indeed if God were a necessary Agent in the works of Creation, the Creatures would be of as necessary Being as he is; whereas the necessity of being is the undoubted prerogative of the first cause. *He worketh all things after the counsel of his own will,* saith the Apostle: and wherefore counsel is, there is election, or else 'tis vain; where a will, there must be freedom, or else 'tis weak. We cannot imagine that the all-wise God should act or produce any thing but what he determineth to produce; and all his determinations must flow from the immediate principle of his will. If then his determinations be free, as they must be coming from that principle, then must the Actions which follow them be also free. Being then the goodness of God is absolutely perfect of it self, being he is in himself infinitely, and eternally happy, and this happiness as little capable of augmentation as of diminution; he cannot be thought to look upon any thing without himself as determining his will to the desire, and necessitating to the production of it. If then we consider God's goodness, he was moved; if his All-sufficiency, he was not necessitated: if we look upon his will, he freely determined; if on his power, by that determination he created the World.

Psal. 94. 9.

Eph. 1. 11.

Wherefore that ancient conceit of a necessary emanation of God's goodness in the eternal Creation of the World will now easily be refuted, if we make a distinction in the equivocal notion of Goodness. For if we take it as it signifieth a rectitude and excellency of all virtue and holiness, with a negation of all things morally evil, vicious, or unholy; so God is absolutely and necessarily good: but if we take it in another sense, as indeed they did which made this Argument, that is, rather for beneficence, or communicativeness of some good to others; then God is not necessarily, but freely, Good, that is to say, profitable and beneficial. For he had not been in the least degree evil or unjust, if he had never made the World or any part thereof, if he had never communicated any of his perfections by framing any thing beside himself. Every proprietary therefore being accounted master of his own, and thought freely to bestow what're he gives; much more must that one eternal and independent Being be wholly free in the communicating his own perfections without any necessity or obligation. We must then look no farther than the determination of God's will in the Creation of the World.

† Rev. 4. 11.
** So Clemens Alexandrinus speaks of God*
 Ψιλῶ τῷ βε-
 λεσθαι διημιερ-
 γῆς, καὶ τῷ μό-
 νον ἐθέλησαι
 αὐτὸν ἐπεψα.
 τὸ γεγονῆσθαι.
Protrept.
 ἢ Γεννητῶ
 φῶς, καὶ τὸ πρῶ-
 σαγμα ἔργον
 ἡ. S. Basil.
 "Οἶον ὃ σωτηρί-
 ας καὶ εὐμα καὶ
 πρῶσαγμα λέ-
 γασθαι, ὃ ἐν τῷ
 θελήματι ἐσ-
 πῆν ἠγόμεθα
 ἐν εἰδει τῆς σ-
 λῆματι
Id. in Hexaem.
 Τινὸς κτιστικῆ-
 ας θέλησθαι ὃ θε-
 λήματι μόνον
 δημιουργῶν, ὃ-
 μὲν τῷ θελήσει
 σῶσις αὐτῶν
 ὃ κτιστικῆς ἡ.
1. 2. adu. Ephem.

For this is the admirable Power of God, that with him to will is to effect, to determine is to perform. So the Elders speak before him that sitteth upon the Throne; *Thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure (that is, by thy will) they are and were created.* Where there is no resistance in the object, where no need of preparation, application, or instrumental advantage in the Agent, there the actual determination of the Will is a sufficient production. Thus God did make the Heavens and the Earth by * willing them to be. This was the first command unto the creatures, and their existence was their first obedience. || *Let there be light,* this is the injunction; *and there was light,* that's the creation. Which two are so intimately and immediately the same,

I that

But for their number of years nothing is more certain than their forgery; for the *Aegyptians* did preserve the antiquities of other Nations as well as their own, and by the evident fallacy in others have betrayed their own vanity. When *Alexander* entred *Aegypt* with his victorious army, the Priests could shew him out of their sacred Histories an account of the *Persian* Empire, which he gained by conquest; and the *Macedonian*, which he received by birth, of each for * 8000 years: whereas nothing can be more certain out of the best Historical account, than that the *Persian* Empire, whether begun in *Cyrus* or in *Medus*, was not then 300 years old, and the *Macedonian*, begun in *Coranus*, not 500. They then which made so large additions to advance the antiquity of other Nations, and were so bold as to present them to those which so easily might refute them (had they not delighted to be deceived to their own advantage, and took much pleasure in an honourable cheat) may without any breach of charity be suspected to have extended the Account much higher for the honour of their own Country. Beside, their Catalogues must needs be ridiculoussly incredible, when the *Aegyptians* make their first Kings Reigns above || 1200 years apiece, and the *Assyrians* theirs above 40000: except ye take the *Aegyptian* years for * months, the *Assyrians* for days; and then the Account will not seem so formidable.

* This fallacy appeareth by an Epistle which Alexander wrote to his mother Olympias, mentioned by Athenagoras, Minutius Felix, S. Cyprian, and S. Augustine. Perfarum autem & Macedonum Imperium usq; ad ipsum Alexandrum, cui loquebatur, plus quam octo millium anno-

rum ille constituit; cum apud Græcos Macedonum usque ad mortem Alexandri quadringenti octoginta quinque reperiantur anni, Perfarum verò, donec ipsius Alexandri victoriæ finirentur, ducenti & triginta tres computentur, S. Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 12. c. 10. || As Diodorus Siculus takes notice of the *Aegyptians*, and Abydenus of the *Chaldeans*, whose ten first Kings reigned 120 Sari. Ως τὸ πᾶν εἶναι βασιλείας δέκα· ὃν ὁ χρόνος τῆ βασιλείας (ωὐὴξε σάρης ἐκατὸν εἴκοσι. Now this word σάρης was proper to the Babylonian or Chaldean account. Hesych. Σάρης ἀελθμός τις παρὰ Βαβυλωνίους, but what this number was he tells us not. In the Fragment of Abydenus preserved by Eusebius, Σάρης δὲ ἔστιν ἑξακόσια καὶ τετρακίλια ἔτη, every Σάρης is 3600 years, and consequently the 120 Σάρης belonging to the Reign of the ten Kings 432000 years. Neither was this the account only of Abydenus, but also of Berosus; neither was the Interpretation only of Eusebius, but also of Alexander Polyhistor, who likewise expresseth τῆ χρόνον τῆ βασιλείας αὐτῶν σάρης ἐκατὸν εἴκοσι, ἧτοι ἑξήμιδια τετρακίοντα τρεῖς καὶ δύο χιλιάδας. This seemed so highly incredible, that two ancient Monks, Anianus and Panodorus, interpreted these Chaldean years to be but days, so that every Σάρης should consist of 3600 days, that is, 9 years, 10 months and a half, and the whole 120 Σάρης for the ten Kings 1182 years, 6 months, and odd days. This is all which Jos. Scaliger, or Jacobus Goar of late could find concerning this Chaldean Computation: and the first of these complains that none but Hesychius makes mention of this account. I shall therefore supply them not only with another Author, but also with a diverse and distinct interpretation. Σάρης μέτρον καὶ ἀελθμός παρὰ Καλδαίους· οἱ γὰρ ἐκ σάρης ποιεῖσιν ἐνιαυτὸς βσκβ', οἱ γίνονται ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ μῆνες ἕξ. that is, according to the Translation of Portus, Sari apud Chaldæos est mensura & numerus: nam 120 Sari faciunt annos 2222, qui sunt anni 18 & sex menses. Well might he fix his N. L. or, non liquet, to these words; for as they are in the printed Books there is no sense to be made of them; but by the help of the MS. in the Vatican Library we shall both supply the defect in Suidas, and find a third valuation of the Σάρης. Thus then that MS. represents the words: Οἱ γὰρ ἐκ σάρης ποιεῖσιν ἐνιαυτὸς βσκβ' καὶ τὴν Καλδαίων ψήφον, εἰ δὲ ὁ Σάρης ποιεῖ μῆνας σεληνιακῶν σκβ', οἱ γίνονται ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ μῆνες ἕξ. And so the sense is clear. Σάρης, according to the Chaldee account, comprehends 222 months, which come to 18 years and 6 months; therefore 120 Σάρης make 2220 years; and therefore for βσκβ', I read, leaving out the last β, βσκ'; that is, 2220. * Εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁ φησὶν Εὐδοξὸς ἀληθὲς, ὅτι Αἰγύπτιοι τῆ μῆνα ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκάλεον, ἐκ αὐτῆς ἢ τῶν πολλῶν τέτων ἐνιαυτῶν ἀπαείθημισι ἔχοι τι θαυμαστὸν. Proclus in Timæum 31. 50.

Again for the calculation of Eclipses, as it may be made for many thousand years to come, and be exactly true, and yet the world may end to morrow; because the calculation must be made with this tacite condition, If the bodies of the Earth and Sun and Moon do continue in their substance and constant motion so long: so may it also be made for many millions of years past, and all be true, if the world have been so old; which the calculating doth not prove, but suppose. He then which should in the *Aegyptian* Temples see the description of so many Eclipses of the Sun and Moon, could not be assured that they were all taken from real observation, when they might be as well described out of proleptical supposition.

Besides, the motions of the Sun, which they mention together and with authority equal to that of their other observations, are so incredible and palpably fabulous, that they take off all credit and esteem from the rest of their narrations. For with this wild account of years, and seemingly accurate observations of the heavens, they left it written to posterity, that the whole course of the celestial Motions were four times changed: so that

* Ἐν Ἰοάνῳ Ἰε-
 τῷ πῶ χροῖον
 τετρακίς ἑλε-
 γον ἐξ ἡθῶν
 ἢ ἡλίον ἀνα-
 τεῖλαι ἐνθα τε
 ναῦ καταδύε-
 ται, ἐνθαῶτεν
 δὲ ἐπαντῆ-
 λαι· καὶ ἐνθεν
 νῦν ἀντέλλει,
 ἐνθαῦτα δὲ
 καταβλῦαι.

Herod. Euterpi
 Mandatūque
 literis servant,
 dum Ægyptii
 sunt, quater
 cursus suos ver-
 tisse sidera, ac
 Solem bis jam
 occidisse ubi
 nunc oritur.

Mela l. 1. c. 9.
 Whereas Aristotle
 more soberly,
 Ἐν ἀπαντί γὰρ
 παρεληλυθῆτι
 χρόνῳ καὶ τῶ
 παραδεδομέ-
 νῳ ἀλλήλοις
 μνήμῳ ἐδέν
 ζῶνεται με-
 ταβελήκως, ἔ-
 τῆ καθ' ὅλον ἢ

ἔχατον ἑρῶνιον, ἔτε καὶ μῶρειον αὐτῆ ἢ οἰκείων ἰδέειν. De Cælo, l. 1. V. Simpl. || As the Chaldees did affirm that they had taken Observations of the Celestial motions for 470000 years; and withal they also affirmed that for the same space of time they had calculated the Nativity of all the Children which were born. Which last is certainly false. Nam quod aiunt quadringenta & septuaginta millia annorum in periclitandis experiundisq; pueris quicumq; nati essent Babylonios posuisse, fallunt: Si enim esset factum, non esset desitum. Neminem autem habemus auctorem qui aut fieri dicat, aut factum sciat, Cicero l. 2. de Divinat. And if the last be false, we have no reason to believe the first is true; but rather to deny their Astronomical Observations by their vain Ambition in Astrological Predictions. And indeed those Observations of the Chaldees being curiously searched into by Callisthenes, appointed by Aristotle for that purpose, were found really to go no farther than 1903 years before Alexander, as Porphyrius hath declared, who was no friend to the account of Moses. Δια τὸ μῆπω τὰς ὑπὸ Καλλιθένης ἐκ Βαβυλωνος πεμφθείσας περιλήψεις ἀφικέσθαι εἰς ἢ Ἑλλάδα, τὸ Ἀεισοτέλης τῆτο ὀπισκήφαντος αὐτῶ· ἄς τινὰς διηγέται ὁ Πορφύριος χιλίων ἐπὶ ἑξή καὶ ἐνεακοσίων τειῶν μέχει ἢ χρόνων Ἀλεξάνδρου τῆ Μακεδόνος σωζομένης. Simpl. ad 2. Aristot. de Cælo, p. 123. * This Argument is therefore to me the stronger, because made by him who cannot be thought a favourer of our Religion, because he was a Countenancer of none, Epicurus, whose mind is thus delivered by Lucretius, l. 5.

Præterea, si nulla fuit genitalis origo
 Terrarum & Cœli, semp̄erque æterna fuere;
 Cur supra bellum Thebanum & funera Trojæ
 Non alias alii quoque res cecinere Poetæ?
 Quo tot facta virum toties cecidere? neque usquam
 Æternis famæ monumentis insita florent?

|| Pliny gives a large account of these, l. 7. c. 56. and Lucretius makes use of this Argument, l. 5.

Quare etiam quædam nunc artes expoliuntur,
 Nunc etiam auferuntur, nunc addita navigiis sunt
 Multa, modo organici melicos peperere sonoros:
 Denique natura hæc rerum ratioque reperta est
 Nuper, & hanc primus comprimis ipse repertus
 Nunc ego sum in patrias qui possim vertere voces.

* the Sun hath twice risen in the East and set in the West, as now it does; and, on the contrary, twice risen in the West and set in the East. And thus these prodigious Antiquaries || confute themselves.

What then are these feigned observations and fabulous descriptions for the World's antiquity, in respect not only of the infallible Annals of the Spirit of God, but even of the constant testimonies of more sober men, and the real apparences and face of things, which speak them of a far shorter date?

If we look into the Historians which give account of ancient times, nay, if we peruse the fictions of the Poets, we shall find the first to have no footsteps, the last to feign no actions of so great Antiquity. * If the race of men had been eternal, or as old as the *Ægyptians* and the *Chaldees* fantasie it; how should it come to pass that the Poetical inventions should find no actions worthy their Heroick Verse before the *Trojan* or the *Theban* War, or that great adventure of the *Argonauts*? For whatsoever all the Muses, the daughters of Memory, could rehearse before those times, is nothing but the Creation of the World, and the nativity of their Gods.

If we || consider the necessaries of life, the ways of freedom and commerce amongst men, and the inventions of all Arts and Sciences, the Letters which we use, and languages which we speak, they have all known originals, and may be traced to their first Authors. The first beginnings were then so known and acknowledged by all, that the inventers and authors of them were reckoned amongst their Gods, and worshipped by those to whom they had been so highly beneficial: which honour and adoration they could not have obtained, but from such as were really sensible of their former want, and had experience of a present advantage by their means.

If we search into the Nations themselves, we shall see none without some original: and were those * Authors extant which have written of the first plantations and migrations of people, the foundations and inhabiting of Cities and Countries, their first rudiments would appear as evident as their later growth and present condition. We know what ways within 2000 years people have made through vast and thick Woods for their habitations, now

* I mean, not only such as wrote the building of particular Cities, as Apollon. Rhodius Καύνη κτίσιν, Xenophan. Κολοφῶνος κτίσιν, Crito Συρακυσῶν κτίσιν, and Philochorus Σαλαμῖνος κτίσιν but those more general, as Aristotle Κτίσεις καὶ πολιτείας, Polemo Κτίσεις πόλεων ἐν Φωκίῃ, Charon Πόλεων κτίσεις, Callimachus Κτίσεις νήσων καὶ πόλεων, Hellenicus Κτίσεις ἐθνῶν καὶ πόλεων, and the Indefinite Κτίσεις written by Dercyllus, Dionysius, Hippys, Clitophon, Trifimachus, and others.

as fertile, as populous as any. The *Hercynian* trees, in the time of the *Cæsars*, occupying so great a space, as to take up a journey of * 60 days were thought even then || coæval with the World. We read without any shew of contradiction, how this Western part of the World hath been peopled from the East; and all the pretence of the *Babylonian* antiquity is nothing else, but that we all came from thence. Those eight persons saved in the Ark, descending from the *Gordiean* Mountains, and multiplying to a large collection in the Plain of *Sinaar*, made their first division at that place; and that dispersion, or rather dissemination, hath peopled all other parts of the world, either never before inhabited, or dispeopled by the Flood.

These Arguments have always seemed so clear and undeniable, that they have put not only those who make the world eternal, but them also who confess it made, (but far more ancient than we believe it) to a strange answer, to themselves uncertain, to us irrational.

For to this they replied, * That this World hath suffered many alterations, by the utter destructions of Nations and depopulations of Countries, by which all monuments of antiquity were defaced, all Arts and Sciences utterly lost, all fair and stately Fabricks ruined, and so mankind reduced to paucity, and the world often again returned into its infancy. This they conceived to have been done oftentimes in several Ages, sometimes by a deluge of Water, sometimes by a torrent of Fire; and lest any of the elements might be thought not to conspire to the destruction of mankind, the Air must sweep away whole Empires at once with infectious plagues, and earthquakes swallow up all ancient Cities, and bury even the very ruins of them. By which answer of theirs they plainly afford two great advantages to the Christian Faith. First, because they manifestly shew that they had an universal tradition of *Noah's* Flood, and the overthrow of the old world: Secondly, because it was evident to them, that there was no way to save the eternity or antiquity of the World, or to answer this argument drawn from History and the appearances of things themselves, but by supposing innumerable deluges and deflagrations. Which being merely feigned in themselves, not proved, (and that || first by them which, say they, are not subject themselves unto them, as the *Egyptians* did, who by the * advantage of their peculiar situation feared neither perishing by fire nor water) serve only for a confirmation of *Noah's* Flood so many Ages past, and the surer expectation of *S. Peter's* fire, we know not how soon to come.

* Sylvarum, Hercynia die-rum sexaginta iter occupans, ut major aliis, ita & notior. *Mela*, l. 3. c. 3. || Hercyniæ syl-væ roborum vastitas intacta ævis & conge-nita mundo, prope immor-tali sorte mira-cula excedit. *Plin.* l. 15. c. 2.

* Thus Ocellus, who maintain-ed the world was never made, answers the Argument brought from the Greek Histories which began with Inachus, as the first sub-ject, not author of History (as Negarola in his Annotations mistakes Ocel-lus) Διὸ καὶ τοῖς λέγουσι ὅτι Ἑλληνικῆς ἰστορίας ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ Ἰνάχου εἶναι τὸ Ἀργεῖον ἔ-περοσεκλήσαν ἔ-τας, ἔχ' ὡς ἀπὸ τίνος ἀρ-χῆς πρώτης, ἀλλὰ τῆς γε-νομένης μετὰ Σολῆος κατ' αὐ-τὴν. So that he will have Ina-

chus to be the first not absolutely, but since the last great alteration made in Greece: and then he concludes that Greece hath often been, and will often be, barbarous, and lose the memory of all their actions. Πολλὰ καὶ γέγονε καὶ εἶναι βάρβαρον ἢ Ἑλλάδα, ἔχ' ὡς ἀνθρώπων μόνον γινόμενῃ μετὰ σάτ' ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς αὐτῆς ἡ φύσεως ἐμείζοντος ἢ ἐλάττω αὐτῆς γινόμενης, ἀλλὰ καὶ νεωτέρας αἰεὶ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀρχὴν λαμβανέσης. Ocellus de Universo, c. 3. Thus Plato, who asserted the creation of the world, but either from eternity, or such antiquity as does not much differ from it, brings in Solon inquiring the age of the Greek Histories; as of Phoroneus and Niobe, Deucalion and Pyrrha; and an Egyptian Priest answering, that all the Greeks were Boys, and not an old man amongst them, that is, they had no ancient monuments, or history of any antiquity, but rested contented with the knowledge of the time since the last great mutation of their own Country. Πολλὰ καὶ κατὰ πολλὰ φθοραὶ γενέσασιν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐσοῦναι πνεῦμα καὶ ὕδατι μέγισται, μυελοὶ δὲ ἄλλοις ἔτεροι βραχυτέροι. In Timæo. Origen of Celsus. Τὸ πολλὰς ἐκ πρῶτος αἰῶνος πυρώσεις γεγονέναι, πολλὰς δὲ ἐπικλύσεις, καὶ νεώτερον ἔθ' ἢ ἐπὶ Διδοκλίωτος καθ' ἀκλύσμων ἑναγχοῦ γενησόμενον, σαφέως τοῖς ἀκείνῳ αὐτῶ δ' ὡσαυτοῖς παρῆσσι τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν τὸ κόσμον ἀγρῆσον, l. 1. And Lucretius the Epicurean, who thought the world but few thousand years old, as we believe, and that it should at last be consumed, as we also are persuaded, thinks this answer of theirs so far from being a refutation of the former, that he admits it as a confirmation of the latter part of his opinion. De rerum natura, l. 5.

Quod si fortè fuisset antehac eadem omnia credis,
Sed periisse hominum torrenti secla vapore,
Aut cecidisse urbes magno vexamine mundi,
Aut ex imbribus assiduis exisse rapaces
Per terras, amnes atque oppida cooperuisse:
Tanto quippe magis victus fateare necesse est,
Exitium quoque terrarum coelique futurum.

Ἐξωσαν δὲ πᾶς Κέλσω τὸ πᾶς ἢ ἐκπυρώσεων, καὶ ἐξυδατώσεων, μύθη δ' ἐδέσκαλοι οἱ κατ' αὐτὸν σοφῆταλοι Αἰγυπτιῶται. *Orig. adv. Celsum*, l. 1. * So that Egyptian Priest in Plato's Timæus tells Solon, that the Fable of Phaeton did signifie a real Conflagration of the world; but so as all they which lived in the mountains or dry parts of the earth were scorched and consumed, but of the

those which lived near the Seas or rivers in the valleys, some were preserved: ἡμῖν δὲ, saith he, ὁ Νεῦλος ἔειπε τὰ ἄλλα σωθῆναι, καὶ τότε ἐκ τούτων ἡ Σποείας σώζει λυόμενον. Thus the Egyptians pretend Nilus saved them from the flames of Phaeton. Nor were they only safe from Conflagrations, but from inundations also. For when in Greece or other parts a Deluge happened, then all their Cities were swept away into the Sea: Κατὰ τὴν πλώϊν δὲ τὴν χῶρον, says the Priest, ἔτε τότε, ἔτε ἄλλοτε ἀναθεν ἐπὶ τὰς εὐρέας ὕδατος ἐπιπέει· τὸ δὲ ἐναντίον κάτωθεν ἐπανιέναι πέφυκεν· ὅθεν καὶ διὰ αἰτίας τάνθαδε σωζόμενα λέγεται παλαιότατα. So Egypt receiving not their waters from above by clouds, but from below by Springs filling the river Nile, was out of danger in a Deluge, and thereby preserved the most ancient monuments and records. But, alas, this is a poor shift to them which believe that in the great and universal Flood all the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened, Gen. 7. 11.

It remaineth then that we stedfastly believe, not only that the heavens and earth and all the host of them were made, and so acknowledge a Creation, or an actual and immediate dependence of all things on God; but also that all things were created by the hand of God, in the same manner, and at the same time, which are delivered unto us in the Books of Moses by the Spirit of God, and so acknowledge a novity, or no long existence of the Creature.

Neither will the novity of the World appear more plainly unto our conceptions, than if we look upon our own successions. The vulgar accounts, which exhibit about 5600 years, though sufficiently refuting an eternity, and allaying all conceits of any great antiquity, are not yet so properly and nearly operative on the thoughts of men, as a reflection upon our own generations. The first of men was but six days younger than the being, not so many than the appearance, of the earth: and if any particular person would consider how many degrees in a direct line he probably is removed from that single person Adam, who bare together the name of man and of the earth from whence he came, he could not choose but think himself so near the original fountain of mankind, as not to conceive any great antiquity of the World. For though the ancient Heathens did imagine * innumerable ages and generations of men past, though || Origen did fondly seem to collect so much by some misinterpretations of the Scriptures; yet if we take a sober view, and make but rational collections from the Chronology of the sacred Writ, we shall find no man's pedigree very exorbitant, or in his line of generation descent of many score.

* So Cicero indeed speaks, innumerable a sacula, in his Book of Divination: and Socrates in Plato's Theætetus brings this argument a-

gainst the pride of great and noble Families, that they which mention a succession of their Ancestors which have been rich and powerful, do it merely ὑπὸ ἀπαιδείας, ἡ δὲ δὴ αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ πᾶν αἰεὶ βλέπειν, ἐδὲ λογίζεσθαι, ὅτι πάππων καὶ περγόνων μυριάδες ἐκάστῳ γεγονάσιν ἀναείθητοι, ἐν αἷς πλούσιοι καὶ πτωχοὶ, καὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ δούλοι, βάρβαροι τε καὶ Ἕλληνας πολλάκις μυρία γεγονάσιν ὅτιεν· as if every person were equally honourable, having innumerable Ancestors, rich and poor, servants and Kings, learned and barbarous. || Origen did not only collect the eternity of the world from the coexistence of all God's Attributes, as because he is παντοκράτωρ and δημιουργός, therefore he was always so, (for how could he be δημιουργός ἀνὰ δημιουργίας τῶν, or παντοκράτωρ ἀνὰ τῆς κερτομύαν;) but also from the 90 Psalm, From everlasting to everlasting, thou art God. For a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday; and that at the beginning of Ecclesiasticus; Who can number the sand of the sea, and the drops of the rain, and the days of eternity? But Methodius, Bishop and Martyr, hath well concluded that disputation: Ταῦτά φησιν ὁ Ὁρειγῆνης ἀποδείξων, καὶ ὅσα οἷα παίζει.

When the age of man was long, in the infancy of the World, we find ten generations extend to 1656 years, according to the shortest, which is thought, because the Hebrew, therefore the best account, according to the longest, which, because the Septuagints, is not to be condemned, 2262, or rather 2256. From the Flood brought at that time upon the earth for the sins of Men which polluted it, upon the birth of Abraham, the Father of the faithful, not above ten Generations, if so many, took up 292 years, according to the least, 1132, according to the largest account. Since which time the ages of men have been very much alike proportionably long; and it is agreed by all that there have not passed since the birth of Abraham 3700 years. Now by the experience of our Families which for their honour and greatness have been preserved, by the Genealogies delivered in the sacred Scriptures, and thought necessary to be presented to us by the blessed Evangelists, by the observation and concurrent judgment of former Ages, three

* genera-

* generations usually take up a hundred years. If then it be not yet 3700 years since the birth of *Abraham*, as certainly it is not: if all men which are or have been since have descended from *Noah*, as undoubtedly they have; if *Abraham* were but the tenth from *Noah*, as *Noah* from *Adam*, which *Moses* hath assured us: then is it not probable that any person now alive is above 130 generations removed from *Adam*. And indeed thus admitting but the *Greek* account of less than 5000 years since the Flood, we may easily bring all sober or probable accounts of the *Egyptians*, *Babylonians*, and *Chineses*, to begin since the Dispersion at *Babel*. Thus having expressed at last the time, so far as is necessary to be known, I shall conclude this second Consideration of the nature and notion of *Creation*.

* By the Greeks called γενεαι, which are successions of generations from Father to Son: as in St. Mat. 1. 17. Indeed sometimes they take it for other spaces of time: as Artemidorus observes, for seven years. Καὶ ἐνίαις ἢ ἔτη ζ' ὅθεν καὶ λέγου-

σιν οἱ ἰαλεικοὶ, ἥδ' δύο γενεῶν (not πρὸς ἥδ' as Wolphius and Portus would correct it) μιῦδένα. (not μὴ δέον, as Suidas) φλεβοιομεν, τὸν τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτη (not τεσσαρεσκαδέκατον, as Suidas transcribing him negligently) λέγουσιν. Sometimes they interpret it 20, 25, or 30 years, as appears by Hesychius. And by that last account they reckoned the years of Nestor, Καὶ ἐνίαις ἢ λ'. ὅθεν καὶ τὸν Νέστορα βέλονται εἰς ἑννεήκοντα ἔτη γεγονέναι. So Artemidorus and the Grammarians. Altho' I cannot imagine that to be the sense of Homer. Ἰλ. α.

Τῷ δ' ἦδη δύο μὲν γενεαὶ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
Ἐφθιάθ', οἳ οἱ πρόθεν ἅμα τέφθεν ἠδ' ἐγένοντο.

And I conceive that gloss in Hesychius, Ἐπὶ διασίμασι ζῴων ἢ μὴ καὶ αὐτὸ βεβιωκότων, to be far more properly applicable to that place. But, in the sense of which now we speak, it is taken for the third part ordinarily of an hundred years: as Herodotus, mentioning the *Egyptians* feigned genealogies; Καίτοι τετακόσια μὲν ἀνδρῶν γενεαὶ δωδέσται μύρια ἔτεα, 300 generations equalize 10000 years, γενεαὶ γὰρ τρεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἑκάτον ἔτεα ὄσι. And after him Clemens Alex. Strom. l. 2. Εἰς τὰ ἑκάτον ἔτη τρεῖς καταλέγονται γενεαί.

Now being under the terms of *heaven and earth*, we have proved all things beside God to be contained, and that the making of all these things was a clear production of them out of nothing; the third part of the explication must of necessity follow, that he which made all things is God. This truth is so evident in it self, and so confessed by all men, that none did ever assert the World was made, but withal affirmed that it was God who made it. There remaineth therefore nothing more in this particular, than to assert God so the Creator of the World as he is described in this Article.

Being then we believe in God the Father maker of heaven and earth, and by that God we expressed already a singularity of the Deity; our first assertion which we must make good is, That the one God did create the World. Again, being whosoever is that God cannot be excluded from this act of Creation, as being an emanation of the Divinity, and we seem by these words to appropriate it to the Father, beside whom we shall hereafter shew that we believe some other persons to be the same God; it will be likewise necessary to declare the reason why the Creation of the World is thus signally attributed to God the Father.

The first of these deserves no explication of it self, it is so obvious to all which have any true conception of God. But because it hath been formerly denied, (as there is nothing so senseless, but some kind of Hereticks have embraced, and may be yet taken up in times of which we have no reason to presume better than of the former) I shall briefly declare the Creation of the World to have been performed by that one God, the Father of our Lord *Jesus Christ*.

As for the first, there is no such difference between things of the world, as to infer a diversity of makers of them, nor is the least or worst of creatures in their original any way derogatory to the Creator. God saw every thing that he had made, and behold it was very good, and consequently like to come from the fountain of all goodness, and fit always to be ascribed to the same. Whatsoever is evil, is not so by the Creator's action, but by the creature's defecton.

Gen. 1. 31.

In

In vain then did the Hereticks of old, to remove a seeming inconvenience, renounce a certain truth ; and whilst they * feared to make their own God evil, they made him partial, or but half the Deity, and so a companion at least with an evil God. For dividing all things of this world into natures substantially evil, and substantially good, and apprehending a necessity of an origination conformable to so different a condition, they imagined one God essentially good, as the first principle of the one, another God essentially evil, as the original of the other. And this strange Heresie began upon the first || spreading of the Gospel ; as if the greatest light could not appear without a shadow.

* Inde Manichæus, ut Deum à conditione malorum liberet, alterum mali inducit autorem. S. Hier. in Nahum, c. 3. || For we must not look upon Manes as the first Author of

the Heresie, though they which followed him were called from him Manichæans. Nor must we be satisfied with the relation of Socrates, who allots the beginning of that heresie μετὸν ἔμπεροθεν ἧς Κωνσταντίνου χρόνων, a little before Constantine ; being Epiphanius asserts the first Author of it, ἐλάθεσθαι δὲ πορεύσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱερουσόλυμα πρὸς τὰς χρόνους ἧς Ἀποστόλων, to have gone to Jerusalem even about the Apostles times. Manes then, formerly called Cubricus, (not Urbicus, as S. Aug.) who disseminated this Heresie in the days of Aurelianus or Probus the Emperour, about the year 277, had a Predecessour, though not a Master, called first Terebinthus, after Buddas. For this Buddas left his Books and Estate to a Widow, who, saith Epiphanius, ἔμενε πολλὸν τὸ χρόνον ἕως, continued with his Estate and Books a long time, and at last bought Cubricus for her servant. This Buddas had a former Master called Scythianus, the first Author of this Heresie. Beside these, between Scythianus and Cubricus there was yet another teacher of the doctrine, called Zaranes. Ἦν ἡ πρὸς τὴν (Μάντι) ἡ ἑτερος ἡ κακίας διδάσκαλος ταύτης, Ζαράνης ὀνόματι, δμῶρον εὐτὴν ἕταρον. If then we insert this Zaranes into the Manichæan Pedigree, and consider the time of the Widow between Buddas and Cubricus, and the age of Cubricus, who was then but seven years old, as Socrates testifies, when she resolved to buy him, and discover the Heresie to him ; there will be no reason to doubt of the relation of Epiphanius, that Scythianus began about the Apostolical times. Nor need we any of the abatements in the Animadversions of Petavius, much less that redargution of Epiphanius, who cites Origen as an assertor of the Christian Faith against this Heresie ; for though he certainly died before Manes spread his doctrine, yet it was written in several Books before him, not only in the time of Buddas, to whom Socrates and Suidas attribute them, but of Scythianus, whom S. Cyril and Epiphanius make the author of them. Neither can it be objected that they were not Manichæans before the appearance of Manes ; for I conceive the name of Manes (thought by the Greeks to be a name taken up by Cubricus, and proper to him) not to be any proper or peculiar name at all, but the general title of Heretick in the Syriac tongue. For I am loth to think that Theodoret or the Author in Suidas were so far mistaken, when they call Scythianus, Manes, as to conceive Cubricus and he were the same person : when we may with much better reason conclude that both Scythianus and Cubricus had the same title. For I conceive Manes at first rather a title than a name, from the Hebrew מן or מנא signifying a Heretick. And although some of the Rabbins derive their מן from Manes, yet others make it more ancient than he was, referring it to Tzadock and Bajethos, called מן המן the first or chief Hereticks, who lived 100 years before Christ. Wherefore it is far more rational to assert, that he which began the Heresie of the Manichæes was called מן as an Heretick in the Oriental Tongues, and from thence Μάνης by the Greeks (to comply with μανία or Madness in their Language) than that Μάνης was first the name of a man counted an Heretick by the Christians ; and then made the general name for all Hereticks, and particularly for the Christians by the Jews. Which being granted, both Scythianus and Cubricus might well at first have the name of Manes, that is Heretick. However, the antiquity of that Heresie will appear in the Marcionites, who differed not in this particular from the Manichæes. Duos Ponticus Deos assert tanquam duas Symplegadas naufragii sui: quem negare non potuit, id est, creatorem, id est, nostrum; & quem probare non potuit, id est, suum. Passus infelix hujus præsumptionis instinctum de simplici capitulo Dominiæ pronunciationis, in homines non in Deos disponentis exempla illa bonæ & malæ arboris, quod neque bona malos neque mala bonos proferat fructus. Tertul. l. 1. c. 2. This Marcion lived in the days of Antoninus Pius, and as Eusebius testifieth, Justin Martyr wrote against him. Hist. li. 4. c. 11. Irenæus relates how he spake with Polycarpus Bishop of Smyrna, who was taught by the Apostles, and conversed with divers which saw our Saviour, l. 3. c. 3. Neither was Marcion the first which taught it at Rome for he received it from Cerdon. Habuit & Cerdonem quendam informatorem scandali hujus, quo facilius duos Deos cæci existimaverunt. This Cerdon succeeded Heraclion, and so at last this Heresie may be reduced to the Gnosticks, who derived it from the old Gentile Philosophers, and might well be embraced by Manes in Persia, because it was the doctrine of the Persian Magi, as Aristotle testifieth. Ἄριστοτέλης ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ φιλοσοφίας ἡ πρεσβυτέρης (τὸς Μάνης) ἐπὶ ἧς Αἰγυπτίων, ἡ δὺο καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξ ἀρχαῖς, ἀγαθὸν δάμονα ἡ κακὸν δάμονα. Laert. in proœmio. And this derivation is well observed by Timotheus Presbyter of Constantinople, speaking thus of Manes : Παρὰ τὸν Μαρκίαιος ἡ ἦν πρὸ ἐκείνου αἰχμαποίων ἡ δυασεβῶν ἡ ἦν καὶ Περσίδα μάγων ἀπορρμὰς λαβὼν δογματίζετο δύο ἀρχαί.

Whereas there is no Nature originally sinful, no substance in it self evil, and therefore no Being which may not come from the same fountain of goodness. I form the light, and create darkness ; I make peace, and create evil ; I the Lord do all these things, saith he who also said, I am the Lord, and there is none else, there is no God besides me. Vain then is that conceit which framed two Gods, one of them called Light, the other Darkness ; one good, the other evil ; refuted in the first words of the Creed, I believe in God, maker of heaven and earth.

Isa. 45. 7, 5.

But as we have already proved that one God to be the Father, so must we yet farther shew that one God the Father to be the Maker of the World. In which there is no difficulty at all: the whole Church at Jerusalem hath sufficiently declared this truth in their Devotions ; Lord, thou art God which hast made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all that in them is : against thy holy child

child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate with the Gentiles and the people of Israel were gathered together. Jesus then was the child of that God which made the Heaven and the Earth; and consequently the Father of Christ is the Creator of the World.

We know that Christ is the light of the Gentiles, by his own interpretation; we are assured likewise that his Father gave him, by his frequent assertion: we may then as certainly conclude that the Father of Christ is the Creator of the World, by the Prophet's express prediction: For thus saith God the Lord, he that created the heavens and stretched them out, he which spread forth the earth, and that which cometh out of it; I the Lord have called thee in righteousness, and will hold thine hand, and will keep thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles. *Isa. 42. 5, 6.*

And now this great facility may seem to create the greater difficulty: for being the Apostles teach us that the Son made all things, and the Prophets, that by the Spirit they were produced, how can we attribute that peculiarly in the Creed unto the Father, which in the Scriptures is assigned indifferently to the Son and to the Spirit? Two reasons may particularly be rendered of this peculiar attributing the work of creation to the Father. First, in respect of those Heresies arising in the infancy of the Church, which endeavoured to destroy this truth, and to introduce another Creator of the World, distinguished from the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. An Error so destructive to the Christian Religion, that it raseth even the foundations of the Gospel, which refers it self wholly to the promises in the Law, and pretends to no other God but that God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob; acknowledgeth no other speaker by the Son, than him that spake by the Prophets; and therefore whom Moses and the Prophets call Lord of Heaven and Earth, of him our blessed Saviour signifies himself to be the Son, rejoicing in Spirit, and saying, *I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth.* Secondly, in respect of the Paternal priority in the Deity, by reason whereof that which is common to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, may be rather attributed to the Father, as the first Person in the Trinity. In which respect the Apostle hath made a distinct ion in the phrase of emanation or production: *To us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him.* And our Saviour hath acknowledged, *The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do;* which speaketh some kind of priority in action, according to that of the Person. And in this sense the Church did always profess to believe in God the Father, * Creator of Heaven and Earth.

Luke 10. 21.

1 Cor. 8. 6.

* Stabat fides semper in Creatore & Christo ejus. Tertul. adv. Marcion. l. 1. Non alia agnoscenda erit traditio Apostolorum, quam quæ hodie apud ipsorum Ecclesias editur. Nullam autem Apostolici census Ecclesiam invenias quæ non in Creatore Christianizet. *Ib.*
¹ Rom. 1. 20.
² Jer. 10. 12. and 51. 15.
³ Psal. 104. 24.

The great necessity of professing our faith in this particular appeareth several ways, as indispensably tending to the illustration of God's glory, the humiliation of mankind, the provocation to obedience, the aversion from iniquity, and all consolation in our duty.

God is of himself infinitely glorious, because his perfections are absolute, his excellencies indefective, and the splendour of this glory appeareth unto us in and through the works of his hands. ¹ *The invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead.* ² *For he hath made the earth by his power, he hath established the world by his wisdom, and hath stretched out the heavens by his discretion.* After a long enumeration of the wonderful works of the Creation, the Psalmist breaketh forth into this pious meditation. ³ *O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all.* If then the glory of God be made apparent by the Creation, if he have ⁴ *made all things for himself,* that is, for the manifestation of his glorious Attributes, if the ⁵ *Lord rejoiceth*

⁴ *Prov. 16. 4.*

⁵ *Psal. 104. 31.*

in his works, because his glory shall endure for ever; then is it absolutely necessary we should confess him Maker of heaven and earth, that we may sufficiently praise and glorify him. Let them praise the name of the Lord, saith David, for his name alone is excellent, his glory is above the earth and heaven. Thus did the Levites teach the Children of Israel to glorify God: Stand up and bless the Lord your God for ever and ever: and blessed be thy glorious name, which is exalted above all blessing and praise. Thou even thou art Lord alone; thou hast made heaven, the heaven of heavens, with all their hosts, the earth and all things that are therein. And the same hath St Paul taught us: For of him, and through him, and to him are all things, to whom be glory for ever, Amen. Furthermore, that we may be assured that he which made both Heaven and Earth will be glorified in both, the Prophet calls upon all those celestial hosts to bear their part in his Hymn: Praise ye him all his Angels, praise ye him all his hosts. Praise ye him Sun and Moon, praise him all ye Stars of light. Praise him ye heavens of heavens, and ye waters that be above the heavens. Let them praise the name of the Lord, for he commanded, and they were created. And the 24 Elders in the Revelation of S. John fall down before him that sitteth on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their Crowns, the emblems of their borrowed and derived glories, before the Throne, the seat of infinite and eternal Majesty, saying, Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour, and power: for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created. Wherefore, if the heavens declare the glory of God, and all his works praise him; then shall his Saints bless him, they shall speak of the glory of his kingdom, and talk of his power. And if man be silent, God will speak; while we through ingratitude will not celebrate, he himself will declare it, and promulgate. I have made the earth, the man and the beast that are upon the ground, by my great power, and by my out-stretched arm.

Secondly, the Doctrine of the World's Creation is most properly effectual towards man's Humiliation. As there is nothing more destructive to humanity than Pride, and yet not any thing to which we are more prone than that; so nothing can be more properly applied to abate the swelling of our proud conceptions, than a due consideration of the other works of God, with a sober reflection upon our own original. *When I considered the heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars which thou hast ordained; when I view those glorious apparent bodies with my eye, and by the advantage of a glass find great numbers before, beyond the power of my sight, and from thence judge there may be many millions more which neither eye nor instrument can reach; when I contemplate those far more glorious spirits, the inhabitants of the Heavens, and attendants on thy Throne; I cannot but break forth into that admiration of the Prophet, What is man, that thou art mindful of him? what is that off-spring of the earth, that dust and ashes? what is that son of man, that thou visitest him? what is there in the progeny of an ejected and condemned Father, that thou shouldest look down from Heaven, the place of thy dwelling, and take care or notice of him? But if our Original ought so far to humble us, how should our Fall abase us? That of all the creatures which God made, we should comply with him who first opposed his Maker, and would be equal unto him from whom he new received his Being. All other works of God, which we think inferiour to us, because not furnished with the light of understanding, or endued with the power of election, are in a happy impossibility of sinning, and so offending of their Maker: The glorious Spirits which attend upon the Throne of God, once in a condition of themselves to fall, now by the grace of God preserved, and placed beyond all possibility of sinning, are entred upon the greatest happiness of which the workmanship of*
God

God is capable: But men, the sons of fall'n *Adam*, and sinners after the similitude of him, of all the creatures are the only companions of those *Angels* which left their own habitations, and are delivered into chains of darkness; to be reserved unto judgment. How should a serious apprehension of our own corruption, mingled with the thoughts of our creation, humble us in the sight of him, whom ye alone of all the creatures by our unrepented sins drew unto Repentance? How can we look without confusion of face upon that monument of our infamy, recorded by *Moses*, who first penned the original of Humanity, *It repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart?*

Jude v. 6.

2 Pet. 2. 4.

Gen. 6. 6.

Thirdly, this Doctrine is properly efficacious and productive of most cheerful and universal Obedience. It made the Prophet call for the Commandments of God, and earnestly desire to know what he should obey. *Thy hands have made me and fashioned me: give me understanding, that I may learn thy commandments.* By vertue of our first production, God hath undeniably absolute dominion over us, and consequently there must be due unto him the most exact and complete obedience from us. Which reason will appear more convincing, if we consider, of all the creatures which have been derived from the same fountain of God's goodness, none ever disobeyed his voice but the Devil and Man. *Mine hand, saith he, hath laid the foundation of the earth, and my right hand hath spann'd the heavens; when I call unto them they stand up together.* The most loyal and obedient servants which stand continually before the most illustrious Prince are not so ready to receive and execute the commands of their Sovereign Lord, as all the Hosts of Heaven and Earth to attend upon the will of their Creator. *Lift up your eyes on high and behold who hath created these things, that bringeth out their hosts by number: he calleth them all by names, by the greatness of his might, for that he is strong in power, not one faileth, but every one maketh his appearance, ready prest to observe the designs of their Commander in chief.* Thus the Lord commanded and *they fought from heaven, the stars in their courses fought against Sisera.* He commanded the Ravens to feed *Elias*, and they brought him bread and flesh in the morning, and bread and flesh in the evening; and so one Prophet lived merely upon the obedience of the Fowls of the air. He spake to the devouring Whale, and it vomited out *Jonah* upon the dry land; and so another Prophet was delivered from the jaws of death by the obedience of the Fishes of the Sea. Do we not read of fire and hail, snow and vapour, stormy wind fulfilling his word? Shall there be a greater coldness in man than in the snow? more vanity in us than in a vapour? more inconstancy than in the wind? If the universal obedience of the creature to the will of the Creator cannot move us to the same affection and desire to serve and please him, they will all conspire to testify against us and condemn us, when God shall call unto them, saying, *Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth, for the Lord hath spoken: I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me.*

Psal. 119. 72.

Isa. 48. 13.

Isa. 40. 26.

*Judg. 5. 20;
1 King. 17. 4, 6.*

Jonah 2. 10.

Psal. 148. 8.

Isa. 1. 2.

Psal. 146. 5, 6.

Psal. 24. 1, 2.

Isa. 40. 28.

Lastly, the Creation of the World is of most necessary meditation for the Consolation of the servants of God in all the variety of their conditions. *Happiness is he whose hope is in the Lord his God, which made heaven and earth, the sea and all that therein is.* This happiness consisteth partly in a full assurance of his power to secure us, his ability to satisfy us. *The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof, the world and they that dwell therein: For he hath founded it upon the seas, and established it upon the floods.* By vertue of the first production he hath a perpetual right unto and power to dispose of all things: and he which can order and dispose of all, must necessarily be esteemed able to secure and satisfy any Creature. *Hast thou not known, hast thou not heard that the*

everlasting

everlasting God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary? There is no external resistence or opposition where Omnipotency worketh, no internal weakness or defection of power where the Almighty is the Agent; and consequently there remaineth a full and firm perswasion of his ability in all conditions to preserve us. Again, this happiness consisteth partly in a comfortable assurance, arising from this Meditation, of the will of God to protect and succour us, of his desire to preserve and bless us. *My help cometh from the Lord, who made heaven and earth: He will not suffer thy foot to be moved,* saith the Prophet David; at once expressing the foundation of his own expectancy and our security. *God will not despise the work of his hands,* neither will he suffer the rest of his Creatures to do the least injury to his own image. *Behold,* saith he, *I have created the smith that bloweth the coals in the fire, and that bringeth forth an instrument for his work. No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper. This is the heritage of the servants of the Lord.*

Psal. 121. 2, 3.

Job 10. 3.

Isa. 54. 16, 17.

Wherefore to conclude our explication of the first Article, and to render a clear account of the last part thereof, that every one may understand what it is I intend, when I make confession of my faith in the *Maker of heaven and earth*, I do truly profess, that I really believe, and am fully perswaded, that both Heaven and earth and all things contained in them have not their being of themselves, but were made in the beginning; that the manner by which all things were made was by mediate or immediate creation; so that antecedently to all things beside, there was at first nothing but God, who produced most part of the World merely out of nothing, and the rest out of that which was formerly made of nothing. This I believe was done by the most free and voluntary act of the will of God, of which no reason can be alledged no motive assigned, but his goodness; performed by the determination of his will at that time which pleased him, most probably within one hundred and thirty generations of men, most certainly within not more than six, or at farthest seven, thousand years. I acknowledge this God Creator of the World to be the same God who is the Father of our Lord *Jesus Christ*: and in this full latitude, *I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth,*

ARTICLE II.

And in Jesus Christ his only Son, our Lord.

THE second Article of the *Creed* presents unto us, as the object of our Faith, the second Person of the blessed Trinity; that as in the Divinity there is nothing intervening between the Father and the Son, so that immediate union might be perpetually expressed by a constant conjunction in our Christian Confession. And that upon no less authority than of the *Author and Finisher of our Faith*, who in the Persons of the Apostles gave this command to us, *Ye believe in God, believe also in me.* Nor speaketh he this of himself, but from the Father which sent him: *for this is his commandment, that we should believe on the name of his Son Jesus Christ.* According therefore to the Son's prescription, the Father's injunction, and the Sacramental institution, as we are baptized, so do we * believe in the name of the Father, and the Son.

Our blessed Saviour is here represented under a threefold description: first, by his nomination, as *Jesus Christ*; secondly, by his Generation, as the *only Son* of God; thirdly, by his Dominion, as *our Lord*.

¹ Job. 14. 1.
² 1 Job. 3. 23.
 * Eadem regula veritatis docet nos credere post Patrem etiam in Filium Dei, Christum Jesum, Dominum Deum nostrum, sed Dei Filium; hujus Dei qui & unus & solus est, conditor scilicet rerum omnium. *Novat. de Trinit. c. 9.*

But when I refer *Jesus Christ* to the Nomination of our Saviour, because he is in the Scriptures promiscuously and indifferently sometimes called *Jesus*, sometimes *Christ*, I would be understood so as not to make each of them equally, or in like propriety, his name. ¹ *His name was called Jesus, which was so named of the Angel before he was conceived in the womb*: ² *who is also called Christ*, not by * name, but by office and title. Which observation, seemingly trivial, is necessary for the full explication of this part of the Article: for by this distinction we are lead unto a double notion, and so resolve our Faith into these two Propositions. I believe there was and is a man, whose name was actually, and is truly in the most high importance, *Jesus*, the Saviour of the world. I believe the man who bare that name to be the *Christ*, that is, the *Messias* promised of old by God, and expected by the *Jews*.

¹ Luke 2. 21.
² Matt. 1. 16.
 * Si tamen nomen est Christus, & non appellatio potius; Unctus enim significatur. Unctus autem non magis nomen est quam vestitus, quam calceatus, acci-

dens nomini res. Tertul. adv. Prax. c. 28. Quorum nominum alterum est proprium, quod ab Angelo impositum est; alterum accidens, quod ab unctione convenit. Ibid. Christus commune dignitatis est nomen, Jesus proprium vocabulum Salvatoris. S. Hieron. in Matt. 16. 20. Jesus inter homines nominatur; nam Christus non proprium nomen est, sed nuncupatio potestatis & regni. Lactan. de Falsa Sap. l. 4. c. 7. Dum dicitur Christus, commune nomen dignitatis est; dum Jesus Christus, proprium vocabulum Salvatoris est. Isidor. Orig. l. 7. c. 2. Ἰησοῦς καλεῖται φερωνύμως. S. Cyril. Catech. 10.

For the first, it is undoubtedly the proper name of our Saviour given unto him, according to the custom of the *Jews*, at his Circumcision: and as the Baptist was called *John*, even so the *Christ* was called *Jesus*. Beside, as the imposition was after the vulgar manner, so was the name it self of ordinary use. We read in the Scriptures of ¹ *Jesus which was called Justus, a fellow-worker with S. Paul*; and of a certain Sorcerer, a *Jew, whose name was Barjesus*, that is, the Son of *Jesus*. Josephus in his History mentioneth one *Jesus* the Son of *Ananus*, another the Son of *Saphates*, a third the Son of *Judas*, slain in the Temple: and many of the high Priests, or Priests were called by that name; as the Son of *Damnaeus*, of *Gamaliel*, of *Onias*, of *Phabes*, and of *Thebath*. Ecclesiasticus is called the Wisdom of *Jesus* the Son of *Sirach*, and that *Sirach* the Son of another *Jesus*. ² *S. Stephen* speaks of the *Tabernacle of witness brought in with Jesus into the possession of the Gentiles*: and the Apostle in his explication of those words of *David*, *To day if you will hear his voice*, observeth, that, ³ *if Jesus had given them rest, then would he not afterwards have spoken of another day*. Which two Scriptures being undoubtedly understood of *Joshua*, the Son of *Nun*, teach us as infallibly that *Jesus* is the same name with *Joshua*. Which being at the first * imposition in the full extent of pronunciation *Jehoshua*, in process of time contracted to *Jeshuah*, by the omission of the last letter, (strange and difficult to other languages) and the addition of the *Greek* termination, became *Jesus*.

¹ Col. 4. 11.
 Act. 13. 6.
 Habuit & Judæa quosdam Jesus, quorum vacuis gloriatur vocabulis. Illa enim nec lucent, nec pascunt, nec menduntur. Bernard. in Cant. Serm. 15.
² Act. 7. 45.
³ Heb. 4. 8.
 * First יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, as generally in the Books of Moses, in Joshua, Judges, Samuel, the Kings, yea even in Haggai and Zachariah: then contracted into יְשׁוּעַ, as in 1 Chro.

Wherefore it will be necessary, for the proper interpretation of *Jesus*, to look back upon the first that bare that name, who was the Son of *Nun*, of the tribe of *Ephraim*, the successor of *Moses*, and so named by him, as it is written, ⁴ *And Moses called Oshea the son of Nun Jehoshuah*. His first name then imposed at his Circumcision was *Osheah*, or *Hoseah*; the same with the name of the ⁵ *son of Azaziah, ruler of Ephraim*, of the ⁶ *son of Elah, king of Israel*, of the ⁷ *son of Beer, the Prophet*: and the interpretation of this first name || *Hoseah* is

by the *Greek* Translation, 1 Chro. 7. 27. where יְהוֹשֻׁעַ is rendered in the Roman and Alexandrian Copy Ἰησοῦς, in the Aldus and Complutensian Editions Ἰωσὺς, and by Eusebius, who expresseth it truer than those Copies, Ἰωσὺς. At last *Y* was totally left out both in the pronunciation and the writing, and the whole name of *Josuah* contracted to *Y*. ⁴ Numb. 13. 16. ⁵ 1 Chro. 27. 20. ⁶ 2 King. 17. 1. ⁷ Hof. 1. 1. || Osee in lingua nostra Salvatorem sonat, quod nomen habuit etiam Josue filius Nun, antequam ei à Deo vocabulum mutaretur. S. Hier. in Osee, c. 1. v. 1. & l. 1. adv. Jovinianum. I read indeed of other interpretations among the Greeks, no good expositors of the Hebrew names: as in an ancient MS. of the LXX. Translation of the Prophets, now in the Library of Cardinal Barberini, at the beginning of *Hoseah*. Ὠσηῆ, σωβουδρος. and again, Ὠσηῆ, σεσασωδρος, ἢ σουσιδζων. (Of which the first and last are far from the Original: and the middle agreeable with the root, not with the conjugation, as being deduced from *Y* not in Niphal, but in Hiphil) And in another MS. of the Prophets in the King's Library at S. James's, Ὠσηῆ, σιδζων, ἢ φλνῆ. and again, Ὠσηῆ, ἔρμ. σωζουδρος. which is the interpretation inserted into Hesychius; in whom for Ὠσηῆ we must read Ὠσηῆ and so I suppose Salmasius intended it, though the Holland Edition hath made his emendation Ὠσηῆ.

Saviour

* As the Samaritan Pentateuch makes it the same name, which he was first named, and which he had afterwards; as if Moses had only called Oshea,

Saviour. Now we must not imagine this to be * no mutation, neither must we look upon it as a || total alteration, but observe it as a change not trivial or * inconsiderable. And being *Hoseah* was a name afterwards used by some, and *Jehoshuah*, as distinct, by others, it will necessarily follow, there was some difference between these two names; and it will be fit to inquire what was the addition, and in what the force of the alteration doth consist.

|| So Justin Martyr speaks of Hoseah as μελονομαδέντι τῷ Ἰησοῦ ὀνόματι. And comparing it with that alteration of Jacob's name; τὸ ἐπώνυμον Ἰακώβ τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ὀπκληθέντι ἐδόθη, καὶ τὸ Αὐσῆ ὄνομα Ἰησοῦς ἐπακλήθη. where, to pass by his mistake in supposing him first named Israel, and after called Jacob, he makes the alteration of Hoseah to Joshua equal to that of Jacob to Israel. The reason whereof was the Greek version of the name, who for Hoseah translated it Αὐσῆς. ἐπα- νόμασε Μωσῆς ἢ Αὐσῆ ἢ Ναυὴ Ἰησοῦν, Numb. 13. 16. Dum Moyfi successor destinaretur Auses filius Naue, transfertur certè de pristino nomine, & incipit vocari Jesus, Tertul. adv. Jud. & adv. Marcion, l. 3. § 16. Igitur Moyfes his admini- stratis Ausem quendam nomine præponens populo, qui eos revocaret ad patriam terram. Clem. l. 1. Recognit. Qui cum pri- mum Auses vocaretur, Moles iussit eum Jesum vocari. Laetan. de vera Sap. c. 17. Οὐ πρότερον γέν (Μωσῆς) ἢ αὐτὸν διὰ- δοχὸν τῆ τῷ Ἰησοῦ κερημιὰδὸν προσωγορία, ὀνόματι ἢ ἐτέρῳ τῷ Αὐσῆ, ὅπερ οἱ ῥηνήσαντες αὐτῷ τέθεινται, καλέμενον, Ἰησοῦν αὐτὸς ἀναγορεύει. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 1. c. 3. Thus was the Hoseah something disguised by Auses, and was further e- stranged yet by those which frequently called him Ναυσῆς, as Euseb. Demonst. Ev. l. 5. c. 17. thrice. * This Justin Martyr charges upon the Jews as neglected by them, and affirms the reason why they received not Jesus for the Christ, was their not obser- ving the alteration of Hoseah into Joshua or Jesus. Αὐσῆ καλέμενον Ἰησοῦν Μωσῆς ἐκάλεσε, τῆτο σὺ ἔζητεις. δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἐποίησεν, ἕκ ἀπορεῖς, ἢ δὲ φιλοψαύεις. τοιγαρὲν λέληθές σε ὁ Χριστός, καὶ ἀναγιγνώσκων ἔσωίης. And whereas they speak much of the change made in the names of Abram and Sarai, which were but of a letter, they took no notice of this total alteration of the name: so he, Διὰ τί ἔν ἄλφα πρῶτω προσετέθη τῷ Ἀβραὰμ ὀνόματι θεολογῆς, καὶ διὰ τί ἐν ῥῶ τῷ Σάρρας ὀνόματι ὀμῶς κομπολογῆς. Διὰ τί ἢ τὸ παλῶθεν ὄνομα τῷ Αὐσῆ τῷ ἢ Ναυὴ ἔλον μελωνόμασε τῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἔζητεις. Where, to pass by the vulgar mistake of the Greeks, who generally deliver the addition of α in the name of Abraham, and ρ in the name of Sarah, when the first was an addition of ἰ. the second a change of ἰ into ῖ, he would make that of Hosea into Jesus a far more con- siderable alteration than that of Abraham or of Sarah.

יְהוֹשֻׁעַ
יְהוֹשֻׁעַ

First therefore, we observe that all the original letters in the name * *Hoseah* are preserved in that of *Joshuah*: from whence 'tis evident that this altera- tion was not made by a verbal mutation, as when *Jacob* was called *Israel*, nor by any literal change, as when *Sarai* was named *Sarah*, nor yet by diminution or mutilation; but by addition, as when *Abram* was called *Abraham*. Secondly, it must be confessed that there is but one literal addition, and that of that let- ter, which is most frequent in the *Hebrew* names: but being thus solemnly added by *Moses*, upon so remarkable an occasion as the viewing of the land of *Canaan* was, and that unto a name already known, and after used; it can- not be thought to give any less than a || present designation of his person to be a Saviour of the people, and future certainty of salvation included in his name unto the *Israelites* by his means. Thirdly, though the number of the letters be augmented actually but to one, yet it is not improbable that another may be virtually added, and in the signification understood. For being the first letter of *Hoseah* will not endure a duplication, and if the same letter were to be added, one of them must be absorpt; 'tis possible another of the same might be by *Moses* intended, and one of them suppressed. If then unto the name *Hoseah* we join one of the titles of God, which is *Jah*, there will result from both, by the custom of the *Hebrew* tongue, *Jehoshuah*; and so not only the * instrumental, but also the original cause of the *Jews* deliverance will be found expressed in one word: as if *Moses* had said, This is the person by whom God will save his people from their Enemies.

|| For it may well be thought that ῖ is added to make the same יְהוֹשֻׁעַ the same with the third person of the future in Hiphil, יְהוֹשִׁיעַ For although ה the characteristic letter of the con- jugation Hiphil be excluded in the future tense, and so the regu- lar word be יְהוֹשִׁיעַ frequently in use; yet sometimes it is expressed, as it is used, 1 Sam. 17. 47.

לֹא בַחַרְבִּי
וְלֹא בַחַרְבִּי
יְהוֹשִׁיעַ
יְהוֹשִׁיעַ

And all the assembly shall know that the Lord saveth (or will save) not with sword and spear: and Psal. 115. 6. יְהוֹשִׁיעַ וְלִי יְהוֹשִׁיעַ I was brought low, and he helped me. And although there be another ῖ in the future than in the name, yet being it is also found sometimes with the lesser Chiric, and so without the latter ῖ, or without any Chiric at all, as frequently with the addition of יְהוֹשִׁיעַ, there is no reason but יְהוֹשִׁיעַ, the name of the son of Nun, may be of the same force, as consisting of the same letters with the third person of the future in Hiphil. Again, being ῖ added to the Future, as formative thereof, stands in the place of ῖ (for the avoiding of confusion with ῖ conjunctive) which is nothing else than the abbreviation of יְהוֹשִׁיעַ, we may well assign at least this Emphasis to the mutation which *Moses* made; that whereas before there was nothing but Salvation barely in his name, now there is no less than he shall save, in which the יְהוֹשִׁיעַ or ῖ is a peculiar designation of the person, and the shall or Tenke a certainty of the futuration. Thus will the design of *Moses* appear to be nothing else but a prediction or confirmation of that which was not before, but by way of desire or omination; and this only by changing the Imperative into the Future, יְהוֹשִׁיעַ serva, the expectation of the people, into יְהוֹשִׁיעַ servabit, the ratification of *Moses*. * So did the ancients understand it: to the Greeks Je- sus is σωτήριον Θεῶν, to the Latines, Salvator Dei. So Euseb. Demonst. Ev. l. 4. ad finem. Ἐπεὶ ἢ σωτήριον Θεῶν εἰς τὴν Ἐλ- λάδα φωνὴν τὸ τῷ Ἰησοῦ μεταληθὲν ὄνομα σημαίνει. Ἰσαὲ ἔν ῥῶ παρ' Ἐβραίοις σωτηρία, ἢ δὲ ἢ Ναυὴ παρ' τοῖς αὐτοῖς Ἰωσὺς

Ἰησοῦς ὀνομάζεται. Ἰησοῦς δὲ ὄντι Ἰαὼ σωτηρία, ὅτι ἔστι Θεὸς σωτήριον. Where nothing can be more certain than that *Iesū* is taken for the name of God, and *Iaō* σωτηρία together, the Salvation of God. And yet Theophylact has strangely mistaken it, *Mat. 1. 1.* Τὸ Ἰησοῦς ὄνομα ἔχει Ἑλληνικὸν ἔστιν, ἀλλ' Ἑβραϊκόν, ἑρμηνεύεται ὁ σωτὴρ, ἰαὼ γὰρ ἡ σωτηρία παρ' Ἑβραίων λέγεται. which words seem plainly to signify that *Iesus* is interpreted Saviour, because *iaō* in the Hebrew tongue signifieth Salvation: I confess the words may be strained to the same sense with those of Eusebius, but not without some force, and contrary to what he seemeth to intend. Especially considering those which followed him in the same mistake, as Moschopolus *Deysedōn*, Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰαὼ γίνεσθαι, ὃ Ἰησοῦ παρ' Ἑβραίων ἡ σωτηρία. Whereas *Iaō* in Eusebius is certainly no other than *יהוה*, and *Iesū* than *ישוע*, and so *Iesū* contracted of *Iaō* Ἰησοῦ, the salvation of God. Nor is this only the opinion of Eusebius, but of S. Hierome, a man much better acquainted with the Hebrew language; who on the first chapter of *Hoseah*, shewing that *Josuah* had first the same name with that of the Prophet, saith, Non enim (ut male in Græcis codicibus legitur & Latinis) *Aise* dictus est, quod nihil omnino intelligitur; sed *Osee*, id est, *Salvator*: & additum est ejus nomini *Dominus*, ut *Salvator Domini* diceretur. What then was it but *יהוה* the *Dominus* added to his name? For as in the name of *Esaias*, S. Hierome acknowledge the addition of the name of God, Interpretatur autem *Esaias* *Salvator Domini*; in the same manner did he conceive it in the name of *Josuah*; only with this difference, that in the one it begins, in the other concludes the name.

Now being we have thus declared that *Iesus* is the same name with *Josuah*, being the name of *Josuah* was first imposed by Divine designation, as a certain prediction of the fulfilling to the *Israëlites*, by the person which bare the name, all which was signified by the name, being *Iesus* was likewise named by a more immediate imposition from Heaven, even by the ministrition of an Angel; it followeth, that we believe he was infallibly designed by God to perform unto the sons of men whatsoever is implied in his nomination. As therefore in *Hoseah* there was expressed Salvation, in *Josuah* at least was added the designation of that single person to save, with certainty of preservation, and probably even the name of God, by whose appointment and power he was made a Saviour; so shall we find the same in *Iesus*. In the first salutation, the Angel *Gabriel* told the blessed Virgin, she should conceive in her womb, and bring forth a son, and should call his name *Iesus*. In the Dream of *Joseph* the Angel of the Lord informed him not only of the nomination, but of the interpretation or * Etymology; Thou shalt call his name *Iesus*, for he shall save his people from their sins. In which words is clearly expressed the designation of the person, *He*, and the futurity of salvation certain by him, *he shall save*. Beside, that other addition of the name of God, propounded in *Josuah* as probable, appeareth here in some degree above probability, and that for two reasons. First, because it is not barely said that *He*, but as the Original raiseth it, || *He himself shall save*. *Josuah* saved *Israel* not by his own power, not of himself, but God by him; neither saved he his own people, but the people of God: whereas *Iesus* himself, by his own power, the power of God, shall save his own people, the people of God. Well therefore may we understand the interpretation of his name to be *God the Saviour*. Secondly, immediately upon the prediction of the name of *Iesus*, and the interpretation given by the Angel, the Evangelist expressly observeth, ¹ All this was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the Prophet, saying, Behold, a Virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name *Emmanuel*, which, being interpreted, is, *God with us*. Several ways have been invented to shew the fulfilling of that Prophecy, notwithstanding our Saviour was not called *Emmanuel*; but none can certainly appear more proper, than that the sense of *Emmanuel* should be comprehended in the name of *Iesus*: and what else is *God with us*, than *God our Saviour*? Well therefore hath the Evangelist conjoyned * the Prophet and the Angel asserting *Christ* was therefore named *Iesus*, because it was foretold he should be called *Emmanuel*, the Angelical *God the Saviour* being in the highest propriety the Prophetical *God with us*.

Luke 1. 31.

* *Iesus* Hebræo sermone *Salvator* dicitur. Etymologiam ergo nominis ejus Evangelista signavit, dicens, *Vocabis nomen ejus Iesum, quia ipse salvum faciet populum suum.* S. Hier. || Αὐτὸς, ἰψε.

¹ *Mat. 1. 22, 23.* * Βλέπετε ἰσαεὶς Εὐαγγελιστὴς καὶ προφητὴς ἦν ἡμεῖς μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεὸς, ὃς ἔστι σωτηρία ἡμῶν καὶ λαοῦ τὸ μέγα δόξα ἡμεῖς ὁ Χριστὸς ἦν. *Andreas Cretensis in Circumc.*

However, the constant Scripture-interpretation of this name is *Saviour*. So said the Angel of the Lord to the amazed Shepherds, ² Unto you is born this day in the City of David a Saviour, which is *Christ the Lord*. So S. Paul to the Jews and Gentile Profelytes at *Antioch*, ³ Of this man's seed hath God, accord-

Luke 2. 11.

Acts 13. 23.

ing

* Jupiter the chief of them was most usually worshipped under this title. Euripides makes Amphitryo sitting by his Altar, which Hercules had built, Βωμὸν καθίζω τόνδε Σωτήρη Διός. And Aristophanes introduces Bacchus swearing, Νῆ τὸν Δία τὸν Σωτήρα. as if it were the familiar Oath among the Athenians, as

ing to his promise, raised unto Israel a Saviour, Jesus. Which explication of this sacred Name was not more new or strange unto the world, than was the Name it self so often used before. For the ancient Grecians usually gave it at first as a title to their * Gods, whom after any remarkable preservations they stiled Saviours, and under that notion built Temples and consecrated Altars to them. Nor did they rest with their mistaken piety, but made it stoop unto their baser flattery, calling those men their || Saviours for whom they seemed to have as great respect and honour as for their gods.

Nor does it always signifie so much as that it may not be attributed to man: for even in the Scriptures the Judges of Israel were called no less than their Saviours. * When the children of Israel cried unto the Lord, the Lord raised up a deliverer to the children of Israel, who delivered them, even Othniel the son of Kenaz. And again, When they cried unto the Lord, the Lord raised them up a deliverer, Ehud the Son of Gera. Where though in our Translation we call Othniel and Ehud Deliverers, yet in the Original they are plainly termed * Saviours.

well it might be, he having his Temple in their Piræum, as Strabo testifieth, l. 9. (where Demosthenes by vertue of a Decree was to build him an Altar Plut. in vita Demosth.) and his Porch in the City, which was called indeed vulgarly τὸ Ἐλευθέριον Διὸς σοῦ, yet was it also named τὸ Σωτήριον as Harpocration and Hesychius have observed. "Ὅτι ἡ ὀπηγέγραπται μὲν Σωτήρη, ὀνομαζέται ἡ Ἐλευθέριος, δημοῖ κὶ Μένανδρος" so the first. Τῶν Μένων ἐκρυγόντες ἰδρύσαντο τὸ Ἐλευθέριον Διὸς τρίτον ἢ ἔνιοι κὶ Σωτήριον φασὶ so the latter. As in their oaths, so in their feasts they mentioned him always at the third cup. Τὸν μὲν πρῶτον Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου κὶ δεῦν Ὀλυμπίων ἐλεγον, ἢ ἡ δ' ἄτερον ἠρώων, ἢ ἡ τρίτον Σωτήριον, sub. Διός: which is omitted in Hesychius, as appears out of Athenæus, l. 2. and 15. And especially that of Alexis the Comedian: Ἄλλ' ἔγχεον Αὐτῷ Διὸς γε τὴν δε Σωτήριος· δεῦν Θνητοῖς ἀπάντων χησιμώτατος πολεῖ Ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Σωτήρ. Paulianus in Corinthiacis, Messenicis, Laconicis & Arcadicis, mentions several Statues and Temples anciently dedicated to Jupiter, ὅπῃ λησιν Σωτήρι. Of which title Cornutus in his Book De natura Deorum gives this account. Κατὰ τὸν Ἰωνῶντα ὅτι κὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐν ἄλλοις, κὶ τὰ Διὸς ἐν τούτων Σωτήριος ἔδ' λεγομένη. And though this title was so generally given to Jupiter, as that Hesychius expounds Σωτήριος, ὁ Ζεὺς, yet was it likewise attributed to the other gods: as Herodotus relates how the Grecians in their Naval War against the Persians made their vows Ποσειδέωνι Σωτήρι, and that they preserved the title to Neptune in his days, l. 7. And Artemidorus takes notice that Castor and Pollux are taken for the δεῖ Σωτήριες, whom the Poem bearing the name of Orpheus to Museus calls μεγάλαι σωτήριες, ὅμῃ Διὸς ἀφθίτα τέκνα· as the Hymn of Homer, Σωτήριος τέκε πατρός ὀπ' ἄχθονίαν ἀνθρώπων, Ὀκυπόρων τε νεῶν-- and Theocritus in the Idyllion on them, Ἀνθρώπων σωτήριος ὅπῃ ξυρῆ ἦδη ἔοντων. Hence Lucian in Alexandro useth it as their constant title, ἀλεξίκακος Ἡράκλειος, κὶ Ζεὺς ἑσπερίαιος, κὶ Διός κενε Σωτήριος. Neither have we mention of the title only, but of the original and occasion of it. For when Castor and Pollux thrust the sons of Theseus out of Athens, and made Menestheus King, he gave them first this name διὰ ταῦτα πρῶτος ὁ Μενεθεὺς ἀνακτὴς τε κὶ σωτήριος ὀνόμασε. Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 4. c. 5. Beside these, we read in the ancient Inscriptions, Ἀσκληπιῶ Θεῷ Σωτήρι and again, Ἀσκληπιῶ κὶ Ὑγιᾶ Σωτήρι. For as they had their Female Deities, so did they attribute this title to their Goddesses, and that both in the Masculine and the Feminine Gender. As to Venus, Ἀφροδίτῃ Θεᾷ Παναγᾷ κὶ Σωτήρι to Diana Ἀρτέμιδι Σωτήρι, as the same collection of Inscriptions hath it. Thus Pherecrates, Ἡγέμεθα τὴ πόλεως ἔχ' τούτων Σωτήριος, and Sophocles, Τύχη τῷ Σωτήρι. Thus the Epigram extant in Suidas, Φωσφόρος, ὃ Σωτήρ, ὅπῃ Παλλάδος Ἰσαθι κλήρων, Ἀρτεμι. — Οὐδ' ἐν ἡ ἦον καὶ κείνον σωτήριος κὶ ἀλεξίκακον προσηγόρευον. Theodoret. Serm. 8. 595. of Hercules. The Bæntes, an ancient people in Peloponnesus, Ἀρτεμιν ὀνομάζουσι Σωτήριαν. Paul. in Laconicis. Her Temple and Statue in the City Trœzen was built and named by Theseus at his safe return from Crete. The Megarenses preserved by her from the Persians, ὅπῃ τὸ δε Σωτήριος ἀγαλμα ἐποίησαντο Ἀρτέμιδος. and upon the same occasion another of the same bigness set up at Pagæ. Id. But this title especially was given to Minerva. Σώτριος ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἐλλήσιν, Hesych. Ἐστὶ γὰρ Ἀθηνᾶ Σώτριος λεγομένη, ἢ κὶ Σῦντι. Schol. Aristoph. in Ranas. Aristotle in his Will obliged Nicagor to a dedication Διὶ Σωτήρι κὶ Ἀθηνᾶ Σωτήρι. Laert. in Vit. Arist. And in general they invoked God under the notion of Σωτήρι, as Plato in Timæo, Θεὸν ἢ κὶ νῦν ἐπ' ἀρχῇ τῆς λεγομένης Σωτήριος ἐξ ἀτοπίας κὶ ἀήθως διμυγίσεως πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀκότων δόγμα διασῶζειν ἡμᾶς ὀπ' ἀκαλεσιμῶν, πάλιν ἀρχόμεθα λέγειν. || This was the constant title of the first Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, given to him by the Rhodians. Ὀνόματα μὲν δὴ κὶ τὰ αὐτὰ Πτολεμαῖοι σφισιν, ἀλλ' ἢ ὀπ' ἡλικίας ἀλλῶ κὶ γὰρ φιλομήτορα καλοῦσι, κὶ φιλάδελφον ἔτερον: τὸν ἢ τὸ Λάγῳ Σωτήρι, παρὰ δόντων Ῥοδίων τὸ ὄνομα. Paul. Atticis. Which name first given him by the Rhodians was no way expressed in his usage of the Syrians, as is observed by Josephus, ὡς κὶ τὸ Σωτήρι ἀπασαν ὑπὸ Πτολεμαῖοι τὸ λόγῳ Σωτήρι τότε χηματίζοντ' τα ἐναντία παθεῖν αὐτῆ τῆ ὀπ' ἡλικίας. This was so familiar, that Tertullian useth the title instead of the name. Post eum (sc. Alexandrum) regnavit illic in Alexandria Soter annis 35. Thus Antigonus was first called by the Greeks their Εὐεργέτης, or Benefactor, then Σωτήρ, or Saviour: ἢ μόνον ἐκείνη παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν Εὐεργέτης, ἀλλὰ κὶ μεταλλάξας, Σωτήρ. Polyb. l. 5. Thus we read of Demetrius, who restored the Athenians to their liberty; ἀνεκέρτησαν, κὶ βῶντες ἐκέλευον ἀποβαίνειν τὸν Δημήτριον, Σωτήρα κὶ Εὐεργέτην ἀναγορεύοντες. Plut. in Vita. And not only so, but numbred Demetrius and Antigonus among their Dii Soteres; and instead of their annual Archon, whose name they used in their distinction of years, they created a Priest of these Dii Soteres, as the same Author testifieth: μόνον ἢ Σωτήριος ἀνέγραψαν θεός, κὶ τὸν ἐπὶ ὀνομα κὶ πάτριον ἀρχοντα καταπαύσαντες, ἱερέα Σωτήριος ἐχειροτόνην καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν. Appian relates of Demetrius that he received this title from the Babylonians. Τιμαρχὸν ἐπανιστάμενον ἀρελῶν, κὶ τὰ μὲν πονηρῶς τὸ βαβυλωνίων ἢ γέμερον, ἐφ' ὃ κὶ Σωτήρι ἀρξάντων τῆς βαβυλωνίων ὀνομάδην. De bell. Syriac. Lucian's mistake in his Salutation tells us of Ἐντίοχ' ἢ Σωτήρι, and Appian gives us the routing of the Gauls as the cause of that title: ἢ κὶ Σωτήρι ἐπεκλήθη Γαλάτας ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐμβαλόντας ἐξ ἐλάσας. Ibid. And in process of time this title grew so customary and familiar, that the Sicilians bestowed it upon Verres their oppressor. Itaque illum non solum Patronum istius insulae, sed etiam Sotera inscriptum vidi Syracusis, says Cicero, Verrin. 2. * Judg. 3. 9. and 3. 15. * Heb. וְיִשְׁעוּ לְבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְיְהוָה מוֹשֶׁה וְיִשְׁעוּ לְיְהוָה מוֹשֶׁה וְיִשְׁעוּ לְיְהוָה מוֹשֶׁה So the Septuagint clearly, Καὶ ἠγαγε κείν' Σωτήρα τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, κὶ ἔσωσεν αὐτῆς, τὸν Γοθονίηλ υἱὸν Κενεζ. Qui suscitavit eis Salvatorem, & liberavit eos, Othniel. Again, κὶ ἠγαγε κείν' αὐτοῖς Σωτήρα τὸν Ἀάδ, υἱὸν Γερα. Qui suscitavit eis Salvatorem vocabulo Aioth, filium Gera, Vet. Transl. Upon which place S. Augustine notes, Animadvertendum est autem quod Salvatorem dicat etiam hominem, per quem Deus salvos faciat. Quæst. l. 7. c. 18.

Now what the full import and ultimate sense of the Title of *Saviour* might be, seemed not easie to the Ancients: and the* best of the *Latins* thought the *Greek* word so pregnant and comprehensive, that the *Latin* tongue had no single word able to express it.

* So Cicero in the place before cited, having said he saw Ver-

res inscribed Sotera, goes on, Hoc quantum est? ita magnum, ut Latino uno verbo exprimi non possit. But though in Cicero's time there was no Latin word used in that sense, yet not long after it was familiar. For as in the *Greek* inscriptions we read often Dedications Δις Σωτήρι. so in the *Latin* we find often Jovi Servatori, or Conservatori, sometimes Jovi Salvatori, or Salutaris: all which are nothing else but the *Latine* expressions of the *Greek* inscriptions. And without question Σωτήρι might have been rendred Sospirator, and even Sospes, as it was used in the days of Ennius. Sospes, salvus: Ennius tamen sospitem pro servatore posuit. Neither indeed could the *Sicilians* mean any more of Verres by the word Sotera, than Tully spake of himself, when he styled himself Servatorem reipub. At least Tacitus did conceive that Conservator is as much as Soter, when speaking of Milichus, who detected the conspiracies to Nero, he saith, Milichus præmiis ditatus Conservatoris sibi nomen, Græco ejus rei vocabulo, assumpsit, Annal. l. 15. He took to himself the name of Conservator, in a *Greek* word which signifies so much: and without question that must be Σωτήρι. However, the first *Christians* of the *Latin* Church were sometimes in doubt what word to use as the constant interpretation of Σωτήρι, so frequent and essential to *Christianity*. Tertullian useth Salutificator, or, as some books read it, Salvificator: Ergo jam non unus Deus, nec unus Salutificator, si duo salutis artifices, & utrique alter altero indigens. De Carne Christi, c. 14. and shews it was so translated in the *Philippians* 3. 20. Et quidem de terra in cœlum, ubi nostrum municipatum Philippenses quoque ab Apostolo discunt; unde & Salutificatorem nostrum expectamus Jesum Christum. De Resur. Carnis, c. 47. S. Hilary thought Salutaris a sufficient interpretation. Est autem Salutaris ipso illo nomine quo Jesus nuncupatur. Jesus enim secundum Hebraicam linguam Salutaris est, in Psal. 118. S. Augustine is indifferent between that and Salvator: Deus salvos faciendi Dominus est Jesus, quod interpretatur Salvator, sive Salutaris: and so Lactant. At last they generally used the word Salvator. First, Tertullian, Christus in illo significabatur, taurus ob utramque dispositionem; aliis Ierus, ut judex, aliis mansuetus, ut Salvator. adv. Marcion. l. 3. c. 18. Which word of his was rather followed by his Imitator S. Cyprian, after whom Arnobius used it, after him his Disciple Lactantius: and from thence it continued the constant language of the Church, till the late Innovators thrust it out of the *Latine* Translation.

But whatsoever notion the Heathen had of their Gods or Men which they styled *Saviours*, we know this name belongeth unto *Christ* in a more sublime and peculiar manner. Neither is there salvation in any other; for there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved.

Acts 4. 12.

It remaineth therefore that we should explain how and for what reasons *Christ* truly is and properly is called, our *Saviour*. First then, I conceive one sufficient cause of that appellation to consist in this, that he hath opened and declared unto us the only true way for the obtaining eternal Salvation, and by such patefaction can deserve no less than the name of *Saviour*. For if those Apostles and Preachers of the Gospel, who received the way of Salvation from him, which they delivered unto others, may be said to save those persons which were converted by their preaching; in a far more eminent and excellent manner must he be said to save them, who first revealed all those truths unto them. S. Paul provoked to emulation them which were his flesh, that he might save some of them; and was made all things to all men, that he might by all means save some. He exhorted Timothy to take heed unto himself, and unto the doctrine, and continue in them; for in doing this, he should both save himself and them that heard him. And S. James speaks in more general terms; Brethren, if any of you do err from the truth, and one convert him; Let him know, that he which converteth a sinner from the error of his way, shall save a soul from death. Now if these are so expressly said to save the Souls of them which are converted by the doctrine which they deliver, with much more reason must *Christ* be said to save them, whose Ministers they are, and in whose name they speak. For it was he which came and preached peace to them which were afar off, and to them that were nigh. The Will of God concerning the Salvation of man was revealed by him. No man hath seen God at any time: the only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him. Being then the Gospel of *Christ* is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth, being they which preach it at the command of *Christ* are said to save the Souls of such as believe their word; being it was *Christ* alone who brought life and immortality to light through the gospel; therefore he must in a most eminent and singular manner be acknowledged thereby to save, and consequently must not be denied, even in this first respect, the title of *Saviour*.

Rom. 11. 14.

1 Cor. 9. 22.

1 Tim. 4. 16.

Jam. 5. 19, 20.

Eph. 2. 17.

John 1. 18.

Rom. 1. 16.

2 Tim. 1. 10.

L

Secondly,

Secondly, this *Jesus* hath not only revealed, but also procured, the way of Salvation; not only delivered it to us: but also wrought it out for us: and so God sent his Son into the world, that the world through him might be saved. We were all concluded under sin, and, being the wages of sin is death, we were obliged to eternal punishment, from which it was impossible to be freed, except the sin were first remitted. Now this is the constant rule, that without shedding of blood is no remission. It was therefore necessary that Christ should appear to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. And so he did, for he shed his blood for many, for the remission of sins, as himself professeth in the Sacramental institution: he bare our sins in his own body on the tree, as S. Peter speaks; and so in him we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins. And if while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us: much more then, being now justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath by him. Again, we were all enemies unto God, and having offended him, there was no possible way of Salvation, but by being reconciled to him. If then we ask the question, as once the *Philistines* did concerning *David*, *Wherewith should we reconcile our selves unto our Master?* we have no other name to answer it but *Jesus*. For God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them. And as under the Law the blood of the sin-offering was brought into the tabernacle of the congregation to reconcile withal in the holy place; so it pleased the Father through the Son, having made peace by the blood of his cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself. And thus it comes to pass, that us who were enemies in our mind by wicked works, yet now hath he reconciled in the body of his flesh through death. And upon this reconciliation of our persons must necessarily follow the Salvation of our Souls. For if when we were enemies, we were reconciled unto God by the death of his Son: much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life. Furthermore, we were all at first enslaved by sin, and brought into captivity by Satan, neither was there any possibility of escape but by way of Redemption. Now it was the Law of *Moses*, that if any were able he might redeem himself: but this to us was impossible, because absolute obedience in all our actions is due unto God, and therefore no act of ours can make any satisfaction for the least offence. Another Law gave yet more liberty, that he which was sold might be redeemed again; one of his brethren might redeem him. But this in respect of all the mere sons of men was equally impossible, because they were all under the same captivity. Nor could they satisfy for others, who were wholly unable to redeem themselves. Wherefore there was no other brother, but that son of man which is the Son of God, who was like unto us in all things, sin only excepted, which could work this redemption for us. And what he only could, that he freely did perform. For the Son of man came to give his life a ransom for many: and as he came to give, so he gave himself a ransom for all. So that in him we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins. For we are bought with a price: for we are redeemed, not with corruptible things, as silver and gold; but with the precious blood of Christ, as a lamb without blemish and without spot. He then which hath obtained for us remission of sins. he who through himself hath reconciled us to God, he who hath given himself as a ransom to redeem us, he who hath thus wrought out the way of Salvation for us, must necessarily have a second and a far higher right unto the name of *Jesus*, unto the title of our *Saviour*.

Thirdly, beside the promulging and procuring, there is yet a farther Act, which is, conferring of Salvation on us. All which we mentioned before was wrought by vertue of his death, and his appearance in the Holy of holies: but we must still believe, he is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto

unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them. For now being set down at the right hand of God, he hath received all power both in Heaven and Earth; and the end of this power which he hath received is, to confer Salvation upon those which believe in him. For the Father gave the Son *this power over all flesh, that he should give eternal life to as many as he hath given him*; that he should raise our bodies out of the dust, and cause our corruptible to put on incorruption, and our mortal to put on immortality: and upon this power we are to expect Salvation from him. For we must look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, from heaven, who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to subdue all things unto himself. And unto them that thus look for him shall he appear the second time, without sin, unto salvation. Being then we are all to endeavour that our spirits may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus; being S. Peter hath taught us, that God hath exalted Christ with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour; being the conferring of that upon us which he promised to us, and obtained for us, is the reward of what he suffered; therefore we must acknowledge that the actual giving of Salvation to us is the ultimate and conclusive ground of the title Saviour.

John 19. 2.

Phil. 3. 20, 21.

Heb. 9. 28.

1 Cor. 5. 5.
Acts 5. 31.

Thus by the virtue of his precious blood Christ hath obtained remission of our sins, by the power of his grace hath taken away the dominion of sin, in the life to come will free us from all possibility of sinning, and utterly abolish death the wages of sin: wherefore well said the Angel of the Lord *Thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins*; well did Zacharias call him ² *an horn of salvation*; Simeon, ³ *the salvation of God*; S. Paul, ⁴ *the captain and author of eternal salvation*; S. Peter, ⁵ *a Prince and a Saviour*, correspondent to those Judges of Israel, raised up by God himself to deliver his people from the hands of their enemies, and for that reason called Saviours. ⁶ *In the time of their trouble, say the Levites, when they cried unto thee, thou heardest them from heaven, and according to thy manifold mercies thou gavest them Saviours, who saved them out of the hand of their enemies.*

² Mat. 1. 21
³ Luke 1. 69
⁴ Luke 2. 30
⁵ Heb. 5. 9
Heb. 2. 10.
⁶ Acts 5. 35.
⁷ Nehem. 9. 27.
⁸ Ecclus. 46. 1.
⁹ Acts 7. 35.
¹⁰ Hefsch. Ρύ-

σνης, σωτήρ, λυ-
τρωτής. and a-
gain, Σωτήρ
Zeύς ὁ ἐλευθε-
ρίας, ἢ λυτρω-
τής.

|| Quantum atti-
net ad prophe-
ticum appara-
tum, nec gerit
nec dici ali-
quid possit in-
signius, quan-
doquidem res
perducta est
usq; nominis
expressionem.

S. Aug. contra
Faust. 16. 19.

* Ὁν τρόπον
ἐκείνου εἰσή-
γαγεν εἰς τὴν
ἀγίαν γῆν ἡ
λαὸν, ἕχι Μω-
σῆς. ἢ ὡς ἐ-
κείνου ἐν κλί-
βῳ διέτριψεν.
αὐτὴν τοῖς ἐ-
σελεύσει μετ'
αὐτοῦ. ἢ ὡς
Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χρι-
στὸς ἡ Διασπο-
ρὰν τοῦ λαοῦ ἐ-
πιστρέψαι, ἢ
διαμελεῖν τὴν
ἀγαθὴν γῆν
ἐκείνην. Justia.
Dial. cum Tryph.

The correspondency of Jesus unto those temporal Saviours will best appear if we consider it particularly in Jofuah, who bare that Salvation in his name, and approved it in his actions. For, as the Son of Sirach saith, ⁷ *Jesus the son of Nave was valiant in the wars, and was the successour of Moses in prophecies, who, according to his name, was made great for the saving of the elect of God.* Although therefore Moses was truly and really ⁸ *a ruler and deliverer*, which is the * same with Saviour; although the rest of the Judges were also by their office Rulers and Deliverers, and therefore styled Saviours, as expressly Othniel and Ehud are; yet Jofuah, far more particularly and exactly than the rest, is represented as a Type of our Jesus, and that typical singularity manifested in his || name. For first, He it was alone, of all which passed out of Egypt, who was design'd to lead the children of Israel into Canaan, the land of promise flowing with milk and honey. Which land as it was a type of the Heaven of heavens, the inheritance of the Saints, and eternal joys flowing from the right hand of God; so is the Person which brought the Israelites into that place of rest * a Type of him who only can bring us into the presence of God, and there prepare our mansions for us, and assign them to us as Jofuah divided the land for an inheritance to the Tribes. Besides, it is farther observable, not only what Jofuah did, but what Moses could not do. The hand of Moses and Aaron brought them out of Egypt, but left them in the Wilderness, and could not seat them in Canaan. Jofuah, the successour, only could effect that in which Moses failed. Now nothing is more frequent in the phrase of the Holy Ghost, than to take Moses for the doctrine delivered, or the books

the Publicans and Harlots go into the kingdom of God before you. He said in the sight of Israel, Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon : and the Sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and halted not to go down about a whole day. Which great miracle was not only wrought by the power of him whose name he bare but did also signifie that in the latter days, toward the setting of the Sun, when the light of the world was tending unto a night of darkness, the Sun of righteousness should arise with healing in his wings, and, giving a check to the approaching night, become ² the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.*

But to pass by more particulars, *Josuah* smote the *Amalekites*, and subdued the *Canaanites*; by the first making way to enter the Land, by the second giving possession of it. And *Jesus* our *Prince and Saviour*, whose kingdom was not of this world, in a spiritual manner goeth in and out before us against our spiritual enemies, subduing Sin and Satan, and so opening and clearing our way to Heaven; destroying the last enemy, Death, so giving us possession of eternal life. *Thus do we believe the man called *Jesus* to have fulfilled in the highest degree imaginable, all which was but typified in him who first bare the name, and in all the rest which succeeded in his office, and so to be the Saviour of the world; ³ whom God hath raised up an horn of salvation for us in the house of his servant *David*, That we should be saved from our enemies, and the hands of all that hate us.

* Stetit Sol, quia in Jesu & typum futuri agnoscebat & nomen. Neque enim in suavitate Jesu Nave. sed in Christi mysterio celestibus luminibus imperabat. Designabatur enim Dei filium in hoc seculum esse veritatum, qui mundani luminis concidentis, & jam vergentis in tenebras, virtute divina differret occasum. lucem redderet; inveteret cla-

riate m. S. Ambros. Apolog. David. poster. c. 4. Ille imperavit Soli ut steteret; & stetit, & istius typo ille magnus erat. Ille imperabat, sed Dominus efficiebat. S. Hieron. in Psal. 76. ² John 1. 9. * Τι λέγει πάλιν Μωσής τῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ τῷ Ναυῆ ἡ ἀπὸ αὐτῶν τὸ ὄνομα ὄντι περσῆται; ἵνα μόνον ἀκούσῃ πᾶς λαός, ὅτι πάντα ὁ πατήρ φαρεσὶ πρὸς τὸ ἦν Ἰησοῦ ἡ ἀπὸ Ναυῆ. ἡ ὀπίθει: τὸ ὄνομα ὁ πόσις ἔπειθε κατὰ σκοπον τῆ γῆς. λάβε βιβλίον εἰς τὰς χεῖρας σου, ἡ γράψον αὐτὸ λέγει Κρίειθ. ὅτι ἐκ οὐρανῶν ἐκράνθη πάντα τὸν αἰκὸν τῷ Ἀμαλήκ ὁ ἦν τὸ θεῖον ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν. Οἱ δ' (ἰσ' ἰδέ) πάλιν Ἰησοῦς ἔχ' ὁ ἦν ἀνθρώπος, ἀλλ' ὁ ἦν τῷ θεῷ, τυπῶν δ' ἐν (αρκ) φαρεσῶν. Barnabæ Epist. c. 9. ³ Luke 1. 69. 71.

The necessity of the belief of this part of the Article is not only certain, but evident: because there is no end of Faith without a Saviour, and no other name but this by which we can be saved, and no way to be saved by him but by believing in him. For *this is his commandment, that we should believe on the name of his Son Jesus Christ: and he that keepeth his commandment dwelleth in him and he in him.* From him then, and from him alone, must we expect Salvation, acknowledging and confessing freely there is nothing in our selves which can effect or deserve it from us, nothing in any other creature which can promerit or procure it to us. For *there is but one God, and one Mediator between God and Men, the man Christ Jesus. 'Tis only the beloved Son, in whom God is well pleased: he is clothed with a vesture dipt in blood; he hath trod the Wine-press alone. We like sheep have gone astray, and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all. By him God hath reconciled all things to himself, by him, I say, whether they be things in earth or things in heaven. By him alone is our Salvation wrought: for his sake then only can we ask it, from him alone expect it.*

1 John 3. 23, 24.

1 Tim. 2. 5.

Isa. 53. 6.

Col. 1. 20.

Secondly, this Belief is necessary, that we may delight and rejoyce in the name of *Jesus*, as that in which all our happiness is involv'd. At his nativity an Angel from Heaven thus taught the Shepherds, the first witnesses of the blessed incarnation; *Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day in the City of David, a Saviour which is Christ the Lord.* And what the Angel delivered at present, that the Prophet *Isaiah*, that old Evangelist, foretold at distance. When the people which walked in darkness should see a great light; when unto us a child should be born, unto us a son should be given; then should they joy before God, according to the joy of harvest, and as men rejoyce when they divide the spoil. When God shall come

Luke 2. 10, 11.

Isa. 9. 2, 5, 3.

Isa. 35. 4, 10.

with

with recompence, when he shall come and save us; then the ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come to Sion with songs, and everlasting joy upon their heads.

Thirdly, the belief in *Jesus* ought to inflame our affection, to kindle our love toward him, engaging us to hate all things in respect of him, that is, so far as they are in opposition to him, or pretend to equal share of affection with him. *He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me, and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me,* saith our Saviour; so forbidding all prelation of any natural affection, because our spiritual union is far beyond all such relations. Nor is a higher degree of love only debarr'd us, but any equal pretension is as much forbidden. *If any man come to me, saith the same Christ, and hate not his father and mother, and wife and children, and brethren and sisters, yea and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple.* Is it not this *Jesus* in whom the love of God is demonstrated to us, and that in so high a degree as is not expressible by the pen of man? *God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son.* Is it not he who shewed his own love to us far beyond all possibility of parallel? for *greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends:* but while we were yet sinners, that is, enemies, *Christ died for us,* and so became our *Jesus.* Shall thus the Father shew his love in his Son? shall thus the Son shew his love in himself? and shall we no way study a requital? or is there any proper return of love but love? The voice of the Church, in the language of *Solomon,* is, *My love:* nor was that only the expression of a Spouse, but of* *Ignatius,* a man, after the Apostles, most remarkable. And whosoever considereth the infinite benefits to the sons of men flowing from the actions and sufferings of their Saviour, cannot choose but conclude with *S. Paul,* *If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema Maran-atha.*

Lastly, the confession of faith in *Jesus* is necessary to breed in us a correspondent esteem of him, and an absolute obedience to him. That we may be raised to the true temper of *S. Paul,* who counted all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of *Christ Jesus our Lord,* for whom he suffered the loss of all things, and counted them but dung, that he might win *Christ.* Nor can we pretend to any true love of *Jesus,* except we be sensible of the readiness of our obedience to him: as knowing what language he used to his Disciples, *If ye love me, keep my commandments;* and what the Apostle of his bosom spake, *This is the love of God, that we keep his commandments.* His own Disciples once marvelled, and said, *What manner of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey him?* How much more should we wonder at all disobedient Christians, saying, *What manner of men are these, who refuse obedience unto him whom the senseless creatures, the winds and the sea, obeyed?* Was the name of *Jesus* at first sufficient to cast out devils? and shall man be more refractory than they? Shall the *Exorcist* say to the evil spirit, *I adjure thee by the name of Jesus,* and the devil give place? shall an Apostle speak unto us in the same name, and we refuse? Shall they obey that name, which signifieth nothing unto them; for he took not on him the nature of Angels, and so is not their Saviour? and can we deny obedience unto him, who took on him the seed of *Abraham,* and became obedient to death, even the death of the Cross, for us, that we might be raised to full power and absolute dominion over us, and by that power be enabled at last to save us, and in the mean time to rule and govern us, and exact the highest veneration from us? For *God hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth.*

Having thus declared the Original of the name *Jesus,* the means and ways by

by which he which bare it expressed fully the utmost signification of it ; we may now clearly deliver, and every particular Christian easily understand what it is he says, when he makes his confession in these words, *I believe in Jesus*: which may be not unfitly in this manner described. I believe not only that there is a God who made the World ; but I acknowledge and profess that I am fully perswaded of this, as of a certain and infallible truth, that there was and is a man, whose name by the ministry of an Angel was called *Jesus*, of whom, particularly *Josuah*, the first of that name, and all the rest of the Judges and Saviours of *Israel*, were but types. I believe that *Jesus*, in the highest and utmost importance of that name, to be the Saviour of the world ; inasmuch as he hath revealed to the sons of men the only way for the salvation of their Souls, and wrought the same way out for them by the virtue of his blood, obtaining remission for sinners, making reconciliation for enemies, paying the price of redemption for captives ; and shall at last himself actually confer the same salvation, which he hath promulged and procured, upon all those which unfeignedly and stedfastly believe in him. I acknowledge there is no other way to Heaven beside that which he hath shewn us, there is no other means which can procure it for us but his blood, there is no other person which shall confer it on us but himself. And with this full acknowledgmt, *I believe in Jesus*.

and in Jesus Christ

HAVING thus explained the proper Name of our Saviour, *Jesus*, we come unto that Title of his Office usually joined with his name, which is therefore the more diligently to be examined, because the * *Jews* who always acknowledged him to be *Jesus*, ever denied him to be *Christ*, and agreed together, ¹ that if any man did confess that he was *Christ*, he should be put out of the *Synagogue*.

* Ἰουδαῖοι γὰρ καὶ ἀδεχόμενοι τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸ εἶναι Χριστὸν εἶναι τῶτον ἐκέλευε, S. Cyril. Cat. 10. ¹ John 9. 22.

For the full explication of this Title, it will be necessary, first, to deliver the signification of the word ; secondly, to shew upon what grounds the *Jews* always expected a *Christ* or *Messias* ; thirdly, to prove that the *Messias* promised to the *Jews* is already come ; fourthly, to demonstrate that our *Jesus* is that *Messias* ; and fifthly, to declare in what that *Unction*, by which *Jesus* is *Christ*, doth consist, and what are the proper effects thereof. Which five particulars being clearly discussed, I cannot see what should be wanting for a perfect understanding that *Jesus is Christ*.

For the first, we find in the Scriptures two several names, *Messias* and *Christ*, but both of the same signification ; as appeareth by the speech of the woman of *Samaria*, *I know that Messias cometh, which is called Christ* ; and more plainly by what *Andrew* spake unto his brother *Simon*, *We have found the Messias, which is, being interpreted, the Christ*. *Messias* in the Hebrew tongue, *Christ* in the || Greek. * *Messias*, the language of *Andrew* and the woman of *Samaria*, who spake in *Syriack* ; *Christ*, the interpretation of *S. John*, who wrote his Gospel in the *Greek*, as the most general language in those days : and the signification of them both is, *the Anointed*. *S. Paul* and the rest of the Apostles, writing in that language, used the *Greek* name, which the *Latins* did retain, calling him constantly *Christus* ; and we in *English* have retained the same, as universally naming him *Christ*.

John 4. 25. John 1. 41.

|| Μεσσίας ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς ἀκούσας Ἐλλάδι φωνῆ, Nennius. * From Πωδ

Hebrew מָשִׁיחַ and מְשִׁיחַ unctus, in the Syriac מְשִׁיחָא: in the Greek, by changing ω into α, by omitting ς a guttural not fit for the ir pronunciation, and by adding s as their ordinary termination, ΜΑΡΙΑC is turned into Messias. That this was the Greek Χριστός and the Latin Christus, is evident ; and yet the Latins living at a distance, strangers to the customs of the Jews, and the doctrine of the Christians, mistook this name, and called him Chrestus from the Greek Χρηστος. See Suetonius in the life of Claudius, c. 25. Judæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulsi. Which was not only his mistake, but generally the Romans at first, as they named him Chrestus, so they called us Chrestiani, Tertul. adv. Gentes. Sed & cum perpetam Christianus pronuncia-

tur à vobis (nam nec nominis certa est notitia penes vos) de suavitate vel benignitate compositum est. *Lactan. l. 4. c. 17.* Sed exponenda hujus nominis ratio est propter ignorantium errorem, qui cum immutatâ literâ Chrestum solent dicere. *Upon which mistake Justin Martyr justifies the Christians of his time.* Ἐπεὶ ὅσον γε οὐκ τὸ πατηγορημὸν ἢ ἡμῶν ὀνόματι Θ, χρεσὶ- ταῖοι ὑπάρχομεν. And again, *Χριστιανὶ (or rather Χριστιανοὶ) γὰρ εἶναι κατηγορημένοι, τὸ δὲ χρεσὶν μισείωμι ἢ οἰκωμι.* *Apol. 2.* It was then the ignorance of the Jewish affairs which caused the Romans to name our Saviour Chrestus, and the true title is certainly Christus. *Χριστὸς γὰρ καὶ τὸ κεχρίσθαι, saith Justin.* τὸ δὲ τὸ χρεσὶ ὄνομα πρῶτον Μωσέα τοῖς χειροῦσι ἐπιθέναι, *says Euseb. Dem. Evang. l. 4. c. 15:* Quoniam Græci veteres χρεσὶν dicebant ungi, quod nunc ἀλείφειν, ob hanc rationem nos cum Christum nuncupamus, id est unctum, qui Hebraicè Messias dicitur. *Lact. l. 4. c. 7.* So the Latins generally Christus à Chrismate: and without question *χρεσὶς is from κέχρισαι.* Yet I conceive the first signification of this word among the Greeks hath not been hitherto sufficiently discovered. The first of the Ancients in whom I meet with the word *χρεσὶς is Æschylus the Tragedian and in him I find it had another sense than now we take it in; for in his language that is not χρεσὶν which is anointed, but that with which it is anointed; for that it signifieth not the subject of unction, but the ointment as diffused in the subject. The place is this in his Prometheus Vincetus.*

Οὐκ ἴδ' ἀλέξηναι ἔδεν, ἔδ' ἐ βρώσιμον,
 Οὐ χρεσὶν, ἔδ' ἐ πῖσόν, ἀλλὰ φαρμάκων
 Χρέα κατεσκελλοῖο

Prometheus shews himself to be the inventor of the Art of Physick, that before him therefore there was no medicine, neither to be taken internally by eating or by drinking, nor externally by way of unction, as the Scholiast very well expounds it. *Οὐκ ἴδ' ἐν βοήθημα θεραπεύειας ἔδ' ἐ δια βρώσεως περσφερόμενον.* (which is ἔδ' ἐ βρώσιμον in Æschylus) ἔτε δὲ δι' ἐπιχρίσεως ἔξωθεν, (which is ἔχρεσὶν) ἔδ' ἐ δια πόσεως, (τὸτο δὲ δηλοῖ τὸ πῖσόν.) So Eustathius, *Τρεῖς φαρμάκων ἰδέαι παρ' Ὀμήρω, ἐπι- πασα, ὡς νῦν ἐπὶ Μενελάω, ὡς ἢ πῖα φάρμακα εἰδὼς πάσασεν ὁ Μαχάων· καὶ χρεσὶ οἶον ἰδὲ χρεσὶν καὶ πῖσόν, καὶ τὸ Αἰχμύ- λον, τετέστι ποτὰ ἢ πότιμα.* *Ad. II. d.* As therefore from πῖω πῖσα, πῖσόν, so from χρεσὶν χρεσὶν χρεσὶν. And as πῖσόν is not that which receiveth drink, but that drink which is received, not quod potat, but quod potabile est; so χρεσὶν is not that which receiveth oyl, but that which is received by unction. So the Scholiast upon Aristophanes, *Ἐάν φαρμάκων τὰ μὲν εἰσι χρεσὶν, ἢ γυναικῶν χρεσὶν εἰσι θεραπεύειαν τὰ δὲ ποτὰ ἢ γυν, ἀπερ πίνουμι τὰ δὲ ἐπιπασα, ἢ γυν, ἀπερ ἐπιτάπομεν.* *Idyl. 11.* So that χρεσὶν in his judgment is the same with ἐγχεσὶν in Theocritus.

Οὐδ' ἐν ποτῶν ἔρωτα φερόκει φάρμακον ἄλλο,
 Νικία, ἔτ' ἐγχεσὶν, ἐμῖν δολεῖ, ἔτ' ἐπιπασον;
 Ἡ τὰ Πιέειδες

In the same sense with Æschylus did Euripedes use χρεσὶν φάρμακον in Hippolyto, Πότερα δὲ χρεσὶν ἢ ποτῶν τὸ φάρμακον; and not only those ancient Poets, but even the later Orators; as Dion Chrysostomus: *Ποῦ γὰρ χρεσὶν καὶ διεφθαρημὸν σάματι Θ, καὶ νο- σῶν Θ ψυχῆ διεφθαρημὸν, μα δὲ, ἐχ ὑπὸ φαρμάκων χρεσὶν ἢ πότῶν.* *Orat. 78.* And the LXX. have used it in this sense; as when the Hebrew speaks of **חַיִּים** oleum unctionis, they translate it *τὸ ἐπιχεχυμὸν ἐπὶ τὴ κεφαλὴν τῆ ἐλάω τὸ χρεσὶν,* *Lev. 21. 10.* and again verse 12, **חַיִּים** ὅτι τὸ ἄγιον ἔλαιον τὸ χρεσὶν ἐπ' αὐτῶν. Oleum unctionis then is ἔ- λαιον χρεσὶν, which in Exodus 29. 7. and 35. 13. and 40. 9. the same Translators, correspondent to the Hebrew phrase, call ἔλαιον χρεσμάτος, and more frequently ἔλαιον χρεσέως. The place of Sophocles is something doubtful, *Ὄθεν μόλοι πανάμεις τῶς περ- θῆς παγχεσὶν συγκραθεῖς ἐπὶ περσάσει θνητῶν· for though the Scholiast take it in the ordinary sense, παγχεσὶν] λείπει τῶ σέπλω ἢ γυν τῶ χρεσὶντι πῖπλω συγκραθυμὸν καὶ ἀρμοδεῖς τῆ περθοῖ τῶ θνητῶν· yet both τῶς περθοῖ before it, and συγκ- κραθεῖς after, seem to incline to the former sense, p. 354. and in the next page ἀρτίχρεσὶν is clearly attributed to the ointment. τὸ φάρμακον τῶτ' ἀπυρον, ἀκτῖνος τ' ἀεὶ. Θέρμης ἀθικλον ἐν μυχοῖς σάζειν ἐμῖν, ἔως ἀν ἀρτίχρεσὶν ἀρμόσων ἢ πη. from whence Deianira says presently *ἐχρεσὶν μαλλῶ.* But though it appear from hence that the first use of the word χρεσὶς among the Greeks was to signify the act or matter used in unction, not the subject or person anointed; yet in the vulgar acception of the LXX. it was most constantly received for the person anointed, of the same validity with χρεσέως or κεχρισμῶν, (Suidas χρεσὶς, ὁ κεχρισμῶν ἐν ἐ- λαιῶ) as also with ἡλειμένος. For though Lactantius in the place fore-cited seem to think that word an improper version of the Hebrew **חַיִּים**, unde in quibusdam Græcis scripturis, quæ malè de Hebraicis interpretata sunt, ἡλειμένος, id est, unguento curatus, scriptum invenitur, *ἐπὶ τῶ ἀλείφειν.* yet the LXX. have so translated it, *Numb. 3. 3.* οἱ ἱερεῖς οἱ ἡλειμμένοι. And though Athenæus hath observed, *τὸ μῦρον τὰ μὲν εἰσι χρεσμάτα, τὰ δὲ ἀλείμματα· yet in the vulgar use of the words there is no difference, as he himself speaks a little after, τὸ δὲ χρεσάσαι τῶ τοῖστω ἀλείμματι μυσάσαι εἶρηκεν.* And Plutarch, *Sympos. l. 3. c. 4.* Πύθε παρὰ τῶν ἑστὶ *Συναπαυομῶν γυναιξὶν ἢ μῦρον ἀηλιμμέναις ἢ ἔλαιον· ἀραπίπλανται γὰρ αὐτῶ τὸ χρεσμάτος ἐν τῶ Συγκραθῶσιν.* So Hesych. *Ἀλείφαι, ἐλάω χρεσάσαι. Κεχρισμένα, ἡλειμμένα. Ἀλοιφῆ, χρεσίσι.* *Schol. Hom. Χριστάμματα ἀλείφονται.* *Οδ. ζ'. And Suidas, Ἠηλιμμένω, ἐχρεσίω. Hence Eustathius, Ἰσέον καὶ ὅτι ἰσοδυναμῶντων καὶ νῦν τῶ, τε χρεσὶν καὶ τῶ ἀλείφω· τὸ μὲν χρεσὶν παρὰ τὸ χρεσὶν ἐρρέθη δὲ χρεσάσαι, τὸ δὲ ἀλείφω, παρὰ τὸ ἀλέω.* *Οδ. ζ'.* So Eusebius *Τρίτη τάξις χρεσὶν αὐτὸν γεγορῆναι ἐλάω, ἢ τῶ ἐξ ὑλης σωματῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶ ἐνθῶ τὸ ἀγαλλιάσεως ἡλειμμένον παρὰ τῶν* *Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 3.* *Χρεσὶς then in the vulgar sense of the LXX. is a person anointed, and in that sense is our Saviour called Christ.**

Nor is this yet the full interpretation of the word, which is to be understood not simply according to the action only, but as it involveth the design in the custom of anointing. For in the Law whatsoever was anointed was thereby set apart, as ordained to some special use or office: and therefore under the notion of unction we must understand that promotion and ordination *Jacob poured oyl on the top of a pillar,* and that anointing was the consecration of it. *Moses anointed the Tabernacle and all the Vessels,* and this anointing was their dedication. Hence *the Priest that is anointed* signifieth, in the phrase of *Moses,* the High Priest, because he was invested in that office at and by his unction. When therefore *Jesus* is called the *Messias* or *Christ,* and that so long after the anointing oyl had ceased, it signifieth no less than a person set apart by God, anointed with most sacred oyl, advanced to the highest office, of which all those employments under the Law, in the obtaining of which oyl was used, were but types and shadows. And this may suffice for the signification of the word.

Gen. 13. 28.

That

came to pass that not only the doctrine, but the Name also, of the *Messias* was very frequent and familiar with them. In so much that even in the *Chaldee Paraphrase* now extant, there is express mention of the *Messias* in above seventy places, beside that of *Daniel*. The * *Jews* then informed by the plain words of *Daniel*, instructed by a constant interpretation of the Law and the Prophets read in their Synagogues every Sabbath-day, relying upon the infallible predictions and promises of God, did all unanimously expect out of their own Nation, of the Tribe of *Judah*, of the Family of *David*, a *Messias*, or a *Christ*, to come.

* Celsus the Epicurean acknowledgeth that both the Jews and Christians did confess that the Prophets did foretel a Saviour of the world. Οἰεται μὴδὲν ἄξιον εἶναι ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίῳ καὶ Χριστιανῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ζηῆσαι πισδίντων μὲν ἀμφοτέρων ὅτι ἐποθεῖσιν Πνεύματι προφητικῷ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο ἄνθρωπον. Orig. adv. Celsum, l. 3. And this Saviour, saith Origen, was to be called, καὶ τὰ Ἰουδαίων πατέρα, Χριστός.

Now this being granted, as it cannot be denied, our next consideration is of the Time in which this promise was to be fulfilled: which we shall demonstrate out of the Scriptures to be past, and consequently that the promised *Messias* is already come. The prediction of *Jacob* on his death-bed is clear and pregnant, ¹ *The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a law-giver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and to him shall the gathering of the people be.* But the Scepter is departed from *Judah*, neither is there one Law-giver left between his feet. Therefore *Shiloh*, that is, the *Messias*, is already come. That the *Jewish* government hath totally failed, is not without the greatest folly to be denied: and therefore that *Shiloh* is already come, except we should deny the truth of Divine predictions, must be granted. There remains then nothing to be proved, but that by *Shiloh* is to be understood the *Messias*: which is sufficiently manifest both from the consent of the ancient *Jews*, and from the description immediately added to the name. For *all the old Paraphrasts call him expressly the *Messias*, and the words which follow, *to him shall the gathering of the people be*, speak no less; as giving an explication of his Person, Office or Condition, who was but darkly described in the name of *Shiloh*. For this is the same character by which he was signified unto *Abraham*; *In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed*: by which he is decyphered in *Isaiah*; ² *In that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek, and his rest shall be glorious*: and in *Micah*, ³ *The mountain of the House of the Lord shall be established on the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills, and people shall flow unto it.* And thus the blessing of *Judah* is plainly intelligible: ⁴ *Judah thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise; thy hand shall be in the neck of thine enemies, thy father's Children shall bow down before thee.* Thou shalt obtain the primogeniture of thy Brother *Reuben*, and by vertue thereof shalt rule over the rest of the Tribes: the government shall be upon thy shoulders, and all thy brethren shall be subject unto thee. And that you may understand this blessing is not to expire until it make way for a greater, know that this government shall not fail, until there come a son out of your loins who shall be far greater than yourself: for whereas your dominion reacheth only over your brethren, and so is confined unto the Tribes of *Israel*; his kingdom shall be universal, and all nations of the earth shall serve him. Being then this *Shiloh* is so described in the text, and acknowledged by the ancient *Jews* to be the *Messias*, being God had promised by *Jacob* the government of *Israel* should not fail until *Shiloh* came: being that government is visibly and undeniably already failed; it followeth inevitably, that the *Messias* is already come.

¹ Gen. 49. 10.
* For instead of עַד כִּי יָבֵא שִׁילֹה
יָבֵא שִׁילֹה
Onkelos renders it, עַד דְּיִתִּי מְשִׁיחָא
and Jonathan and the Jerusalem Targum, עַד זְמַן דְּיִתִּי מְלִכָא מְשִׁיחָא

Beside the Cabalists did generally so interpret it, because יָבֵא שִׁילֹה according to their computation, make the same Number with the letters of מְשִׁיחָא: and in the Talmud, cod. Sanhedrim, Rabbi Johanan asking what was the name of the *Messias*, they of the School of R. Schila answer, שִׁילֹה his name is *Sciloh*, according to that which is written, until *Shiloh* come.
² Isa. 11. 10.
³ Mic. 4. 1.
⁴ Gen. 49. 8.

⁵ Mal. 3. 1.
יָארוֹן הוּא מְלִיךָ הַמְּשִׁיחָא
Kumchi on the place.

In the same manner the Prophet *Malachy* hath given an express signification of the coming of the *Messias* while the Temple stood. ⁵ *Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me; and the Lord whom ye seek shall*

shall suddenly come to his Temple, even the messenger of the Covenant whom ye delight in. And Haggai yet more clearly; Thus saith the Lord of hosts, Yet once it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land; and I will shake all nations; and the desire of all nations shall come: and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of hosts. The glory of this latter house shall be greater than the glory of the former, saith the Lord of hosts. It is then most evident from these predictions, that the *Messias* was to come while the second Temple stood. It is as certain that the second Temple is not now standing. Therefore except we contradict the Veracity of God, it cannot be denied but the *Messias* is already come. Nothing can be objected to enervate this argument, but that these Prophecies concern not the *Messias*; and yet the ancient Jews confessed they did, and that they do so cannot be denied. For, first, those titles, *the Angel of the Covenant, the delight of the Israelites, the desire of all nations*, are certain and known characters of the *Christ* to come. And secondly, it cannot be conceived how the glory of the second Temple should be greater, than the glory of the first, without the coming of the *Messias* to it. For the Jews themselves have observed that five signs of the Divine glory were in the first Temple, which were wanting to the second: as the Urim and Thummim, by which the High Priest was miraculously instructed of the will of God; the Ark of the Covenant, from whence God gave his answers by a clear and audible voice; the Fire upon the Altar, which came down from Heaven, and immediately consumed the Sacrifice; the Divine presence or habitation with them, represented by a visible appearance, or given, as it were, to the King and High Priest by anointing with the oyl of unction; and, lastly, the Spirit of Prophecy, with which those especially who were called to the prophetic office were endued. And there was no comparison between the beauty and glory of the structure or building of it, as appeared by the tears dropt from those eyes which had beheld the former, (*For many of the Priests and Levites, and chief of the Fathers, who were ancient men, that had seen the first House, when the foundation of this House was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice;*) and by those words which God commanded Haggai to speak to the people for the introducing of this Prophecy, *Who is left among you that saw this House in her first glory? and how do you see it now? is it not in your eyes in comparison of it as nothing?* Being then the structure of the second Temple was so far inferior to the first, being all those signs of the Divine glory were wanting in it with which the former was adorned; the glory of it can no other way be imagined greater, than by the coming of him into it in whom all those signs of the Divine glory were far more eminently contained: and this Person alone is the *Messias*. For he was to be the glory of the people *Israel*, yea even of the God of *Israel*; he was the Urim and Thummim, by whom the will of God, as by a greater Oracle, was revealed; he the true Ark of the Covenant, the only Propitiatory by his blood; he which was to baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire, the true Fire which came down from Heaven, he which was to take up his habitation in our flesh, and to dwell among us that we might behold his glory; he who received the Spirit without measure, and from whose fulness we do all receive. In him were all those signs of the Divine glory united, which were thus divided in the first Temple; in him they were all more eminently contained than in those: therefore his coming to the second Temple was, as the sufficient, so the only means by which the glory of it could be greater than the glory of the first. If then the *Messias* was to come while the second Temple stood, as appeareth by God's prediction and promise; if that Temple many Ages since hath ceased to be, there being not one stone left upon a stone; if it certainly were before the destruction of it in

Hag. 2. 6, 7, 9.

1. 105

Ezra 3. 12.

Hag. 2. 3.

greater glory than ever the former was ; if no such glory could accrue unto it but by the coming of the *Messias*: then is that *Messias* already come.

Having thus demonstrated out of the promises given to the *Jews*, that the *Messias* who was so promised unto them must be already come, because those events which were foretold to follow his coming are already past ; we shall proceed unto the next particular, and prove that the man *Jesus*; in whom we believe, is that *Messias* who was promised. First, it is acknowledged both by the *Jew* and *Gentile*, that this *Jesus* was born in *Judaea*, and lived and died there, before the Commonwealth of *Israel* was dispersed; before the second Temple was destroyed, that is, at the very time when the Prophets foretold the *Messias* should come. And there was no other beside him, that did with any shew of probability pretend to be, or was accepted as the *Messias*. Therefore we must confess he was, and only he could be, the *Christ*.

Secondly, all other Prophecies belonging to the *Messias* were fulfilled in *Jesus*, whether we look upon the Family, the Place, or the manner of his Birth; neither were they ever fulfilled in any person beside him: he then is, and no other can be, the *Messias*. That he was to come out of the Tribe of *Judah* and Family of *David*, is every where manifest. * The *Jews*, which mention *Messias* as a Son of *Joseph* or of *Ephraim*, do not deny, but rather dignifie, the Son of *David* or of *Judah*, whom they confess to be the greater *Christ*. There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of *Jesse*, and a branch shall grow out of his roots, and the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, saith the Prophet *Isaiab*. And again, || In that day there shall be a root of *Jesse*, which shall stand for an ensign of the people: to it shall the *Gentiles* seek, and his rest shall be glorious. Now who was it but *Jesus* of whom the Elders spake, Behold the Lion of the tribe of *Judah*, the root of *David*? Who but he said, I am the root and offspring of *David*, and the bright and morning star? The *Jews* did all acknowledge it, as appears by the question of our Saviour, How say the Scribes that *Christ* is the Son of *David*? What think ye of *Christ*? whose son is he? They say unto him, the son of *David*: and that of the People, amazed at the seeing of the blind, and speaking of the dumb, Is not this the son of *David*? The blind cried out unto him, *Jesus* thou son of *David* have mercy on us; and the multitude cried, Hosanna to the son of *David*. The Genealogy of *Jesus* shews his Family: The first words of the Gospel are, The book of the generation of *Jesus Christ* the son of *David*. The Prophecy therefore was certainly fulfilled in respect of his lineage; for it is evident that our Lord sprang out of *Judah*.

Besides if we look upon the place where the *Messias* was to be born, we shall find that *Jesus* by a particular Act of Providence was born there. When Herod gathered all the chief Priests and Scribes of the people together, he demanded of them where *Christ* should be born. And they said unto him, in *Bethlehem* of *Judaea*. The people doubted whether *Jesus* was the *Christ*, because they thought he had been born in *Galilee*, where *Joseph* and *Mary* lived; wherefore they said, Shall *Christ* come out of *Galilee*? hath not the Scripture said, that *Christ* cometh of the seed of *David*, and out of the Town of *Bethlehem*, where *David* was? That place of Scripture which they meant was cited by the Scribes to *Herod*, according to the interpretation then current among the *Jews*, and still preserved in the *Chaldee Paraphrase*. For thus it is written in the Prophet, And thou *Bethlehem* in the land of *Judah* art not the least among the princes of

* The *Jews* have invented a double *Messias*: to one they attribute all those places which mention his low estate and sufferings; to the other such as speak of his power and glory. The one they style

משיח בן יוסף, the other משיח בן דוד. The son of *Joseph* they name also the son of *Ephraim*, and the son of *David* the son of *Judah*: As the *Targum Cant.* 4. 5.

Thy two orcasts are like two young roes, תריני

מר יקוד משיח בר דוד ומשיח בר אפרים

Two are thy redeemers, *Messias* the son of *David*, and *Messias* the son of *Ephraim*.

¶ Which the

Chaldee Paraphrase thus translates, משיחא מבני בניו יתירבי, and the *Messias* out of his sons sons. So *Rabbi Solomon* and *Kimchi*.² *Rev* 5. 5. and 22. 16. ³ *Mar* 12. 35. ⁴ *Matt* 22. 42. ⁵ *Matt* 12. 23. ⁶ *Matt* 21. 9. ⁷ *Matt* 1. 1. ⁸ *Heb* 7. 14. ⁹ *Matt* 2. 4, 5. ¹⁰ *John* 7. 41, 42. *Which expressly translateth it thus, מנך קומי יפוק משיחא למהוי עביד שולטן על ישראל. Out of thee shall come before me the *Messias*, that he may exercise domination in *Israel*. So *R. Solomon*, אפך לי יציא משיחא בן דוד. So *Kimchi* and *Abatbinel* הוא מלך הגשיות ² *Matt* 2. 5, 6.

Judah, for out of thee shall come a governor that shall rule my people Israel. This prediction was most manifestly and remarkably fulfilled in the Birth of Jesus, when by the providence of God it was so ordered that Augustus should then tax the world, to which end every one should go up into his own City. Whereupon Joseph and Mary his espoused Wife left Nazareth of Galilee, their habitation, and went into Bethlehem of Judaea, the City of David, there to be taxed, because they were of the house and lineage of David. And while they were there, as the days of the Virgin Mary were accomplished, so the prophecy was fulfilled; for there she brought forth her first born Son; and so unto us was born that day in the City of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord.

Luke 2. 4.

Luke 2. 11.

But if we add unto the Family and place, the manner of his Birth, also foretold, the argument must necessarily appear conclusive. The Prophet Isaiah spake thus unto the House of David; The Lord himself shall give you a sign: Behold, a Virgin shall conceive and bear a Son, and shall call his name Immanuel. What nativity could be more congruous to the greatness of a Messias than that of a Virgin, which is most miraculous? what name can be thought fitter for him than that of Immanuel, God with us, whose Land Judaea is said to be? The Immanuel then thus born of a Virgin was without question the true Messias. And we know Jesus was thus born of the blessed Virgin Mary, that it might be fulfilled which was thus spoken of the Lord by the Prophet. Wherefore being all the prophecies concerning the Family, Place and manner of the Birth of the Messias were fulfilled in Jesus, and not so much as pretended to be accomplished in any other; it is again from hence apparent that this Jesus is the Christ.

Isa. 7. 14.

Isa. 8. 8.

Matt. 1. 22.

Thirdly, he which taught what the Messias was to teach, did what the Messias was to do, suffered what the Messias was to suffer, and by suffering obtained all which a Messias could obtain, must be acknowledged of necessity to be the true Messias. But all this is manifestly true of Jesus. Therefore we must confess he is the Christ. For first, it cannot be denied but the Messias was promised as a Prophet and teacher of the People. So God promised him to Moses; I will raise them up a Prophet from among their Brethren like unto thee. So Isaiah, Ezekiel and Hoseah have expressed him, as we shall hereafter have farther occasion to shew. And not only so, but as a greater Prophet, and more perfect Doctor, than ever any was which preceded him, more universal than they all. I have put my spirit upon him, saith God: he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles, and the Isles shall wait for Law. Now it is as evident that Jesus of Nazareth was the most perfect Prophet, the * Prince and Lord of all the Prophets, Doctors and Pastors, which either preceded or succeeded him. For he hath revealed unto us the most perfect will of God both in his Precepts and his Promises. He hath delivered the same after the most perfect manner, with the greatest authority; not like Moses and the Prophets, saying, Thus saith the Lord, but I say unto you; nor like the Interpreters of Moses, for he taught them as one having authority, and not as the Scribes: with the greatest perspicuity, not, as those before him, under types and shadows, but plainly and clearly; from whence both he and his Doctrine is frequently called Light: with the greatest universality, as preaching that Gospel which is to unite all the nations of the earth into one Church, that there might be one Shepherd and one Flock. Whatsoever then that great Prophet the Messias was to teach, that Jesus taught; and whatsoever works he was to do, those Jesus did.

Isa. 42. 1, 4.

* Ἀρχιποι-
μῶν 1 Pet. 5. 4.
ὁ ποιμὴν τῶν
πρωτότων ὁ
μέγας,
Heb. 13. 20.
ὁ ποιμὴν καὶ ἑ-
πίσκοπος τῶν
ψυχῶν,
1 Pet. 2. 25.
Matt. 5. 9. ὁστὶς
Matt. 7. 29.

When John the Baptist had heard the works of Christ, he sent two of his Disciples with this message to him, Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another? And Jesus returned this answer unto him, shewing the ground of that

Matt. 11. 2, 3.

that message, *the works of Christ*, was a sufficient resolution of the question
Matt. 11. 4, 5. *Go and shew John again those things which ye do hear and see: The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, and the dead are raised up.* And as *Jesus* alledged the works which he wrought to be a sufficient testimony that he was the *Messias*; so did those *Jews* acknowledge it, who said, *When Christ cometh, will he do more miracles than these which this man doth?* And *Nicodemus*, a Ruler among them, confessed little less: *Rabbi we know that thou art a teacher come from God; for no man can do these miracles that thou dost, except God be with him.* Great and many were the miracles which *Moses* and the rest of the Prophets wrought for the ratification of the Law, and the demonstration of God's constant presence with his people; and yet all those wrought by so many several persons, in the space of above three thousand years, are far short of those which this one *Jesus* did perform within the compass of three years. The ambitious diligence of the *Jews* hath reckoned up seventy six miracles for *Moses*, and seventy four for all the rest of the Prophets: and supposing that they were so many, (though indeed they were not) how few are they in respect of those which are written of our Saviour! how inconsiderable, if compared with all which he wrought! when *S. John* testifieth with as great certainty of truth as height of Hyperbole, that *there are many other things which Jesus did, the which if they should be written every one, he supposed that even the world it self could not contain the books which should be written.* Nor did our Saviour excel all others in the number of his miracles only, but in the power of working. Whatsoever miracle *Moses* wrought, he either obtained by his Prayers, or else, consulting with God, received it by command from him; so that the power of miracles cannot be conceived as immanent or inhering in him. Whereas this power must of necessity be in *Jesus*, in whom dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, and to whom the Father had given to have life in himself. This he sufficiently shewed by working with a word, by commanding the winds to be still, the Devils to fly, and the dead to rise: by working without a word or any intervenient sign; as when the woman which had an issue of blood twelve years touched his Garment, and straightway the fountain of her blood was dried up by the virtue which flowed out from the greater fountain of his power. And lest this example should be single, we find that *the men of Genesaret*, the people out of all *Judæa* and *Jerusalem*, and from the Sea-coasts of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, even the whole multitude sought to touch him; for there went virtue out of him, and healed them all. Once indeed *Christ* seemed to have prayed, before he raised *Lazarus* from the grave; but even that was done because of the people which stood by: not that he had not power within himself to raise up *Lazarus*, who was afterward to raise himself; but that they might believe the father had sent him. The immanency and inherency of this power in *Jesus* is evident in this, that he was able to communicate it to whom he pleased, and actually did confer it upon his Disciples: Behold
John 21. 25. *I give unto you power to tread on Serpents and Scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy. Upon the Apostles: heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils; freely ye have received, freely give. Upon the first Believers: These signs shall follow them that believe; in my name they shall cast out devils. He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do.* He then which did more actions divine and powerful than *Moses* and all the Prophets ever did, he which performed them in a manner far more divine than that by which they wrought, hath done all which can be expected the *Messias*, foretold by them should do.
 Nor hath our *Jesus* only done, but suffered, all which the *Messias* was to suffer. For we must not with the *Jews* deny a suffering *Christ*, or fondly of our
 OWIT

own invention make a double *Messias*, one to suffer, and another to reign. It is clear enough by the Prophet *Isaias* what his condition was to be, whom he calls the *Servant of God*: and the later *Jews* cannot deny but their *fathers constantly understood that place of the *Messias*.

Now the sufferings of *Christ* spoken of by the Prophet may be reduced to two parts : one in respect of contempt, by which he was despised of men; the other in respect of his death, and all those indignities and pains which preceded and led unto it. For the first, the Prophet hath punctually described his condition, saying, *He hath no form or comeliness, and when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him. He is despised and rejected of men.* He || seems to describe a personage no way amiable, an aspect indeed rather uncomely : and so the most * ancient Writers have interpreted *Isaias*, and

Isa. 52. 13.
* For first, instead of those words, Behold my servant shall deal prudently, the Targum hath it plainly
וְהָאֵלֹהִים יִצְלַח עִבְדוֹ מְשִׁיחָא
Behold, my Son the *Messias* shall prosper.
And Solomon

Jarchi on the place, רב תינו מוקמי לה במשיח, Our Rabbits understand this of the *Messias*. And the reason which he renders of their interpretation is very observable. For they say, says he, that the *Messias* is stricken, as it is written, He took our infirmities and bare our griefs ; which are the words of the 4. verse of the 53. Chapter. From whence we may perceive how the ancient *Jews* did joyn the latter part of the 52. Chapter with the 53. and expound them of the same person. Besides he cites a certain *Midrash* or *Gloss*, which attributes the same verse to the *Messias*, and that is to be found in *Bereshit Rabba* upon *Gen. 28. 10.* where falling upon that place in *Zach. 4. 7.* What art thou, O great mountain, before *Zerubbabel*? he answers, הַר הַגְּדוֹל הַזֶּה מְשִׁיחַ that great mountain is the *Messias*. Then asking again, Why doth he call the *Messias* a great mountain? he gives this answer, שְׁהוּא גָדוֹל מִן הָאֲבוֹת שֶׁנָּהָה יִשְׁכִּיל עִבְדוֹ מְשִׁיחַ Because he is greater than the Fathers, as it is written, Behold, My servant shall underitand, that is, the *Messias* : which are the words of the verse before cited. And the same *Bereshit Rabba*, upon *Gen. 24. 67.* saith, *Messias* the King was in the generation of the wicked ; that he gave himself to seek for mercies for *Israel*, and to fasting and humbling himself for them, as it is written ; and so produceth the words of *Isa. 53. 5.* From whence it appears again, that the Author thereof interpreted both the Chapters of the same *Messias*. And farther it is observable, that the *Midrash* upon *Ruth 2. 14.* expounds the same verse in the same manner. And *Rabbi Moses Alshech* speaks yet more fully of the consent of the ancient *Jewish* Doctors upon this place הַר הַגְּדוֹל הַזֶּה מְשִׁיחַ כי עַל כֵּן הָאֲבוֹת קָרְאוּ אֵת הַמְּשִׁיחַ בְּרַבְרָא. Behold our Doctors of happy memory conclude with one mouth, as they have received from their ancestors, that this is spoken of the *Messias*. From hence it appears that it was originally the general sense of the *Jews*, that all that piece of *Isaias* is a description of the *Messias*, and consequently that the Apostles cannot be blamed by them now for applying it to *Christ* ; and that the modern *Jews* may well be suspected to frame their contrary expositions out of a wilful opposition to *Christianity*. *Isa. 53. 2, 3.* || The first לֹא תֵאָדָר לְמַעַן יִשְׁכַּח לֵב אִישׁ לְמַעַן יִשְׁכַּח לֵב אִישׁ seems to signifie no less, as being from the root תָּאָר which signifieth to form, figure, fashion, or delineate ; from whence the Noun attributed to any person signifieth the feature, complexion, shape or composition of the body : As *Rachel* was יְפַת תֵּאָר, *forma pulchra*. *Gen. 9. 17.* and so *Joseph*, יְפַת תֵּאָר, *Gen. 36. 6.* so *Abigail* and *Esther*, and in general, *Deut. 21. 11.* with an addition of fair added to תָּאָר, whereas *David* is called, without such addition, אִישׁ תֵּאָר, but with the full signification ο ἀνὴρ ὁ γαδός τῷ εἶδει. In *Judges 8. 18.* אִישׁ כְּתָאָר בְּנֵי הַמְּדִינָה εἰς ὀνομαζομένην βασιλείας, so the *Roman* ; but the *Aldus* and *Complut. better*, ὡς εἶδ' ὁ ἴων βασιλείας according to that verse of *Euripides* cited by *Athenæus* and *Porphyrus*, Πρωτον μὲν εἶδος ἀτίον τυραννίδος. The *Messias* was to be a King, whose external form and personage spake no such Majesty. * As *Justin Martyr*, p. 222. Οἱ μὲν εἰρήνεται εἰς τὴν πρώτην παρουσίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν ἧ' αὐτὸς, καὶ αἰσθῆσις, καὶ θυμηδὸς φανήσεται κεκρυμμένη. Ἐλθόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὅτι Ἰουδαίου, καὶ νομιζομένου Ἰωσήφ τοῦ τέκτονος ὡς ὑπάρχον, καὶ αἰσθῆσις, ὡς αἰ γενομένη ἐκέρυσσον, φαινομένη. *Dial. cum Tryph.* Ἐπειδὴν γὰρ οἱ ἐν ἑρανφῶ ἀρχόντες ἑαυτῶν αἰσθῆσις καὶ ἀτίμον τὸ εἶδος καὶ ἀδόξον ἔχοντα αὐτὸν ἐγινώσκοντες αὐτὸν ἐπωθάνοντο. Τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεύς τῆ δόξης; *Ibid.* And *Clem. Alex.* Τὸν ὃ κρείον αὐτὸν τῆ δόξιν αἰσθῆσις γενομένη διατῆ Ἡσαίου τὸ πνεῦμα μαρτυρεῖ. Καὶ εἰδομένη αὐτὸν, καὶ ἔχον εἶδος, &c. *Ped. 3. c. 1.* Ὅτι γε καὶ αὐτὸς ἡ κεκολλητῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐν σαρκὶ μὲν αἰσθῆσις διεκλήθη καὶ ἀμορφος, *Strom. 3.* And *Celsus* impiously arguing against the descent of the Holy Ghost upon our Saviour, says, it is impossible that any body, in which something of the Divinity were should not differ from others. Τὸ ὃ, the body of *Christ*, ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις διέφερεν, ἀλλ' ὡς σασι, μικροῦ, καὶ δυσαισθῆσις, καὶ ἀχρονῆσις ἦν : This which *Celsus* by his ὡς σασι seems to take from the common report of *Christians* in his age, *Origin* will have him take it out of *Isaias*, and upon that acknowledgeth τὸ δυσαισθῆσις, but the other τῶν, μικροῦ and ἀχρονῆσις, he denies. Ομολογουμένων τοίνυν γέγραπται τὰ περὶ τοῦ δυσαισθῆσις γεγονέναι τὸ Ἰησοῦ σῶμα, ὡς ἐκείνεται, καὶ ἀχρονῆσις, καὶ σαφῶς δηλεῖται ὅτι μικροῦ ἦν ἔχει ὃ ἡ λέξις ὅτω παρὰ τῷ Ἡσαίᾳ ἀναγγελαμένη, &c. and then cites this place, and so returns it as an answer to the argument of *Celsus*, that because he was foretold to be as he was, he must be the Son of God. Μεγάλη κατασκευὴ ὅτι τὸ ἀμορφον σακύνει εἶναι Ἰησοῦν, ὡς ἐν ἑνὶ θεῷ, τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐστὶν ἡ ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν πεπερονηθεῖσθαι καὶ περὶ τοῦ εἶδους αὐτῶν. *Orig. contra Celsum*, l. 6. In the same sense did *S. Cyril* take these words of the Prophet; who speaking of that place of the Psalmist, speciosus forma præ filiis hominum, observes this must be understood of his Divinity, Κένωσις γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ ταπεινωσις τῆ μετὰ σαρκὸς οἰκονομίας ὅλον ὅτι τὸ μυστήριον γένοιτο δῆλον καὶ ἡ Περσοῦσις Ἡσαίας περὶ αὐτῶν, Οὐκ ἔχον εἶδος, καὶ δὲ καλῶ, &c. and again, Ἐν εἶδει πέφηνεν ὁ ἴσος τῷ λιαν ἀμαλῆσάτω. *Tertullian* speaks plainly as to the prophecy, and too freely in his way of expression : Sed carnis terrenæ non mira conditio ipsa erat quæ cetera ejus miranda faciebat, cum dicerent, Unde huic doctrina hæc & signa ista? adeo nec humanæ honestatis corpus fuit nedum cœlestis claritatis. Tacentibus apud nos quoque prophetis (*Isa. 53. 2.*) de ignobili aspectu ejus, ipsæ passiones ipsæque contumeliæ loquuntur. Passiones quidem humanam carnem, contumeliæ vero inhonestam probavere. An ausus esset aliquis ungue summo perstringere corpus novum, sputaminibus contaminare faciem nisi merentem? *De carne Christi*, c. 9. And that we may be sure he pointed at that place in *Isaias*, he says, that *Christ* was ne aspectu quidem honestus : Annunciavimus enim, inquit, de illo sicut puerulus, sicut radix in terra sitientis, & non est species ejus neque gloria. *Adv. Marcion. l. 3. c. 17.* *Adv. Judæos*, c. 14. This humility of *Christ*, in taking upon him the nature of man without the ordinary ornaments of man, at first acknowledged, was afterwards denied, as appears by *S. Hierome*, on *Isaias 56.* Inglorius erat inter homines aspectus ejus, non quo formæ significat sceditatem, sed quod in humilitate venerit & paupertate. And *Epist. 140.* Absque passionibus crucis univèrsis pulchrior est virgo de virgine, qui non ex voluntate Dei, sed ex Deo natus est. Nisi enim habuisset & in vultu quiddam oculisque fiderium, nunquam eum statim secuti fuissent Apostoli, nec qui ad comprehendendum eum venerant corruissent. So *S. Chrysostome* interprets the words of *Isaias* of his Divinity, or Humility, or his Passions; but those of the Psalmist, of his native corporeal beauty. Οὐδὲ γὰρ θαυματουργῶν ἡ θαυμασδὲς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φαινομένη ἀτλῶς πολλῆσι ἔγχευε χάριτος καὶ τὸ ὅτι περὶ τῆς δηλῶν ἔλεγει, Ὁραῖ καλλεῖ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρώπων. *Homil. 28. in Mat.* Afterwards they began to signifie the external beauty of his body, and confined themselves to one kind of picture or portraiture, with a zealous pretence of a likeness not to be denied.

denied which 800. years since was known by none, every several Country having a several Image. Whence came that argument of the Inconclusiveness by way of Quere, which of those Images was the true Πότερον ἢ παρ' Ῥωμαίοις, ἢ ὑπὸ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς γράσκουσιν, ἢ ἢ παρ' Ἑλλήσιν, ἢ ἢ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις; ἔχ' ὁμοίαι ἀλλήλαις αὐταί. And well might none of these be like another, when every nation painted our Saviour in the nearest similitude to the people of their own Country. Ἑλλήνες γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὅμοιον ὅτι ἦς φανῆαι ὅτι Χριστὸν νομίζουσι, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐαυτοῖς ἑοικῶσα Ἰνδοὶ δὲ πάλιν μορφῇ τῇ αὐτῇ, καὶ Αἰθίοπες δὴλον ὡς ἐαυτοῖς. Photius Epist. 64. And the difference of opinions in this kind is sufficiently apparent out of those words in Suidas, Ἰσέον δὲ τι φασὶν οἱ ἀνεκείσασθαι Ἰσσορικῶν, ὡς τὸ ἔλον καὶ ὀλιγόλειχον οἰκειύεσθαι ὅτι γράσκουσιν ὅτι εἰκόνθ' ἔτε Χριστῷ.

Phil. 2. 6, 7.

Luke 2. 51.

Mat. 8. 20.

1 Matt. 13. 55.
 2 Mar. 6. 2.
 † Καὶ τέκτο-
 νος νομίζου-
 μένος ταῦτα γὰρ
 τὰ τεκτονικὰ
 ἔργα ἐργάζετο
 ἐν ἀνθρώποις
 αὐτῶν, ἀρετῆς καὶ
 σοφίας.
 Just. Mart. Di-
 al. cum Tryph.
 3 Isa. 53. 3.

4 Zach. 11. 12.

Mat. 26. 15.
 Isa. 53. 5.
 Zach. 12. 10.
 Psal. 22. 16.

John 20. 25.
 Psal. 22. 7, 8.

Mat. 27. 39, 43.

Psal. 22. 1.

Mat. 27. 46.
 Isa. 53. 12.
 Mar. 15. 27.

Psal. 69. 21.
 John 19. 28.
 Mat. 27. 48.
 Psal. 22. 18.

John 19. 23, 24.

confessed the fulfilling of it in the body of our Saviour. But what the aspect of his outward appearance was, because the Scriptures are silent, we cannot now know : and it is enough that we are assured, the state and condition of his life was in the eye of the Jews without honour and inglorious. For though, *being in the form of God, he thought it not robbery to be equal with God : yet he made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant.* For thirty years he lived with his Mother Mary and Joseph his reputed Father, of a mean profession, and was subject to them. When he left his mother's house, and entered on his prophetic office, he passed from place to place, sometimes received into a house, other times lodging in the fields : for while the foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, the son of man had not where to lay his head. From this low estate of life and condition, seemingly inglorious, arose in the Jews a neglect of his works, and contempt of his Doctrine ¹ *Is not this the Carpenters son?* nay farther, ² *Is not this † the Carpenter, the son of Mary?* and they were offended at him. Thus was it fulfilled in him, *he was despised and rejected of men and they esteemed him not.*

This contempt of his personage, condition, doctrine and works, was by degrees raised to hatred, detestation and persecution to a cruel and ignominious death. All which if we look upon in the gross, we must acknowledge it fulfilled in him to the highest degree imaginable, that he was ³ *a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief.* But if we compare the particular predictions with the Historical passages of his sufferings, if we joyn the Prophets and Evangelists together, it will most manifestly appear the *Messias* was to suffer nothing which *Christ* hath not suffered. If *Zachary* say ⁴ *they weighed for my price thirty pieces of silver ;* *S. Matthew* will shew that *Judas* sold *Jesus* at the same rate : for the chief Priests *covenanted with him for thirty peices of silver,* If *Isaiab* say *that he was wounded,* if *Zachary,* *they shall look upon me whom they have peirced,* if the Prophet *David* yet more particularly, *they peirced my hands and my feet;* the Evangelists will shew how he was fastned to the Cross, and *Jesus* himself *the print of the nails.* If the Psalmist tell us, *they should laugh him to scorn, and shake their head, saying, he trusted in the Lord that he would deliver him ; let him deliver him, seeing he delighted in him;* *S. Matthew* will describe the same action, and the same expression : For *they that passed by reviled him, wagging their heads, and saying, He trusted in God, let him deliver him now, if he will have him ; for he said I am the Son of God.* Let *David* say, *My God, my God why hast thou forsaken me ?* and the Son of *David* will shew in whose person the Father spake it, *Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani.* Let *Isaiab* foretel, *he was numbred with the transgressours ;* and you shall find him *crucified between two thieves, one on his right hand, the other on his left.* Read in the Psalmist, *In my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink ;* and you shall find in the Evangelist, *Jesus, that the Scripture might be fulfilled, said, I thirst : And they took a Sprunge, and filled it with vinegar, and put it on a reed, and gave him to drink.* Read farther yet, *They part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture ;* and, to fulfil the prediction, the Soldiers shall make good the distinction, *who took his garments, and made four parts, to every Soldier a part , and also his coat : now the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout. They said therefore among themselves, Let us not rend it, but cast lots for it, whose it shall be.* Lastly,

Lastly, let the Prophets teach us, that *he shall be brought like a lamb to the slaughter, and be cut off out of the land of the living*; all the Evangelists will declare how like a Lamb he suffered, and the very Jews will acknowledge that he was cut off: And now we may well conclude. *Thus it is written, and thus it behoved the Christ to suffer*; and what it so behoved him to suffer, that he suffered.

Neither only in his Passion, but after his death all things were fulfilled in Jesus which were prophesied concerning the *Messias*. *He made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death*, saith the Prophet of the Christ to come: and as the thieves were buried with whom he was crucified, so was Jesus, but laid in the Tomb of Joseph of Arimathea, an honourable Counsellor. *After two days will he revive us, in the third day he will raise us up*, saith Hoseah of the people of Israel: in whose language they were the * type of Christ; and the third day Jesus rose from the dead, *The Lord said unto my Lord, saith David, Sit thou at my right hand*. Now David is not ascended into the heavens, and consequently cannot be set at the right hand of God; but Jesus is already ascended and set down at the right hand of God: and so all the house of Israel might know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus, whom they crucified, both Lord and Christ. For, he who taught whatsoever the *Messias*, promised by God, foretold by the Prophets, expected by the people of God, was to teach; he who did all which that *Messias* was by virtue of that office to do; he which suffered all those pains and indignities which that *Messias* was to suffer; he to whom all things happened after his death, the period of his sufferings, which were according to the divine predictions to come to pass; he, I say, must infallible be the true *Messias*. But Jesus alone taught, did, suffered and obtained all these things, as we have shewed. Therefore we may again infallibly conclude that our Jesus is the Christ.

Fourthly, if it were the proper note and character of the *Messias*, that all Nations should come in to serve him; if the Doctrine of Jesus hath been preached and received in all parts of the World, according to that character so long before delivered; if it were absolutely impossible that the Doctrine revealed by Jesus should have been so propagated as it hath been, had it not been Divine; then must this Jesus be the *Messias*: and when we have proved these three particulars, we may safely conclude he is the Christ.

That all Nations were to come in to the *Messias*, and so the distinction between the Jew and Gentile to cease at his coming, is the most universal description in all the Prophecies. God speaks to him thus, as to his Son; *Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession*. It was one greater than Solomon of whom these words were spoken, *All kings shall fall down before him, and all nations shall serve him*. *It shall come to pass in the last days*, saith Isaiah, *that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it*. And again, *In that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek*. And in general all the Prophets were but instruments to deliver the same message, which Malachy concludes, from God: *From the rising of the Sun, even to the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering: for my name shall be great among the heathen*, saith the Lord of hosts. Now being the bounds of Judea were settled, being the promise of God was to bring all nations in at the coming of the *Messias*, being this was it which the Jews so much opposed, as loath to part from their ancient and peculiar privilege; he which actually wrought this work must certainly be the *Messias*: and that Jesus did it, is most evident.

¹ *Mat. 15. 24.*
² *Mat. 23. 19.*
³ *Luce 24. 49.*
⁴ *Act. 2. 41.*
⁵ *Act. 4. 4.*
⁶ *Act. 5. 14.*
⁷ *Act. 9. 31.*
⁸ *Act. 21. 20.*
 ἄλλοι μὲν
 ἔτε.
⁹ *Jhn. 12. 20.*
¹⁰ *Act. 2. 5.*
¹¹ *Rom. 15. 18.*
 19.
¹² *Colos. 1. 23.*
 * *Via est mihi
 res digna con-
 sultatione ma-
 ximè propter
 periclitantium
 numerum. Mul-
 ti enim omnis
 ætatis, omnis
 ordinis, utrius-
 que sexûs eti-
 am, vocantur in
 periculum &
 vocabuntur.
 Neque enim
 civitates tan-
 tum, sed vicos
 etiam atque a-
 gros, supersti-
 tionis illius
 contagio per-
 vagata est. *Plin.
 Epist. ad Tra-
 jannum.*
 Tanta homi-
 num multitu-
 do, pars pene
 major civitatis
 cujusque, in si-
 lentio & mode-
 stia agimus.
*Tertul. ad Sca-
 pul. c. 3.*
 Si hostes exer-
 tos, non tantum
 vindices occul-
 tos agere vel-
 lemus, deesse
 nobis vis nu-
 merorum & co-
 plarum? plures
 nimirum Mauri
 & Marcoman-
 ni, ipsique Par-
 thi, vel quanta-
 cunque quibus ta-
 men loci & su-
 erum finium
 gentes, quam
 tota orbis?
 Hæcerni su-
 num, & vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, sena-
 tum, forum. *Id. Apolog. c. 36.* Potuimus & inermes, nec rebelles, sed tantummodo discordes, solius invidia adversus vos di-
 ribuisse. Si enim tanta vis hominum in aliquem orbis remoti sinum abruptissemus à vobis, suffudisset utique dominationem ve-
 stram torquentibus, amissio civium, imo etiam & ipsa destituitio punisset: proculdubio expavissetis ad solitudinem ve-
 stram, ad silentium rerum, & stuporem quendam quasi mortuæ urbis; quæsissetis quibus in ea imperaretis. *Id. ibid. And*
Irenæus, who wrote before Tertullian, and is mentioned by him, speaks of the Christians in his time living in the Court of Rome:
*Quid autem & hi qui in regali aula sunt fideles? nonne ex eis quæ Cæsaris sunt habent utensilia, & hi qui non habent unuf-
 quisque secundum suam virtutem præstat? 3 Isa. 60. 3. 4 Isa. 49. 23.**

that all nations did thus come in to the Doctrine preached by *Jesus*, cannot be denied. For although he were not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel; although of those many *Israelites* which believed on him while he lived, very few were left immediately after his death: yet when the Apostles had received their Commission from him to go teach all nations, and were endued with power from on high by the plentiful effusion of the Holy Ghost; the first day there was an accession of three thousand souls; immediately after we find the number of the men, beside women, was about five thousand; and still believers were more added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women. Upon the persecution at *Jerusalem*, they went through the seven regions of *Judea*, *Galilee* and *Samaria*, and so the Gospel spread; insomuch that *S. James* the Bishop of *Jerusalem* spake thus unto *S. Paul*, Thou see'st, brother, how many thousands (or rather, how many myriads, that is, ten thousands) of the Jews there are which believe. Beside, how great was the number of the believing Jews strangers, scattered through *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Asia*, *Bithynia*, and the rest of the *Roman* Provinces, will appear out of the Epistles of *S. Peter*, *S. James*, and *S. John*. And yet all these are nothing to the fulness of the Gentiles which came after. First, those which were before Gentile worshippers, acknowledging the same God with the Jews, but not receiving the Law: who had before abandoned their old Idolatry, and already embraced the true Doctrine of one God, and did confess the Deity which the Jews did worship to be that only true God; but yet refused to be circumcised, and so to oblige themselves to the keeping of the whole Law. Now the Apostles preaching the same God with *Moses* whom they all acknowledged, and teaching that Circumcision and the rest of the legal Ceremonies were now abrogated, which those men would never admit, they were with the greatest facility converted to the Christian faith. For being present at the Synagogues of the Jews, and understanding much of the Law, they were of all the Gentiles readiest to hear, and most capable of the Arguments which the Apostles produced out of the Scriptures to prove that *Jesus* was the *Christ*. Thus many of the Greeks which came up to worship at *Jerusalem*, devout men out of every nation under Heaven, not men of Israel, but yet fearing God, did first embrace the Christian Faith. After them the rest of the Gentiles left the Idolatrous worship of their Heathen Gods, and in a short time in infinite multitudes received the Gospel. How much did *Jesus* work by one *S. Paul* to the obedience of the Gentiles by word and deed? how did he pass from *Jerusalem* round about through *Phœnice*, *Syria* and *Arabia*, through *Asia*, *Achaia* and *Macedonia*, even to *Illyricum*, fully preaching the Gospel of *Christ*? How far did others pass beside *S. Paul*, that he should speak even of his time, that the Gospel was preached to every creature under heaven? Many were the Nations, innumerable the people, which received the Faith in the Apostles days: and in not many years after, notwithstanding millions were cut off in their bloody persecutions, yet did their numbers equalize half the *Roman* Empire: and little above two Ages after the death of the last Apostle, the Emperors of the World gave in their names to *Christ*, and submitted their Scepters to his Laws, that the Gentiles might come to his light and Kings to the brightness of his rising; that Kings might become the nursing fathers, and Queens the nursing mothers, of the Church.

From hence it came to pass, that according to all the predictions of the Prophets, the one God of *Israel*, the Maker of Heaven and Earth, was acknowledged through the World for the only true God: that the Law given to *Israel* was taken for the true Law of God, but as given to that people and so to cease when they ceased to be a people; except the moral part thereof, which, as an universal rule common to all people, is still acknowledged for the Law of God, given unto all, and obliging every man: that all the Oracles of the Heathen Gods, in all places where Christianity was received, did presently cease and all the Idols or the Gods themselves, were rejected and condemned as spurious. For the Lord of Hosts had spoken concerning those times expressly; *It shall come to pass in that day, that I will cut off the names of the Idols out of the land, and they shall no more be remembered: also I will cause the prophets and the unclean spirit to pass out of the land.* Zach. 13. 2.

Now being this general reception of the Gospel was so anciently, so frequently, foretold, being the same was so clearly and universally performed; even this might seem sufficient to persuade that *Jesus is Christ*. But lest any should not yet be fully satisfied, we shall further shew, that it is impossible *Jesus* should have been so received for the true *Messias*, had he not been so; or that his Doctrine, which teacheth him to be the *Christ*, should be admitted by all nations for divine, had it not been such. For whether we look upon the Nature of the Doctrine taught, the Conditions of the Teachers of it, or the manner in which it was taught, it can no way seem probable that it should have had any such success, without the immediate working of the hand of God, acknowledging *Jesus* for his Son, the Doctrine for his own, and the fulfilling by the hands of the Apostles what he had foretold by the Prophets.

As for the nature of the Doctrine, it was no way likely to have any such success. For, first, it absolutely condemned all other Religions, settled and corroborated by a constant succession of many Ages, under which many nations and Kingdoms, and especially at that time the *Roman*, had signally flourished. Secondly, it contained Precepts far more ungrateful and troublesome to flesh and blood, and contrariant to the general inclination of mankind; as the abnegation of our selves, the mortifying of the flesh, the love of our enemies, and the bearing of the cross. Thirdly, it enforced those Precepts seemingly unreasonable, by such Promises as were as seemingly incredible and unperceivable. For they were not of the good things of this world, or such as afford any complacency to our Sense; but of such as cannot be obtained till after this life: and necessarily presuppose that which then seemed as absolutely impossible, the Resurrection. Fourthly, it delivered certain predictions which were to be fulfilled in the persons of such as should embrace it, which seem sufficient to have kept most part of the world from listening to it, as dangers, losses, afflictions, tribulations, and, in sum, *All that would live godly in Christ Jesus should suffer persecution.* 2 Tim. 3. 12.

If we look upon the Teachers of this Doctrine, there appeared nothing in them which could promise any success. The first Revealer and Promulger bred in the house of a Carpenter, brought up at the feet of no Professor, despised by the High-Priests, the Scribes and Pharisees, and all the learned in the Religion of his Nation; in the time of his preaching apprehended, bound, buffeted, spit upon, condemned, crucified; betrayed in his life by one Disciple, denied by another; at his death distrusted by all. What advantage can we perceive toward the propagation of the Gospel in this Author of it, *Christ crucified, unto the Jews, a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness?* 1 Cor. 1. 23. What in those which followed him, sent by him, and thence called Apostles,

men by birth obscure, by education illiterate, by profession low and inglorious? How can we conceive that all the Schools and Universities of the World should give way to them, and the Kingdoms and Empires should at last come in to them, except their Doctrine were indeed Divine, except that *Jesus*, whom they testified to be the *Christ*, were truly so?

If we consider the manner in which they delivered this Doctrine to the world, it will add no advantage to their persons, or advance the probability of success. For in their delivery they used no such rhetorical expressions, or ornaments of eloquence, to allure or entice the world; they affected no such subtilty of wit, or strength of argumentation, as thereby to persuade and convince men; they made use of no force or violence to compel, no corporal menaces to affright mankind unto a compliance. But in a plain simplicity of words they nakedly delivered what they had seen and heard, *preaching, not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in the demonstration of the Spirit*. It is not then rationally imaginable, that so many Nations should forsake their own Religions, so many Ages professed, and brand them all as damnable, only that they might embrace such precepts as were most unacceptable to their natural inclinations, and that upon such promises as seemed not probable to their reason, nor could have any influence on their sense, and notwithstanding those predictions which did assure them, upon the receiving of that Doctrine, to be exposed to all kind of misery: that they should do this upon the Authority of him who for the same was condemned and crucified, and by the persuasion of them who were both illiterate and obscure: that they should be enticed with words without eloquence, convinced without the least subtilty, constrained without any force. I say, it is no way imaginable how this should come to pass, had not the Doctrine of the Gospel, which did thus prevail, been certainly Divine; had not the light of the Word, which thus dispelled the clouds of all former Religions, come from Heaven; had not that *Jesus*, *the author and finisher of our faith*, been the true *Messias*.

To conclude this discourse. He who was in the world at the time when the *Messias* was to come, and no other at that time or since pretended; he who was born of the same family, in the same place, after the same manner, which the Prophets foretold of the birth of the *Messias*; he which taught all those truths, wrought all those miracles, suffered all those indignities, received all that glory, which the *Messias* was to teach, do, suffer, and receive; he whose Doctrine was received in all Nations, according to the character of the *Messias*; he was certainly the true *Messias*. But we have already sufficiently shewed that all these things are exactly fulfilled in *Jesus*, and in him alone. We must therefore acknowledge and profess that this *Jesus* is the promised *Messias*, that is, the *Christ*.

Having thus manifested the truth of this proposition, *Jesus is the Christ*, and shewed the interpretation of the word *Christ* to be *Anointed*; we find it yet * necessary for the explication of this Article, to enquire what was the end or immediate effect of his unction, and how or in what manner he was anointed to that end.

For the first, as the *Messias* was foretold; so was he typified: nor were the actions prescribed under the Law less predictive than the words of the Prophets. Nay, || whosoever were then anointed, were therefore so, because he was to be anointed. Now it is evident that among the *Jews* they were wont to * anoint those which were appointed as Kings over them: So *Samuel said unto Saul*, ¹ *The Lord sent me to anoint thee to be King over his people, over Israel*. When *Saul* was rejected, and *David* produced before *Samuel*, ² *the Lord said, Arise, anoint him, for this is he*. And some || may have contented themselves

with

1 Cor. 2. 4.

* In Christi nomine subauditur qui unxit, & ipsi qui unctus est, & ipsi unctio in qua unctus est.

Iren. l. 3 c. 20.
|| Οἱ βασιλεῖς πάντες ὡς οἱ Χριστοὶ τοῦ πνεύματος ἡμετέρου ὡς βασιλεῖς καὶ λέγουσιν ὡς ἐσὶν οἱ. *Fust. Mart. Dial.*

* *Christus* à chrismate dicitur: quia sicut antiqui reges à sacerdotibus oleo sacro profundebantur, sic *Christus* Sp. S. infusione repletus est. *Author. Ser.*

131. de Templ.

¹ 1 Sam. 16. 1.

² Chap. 16. 12.

|| Sicut nunc Romanis indumentum purpure infigne est Regiæ dignitatis assumptæ: sic illis unctio sacri unguenti nomen ac potestatem regiam conferbat. *Lactant. l. 4. c. 7.*

with this, that the *Messias* was to be a King. But not only the Kings, but beside and long before them, the High Priests were also anointed; inasmuch as the * *Anointed*, in their common language, signified their High Priest. And because these two were most constantly anointed, therefore || divers have thought it sufficient to assert that the *Messias* was to be a King and a Priest. But being not only the High Priests and Kings were actually anointed, (though they principally and most frequently;) for the Lord said unto Elias, 'Go anoint Hazael to be King over Syria, and Jehu the son of Nimshi shalt thou anoint to be King over Israel, and Elisha the son of Shaphat shalt thou anoint to be Prophet in thy room: therefore hence it * hath been concluded that the three Offices of Prophet, Priest and King, belonged to *Jesus* as the *Christ*, and that upon good reason. For the Common wealth of *Israel* was totally ordered and disposed, both in the Constitution and administration of it, for and with respect unto the *Messias*. The Constitution of that people was made by a conjunction and separation of them from all other nations on the earth: and this began in *Abraham*, with a peculiar promise of a seed in whom all the nations should be blessed, and be united into one Religion. That promised seed was the *Messias*, the type of whom was *Isaac*. This separation was continued by the administration of that Commonwealth, which was a *royal priesthood*: and that Administration of the people did consist in three functions, prophetic, regal, sacerdotal; all which had respect unto the || *Messias*, as the scope of all the Prophets, and the complement of their prophecies, as the Lord of the Temple, and the end of all the Sacrifices for which the Temple was erected, as the heir of an eternal Priesthood after the order of *Melchizedeck*, and of the Throne of *David*, or an everlasting Kingdom. Being then the Separation was to cease at the coming of the *Messias*, being that could not cease so long as the Administration of that people stood, being that Administration did consist in those three functions; it followeth that those three were to be united in the person of the *Messias*; who was to make all one, and consequently that the *Christ* was to be Prophet, Priest and King.

* For though at the first the sons of Aaron were anointed as well as Aaron, as appears Exod. 40. 15. Thou shalt anoint them, as thou didst anoint their father, that they may administer to me in the Priests office: yet they were not after anointed, but the successors of Aaron only: For, saith the Text, their anointing shall surely be an everlasting Priesthood throughout their generations: and therefore after this first anointing they shall need no more, only the successors in the High-priesthood shall reiterate the unction; from whence the Priest that is anointed afterwards signified

the High-priest, as Lev. 4. 3 וְהַמְשִׁיחַ הַזֶּה, Lxx. ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ κεχειρωμένος by way of explication: whereas verse the 5 and the 16. of the same chapter, and 6. 22. they render it by a bare translation, ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ χειρὸς ὁ which by the vulgar Latin is translated, Sacerdos qui jure patri succederet, because no other but the Son which succeeded the Father in the office of the High Priest was afterwards anointed: as the Arabick & similiter Sacerdos successor de filiis suis. For in the anointing of Aaron and his Sons, נִמְשְׁחוּ כָל הַנְּאֻמִּים אַחֲרָיִם דְּהוּיָהוּ כְּנָנִים וְזוֹהוּ לֹא הוּצְרָחוּ לְמִשְׁחָה אֶחָד כִּי אֹבֵב כְּהֵן גִּדְוָה Levi Ben Gerson 1 Kings 1. || As Lactan. Erat Judæis ante præceptum ut sacrum conficerent unguentum, quo perungi possent ii qui vocabantur ad sacerdotium vel ad regnum l. 4. c. 7. And S. Aug. Prioribus Veteris Testamenti temporibus ad duas solas personas pertinuit unctio. Enarr. 2. Psal. 21. Christus vel Pontificale vel Regium nomen est. Nam prius & Pontifices unguento christmaris consecrabantur & Reges. Ruff. in Synb. 1 King. 19. 15, 16. * Τὸ τοῦ χρισμοῦ μὴ μόνον ἀρχιερεῶσι παροδοθῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Περσῆταις καὶ Βασιλευσιν, οἷς καὶ αὐτοῖς τὸ τῶν Χριστῶν μόνον ἔξοδον ἔωπα μύρω. Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. l. 4. c. 15. Et Hist. l. 1. c. 4. Wherefore S. Augustine recollecting a place in his 83 Questions, in which he had taught the two fishes in the Gospel, duas illas personas significare quibus populus ille regebatur, ut per eas consiliorum moderamen acciperet, regiam scilicet & sacerdotalem, ad quas etiam sacrosancta illa unctio pertinebat, makes this particular Retraction; Dicendum potius fuit, maxime pertinebat, quoniam unctos aliquando legimus & Prophetas. Retract. l. 1. c. 26. || Οὐ μόνον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐπίσκοποι τετιμημένοι τὸ τῶν Χριστῶν καλεῖσθαι παρ' Ἑβραίων ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν βασιλέων ὅτι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος διὰ προφητῶν χριστοῦ, εἰκονικῶς τινὰς Χριστοῦ ἐπιγράφοντο ὅτι δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς τῶν μόνων καὶ ἀληθῶν Χριστῶν, τὰ καὶ πάντων βασιλεύοντες εἰς λόγον, βασιλικῆς καὶ ἀρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸς τύπος δι' αὐτῶν ἐφείπον, ἢ δὴ καὶ αὐτῶν ἑξῆς προφητῶν τινὰς διὰ χρισμοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τύπῳ γεγονέναι παραλήφοντες. ὡς τῆς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔφειπον ἢ ἀλαθῆ Χριστῶν, ἢ ἕνθεον καὶ ἑξῆς λόγον, ἀναφορῶν ἔχοντες μόνον ἀρχιερεῶν ἢ ὄλων, καὶ μόνον ἀπάσης ἢ ἁπλῆς βασιλείας, καὶ μόνον προφητῶν ἢ ἀρχιεροπροφητῶν τῶν πατρῶν τυγχάνοντες. Hist. Ecc. l. 1. c. 3.

Again, the Redemption or Salvation which the *Messias* was to bring, consisteth in the freeing of a sinner from the state of sin and eternal death into a state of righteousness and eternal life. Now a freedom from sin in respect of the guilt could not be wrought without a sacrifice propitiatory, and therefore there was a necessity of a Priest; a freedom from sin in respect of the dominion could not be obtained without a revelation of the will of God, and of his wrath against all ungodliness, therefore there was also need of a Prophet

Prophet; a translation from the state of death into eternal life is not to be effected without absolute authority and irresistible power, therefore a King was also necessary. The *Messias* then, the Redeemer of *Israel*, was certainly anointed for that end, that he might become Prophet, Priest and King. And if we believe him whom we call *Jesus*, that is, our Saviour and Redeemer, to be *Christ*, we must assert him by his unction sent to perform all these three Offices.

That *Jesus* was anointed to the Prophetical Office, though we need no more to prove it than the prediction of *Isaiah*. *The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor*; the explication of our Saviour, *This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears*; and the confession of the Synagogue at *Nazareth*, who all bare him witness, and wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth; yet we are furnished with more ample and plentiful demonstrations; for whether we consider his Preparation, his Mission, or his Administration, all of them speak him fully to have performed it. To *Jeremiah* indeed God said, *Before thou camest forth out of the womb, I sanctified thee, and I ordained thee a Prophet unto the Nations*; and of *John* the Baptist, *He shall be filled with the Holy Ghost, even from his mother's womb*. And if these became singular Prophets by their preparative sanctification, how much more eminent must his prophetic preparation be, to whose mother it is said, *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee*? If the Levites must be thirty years old, every one that came to do the service of the ministry; *Jesus* will not enter upon the publick administration of this Office till he begin to be about thirty years of age. Then doth the Holy Ghost descend in a bodily shape like a Dove upon him: then must a voice come from heaven, saying, *Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased*. Never such preparations, never such an Inauguration of a Prophet.

As for his Mission, never any was confirmed with such letters of credence such irrefragable testimonials, as the formal testimony of *John* the Baptist, and the more virtual testimony of his Miracles. *Behold, I will send you Elias the Prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord* saith God by *Malachy*. And *John* went before him in the spirit of *Elias*, saith another *Malachy*, even an Angel from Heaven. This *John* or *Elias*, saw the Spirit descend on *Jesus* and bare record that this is the son of God. The Jews took notice of this testimony, who said unto him, *Rabbi, he that was with thee beyond Jordan, to whom thou barest witness, behold, the same baptizeth, and all men come unto him*; and *Jesus* himself puts them in mind of it, *Ye sent unto John and he bare witness unto the truth; nay they themselves confessed his testimony to be undeniable, John did no miracle, but all things that John spake of this man were true*. But though the witness of *John* were thus cogent, yet the testimony of Miracles was far more irrefragable. *I have greater witness than that of John*, saith our Saviour; *for the works which my Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me*. Notwithstanding the precedent record of *John*, *Jesus* requireth not an absolute assent unto his Doctrine without his Miracles: *If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not*. But upon them he challengeth belief: *But if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works; that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him*. If then *Moses* and other Prophets, to whom God gave the power of Miracles, did assert their mission to be from God by the Divine works which they wrought; much more efficacious to this purpose must the Miracles of *Jesus* appear, who wrought more wonders than they all. Never therefore was there so manifest a mission of a Prophet.

Now

Now the Prophetical Function consisteth in the promulgation, confirmation, and perpetuation of the Doctrine containing the will of God for the Salvation of man. And the perfect Administration of the Office must be attributed unto Jesus. For *no man hath seen God at any time; the only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.* He gave unto the Apostles the words which his Father gave him. Therefore he hath revealed the perfect will of God. The Confirmation of this Doctrine cannot be denied him, who lived a most innocent and holy life to persuade it, for *he did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth; who wrought most powerful and divine works to confirm it, and was thereby known to be a teacher from God; who died a most painful and shameful death to ratify it, witnessing a good profession before Pontius Pilate; which in it self unto that purpose efficacious, was made more evidently operative in the raising of himself from death.* The propagation and perpetual succession of this Doctrine must likewise be attributed unto Jesus, as to no temporary or accidental Prophet, but as to him who instituted and instructed all who have any relation to that function. For *the Spirit of Christ was in the Prophets: and when he ascended up on high, he gave gifts unto men.* For he gave some Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Pastors and Teachers; for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ. It is then most apparent that Jesus was so far Christ, as that he was anointed to the Prophetical Office, because his Preparation for that Office was most remarkable, his Mission unto that Office was undeniable, his Administration of that Office was infallible.

John 1. 18.

John 17. 8, 14.

1 Pet. 2. 22.

John 3. 2.

1 Tim. 6. 13.

1 Pet. 1. 11.

Eph. 4. 8, 11, 12.

Now as Jesus was anointed with the Unction of Elizeus to the Prophetical, so was he also with the Unction of Aaron to the Sacerdotal Office. Not that he was called after the Order of Aaron; ¹ for it is evident that our Lord sprang out of Judah, of which Tribe Moses spake nothing concerning priest-hood: but after a more ancient Order, according to the prediction of the Psalmist, *The Lord hath sworn and will not repent, Thou art a Priest for ever after the order of Melchizedeck.* But though he were of another Order, yet whatsoever Aaron did as a Priest was wholly typical, and consequently to be fulfilled by the Messias, as he was a Priest. For the Priesthood did not begin in Aaron, but was translated and conferred upon his Family before his consecration. We read of ² the Priests which came near the Lord; of ³ young men of the children of Israel which offered burnt-offerings, and sacrificed peace-offerings of Oxen unto the Lord: which without question were no other than the ^{*} first-born, to whom the Priesthood did belong. Jesus therefore, as the first begotten of God, was by right a Priest, and being anointed unto that Office, performed every function, by way of Oblation, Intercession and Benediction. ⁴ Every High-priest is ordain'd to offer gifts and sacrifices: wherefore it is of necessity that this man Jesus, if he be an High Priest, have somewhat also to offer. Not that he had any thing beside himself, or that there was any peculiar Sacrifice allowed to this Priest; to whom, ⁵ when he cometh into the world, he saith, *Sacrifice and offering thou wouldst not, but a body hast thou prepared me:* and, ⁶ by the offering of this body of Jesus Christ are we sanctified. For he who is our Priest hath ^{*} given himself an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet smelling savour.

¹ Heb. 7. 14, 21.

² Exod. 19. 22.

³ Exod. 24. 5.

^{*} For the Hebrew

בְּרִיָּה,

signifying juvenes

by all the

Targums is rendered

בְּרִיָּה,

that is primogeniti:

and so the Arabick and

Persian translations.

⁴ Heb. 8. 3.

⁵ Heb. 10. 5.

⁶ Heb. 10. 10.

^{*} Eph. 5. 2.

Unus ipse erat

qui offerebat,

& quod offerebat.

S. Aug.

Unum cum illo

manebat cui offerrebat,

unum in se fecit pro

quibus offerebat;

unus ipse erat qui offerebat,

& quod offerebat.

Id. de Trinit.

Now when Jesus had thus given himself a propitiatory Sacrifice for sin, he ascended up on high, and entered into the Holy of holies not made with hands and there appeared before God as an atonement for our Sin. Nor is he prevalent only in his own oblation once offered, but in his constant intercession. *Who is he that condemneth?* saith the Apostle: *it is Christ that died, yea rather that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God; who also maketh inter-*

Rom. 8. 34.

cession

from the dead, and set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places, far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion. Then he, whose name is called the word of God, had on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, King of kings, and Lord of lords. Rev. 19. 13, 15.

This Regal Office of our Saviour consisteth partly in the ruling, protecting and rewarding of his people; partly in the coercing, condemning and destroying of his enemies. First, he ruleth in his own people, by delivering them a Law by which they walk; by furnishing them with his grace, by which they are enabled to walk in it. Secondly, he protecteth the same, by helping them to subdue their lusts, which reign in their mortal bodies; by preserving them from the temptations of the world, the flesh and the devil; by supporting them in all their afflictions; by delivering them from all their enemies. Thirdly, whom he thus rules and protects here, he rewards hereafter in a most royal manner, making them Kings and Priests unto God and his Father. On the contrary he sheweth his Regal dominion in the destruction of his enemies, whether they were temporal or spiritual enemies. Temporal, as the Jews and Romans, who joined together in his Crucifixion. While he was on earth he told his Disciples, *There be some standing here which shall not taste of death till they see the son of man coming in his Kingdom*: and in that Kingdom he was then seen to come, when he brought utter destruction on the Jews by the Roman Armies, not long after to be destroyed themselves. But beside these visible enemies, there are other spiritual, those which hinder the bringing in of his own people into his Fathers Kingdom, those which refuse to be subject unto him and consequently deny him to be their King; as all wicked and ungodly men, of whom he hath said, *These mine enemies, which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me*. Thus Sin, Satan and Death, being the enemies to his kingdom, shall all be destroyed in their order. For he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet: and the last enemy that shall be destroyed is death. Thus is our Jesus become the Prince of the Kings of the earth; thus is the Lamb acknowledged to be Lord of lords, and King of kings. Rev. 1. 6.

Wherefore seeing we have already shewed that the Prophetical, Sacerdotal and Regal Offices were to belong unto the promised *Messias*, as the proper end and immediate effect of his Unction; seeing we have likewise declared how Jesus was anointed to these Offices, and hath and doth actually perform the same in all the functions belonging to them: there remaineth nothing for the full explication of this particular concerning the *Christ*, but only to shew the manner of this Unction, which is very necessary to be explained. For how they were anointed under the Law, who were the types of the *Messias*, is plain and evident, because the manner was prescribed, and the materials were visible: God appointed an Oyl to be made, and appropriated it to that use; and the pouring that Oyl upon the body of any person was his anointing to that Office for which he was designed. But being that Oyl so appropriated to this use was lost many hundred years before our Saviours birth: being the custom of anointing in this manner had a long time ceased, being howsoever we never read that Jesus was at all anointed with Oyl; it remaineth still worth our enquiry, how he was anointed, so as to answer to the former unctions; and what it was which answered to that Oyl, which then was lost, and was at the first but as a Type of this which now we search for. Matt. 16. 28.

The *Jews tell us, that the anointing Oyl was hid in the days of *Josiah*, and the *Messias* God will restore unto his people the oyl of unktion which *Moses* made, which was hidden with the Ark; and the Kings and High Priests shall be anointed with it in those days. *Abarbanel Comment. ad 20. Exodi.* Now the loss of that Oyl, which they call the *hiding of it*, may well be thought to foretel the period of the *Mosaical Administration*, being they confess that after that they never had any Priests anointed, because they had no power to make the same Oyl. So plainly confesseth the same *Abarbanel*: Luke 19. 27.

בִּימֵי מֶלְכֵי
הַמִּשְׁחָה
עֲתִיד
הַקָּדוֹשׁ
בְּדוֹף הַיּוֹם
לְהַחְזִיר
לְעַמּוֹ
אוֹתוֹ שֶׁמֶן
הַמִּשְׁחָה
שֶׁעָשָׂה
מִשֶּׁה
שֶׁנִּגְנוּ עִם
הָאָרוֹן וְבוֹ
זִמְשָׁהוּ
הַמְלָכִים
וְהַכֹּהֲנִים
הַגְּדוֹלִים
בִּימֵי הַהֵם
In the days of

וְלֹא הָיָה לָהֶם רְשׁוּת לַעֲשׂוֹתוֹ.
that

that it shall be found and produced again when the *Messias* comes, that he may be anointed with it, and the Kings and High Priests of his days: But though the loss of that Oyl bespake the destruction of that Nation, yet the *Christ* which was to come needed no such unction for his Consecration; there being as great a difference between the typical and correspondent Oyl, as between the representing and represented *Christ*. The Prophet *David* calleth it not by the vulgar name of Oyl of unction, but the *oyl of gladness*. For though that place may in the first sence be understood of *Solomon*, whom when *Zadoc* the Priest anointed ² *they blew the Trumpet, and all the people said, God save king Solomon. And all the people came up after him, and the people piped with pipes, and rejoyced with great joy, so that the earth rent with the sound of them*; though from thence it might be said of him, *Thy God hath anointed thee with the oyl of gladness above thy fellows*: yet being thole words are spoken unto God, as well as of God, (** therefore God thy God,*) the Oyl with which that God is anointed must in the ultimate and highest sence signifie a far greater *gladness* than that at *Solomon's* Coronation was, even the fountain of all joy and felicity in the Church of God.

¹ Psal. 45. 7.

² 1 King. i. 39. 40.

* Duae personas, ejus qui unctus est Dei & qui unxit, intellige. Uade & Aquila Elohim אלהים verbum Hebraicum non nominativo casu, sed vocativo, interpretatur, dicens דֵּיִם & nos propter intelligentiam Deo posuimus, quod Latina Lingua non accipit, ne quis perversè putet Deum dilecti & amantissimi & regis bis Patrem nominari, S. Hieron. Epist. 104. Quod sequitur, Unxit te, Deus, Deus tuus, primum nomen Dei vocativo casu intelligendum est, sequens nominativo; satis miror cur Aquila non, ut

primo versiculo, vocativo casu interpretatus sit, sed nominativo, bis nominans Deum qui supradictum unxit Deum. Id. ib. || So Greg. Naz. expounds the place: "Ον ἔχεισεν ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιᾶσεως παρὰ τοῦ μελοῦ αὐτοῦ, χρίσας τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα τῆς θεότητι. ὡς ποιῆσαι τὰ ἀμφοτέρωθεν. And again, Χρίσας ὁ διὰ τὴν θεότητα * (not that his Divinity was anointed, or *Christ* anointed in respect of his Divinity; but that he was anointed in his Humanity by his Divinity), χρίσας δὲ αὐτὴν τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ἐκ ἐνεργείας, καὶ τὸν ἄλλω χρίσας ἐνεργείας, παρσία ὁ ὅλητος χρίσας, ἢ ἐργον ἀνθρώπου ἀκρῶσαι τὸ χεῖρον, καὶ ποιῆσαι θεὸν τὸ χεῖρον. Orat. 2. de Filio. 3 Luke 1. 35. * Χρίσας ἐνεργείας βασιλῆος καὶ ἱερῆος τῷ χρίσματι τῆς σαρκώσεως. Germanus Constant. Κεχρίσθαι ὁ ἔχ' ἐτέρως φανερὸν τὸν υἱὸν, ἢ ὅτι καὶ σὰρκα χυθῆκεν, δηλονότι καθ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα. Titus Bostrenf. Deus est qui ungit, & Deus qui secundum carnem ungitur Dei filius. Denique quos habet unctionis suæ *Christus* nisi in carne participes? Vides igitur quia Deus à Deo unctus, sed in assumptione naturæ unctus humanæ Dei Filius designatur. S. Ambros. de Fide, l. 1. c. 2. Hæc omnia carni convenient, cum piissimum & gloriosissimum verbum unicum est pro salute cunctorum. Cassiodorus in Psal. 44. || S. Hierome mentioning that place of the Psalm, Quando consortes nominantur, naturam carnis intellige, quia Deus consortes substantiæ suæ non habet. Et quia erat unctio spiritalis & nequaquam humani corporis, (ut fuit in sacerdotibus Judæorum) idcirco præ consortibus, id est, cæteris sanctis, unctus esse memoratur. Cujus unctio illo expleta est tempore quando baptizatus est in Jordane, & Spiritus Sanctus in specie Columbæ descendit super eum, & mansit in illo. Comment. in Esaiam. c. 61. In illa columbæ quæ super ipsum post baptismum descendit, cum sacramento Baptismatis, & veri sacerdotii jura suscepit, fuso videlicet super eum oleo exultationis, de quo Psalmista canit; Unxit te, inquit Deus, Deus tuus. Petrus Damianus, Opuscul. 6. c. 4. + 1 Sam. 16. 13. 5 Psal. 89. 20.

ted him. And yet he was again anointed at *Hebron*; first over the house of *Judah*, then over all the tribes of *Israel*. As therefore *David* at his first Unction received the Spirit of God, and a full right unto the Throne of *Israel*, which yet he was not to exercise till the death of *Saul* and acceptation of the Tribes; and therefore when the time was come that he should actually enter upon his Regal Office, he was again anointed: So our *Jesus*, the Son of *David*, was first sanctified and anointed with the Holy Ghost at his Conception and thereby received a right unto, and was prepared for, all those Offices which belonged to the Redeemer of the world; but when he was to enter upon the actual and full performance of all those Functions which belonged to him, then doth the same Spirit which had sanctified him at his Conception visibly descend upon him at his inauguration. And that most properly upon his Baptism, because, according to the customs of those ancient Nations, washing was wont to * precede their Unctions: wherefore *Jesus*, when he was baptized, went up straightway out of the water: And lo, the heavens were opened unto him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a Dove. As *David* sent *Solomon* to be anointed at *Gihon*: from whence arose that ancient observation of the Rabbins, that † *Kings were not to be anointed but by a fountain*.

2Sam. 2. 4.
and 5. 3.

* As appears by those entertainments so frequently mentioned by Homer in his *Odysses*; as when *Telemachus*

is entertained by Nestor; Τόρρα ὃ Τηλέμαχον λῆσεν καλλι Πηλουκίση, Νέστορ ὃ ὀπλοῦσσι θυγάτηρ Νηληϊάδαο. Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ λῆσέν τε καὶ ἔχεισεν λίπ' ἐλαίῳ. *Od. Γ.* And *Telemachus* and *Pisistratus* are invited to the Court of *Menelaus*;

Ἔς ῥ' ἀσαμίνθησ βάντες εὐξέσες λῆσαντο.

Τὸς δ' ἐπεὶ ἔνθ' ἄμωσ' ἔσαν καὶ χρεῖσαν ἐλαίῳ. *Od. Δ.*

Thus *Ulysses* is entertained, *Od. Θ.* thus *Pyraeus* and *Telemachus*. *Od. Ρ.* and *Venus*, returning to *Paphus*, is so ordered by the *Charites*;

Ἐνθα δέ μιν Χάριτες λῆσαν καὶ χρεῖσαν ἐλαίῳ

Ἀμύροτο, ἴα θεὸς ἐπενένοθεν αἰὲν ἐούσιας. *Od. Θ.*

So *Helena* speaks of her entertaining *Ulysses* in a disguise;

Ἄμ' ὅτε δέ μιν ἐζῶν ἐλόδον καὶ χρεῖον ἐλαίῳ.

It is apparent that this was the custom of the ancient Greeks. Of which *Eustathius* gives this reason: Ἐλαίῳ ἐχρεῖοντο οἱ λυσάμενοι ἐκπλάτοντες τὸ σωματικὸν πόρον, ὡς ἂν μετὰ λουτρῶν σέγοιεν τὴν ὑγρότητα. This custom was so ancient and general, that the Greeks had one way to express this anointing with oyl after washing with water, which they called χύτλα and χυτλώσαι. Etymol. χυτλώσαι, ἐκ ἀπλῶς τὸ ἀλείφαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐπι λουτρῶ ἀλείφασθαι. *Schol. Aristoph.* χύτλα ἢ κρείως, τὸ ὑγρὸν ἐτι δὴ ὑδατοῦ ὄντος τῆς σώματος ἀλείφασθαι. *Hesych.* χύτλα, τὸ ἐφ' ὑδατος ἔλαιον. and χυτλώται, τὸ ἀλείφαι μετὰ τὸ λῆσασθαι. Hence, when *Nauficaa* went unto the pools to wash, her mother gave her a box of oyl. *Od. Ζ.*

Δῶκε δ' ἔχρυσέην ἐν ληκύθησ ὑγρὸν ἔλαιον,

εἷως χυτλώσαιτο σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι γυναιξίν.

where the old *Scholiast*. χυτλώταιτο, λυσάμενη ἀλείφαιτο. and *Eustathius*, εἷως χυτλώσαιτο, ἀντὶ τῆς ἔπως μετὰ λουτρῶν χυτλωθεῖν ἀλείφασθαι. which exposition is warranted by the performance after mentioned,

Αἱ δ' ἠλοσάμενοι καὶ ἀλείφασθαι λίπ' ἐλαίῳ.

And as this was the ancient custom of the Greeks, so was it also the common custom of the Jews, as appears by the words of *Naomi* to *Ruth*, wash thy self the refore, and anoint thee, and put thy rayment upon thee. *Ruth 3. 3.* *Matt. 3. 16.* † They say in the *Gemara*, that this is a *Maxime* of the *Doctors*, אבא רבא חנן רבנן אין מושחין אר המלכים אל על הענין אבא רבא חנן רבנן. *Exod. 30.* The end of which ceremony was to shew the prolonging of his kingdom who was so anointed; and the original is referred to the anointing of *Solomon*, 1 *King. 1. 33.* For so it followeth in the *Talmud*, ויהי שני מלכותו שני שנים. *Abarbanel ibid.*

Now as we have shewed that *Jesus* was anointed with the Holy Ghost, lest any should deny any such descension to be a proper or sufficient Unction, we shall farther make it appear, that the Effusion, or Action of the Spirit, eminently containeth whatsoever the Jews have imagined to be performed or signified by those legal Anointings. Two very good reasons they render why God did command the use of such anointing oyl, as in respect of the action. First that it might signifie the Divine Election of that person, and designation to that Office: From whence it was necessary that it should be performed by a Prophet, who understood the will of God. Secondly, that by it the person anointed might be made fit to receive the Divine influx. For the first, it is evident there could be no such infallible sign of the Divine designation of *Jesus* to his Offices, as the visible descent of the Spirit, attended with a voice from heaven. in stead of the hand of a Prophet, saying, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased*. For the second, this spiritual Unction was so far from giving less than an aptitude to receive the Divine influx, that it was that

Matt. 3. 17.

that divine influx, nay, the Divinity it self, the Godhead dwelling in him bodily.

In respect of the matter, they give two causes why it was Oyl, and not any other liquour. First, because of all other it signifies the greatest glory and excellency. The Olive was the first of Trees mentioned as fit for sovereignty, in regard of its *fatness*, wherewith they honour God and man. Therefore it was fit that those persons which were called to a greater dignity than the rest of the Jews, should be consecrated by Oyl, as the best sign of election to Honour. And can there be a greater honour than to be the Son of God, the *beloved Son* as *Jesus* was proclaimed at this Unction, by which he was consecrated to such an Office as will obtain him a name far above all names? Secondly, they tell us that Oyl continueth uncorrupted longer than any other liquour. And indeed it hath been observed to preserve not only it self, but || other things, from corruption, hence they conclude it fit, their Kings and Priests, whose succession was to continue for ever, should be anointed with Oyl, the most proper emblem of eternity. But even by this reason of their own, their Unction is ceased, being the succession of their Kings and Priests is long since cut off, and their eternal and eternizing Oyl lost long before. And only that one *Jesus*, who was anointed with the most spiritual Oyl, *continueth for ever*; and therefore *hath an unchangeable Priesthood*, as being made not after the law of a carnal commandment, but after the power of an endless life.

Judg. 9. 9.

Unguenta optimè servantur in alabastris, odores in oleo. *Plin. Hist. l. 13. c. 2.* Existimatur & ebori vindicando à carie utile esse. Certè simulacrum Saturni Romæ intus oleo repletum est. *Id. l. 15 c. 7.* And whosoever made that Statue at Rome, seems to have had his Art out of Greece, from that famous Ivory Statue made by Phidias. Οὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ κατασκευάσαι Πισσῶν ἐδωκεν, (ἐξ ἐλέφαντος ἢ τῆτο ἦν) ἔλαιον ἐμχρῖσαι: προσέτερον ἀμφὶ τοὺ πόδας. ἐμπροσθεν τῶ ἀγάλματος ἀθάνατον εἰς δύναμιν φυλάσσαν αὐτό. *Proclus apud Epiphan. Her. 14. §. 18. Heb. 7. 24, 16.*

Beside, they observe, that simple oyl without any mixture was sufficient for the Candlestick; but that which was designed for Unction must be compounded with principal Spices, which signify a good name, always to be acquired by those in places of greatest dignity by the most laudable and honourable actions. And certainly never was such an admixtion of Spices as in the Unction of our Saviour, by which he was endued with all variety of the Graces of God, by which he was enabled to offer himself a sacrifice for a sweet-smelling savour. For as *he was full of grace and truth*; so of his fulness have we all received, grace for grace: and as we *have received anointing of him*, so we *are unto God a sweet savour of Christ*.

²Job. 1. 14, 16.
³Job. 2. 27.
⁴2 Cor. 2. 15.

Again, it was sufficient to anoint the Vessels of the Sanctuary in any part; but it was particularly commanded that the Oyl should be poured upon the Head of the Kings and Priests, as the Seat of all the animal Faculties, the fountain of all dignity, and*original of all the members of the body. This was more eminently fulfilled in *Jesus*, who by his Unction, or as *Christ*, became the head of the Church; nay, the *head of all principality and power, from which all the body by joints and bands having nourishment ministred, and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God*.

* According to the Etymology in the Hebrew Language of which Abarbanel here takes notice;
לְכַנּוֹת
וְאֶשְׂרֵי
לְכַנּוֹת
וְהַיּוֹרֵת
מִשְׁוֹרֵת
שְׁבָהֶם

Lastly, they observe, that though in the Vessels nothing but a single Unction was required; yet in the Kings and Priests there was commanded, or at least practised, both Unction and Effusion, (as it is written, *He poured of the anointing oyl upon Aaron's head, and anointed him to sanctifie him*;) the first to signify their Separation, the second to assure them of the falling of the Spirit upon them. Now what more clear than that our *Christ* was anointed by Affusion, whether we look upon his Conception, *the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee*; or his Inauguration, *the Spirit descended and lighted upon him*? And thus, according unto all particulars required by the Jews themselves to compleat their legal Unctions, we have sufficiently shewed that *Jesus* was, as most eminently, so most properly, anointed with the Spirit of God.

⁵Col. 2. 10, 19.
⁷Lev. 8. 12.

Where-

Wherefore being we have shewn that a *Messias* was to come into the World; being we have proved that he is already come, by the same predictions by which we believe he was to come; being we have demonstrated that *Jesus* born in the days of *Herod* was and is that promised *Messias*; being we have farther declared that he was anointed to those Offices which belonged to the *Messias*, and actually did and doth still perform them all; and that his anointing was by the immediate effusion of the Spirit, which answereth fully to all things required in the Legal and Typical Unction: I cannot see what farther can be expected for explication or confirmation of this Truth, that *Jesus is the Christ*.

The necessity of believing this part of the Article is most apparent, because it were impossible he should be our *Jesus*, except he were the *Christ*. For he could not reveal the way of Salvation, except he were a Prophet; he could not work out that Salvation revealed, except he were a Priest; he could not confer that Salvation upon us, except he were a King; he could not be Prophet, Priest, and King, except he were the *Christ*. This was the fundamental doctrine which the Apostles not only testified, as they did that of the Resurrection, but argued, proved, and demonstrated out of the Law and the Prophets. We find *S. Paul* at *Thessalonica* three Sabbath-days reasoning with them out of the Scriptures, opening and alledging that *Christ* must needs have suffered, and risen again from the dead; and that this *Jesus* whom I preach unto you is *Christ*. We find him again at *Corinth* pressed in spirit, and testifying to the Jews, that *Jesus* was *Christ*. Thus *Apollos*, by birth a Jew, but instructed in the Christian Faith by *Aquila* and *Priscilla*, mightily convinced the Jews, and that publickly, shewing by the Scriptures, that *Jesus* was *Christ*. This was the Touchstone by which all men at first were tried whether they were Christian or Antichristian. For whosoever believeth, saith *S. John*, that *Jesus is the Christ*, is born of God. What greater commendation of the assertion of this Truth? Who is a liar, saith the same Apostle, but he that denieth that *Jesus is the Christ*? this man is the *Antichrist*, as denying the Father and the Son. What higher condemnation of the negation of it?

Secondly, as it is necessary to be believed as a most fundamental Truth, so it hath as necessary an influence upon our conversations; because except it hath so, it cannot clearly be maintained. Nothing can be more absurd in a disputant, than to pretend to demonstrate a Truth as infallible, and at the same time to shew it impossible. And yet so doth every one who professeth Faith in *Christ* already come, and liveth not according to that profession: for thereby he proveth, as far as he is able, that the true *Christ* is not yet come, at least that *Jesus* is not he. We sufficiently demonstrate to the Jews that our Saviour, who did and suffered so much, is the true *Messias*; but by our lives we recal our arguments, and strengthen their wilful opposition. For there was certainly a promise, that when *Christ* should come, the wolf should dwell with the lamb, and the leopard should lie down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together, and a little child should lead them; that is, there should be so much love, unanimity and brotherly kindness in the Kingdom of *Christ*, that all ferity and inhumanity being laid aside, the most different natures and inclinations should come to the sweetest harmony and agreement. Whereas if we look upon our selves, we must confess there was never more bitterness of spirit, more rancour of malice, more heat of contention, more manifest symptoms of envy, hatred and all uncharitableness, than in those which make profession of the Christian Faith. It was infallibly foretold, that when the law should go forth out of *Zion*, and the word of the Lord from *Jerusalem*, they should beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into

Acts 17. 2, 5.

Cb. 18. 5.

Verse 28.

Isa. 11. 6.

Cb. 2. 3, 4.

Z. b. 13. 2.

into pruning-hooks : nation should not lift up sword against nation, neither should they learn war any more. Whereas there is no other Art so much studied, so much applauded, so violently asserted, not only as lawful, but as necessary. Look upon the face of Christendom divided into several Kingdoms and Principalities; what are all these but so many publick Enemies, either exercising or designing War? The Church was not more famous, or did more encrease by the first blood which was shed in the Primitive times through the external violence of ten Persecutions, than now 'tis infamous, and declines through constant violence, fraud and rapine, through publick engagements of the greatest Empires in Arms, through civil and intestine Wars, and, lest any way of shedding Christian blood should be unassayed, even by Massacres. It was likewise prophesied of the days of the *Messias*, that all Idolatry should totally cease, that all false Teachers should be cut off, and unclean Spirits restrained. And can we think that the *Jews*, who really abhor the thoughts of worshipping an Image, can ever be persuaded there is no Idolatry committed in the Christian Church? Or can we excuse our selves in the least degree from the plague of the Locusts of *Egypt*, the false Teachers? Can so many Schisms and Sects arise, and spread, can so many Heresies be acknowledged and countenanced, without false Prophets and unclean Spirits? If then we would return to the bond of true Christian Love and Charity, if we would appear true lovers of Peace and Tranquility, if we would truly hate the abominations of Idolatry, false Doctrine and Heresie, let us often remember what we ever profess in our Creed, that *Jesus* is the *Christ*, that the Kingdom of the *Messias* cannot consist with these Impieties.

Mat. 17. 5.

Prov. 8. 34.

Luke 10. 4,
39.Heb. c. 12. 19,
21, 22.

I Cor. 6. 20.

Lu. 16. 1.

Mat. 23. 18, 20.

Thirdly, the necessity of this Belief appeareth in respect of those Offices which belong to *Jesus* as he is the *Christ*. We must look upon him as upon the Prophet anointed by God to preach the Gospel, that we may be incited to hear and embrace his Doctrine. Though *Moses* and *Elias* be together with him in the Mount, yet the voice from Heaven speaketh of none but *Jesus*, *Hear ye him*; He is that Wisdom, the *delight of God*, crying in the *Proverbs*, *Blessed is the man that heareth me, watching daily at my gates, waiting at the posts of my doors. There is one thing needful, saith our Saviour; and Mary chose that good part, who sate at Jesus feet, and heard his words.* Which devout posture teacheth us, as a willingness to hear, so a readiness to obey: and the proper effect which the belief of this Prophetical Office worketh in us, is our *Obedience of Faith*. We must farther consider him as our High Priest, that we may thereby add Confidence to that obedience. For we have *boldness to enter into the Holiest by the blood of Jesus*; yea, *having an High-priest over the house of God, we may draw near with a true heart in full assurance of Faith*. And as this breedeth an adherence and assurance in us, so it requireth a resignation of us. For if *Christ* have redeemed us, we are his; if he died for us, it was that we should live to him: if we be *bought with a price*, we are no longer our own; but we must *glorifie God in our Body and in our Spirit, which are Gods*. Again, an apprehension of him as a King is necessary for the performance of our true and entire allegiance to him. *Send the lamb of the Ruler of the earth*, do him homage, acknowledge him your King, shew your selves faithful and obedient subjects. We can pretend, and he hath required, no less. As soon as he let the Apostles understand that *All power was given unto him in heaven and in earth*, he charged them to *teach all nations, to observe all things whatsoever he commanded them*. Can we imagine he should so strictly enjoyn subjection to *higher powers*, the highest of whom are here below, and that he doth not expect exact obedience to him who is exalted *far above all principalities and powers, and is set down at the right hand of God*? It is observable, that in the
Descri-

Description of the coming of the Son of man, it is said, *The King shall say unto them on his right hand, Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you:* which title as it secures hope; in respect of his power; as it magnifies our reward by the excellency of our inheritance; so also it teacheth us the indispensable condition of Obedience.

Fourthly, the belief of *Jesus the Christ* is necessary to instruct us what it is to be a Christian, and how far we stand obliged by owning that name. Those who did first embrace the Faith were styled * *Disciples*, (as when the number of *Disciples* was multiplied,) or *Believers*, or *Brethren*, or || *men of the Church*, or *Callers upon the name of Christ*, or * *men of the way*; or by their Enemies, *Nazarens*, and *Galileans*. But in a short time they gained a name derived from their Saviour; though not from that name of his which signifieth Salvation; for from *Christ* they were called *Christians*. A title so honourable, and of such concernment, that S. *Luke* hath thought fit to mention the City in which that name first was heard. || *And the Disciples were called Christians first at Antioch*, as the Scriptures assure us; so named by *Euodius* the Bishop of that place, as Ecclesiastical History informs us. A name no sooner invented, but embraced by all Believers, as bearing the most proper signification of their Profession, and relation to the Author and Master whom they served. In which the Primitive Christians so much delighted, that before the face of their enemies they would acknowledge * no other Title but that, though hated, reviled, tormented, martyred for it. Nor is this name of greater honour to us, than obligation. There are two parts of the Seal of the foundation of God, and one of them is this, ¹ *Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity*. It was a common answer of the Ancient Martyrs || *I am a Christian, and with us no evil is done*. The very name was thought to speak something of * emendation; and whosoever put it on, became the better man. Except such Reformation accompany our Profession there is no || advantage in the appellation; nor can we be honoured by that title, while we dishonour him that gives it. If he be therefore called *Christ*, because anointed; as we derive the name of *Christian*, so do we receive our * *Unction*, from him. For as ² *the precious ointment upon the head ran down upon the beard, even Araon's beard, and went down to the skirts of his garments*: so the Spirit, which without measure was poured upon *Christ* our head, is by him diffused through all the members of his || body. For ³ *God hath established and anointed us in Christ*: * *We have an unction from the Holy One and the anointing which we have received from him abideth in us*. Necessary then it cannot chuse but be, that we should know *Jesus* to be the *Christ*: because as he is *Jesus*, that is, our Saviour, by being *Christ*, that is, anointed; so we can have no share in him as *Jesus*, except we become truly *Christians*, and so be in him as *Christ*, * anointed with that unction from the Holy One.

Acts 6. 1, 7.
* For when our Saviour gave that command to his Apostles, *περὸς πάντας τὰ ἔθνη, πορευθέντες κηρύσσετε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*, go make all nations disciples, they which delivered the Gospel were μαθηταὶ οὗτοι, they which were taught it and received it were μαθητὰς ἐγένετο, and after by a name habitual μαθηταί, translated by Tertul. Discipules, ordinarily Discipuli. Μαθηταὶ οὗτοι οὗτοι ὡς μαθητὰν οὗτον παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου, πᾶς ὁ πᾶν Κυρίου προσερχόμενοι, ὡς ἀκολουθῶν αὐτοῦ, τότε εἰν, ἀκένον ἤρ' λίγων αὐτοῦ, πιστεύειν τε καὶ πισθεύειν αὐτῷ ὡς δεσποτῆ, καὶ βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἱερωῦ, καὶ δίδουσαν κἀλλο ἀληθείας, ἐπ' ἐλπίσιν ζωῆς αἰωνί. Thus then, in the language of the Scriptures

μαθητεύειν τινα, is to make a Disciple; as μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ ἱκανοὶ. Acts 14. 21. μαθητεύειν τινι, to be a Disciple; as Joseph of Arimathea μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, Mat. 27. 57. μαθητὰς οὖν αὐτοῦ the same; as γεγραμμένον ἐστὶν ἐν βιβλίῳ τοῦ προφητῶν Mat. 13. 52. Thus μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου, is often used by S. Basil de Baptismate, whose title is, "Ὅτι δὲ πρῶτον μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ τότε καὶ ἀξιώθηται τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος", according to our Saviour's method. Hence those which were first converted to the faith were called μαθητὰς, as the Disciples of Christ their Doctor and Master. || Ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, as when Herod stretched forth his hand κακῶσαι τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, to mischief some of those which were of the Church. * As when Saul went down to Damascus with a Commission, ὅπως ἐάν τις εὐεργετῆς ὄσῃ ὄσῃ αὐτῷ, καὶ γυναικας, δεδεδουκας ἀγαθῶν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, Acts 9. 2. we translate it any of this way, when there was no way mentioned to which the Pronoun this should have relation; nor τὴν ὁδὸν in Greek any more than the way. So when S. Paul went to the Synagogue at Corinth divers were hardened and believed not, κακωλογούντες τὸν ὁδὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ παύλου, Acts 19. 9. here we translate it, spake evil of that way; but Beza has left his Articulus pro nominis vice fungitur, which he had from Eralimus and hath otherwise supplied it, male loquentes de via Dei: and the old Translation, which in the former had hujus viae, in this hath simply maledicentes viae: and certainly ἡ ὁδὸς is nothing but the way. Again, at Ephesus, ἐγένετο τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἰσχυρὸν εὐαγγέλιον τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐκ ὀλίγου ὡς ἐπὶ ὁδῶν, Acts 19. 23. de via, V Transl. Beza again ob viam Dei, but it is nothing but the way. Thus Forix put off S. Paul, ἀκεβέσεσθαι εἰδῶς τὰ ὡς ἐπὶ ὁδῶν, till he had a more exact knowledge of the way, V Transl. de via hac; Beza ad lectam istam. Whereas then the phrase is so simply and so frequently the same, it can be nothing else but the word then in use to signify the

the Religion which the Christians professed. And so some also of the Ancients seem to have spoken, as appears by the Language of the Melchizedecians, Χειρὸς ἐξελέγη. ἡμᾶς καλέσει ἐν πολλῶν ὁδῶν εἰς μίαν ταύτην ἣ γινώσκον, ἐπειδὴν ἀπέστρεψεν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ εἰδώλων, καὶ ὡς εἶπεν ἡμῖν ἡ ὁδὸν, and that in the description of the Gallican Persecution, Ἐμείναν ἢ ἕξω οἱ μὴ δὲ ἰχθυῶ πρόποτε πίστεως, μὴ δὲ ἀσθενοῖν ἐν δύματι τοῦ νυμφικῆ, μὴ δὲ ἐννοῖαν φόβου Θεοῦ σχόντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀναστροφὴν αὐτῶν βλασφημῶντες ἡ ὁδόν. Euseb. Hist. l. 5. c. 1. || S. Luke noteth the place, but neither the time when, nor person by whom this name was given. Tertullian seems to make it as ancient as the reign of Tiberius, Apolog. c. 5. Tiberius ergo, cujus tempore nomen Christianum in seculum introivit. But I conceive indeed he speaks not of the name, but of the Religion: for so he may well be thought to expound himself, saying soon after, Censuræ istius disciplinæ, ut jam edidimus, à Tiberio est, c. 7. However the name of Christian is not so ancient as Tiberius, nor, as I think, as Caius. Some ancient Author in Suidas assures us, that it was first named in the reign of Claudius, when S. Peter had ordained Euodius Bishop of Antioch. Ἰστέον ἢ ὅτι ὁπὶ Κλαυδίου βασιλέως Ῥώμης, Πέτρος τῷ Σπυριδίου χειροτονήσας τὸν Εὐόδιον, μετονομάσθησαν. οἱ πάσαι λεγόμενοι Ναζωραῖοι καὶ Γαλιλαῖοι, Χριστιανοί. Suid. in Ναζωραῖος χειροτονήσας τὸν Εὐόδιον, μετονομάσθησαν. οἱ πάσαι λεγόμενοι Ναζωραῖοι καὶ Γαλιλαῖοι, Χριστιανοί. Suid. in Ναζωραῖος and in Χριστιανοί. And Johannes Antiochenus confirms not only the time, but tells us that that Euodius the Bishop was the author of the name. Καὶ ὁπὶ αὐτοῦ (Κλαυδίου) Χριστιανοὶ ὠνομάσθησαν, τὸ αὐτὸ ὁπὶ οὐκ Εὐόδιον προσομιλήσας αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁπὶ θήσας αὐτοῖς τὸ ὄνομα τῆτο· πρώην γὰρ Ναζωραῖοι καὶ Γαλιλαῖοι ἐκαλεῖντο οἱ Χριστιανοί. Thus the name of Christian was first brought into use at Antioch, by Euodius the Bishop of the place, and hath ever since been continued as the most proper appellation which could be given unto our profession, being derived from the Author and Finisher of our Faith. At nunc Secta orditur in nomine utique sui Autoris. Quid novi si aliqua disciplina de Magistro cognomentum Sectatoribus suis inducit? Nonne Philosophi de Autoribus suis nuncupantur Platonici, Epicurei, Pythagorici? Etiam à locis conventiculorum & stationum suarum Stoici, Academici? Neque Medici ab Erasistrato, & Grammatici ab Aristarcho, Coci etiam ab Apicio? Neque tamen quenquam offendit professio nominis cum institutione transmissa ab institutore. Tertul. Apolog. c. 3. * As we read of Sanctus a Deacon at Vienna, in his persecution of the French Church, who, being in the midst of tortures, was troubled with several Questions, which the Gentiles usually then asked, to try if they could extort any confession of any wicked actions practised secretly by the Christians; yet would not give any other answer to any question, than that he was a Christian. Τοσαύτη παρεξάσει ἀντιπαρέλατο αὐτοῖς, ὥστε μὴ τὸ ἴδιον κατεπεῖν ὄνομα, μήτε ἔθνος, μήτε πόλεως ὅθεν ἦν, μήτε εἰδὼλῳ ἢ ἐλεύθερος εἶν· ἀλλὰ πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἐπερωτώμενα ἀπεκρίνατο τῆ Ῥωμαϊκῆ θωνῆ, Χριστιανός εἰμι· τῆτο καὶ ἀντὶ ὀνόματος, καὶ ἀντὶ πόλεως, καὶ ἀντὶ γένους, καὶ ἀντὶ παντὸς ἐπαλλήλους ἀπολόγει. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 5. c. 1. The same doth S. Chrysostome testify of S. Lucian: Ποίας εἰπάσεις; Χριστιανός εἰμι, φησὶ· τί ἔχεις ἐπισηδεύμα, Χριστιανός εἰμι· τίνας προγόνους; ὁ ἢ πρὸς ἅπαντα ἔλεγχω, ὅτι Χριστιανός εἰμι. 1 2 Tim. 2. 19. || So Blandina in the French persecution: ἦν αὐτῆ ἀνάληψις καὶ ἀνάπαυσις καὶ ἀναλγησία ἢ Συμβανόντων. τὸ λέγειν ὅτι Χριστιανός εἰμι, καὶ παρῆμῖν ἐδὲν φαῦλον γίνεσθαι. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 5. c. 1. * Alii quos ante hoc nomen vagos, viles, improbos noverant, ex ipso denotant quod laudant, cœcitate odij in suffragium impingunt. Quæ mulier! quam lasciva! quam festiva! qui juvenis! quam lascivus! quam amatus! facti sunt Christiani: ita nomen emendationis imputatur. Tertull. || Totum in id revolvitur, ut qui Christiani nominis opus non agit, Christianus non esse videatur. Nomen enim sine actu atque officio suo nihil est. Salvian de Provid. l. 4. * Ἐάν τις τὸ ὄνομα λαβὼν τῆ χριστιανισμῶ ἐυβείζη ἢ Χριστὸν, ἐδὲν ὁφείλος αὐτῷ εἶναι ἢ προσηγορίας. S. Basil. ad Amphilocho. * Christianus vero, quantum interpretatio est, de unctioe deducitur. Tertul. Apolog. c. 3. * Psal. 133. 2. || Inde apparet Christi corpus nos esse, qui omnes ungitur, & omnes in illo & Christi & Christus sumus, quia quodammodo totus Christus caput & corpus est. S. August. in Psal. 26. 32 Cor. 1. 21. + 1 Joh. 2 20, 27. * Τοσαύτην ἡμεῖς τῆτε εἶνεκα καλέμεθα Χριστιανοί, ὅτι χριστόμεθα ἔλαον Θεῷ. Theophilus ad Autol. l. 1.

Thus having run through all the particulars at first designed for the explication of the title *Christ*, we may at last clear'y express, and every Christian easily understand, what it is we say when we make our Confession in these words, *I believe in Jesus Christ*. I do assent unto this as a certain truth, that there was a man promised by God, foretold by the Prophets to be the *Messias*, the Redeemer of *Israel*, and the expectation of the Nations. I am fully assured by all those predictions that the *Messias* so promised is already come. I am as certainly perswaded, that the man born in the days of *Herod* of the *Virgin Mary*, by an Angel from Heaven called *Jesus*, is that true *Messias*, so long, so often promised: that, as the *Messias*, he was anointed to three special Offices, belonging to him as the Mediator between God and man: that he was a Prophet, revealing unto us the whole will of God for the Salvation of man; that he was a Priest, and hath given himself a Sacrifice for sin, and so hath made an atonement for us; that he is a King, set down at the right hand of God, far above all Principalities and Powers, whereby, when he hath subdued all our enemies, he will confer actual, perfect and eternal Happiness upon us. I believe this Unction by which he became the true *Messias* was not performed by any material Oyl, but by the Spirit of God, which he received as the Head, and conveyeth to his Members. And in this full acknowledgment, *I believe in Jesus Christ*.

His Only Son,

After our Saviour's Nomination immediately followeth his Filiation: and justly after we have acknowledged him to be *the Christ*, do we confess him to be the *Son of God*; because these two were ever inseparable, and even by the *Jews* themselves accounted equivalent. Thus *Nathanael*, that true *Israelite*, maketh his confession of the *Messias*; *Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel*. Thus *Martha* makes expression of her Faith; *I believe that thou art the Christ the Son of God, which should come into the world*. Thus the High-priest maketh his inquisition; *I adjure thee by the living God that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God*. This was the famous Confession of *S. Peter*; *We believe and are sure that thou art that Christ the Son of the living God*. And the Gospel of *S. John* was therefore written, that *we might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God*. Certain then it is that all the *Jews*, as they looked for a *Messias* to come, so they believed that *Messias* to be the Son of God: (although since the coming of our Saviour they have * denied it) and that by reason of a constant interpretation of the second Psalm, as appropriated unto him. And the Primitive Christians did at the very beginning include this filial Title of our Saviour together with his names into the compass of || one word. Well therefore after we have expressed our Faith in *Jesus Christ*, is added that which had so great affinity with it, *the only Son of God*.

John 1. 49.
John 11. 27.
Matth. 26. 63.
John 6. 69.
John 20. 31.

* For when *Cel- sus*, in the person of a Jew, had spoken these words, *καὶ εἶπεν ἐμὲς παροπίτης ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμοις ποτὲ, ὅτι ἦξει Θεὸς υἱός*,

ὅτι εἰσὶν κελήεις, καὶ ἄλλοι ἀδίκων κολασθῆς, Origen says they were most improperly attributed to a Jew, who did look indeed for a *Messias*, but not for the Son of God, i. e. not under the notion of a Son. *Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ ἐκ αὐτῶν ὁμολογήσαντες ὅτι παροπίτης τις εἶπεν ἦξειν Θεὸς υἱόν· ὃ δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτιν, ὅτι ἦξει ὁ Χεῖσος τὸ Θεὸν καὶ πολλαίς ὁ ζητῶσι πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐθέως ἀπὸ υἱὸ Θεοῦ, ὡς υἱὸς υἱὸς ὄντι· τοῖσδε δὲ ἐπὶ προφητῶν ἀθρόοις. Adv. Cels. l. 1. || That is, I X Θ Υ Σ. Nos pisciculi secundum I X Θ Υ Σ. nostrum Jesum Christum in aqua nascimur. Tertul. de Bapt. c. 1. which is thus interpreted by Optatus, Cujus piscis nomen secundum appellationem Græcam in uno nomine per singulas literas turbam sanctorum nominum continet, ἰχθύς, quod est Latine, Jesus Christus Dei Filius Salvator, lib. 3.*

In these words there is little variety to be observed, except that what we translate the * *only Son*, that in the phrase of the Scripture and the Greek Church is, the *only begotten*. It is then sufficient for the explication of these words, to shew how *Christ* is the Son of God, and what is the peculiarity of his Generation; that when others are also the sons of God, he alone should so be his Son, as no other is or can be so; and therefore he alone should have the name of the *only begotten*.

* The Latines indeed, generally use the word Unicum. So *Ruffinus*, Et in unico filio ejus: which is so far from being in his appre-

hension the same with unigenitus, that he refers it as well to Lord as Son. *Hic ergo Jesus Christus, filius unicus Dei, qui est & Dominus noster unicus, & ad filium referri & ad dominam potest. So S. August. in Enchiridio, c. 34. and Leo, Epist. 10. Which is therefore to be observed, because in the ancient Copies of those Epistles, the word unicum was not to be found; as appears by the discourse of Vigilius, who, in the fourth Book against Eutyches, hath these words: Illa primicus uno diluens volumine quæ Leonis obijciuntur Epistolæ, cujus hoc sibi primo capitulum iste nescio quis proposuit; Fidelium Universitas profiteretur credere se in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, & in Jesum Christum, filium ejus, Dominum nostrum. That which he aims at is the tenth Epistle of Leo, in which those words are found, but with the addition of unicum, which, as it seems, then was not there; as appears yet further by the words which follow: Miror tamen quomodo hunc locum iste notavit, & illum prætermisit, ubi unici filii commemorationem idem beatus Leo facit, dicens, Idem verò sempiterni genitoris unigenitus sempiternus, natus de Spiritu S. ex Maria Virgine; which words are not to be found in the same Epistle. Howsoever it was in the first Copies of Leo; both *Ruffinus* and *S. Augustine*, who were before him, and *Maximus Taurinensis*, *Chrysologus*, *Etherius* and *Beatus*, who were later, read it, & in Jesum Christum, filium ejus unicum. But the word used in the Scriptures, and kept constantly by the Greeks is μονογενής, the only-begotten.*

First then, it cannot be denied that *Christ* is the *Son of God*, for that reason because he was by the Spirit of God born of the *Virgin Mary*; for that which is conceived (or || *begotten*) in her, by the testimony of an Angel, is of the *Holy Ghost*; and because of him, therefore the *Son of God*. For so spake the An-

|| For the original is τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθέν· and 'tis the observation of *S. Basil*, ἐκ εἰρη-

ταί, τὸ κληθέν, ἀλλὰ τὸ γεννηθέν. Indeed the vulgar translation renders it, quod in ea natum est, and in *S. Luke*, quod nati sunt sanctum; and it must be confessed this was the most ancient Translation. For so *Tertullian* read it, Per virginem dicitis na-

tum non ex virgine, & in vulva, non ex vulva, quia & Angelus in somnis ad Joseph, *Nam quod in ea natum est, inquit, de Sp. S. est.* De Carne Christi, c. 19. and of that in S. Luke. Hæc & ab Angelo exceperat secundum nostrum Evangelium, *Propterea quod in te nascerur vocabitur sanctum, filius Dei.* adv. Marcion. l. 4. c. 7. *Yet quod in ea natum est cannot be proper, while it is yet in the womb; nor can the child first be said to be born, and then that the mother shall bring it forth. 'Tis true indeed, ἄνωθεν signifies not always to beget, but some times to bear or bring forth; as ἡ γυνὴ ἣ ἐλισάβετ ἄνωθεν ἔσται σοι, Luke 1. 12. and v. 57. καὶ ἐγέννησε υἱόν. So τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ Ἰησοῦ ἄνωθεν ἐγεννήθη ἐν Βηθλεὲμ, Matth. 2. 1. must necessarily be understood of Christ's nativity, for it is most certain that he was not begotten or conceived at Bethlehem. And this without question must be the meaning of Herod's inquisition πῶς ὁ Χριστὸς ἄνωθεν γεννηθήσεται, where the Messias was to be born. But though ἄνωθεν have sometime the signification of bearing or bringing forth; yet τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ ἄνωθεν cannot be so interpreted, because it speaks of something as past, when as yet Christ was not born; and though the conception was already past, and we translate it so, which is conceived; yet S. Basil rejects that interpretation, γεννᾶν is one thing, συναιδέσθαι another. Seeing then the nativity was not yet come, and γεννηθῆναι speaks of something already past, therefore the old Translation is not good, quod in ea natum est. Seeing, though the Conception indeed were past, yet γεννᾶν signifieth not to conceive, and so is not properly to be interpreted, that which is conceived; seeing γεννᾶν is most properly to beget, as ἡ γεννητήριος the generative faculty: therefore I conceive the fittest interpretation of those words, τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθῆναι, that which is begotten in her. And because the Angel in S. Luke speaks of the same thing, therefore I interpret τὸ γεννώμενον ἐν σὺ, in the same manner, that which is begotten of thee.*

gel to the Virgin; *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee (or, which is begotten of thee) shall be called the Son of God.* And the reason is clear, because that the Holy Ghost is God. For were he any Creature, and not God himself, by whom our Saviour was thus born of the Virgin, he must have been the Son of a Creature, not of a God.

John 10. 34,
35, 36.

Secondly, it is undoubtedly true, that the same Christ, thus born of the Virgin by the Spirit of God, was designed to so high an Office by the special and immediate will of God, that by virtue thereof he must be acknowledged the Son of God. He urgeth this argument himself against the Jews; *Is it not written in your Law, I said, ye are Gods? Are not these the very words of the eighty second Psalm? If he called them gods, if God himself so spake, or the Psalmist from him. If this be the language of the Scripture, if they be called Gods unto whom the word of God came, (and the Scripture cannot be broken, nor the authority thereof in any particular denied;) Say ye of him whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world, whom he hath consecrated and commissioned to the most eminent and extraordinary Office, say ye of him, Thou blasphemest, because I said I am the Son of God.*

Acts 13. 33.

Thirdly, Christ must therefore be acknowledged the Son of God, because he is raised immediately by God out of the earth unto immortal life. *For God hath fulfilled the promise unto us, in that he hath raised up Jesus again; as it is also written in the second Psalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.* The grave is as the womb of the earth; Christ, who is raised from thence, is as it were begotten to another life; and God, who raised him, is his Father. So true it must needs be of him, which is spoken of others, who are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection. Thus was he defined, or constituted, and appointed the Son of God with power by the resurrection from the dead: neither is he called simply the first that rose, but with a note of generation, the first born from the dead.

Luke 20. 36.
Rom. 1. 4.

Col. 1. 18.

Heb. 1. 3, 4, 5.

Fourthly, Christ, after his resurrection from the dead, is made actually heir of all things in his Father's House, and Lord of all the Spirits which minister unto him, from whence he also hath the title of the Son of God. *He is set down on the right hand of the Majesty on high; Being made so much better than the Angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they. For unto which of the Angels said he at any time, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee?* From all which testimonies of the Scriptures it is evident, that Christ hath this fourfold right unto the Title of the Son of God: by generation, as begotten of God; by commission, as sent by him; by resurrection, as the first-born; by actual possession, as heir of all.

But beside these four, we must find yet a more peculiar ground of our Saviour's Filiation, totally distinct from any which belongs unto the rest of the Sons of God, that he may be clearly and fully acknowledged the *only begotten*

Son. For although to be born of a Virgin be in it self miraculous, and justly entitles *Christ* unto the *Son of God*; yet it is not so far above the production of all mankind, as to place him in that singular eminence which must be attributed to the only-begotten. We read of *Adam the Son of God*, as well as *Seth* Luke 3. 38. the Son of *Adam*: and surely the framing *Christ* out of a woman cannot so far transcend the making *Adam* out of the Earth, as to cause so great a distance as we must believe between the first and second *Adam*. Beside, there were many while our Saviour preached on earth who did believe his doctrine, and did confess him to be the *Son of God*, who in all probability understood nothing of his being born of a Virgin; much less did they foresee his rising from the dead, or inheriting all things. Wherefore supposing all these ways by which *Christ* is represented to us as the *Son of God*, we shall find out one more yet, far more proper in it self, and more peculiar unto him, in which no other Son can have the least pretence of share or of similitude, and consequently in respect of which we must confess him the *Only-begotten*.

To which purpose I observe, that the actual possession of his inheritance, which was our fourth title to his Sonship, presupposes his Resurrection, which was the third: and his commission to his Office, which was the second, presupposeth his generation of a Virgin, as the first. But I shall now endeavour to find another generation, by which the same *Christ* was begotten, and consequently a Son before he was conceived in the Virgin's womb. Which that I may be able to evince; I shall proceed in this following Method, as not only most facile and perspicuous, but also most convincing and conclusive. First, I will clearly prove out of the holy Scriptures, that *Jesus Christ*, born of the Virgin *Mary*, had an actual being or subsistence before the Holy Ghost did come upon the Virgin, or the power of the Highest did overshadow her. Secondly, I will demonstrate from the same Scriptures, that the being which he had antecedently to his conception in the Virgin's womb was not any created Being but essentially Divine. Thirdly, we will shew that the Divine essence which he had, he received as communicated to him by the Father. Fourthly, we will declare this Communication of the Divine nature to be a proper generation, by which he which communicateth is a proper Father, and he to whom it is communicated, a proper Son. Last, we will manifest that the Divine essence was never communicated in that manner to any person but to him, that never any was so begotten besides himself, and consequently, in respect of that Divine generation, he is most properly and perfectly *the only begotten Son of the Father*.

As for the first, that *Jesus Christ* had a real being or existence, by which he truly was, before he was conceived of the Virgin *Mary*. I thus demonstrate. He which was really in Heaven, and truly descended from thence, and came into the world from the Father, before that which was begotten of the Virgin ascended into Heaven or went unto the Father, he had a real being or existence before he was conceived in the Virgin, and distinct from that being which was conceived in her. This is most clear and evident, upon these three suppositions not to be denied. First, that *Christ* did receive no other being or nature after his Conception before his Ascension, than what was begotten of the Virgin. Secondly, that what was begotten of the Virgin had its first being here on Earth, and therefore could not really be in Heaven till it ascended thither. Thirdly, that what was really in Heaven, really was; because nothing can be present in any place, which is not. Upon these suppositions, certainly true, the first proposition cannot be denied. Wherefore I assume; *Jesus Christ* was really in Heaven, and truly descended from thence, and came into the World from the Father, before that which was begotten of

the Virgin ascended into Heaven, or went unto the Father ; as I shall particularly prove by the express words of the Scripture. Therefore I conclude, that *Jesus Christ* had a real being or existence before he was conceived in the Virgin, and distinct from that being which was conceived in her. Now that he was really in Heaven before he ascended thither, appeareth by his own words to his Disciples ; *What and if you shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before ?* For he speaketh of a real ascension, such as was to be seen or looked upon, such as they might view as Spectators. The place to which that ascension tended was truly and really the Heaven of heavens. The Verb substantive, not otherwise used, sufficiently testifieth, not a figurative, but a real, being, especially considering the opposition in the word *before*. Whether we look upon the time of speaking, then present, or the time of his ascension, then to come, his being or existing in Heaven was *before*. Nor is this now at last denied, that he was in Heaven before the ascension mentioned in these words, but that he was there before he ascended at all. We shall therefore farther shew that this ascension was the first ; that what was born of the Virgin was never in Heaven before this time of which he speaks : and being in Heaven before this ascension, he must be acknowledged to have been there before he ascended at all. If Christ had ascended into Heaven before his death, and descended from thence, it had been the most remarkable action in all his life, and the proof thereof of the greatest efficacy toward the disseminating of the Gospel. And can we imagine so Divine an action of so high concernment could have passed, and none of the Evangelists ever make mention of it ? Those which are so diligent in the description of his Nativity and Circumcision, his oblation in the Temple, his reception by *Symeon*, his adoration by the Wise men ; those which have described his descent into *Aegypt* ; would they have omitted his ascent into Heaven ? Do they tell us of the wisdom which he shewed when he disputed with the Doctors ? and were it not worthy our knowledge whether it were before he was in Heaven or after ? The diligent seeking of *Joseph* and *Mary*, and her words when they found him, *Son, why hast thou dealt so with us ?* shew that he had not been missing from them till then, and consequently not ascended into Heaven. After that he went down to *Nazareth*, and was subject unto them : and I understand not how he should ascend into Heaven, and at the same time be subject to them ; or there receive his Commission and Instructions as the great Legate of God, or Embassador from Heaven, and return again unto his old subjection ; and afterwards to go to *John* to be baptized of him, and to expect the descent of the Spirit for his Inauguration. Immediately from *Jordan* he is carried into the Wilderness to be tempted of the Devil : and 'twere strange if any time could then be found for his Ascension : for *he was forty days in the Wilderness*, and certainly Heaven is no such kind of place ; he was all that time *with the beasts*, who undoubtedly are none of the celestial Hierarchy ; and *tempted of Satan*, whose dominion reacheth no higher than the Air. Wherefore in those forty days *Christ* ascended not into Heaven, but rather Heaven descended unto him ; for *the Angels ministred unto him*. After this *he returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee*, and there exercised his Prophetical Office : after which there is not the least pretence of any reason for his Ascension. Beside, the whole frame of this antecedent or preparatory Ascension of *Christ* is not only raised without any written testimony of the Word, or unwritten testimony of Tradition, but is without any reason in it self, and contrary to the revealed way of our Redemption. For what reason should *Christ* ascend into Heaven to know the will of God, and not be known to ascend thither ? Certainly the Father could reveal his will unto the Son as well on earth as in Heaven.

John 6. 62.
θεωρήτε ὡς
it came to pass,
ἐλεπόντων αὐ-
τοῦ ἐπιβῆναι.
Acts 1. 9.
ὁ οὐρανὸς ἦν.

Luke 2. 48.

Mark 1. 13.

Mark 1. 13.
Luke 4. 14.

ven. And if men must be ignorant of his ascension, to what purpose should they say he ascended, except they imagine either an impotency in the Father, or dissatisfaction in the Son? Nor is this only asserted without reason, but also against that rule to be observed by *Christ* as he was anointed to the Sacerdotal Office. For the Holy of holies *made with hands* was the figure of the true (that is, *Heaven it self*) into which the High-priest alone went once every year: and *Christ* as our High-priest *entred in once into the holy place*. If then they deny *Christ* was a Priest before he *preached the Gospel*, then did he not enter into Heaven, because the High-priest alone went into the type thereof, the Holy of holies. If they confess he was, then did he not ascend till after his death, because he was to enter in but *once*, and that not without Blood. Wherefore being *Christ* ascended not into Heaven till after his death, being he certainly was in Heaven before that ascension, we have sufficiently made good that part of our Argument, that *Jesus Christ* was in Heaven before that which was begotten of the Virgin ascended thither. Now that which followeth will both illustrate and confirm it; for as he was there, so he descended from thence before he ascended thither. This he often testifieth and inculcated of himself: *The bread of God is he which cometh down from heaven*; and, *I am the living bread which came down from heaven*. He opposeth himself unto the Manna in the Wilderness, which never was really in Heaven, or had its Original from thence. *Moses gave you not that bread from heaven*, but the Father gave *Christ* really from thence. Wherefore he saith, *I came down from heaven not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me*. Now never any person upon any occasion is said to descend from Heaven, but such as were really there before they appeared on earth, as the Father, the Holy Ghost, and the Angels: but no man, however born, however sanctified, sent, or dignified, is said thereby to descend from thence; but rather when any is opposed to *Christ*, the opposition is placed in this very origination. *John* the Baptist was filled with the holy Ghost even from his mother's womb; born of an aged Father and a barren Mother, by the power of God: and yet he distinguisheth himself from *Christ* in this; *He that cometh from above is above all: he that is of the earth is earthy*, and speaketh of the earth; *he that cometh from heaven is above all*. *Adam* was framed immediately by God, without the intervention of man or woman; and yet he is so far from being thereby from Heaven, that even in that he is distinguished from the second *Adam*. For *the first man is of the earth earthy, the second man is the Lord from heaven*. Wherefore the descent of *Christ* from Heaven doth really presuppose his being there, and that antecedently to any ascent thither. For *that he ascended, what is it, but that he also descended first?* So *S. Paul*, asserting a descent as necessarily preceding his ascension, teacheth us never to imagine an ascent of *Christ* as his first motion between heaven and earth; and consequently, that the first being or existence which *Christ* had was not what he received by his conception here on earth, but what he had before in heaven, in respect whereof he was with the Father, from whom he came. His Disciples believed that he *came out from God*: and he commended that Faith, and confirmed the object of it by this assertion; *I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world; again, I leave the world and go to the Father*. Thus having by undoubted testimonies, made good the latter part of the Argument, I may safely conclude, that being *Christ* was really in Heaven, and descended from thence, and came forth from the Father, before that which was conceived of the Holy Ghost ascended thither; it cannot with any shew of reason be denied, that *Christ* had a real being and existence antecedent unto his conception here on earth, and distinct from the being which he received here.

Secondly, we shall prove not only a bare priority of existence, but a pre-
existence

Heb. 9. 24.
7.
12.

Job. 6. 33, 51.

Verse 32.

Verse 38.

Luke 1. 15.

John 3. 31.

1 Cor. 15. 47.

Eph. 4. 9.

John. 16. 27, 28.

existence of some certain and acknowledged space of duration. For whosoever was before *John* the Baptist and before *Abraham*, was some space of time before *Christ* was man. This no man can deny, because all must confess the blessed Virgin was first saluted by the Angels six months after *Elizabeth* conceived, and many hundred years after *Abraham* died. But *Jesus Christ* was really existent before *John* the Baptist, and before *Abraham*, as we shall make good by the testimony of the Scriptures. Therefore it cannot be denied but *Christ* had a real being and existence some space of time before he was made man. For the first, it is the express testimony of *John* himself; *This is he of whom I spake, He that cometh after me is preferred before me, for he was before me.* In which words, First, he taketh to himself a priority of time, speaking of *Christ*, *he that cometh after me*: for so he came after him into the womb, at his Conception, into the world, at his Nativity; unto his Office, at his Baptism; always after *John*, and at the same distance. Secondly, he attributeth unto *Christ* a priority of dignity, saying, *he is preferred before me*, as appeareth by the reiteration of these words; *He it is who coming after me, is preferred before me, whose shoes latchet I am not worthy to unloose.* The addition of which expression of his own unworthiness sheweth, that to be preferred before him is the same with being worthier than he, to which the same expression is constantly added by all the other three Evangelists. Thirdly, he rendreth the reason or cause of that great dignity which belonged to *Christ*, saying, *for, or rather, because he was before me.* And being the cause must be supposed different and distinct from the effect, therefore the priority last mentioned cannot be that of dignity. For to assign any thing as the cause or reason of it self, is a great absurdity, and the expression of it a vain tautology. Wherefore that priority must have relation to time or duration, (as the very tense, *he was before me*, sufficiently signifieth) and so be placed in opposition to his coming after him. As if *John* the Baptist had thus spoke at large: This man *Christ Jesus*, who came into the world, and entred on his Prophetical Office six months after me, is notwithstanding of far more worth and greater dignity than I am; even so much greater, that I must acknowledge my self unworthy to stoop down and unloose the latchet of his shoes: and the reason of this transcendent dignity is from the excellency of that nature which he had before I was; for though he cometh after me, yet he was before me.

Now as *Christ* was before *John*, which speaks a small, so was he also before *Abraham*, which speaks a larger time. *Jesus* himself hath asserted this pre-existence to the Jews; *Verily, verily, I say unto you, Before Abraham was I am.* Which words, plainly and literally expounded, must evidently contain this truth. For first, *Abraham* in all the Scriptures never hath any other signification than such as denotes the person called by that name; and the question to which these words are directed by way of answer without controversie, spake of the same person. Beside, *Abraham* must be the subject of that proposition, *Abraham was*; because a proposition cannot be without a subject, and if *Abraham* be the predicate, there is none. Again, as we translate *Abraham was*, in a tense signifying the time past; so it is most certainly to be understood, because that which he speaks unto, is the pre-existence of *Abraham*, and that of long duration; so that whatsoever had concerned his present estate or future condition had been wholly impertinent to the precedent question. Lastly, the expression, *I am*, seeming something unusual or improper to signify a priority in respect of any thing past, because no present instant is before that which precedeth, but that which followeth: yet the *use of it sufficient-

* S; Nonus here more briefly and plainly than usual: Αὐτὸς μὲν

πεινωμένος ἔχεν, ἐγὼ πείλω. So Joh. 14. 9. τοσούτον χρόνον μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι, καὶ ἐκ ἕγνωκάς με; Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me? and Joh. 15. 27. Ἐτι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μετ' ἐμῆ ἔσεε, because ye have been (or continued

tinued) with me from the beginning. Thus Nonnus, Εξ αρχῆς γεγαῶτες ὄλων θνήτορες ἔργων. John 6. 24. Ὅτε ἐν εἰδεν ὁ ὄχλος ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐκεῖ ἔστιν ἐκεῖ. When the people saw that Jesus was not there. Nor only doth S. John use thus the present tense for that which is past, but as frequently for that which is to come. For as before, τοῦτον χρόνον μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι, so on the contrary ἐτι μικρὸν χρόνον μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι, John 7. 33. and ὅπου εἰμι ἐγώ, ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ δίακονος ὁ ἐμὸς ἔσται, John 12. 26. 14. 30. 17. 24. Wherefore it is very indifferent whether (John 7. 34.) we read, ὅπου εἰμι ἐγώ, or ὅπου εἰμι. For Nonnus seems to have read εἰμι by his translation, εἰς ἀτρεπὸν ὡς ὁ δὲ δῶσω. and the question, πῶς ἔτος μένει πορεύσομαι; shews they understood it so: for this εἰμι, though of a present form, is of a future signification. Hesych. Εἰμι, πορεύσομαι. And so it agreeth with that which follows, John 8. 21. ὅπου ἐγώ πορεύσομαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ οἴσθε ἐλθεῖν. If we read εἰμι, as the old translation, ubi ego sum, it will have the force of ἔσομαι, and agree with the other, ἵνα ὅπου εἰμι ἐγώ, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἦτε. Howsoever it is clear, S. John useth the present εἰμι either in relation to what is past, or what is to come, and is therefore to be interpreted as the matter in hand requireth. And we find the present tense in the same manner joyned with the Aorist, elsewhere: as Psal. 90. 2. πρὸ τῆς ὄρου γῆθεναι, καὶ πλασθῆναι τῆ γῆν καὶ τὸ οἰκοδομηθῆναι, καὶ ἀπὸ αἰῶνος ἕως τῆς αἰῶνος, σὺ εἶ. What can be more parallel than, πρὸ τῆς ὄρου γῆθεναι, το πλεῖν Ἀβραάμ ἠοῦδαί, and σὺ εἶ, το, ἐγώ εἰμι; In the same manner, though by another word, πρὸ τῆς ὄρου ἐδέξαθῆναι, πρὸ τῶ πάντων βενῶν, ἡσὸν μὲ, Prov. 8. 25.

ly maintaineth, and the nature of the place absolutely requireth, that it should not here denote a present being, but a priority of existence, together with a continuation of it till the present time. And then the words will plainly signify thus much: Do you question how I could see Abraham, who am not yet fifty years old? Verily, verily, I say unto you, || Before ever Abraham, the person whom you speak of, was born, I had a real being and existence, (by which I was capable of the sight of him) in which I have continued until now. In this sense certainly the Jews understood our Saviour's answer, as pertinent to their question, but in their opinion blasphemous; and therefore they took up stones to cast at him.

|| So the Ethiopic Version, Armen dico vobis, priusquam Abraham nasceretur, fui ego; and the Persian, Vere, vere vobis dico, quod nondum Abraham factus erat, cum ego eram.

* This is the shift of the Socinians, who make this speech of Christ elliptical, and then supply it from the 12. Verse.

I am the light of the world. Quod vero ea verba, Ego sum, sint ad eum modum supplenda, ac si ipse subiecisset eis, Ego sum lux mundi, superius principio ejus orationis, v. 12. & hinc quod Christus his se ipsum iisdem, Ego sum, lucem mundi vocaverit, v. 24. & 28. deprehendi potest Catech. Jacov. Whereas there is no ground for any such connection. That discourse of the light of the

This literal and plain explication is yet farther necessary; because those which once recede from it, do not only wrest and pervert the place, but also invent and suggest an answer unworthy of and wholly misbecoming him that spake it. For (setting aside the addition, of the light of the world, which there can be no * shew or reason to admit;) whether they interpret the former part (before Abraham was) of something to come, as the calling of the Gentiles, or the latter (I am) of a pre-existence in the Divine foreknowledge and appointment; they represent Christ with a great asseveration highly and strongly asserting that which is nothing to the purpose to which he speaks, nothing to any other purpose at all: and they propound the Jews senselessly offended and foolishly exasperated with those words, which any of them might have spoken as well as he. For the first interpretation makes our Saviour thus to speak: Do ye so much wonder how I should have seen Abraham, who am not yet fifty years old? Do ye imagine so great a contradiction in this? I tell you, and be ye most assured that what I speak unto you at this time is most certainly and infallibly true, and most worthy of your observation, which moves me not to deliver it without this solemn asseveration, (Verily, verily, I say unto you) Before Abraham shall perfectly become that which was signified in his name, the father of many Nations, before the Gentiles shall come in, I am. Nor be ye troubled at this answer, or think in this I magnifie my self: for what I speak is as true of you as 'tis of me; before Abraham be thus made Abraham, ye are. Doubt ye not therefore, as ye did, nor ever make that question again, whether I have seen Abraham. The second explication makes a sense of another nature, but with the same impertinency. Do ye continue still to question, and that with so much admiration? Do you look upon my age, and ask, Hast thou seen Abraham? I confess 'tis more than eighteen hundred years since that Patriarch died, and less than forty since I was born at Bethlehem: but look not on

world was in the treasury, v 20. that which followeth was not, at least appeareth not to be so. Therefore the ellipsis of the 24. and 28. verses is not to be supplied by the 12, but the 24, from the 23. ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἥσος, and the 28. either from the same, or that which is most general, his Office, ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἥσος. Again, v. 31. 'tis very probable that a new discourse is again begun, and therefore if there were an ellipsis in the words alledged, it would have no relation to either of the former supplies, or if to either to the latter; but indeed it hath to neither.

this computation, for before *Abraham* was born, I was. But mistake me not, I mean in the foreknowledge and decree of God. Nor do I magnifie myself in this, for ye were so. How either of these answers should give any reasonable satisfaction to the question, or the least occasion of the *Jews* exasperation, is not to be understood. And that our Saviour should speak any such impertinences as these interpretations bring forth, is not by a Christian to be conceived. Wherefore being the plain and most obvious sense is a proper and full answer to the question, and most likely to exasperate the unbelieving *Jews*; being those strained explications render the words of *Christ*, not only impertinent to the occasion, but vain and useless to the hearers of them; being our Saviour gave this answer in words of another language, most probably incapable of any such interpretations: We must adhere unto that literal sense already delivered, by which it appeareth *Christ* had a being as before *John*, so also before *Abraham*, (not only before *Abram* became *Abraham*, but before *Abraham* was *Abram*) and consequently that he did exist two thousand years before he was born, or conceived by the Virgin.

Thirdly, we shall extend this pre-existence to a far longer space of time, to the end of the first world, nay, to the beginning of it. For he which was before the Flood, and at the Creation of the world, had a being before he was conceived by the Virgin. But *Christ* was really before the Flood, for he preached to them that lived before it; and at the Creation of the world, for he created it. That he preached to those before the Flood, is evident by the words of *S. Peter*, who saith, that *Christ* was put to death in the *Flesh*, but quickened by the Spirit; By which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison, which sometimes were disobedient, when once the long-suffering of God waited in the days of *Noah*, while the Ark was a preparing. From which words it appeareth, that *Christ* preached by the same Spirit by the vertue of which he was raised from the dead: but that Spirit was not his Soul, but something of a greater power. Secondly, that those to whom he preached were such as were disobedient. Thirdly, that the time when they were disobedient was the time before the Flood, while the Ark was preparing. It is certain then that *Christ* did preach unto those persons which in the days of *Noah* were disobedient all that time the long-suffering of God waited, and, consequently, so long as repentance was offered. And it is as certain that he never preached to them after they died; which I shall not need here to prove, because those against whom I bring this Argument deny it not. It followeth therefore, that he preached to them while they lived, and were disobedient; for in the refusing of that mercy which was offered to them by the preaching of *Christ*, did their disobedience principally consist. In vain then are we taught to understand *S. Peter* of the promulgation of the Gospel to the Gentiles after the Holy Ghost descended upon the Apostles, when the words themselves refuse all relation to any such times or persons. For all those of whom *S. Peter* speaks, were disobedient in the days of *Noah*. But none of those to whom the Apostles preached, were ever disobedient in the days of *Noah*. Therefore none of those to which the Apostles preached were any of those of which *S. Peter* speaks. It remaineth therefore that the plain interpretation be acknowledged for the true, that *Christ* did preach unto those men which lived before the Flood, even while they lived, and consequently that he was before it. For though this was not done by an immediate act of the Son of God, as if he personally had appeared on earth, and actually preached to that old world; but
by

1 Pet. 3. 18,
19, 20.

Ἀπεθήσασί
ποτε, ὅτε ἄ-
παξ ἐξεδέχε-
το ἡ σὰ θεῶν
μακροθυμία
ἐν ἡμέραις
Νῶε.

by the *ministry of a Prophet, by the sending of Noah, the eighth preacher of righteousness : yet to do any thing by another not able to perform it without him, as much demonstrates the existence of the principal cause, as if he did it of himself without any intervening instrument.

* Prophetæ ab ipso habentes donum in illum prophetaverunt. Barnabæ Epist.

1 2 Pet. 2. 5. I have thus translated this place of S. Peter, because it may add some advantage to the argument : for if Noah were the eighth Preacher of righteousness, and he were sent by the Son of God; no man, I conceive, will deny that the seven before him were sent by the same Son : and so by this we have gained the pre-existence of another 1000. years. However these words, ἀλλ' ὄγδοον Νῶε δικαιοσύνης κήρυκα ἠφύλαξε, may be better interpreted than they are, when we translate them, but saved Noah the eighth person a preacher of righteousness. For, first, if we look upon the Greek phrase ὄγδοον Νῶε may be not the eighth person, but one of eight, or Noah with seven more; in which it signifieth not the order in which he was in respect of the rest, but only signifieth the number which were with him. As when we read in the Supplices of Æschylus, Τὸ γὰρ τεκόντων σέβας, Τρίτον τὸ δ' οὐ Δεσμίοις Δίκας γέγραπται μὲν γισοίμην, we must not understand it, as if Honour due to Parents were the third Commandment at Athens, but one of the three remarkable Laws left at Eleusis by Triptolemus. So Porphyrius, Φασὶ δὲ καὶ Τριπτόλεμον Ἀθωαίοις νομοθετήσαι, καὶ ἦν ὁ μὲν αὐτὸν τρεῖς ἔτι Ξενοκράτους ὁ φιλόσοφος λέγει διμῶνεν Ἑλθεσίνι τὸν δεῖον Γονῶν τιμῶν. Θὰς καρποῖς ἀγάλλειν. Ζῶα μὴ σίνεσθαι. De abstinent. l. 4. Which words are thus translated by S. Hierome, who hath made use of most part of that fourth Book of Porphyrius: Xenocrates Philosophus de Triptolemi legibus apud Athenienses triarantum præcepta in Templo Eleusinae residere scribit; Honorandos Parentes, Venerandos Deos, Carnibus non vescendum. Adv. Jovinian. l. 2. Where we see Honour due to Parents the first precept, though by Æschylus called the third, not in respect of the order, but the number. Thus Dinarchus the Orator, Καὶ τὰς Σεμνὰς θεὰς ἃς ἐκείνος ἱεροποιὸς καλεσὰς δέκατον αὐτῶν. From whence we must not collect that the person of whom he speaks was the tenth in order of that Office, so that nine were necessarily before or above him, and many more might be after or below him: but from hence it is inferred, that there were ten ἱεροποιοὶ waiting on the Σεμνὰς θεὰς, and no more, of which number that man was one. After this manner speak the Attick Writers, especially Thucydides. And so we may understand S. Peter, that God preserved Noah (a preacher of righteousness) with seven more, of which he deserveth to be named the first, rather than the last or eighth. But, secondly, the Ordinal ὄγδοον may possibly not belong to the name or person of Noah, but to his title or office; and then we must translate, ὄγδοον Νῶε δικαιοσύνης κήρυκα, Noah the eighth preacher of righteousness. For we read at the birth of Enos, that men began to call upon the name of the Lord, Gen. 4. 26. which the ancients understood peculiarly of his person: as the LXX. ἔταθ' ἠλπίσεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ, and the vulgar Latine, Iste coepit invocare nomen Domini. The Jews have a tradition, that God sent in the Sea upon mankind in the days of Enos, and destroyed many. From whence it seems Enos was a Preacher or Prophet, and so the rest that followed him; and then Noah is the eighth.

The second part of the Argument, that Christ made this world, and consequently had a real being at the beginning of it, the Scriptures manifestly and plentifully assure us. For the same Son, by whom in these last days God spake unto us, is he by whom also he made the worlds. So that as through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so must we * also believe that they were made by the Son of God. Which the Apostle doth not only in the entrance of his Epistle deliver, but in the sequel prove. For shewing greater things have been spoken of him than ever were attributed to any of the Angels, the most glorious of all the Creatures of God; amongst the rest he saith, the Scripture spake unto the Son, Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever. And not only so, but also, Thou Lord in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the work of thine hands. They shall perish, but thou remainest: and they shall wax old as doth a garment; and as a vesture shalt thou fold them up, and they shall be changed; but thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail. Now whatsoever the person be to whom these words were spoken, it cannot be denied but he was the Creator of the world. For he must be acknowledged the maker of the earth, who laid the foundation of it; and he may justly challenge to himself the making of the Heavens, who can say they are the work of his hands. But these words were spoken to the Son of God, as the Apostle himself acknowledgeth; and it appeareth out of the order and series of the Chapter; the design of which is to declare the supereminent excellency of our Saviour Christ. Nay, the conjunction And refers this place of the Psalmist * plainly to the former, of which he had said expressly, but unto the Son he saith. As sure then as thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever, was said unto the Son: so certain it is, Thou, Lord, hast laid the foundation of the earth, was said unto the same. Nor is it possible to avoid the

Heb. 1. 2.
Heb. 11. 3.
* It being in both places expressed in the same phrase by the same Author δι' ἐκείνου αἰῶνας ἐποίησεν, Heb. 1. 2. πᾶσαι νοῦν καὶ τῆς γῆς αἰῶνας ᾤμαρτε Θεῶν.
1 Heb. 1. 8, 10; 11, 12.

Comma after Καὶ in the Greek, and Et in the Latine. And whereas it is evident that there are distinctions in the Latine and Greek Copies after that Conjunction, he flies to the ancientest Copies, which all men know were most carelest of distinctions, and urgeth that there is no addition of et or the like after Et; whereas in the Syriack Translation we find expressly that addition

*The Answer of Socinus to this Conjunction is very weak, relying only upon the want of a
Apostle's

Apostle's connexion by attributing the destruction of the Heavens, out of the last words, to the Son, and denying the Creation of them, out of the first, to the same. For it is most evident that there is but one person spoken to, and that the Destruction and the Creation of the Heavens are both attributed to the same. Whosoever therefore shall grant that the Apostle produced this Scripture to shew that the Son of God shall destroy the Heavens, must withal acknowledge that he created them: whosoever denieth him to be here spoken of as the Creatour, must also deny him to be understood as the Destroyer. Wherefore being the words of the Psalmist were undoubtedly spoken of and to our Saviour, (or else the Apostle hath attributed that unto him which never belonged to him, and consequently the spirit of *S. Paul* mistook the spirit of *David*;) being to whomsoever any part of them belongs, the whole is applicable, because they are delivered unto one; being the literal exposition is so clear that no man hath ever pretended to a metaphorical: it remaineth as an undeniable truth, grounded upon the profession of the Psalmist, and the interpretation of an Apostle, that the Son of God created the world. Nor needed we so long to have insisted upon this testimony, because there are so many which testify as much, but only that this is of a peculiar nature and different from the rest. For they which deny this truth of the Creation of the world by the Son of God, notwithstanding all those Scriptures produced to confirm it, have found two ways to avoid or decline the force of them. If they speak so plainly and literally of the work of Creation, that they will not endure any figurative interpretation, then they endeavour to shew that they are not spoken of the Son of God. If they speak so expressly of our Saviour *Christ*, as that by no machination they can be applied to any other person, then their whole design is to make the Creation attributed unto him appear to be merely metaphorical. The place before alledged is of the first kind, which speaketh so clearly of the Creation or real production of the world, that they never denied it: and I have so manifestly shewed it spoken to the Son of God, that it is beyond all possibility of gain-saying.

Thus having asserted the Creation acknowledged real unto *Christ*, we shall the easier persuade that likewise to be such which is pretended to be metaphorical. In the Epistle to the *Colossians* we read of the Son of God, *in whom we have redemption through his blood*; and we are sure those words can be spoken of none other than *Jesus Christ*. He therefore it must be who was thus described by the Apostle; *who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature. For by him were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible; whether they be thrones or dominions, or principalities or powers: all things were created by him, and for him. And he is before all things, and by him all things consist.* In which words our Saviour is expressly styled the *first-born of every Creature*, that is, begotten by God, as the *Son of his love*, antecedently to all other emanations, before any thing proceeded from him, or was framed and created by him. And that precedency is presently proved by this undeniable Argument, that all other emanations or productions came from him, and whatsoever received its being by Creation, was by him created. Which assertion is delivered in the most proper, full, and pregnant expressions imaginable. First, in the vulgar phrase of *Moses*, as most consonant to his description; *for by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth*; signifying thereby, that he speaketh of the same Creation. Secondly, by a division which *Moses* never used, as

|| The first born of every creature is taken by Origen for an expression declaring the Divinity of Christ, and used by him as a phrase in opposition to his Humanity to express the same.

Ἐλέγομαι ὃ ἔστι ἐν τοῖς ἀγαπέ-

ρω, ὅτι αἱ μὲν τινες εἰσὶ φωναὶ τῶ ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, ὡς ἢ, Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἢ ὁ θεός. καὶ ἢ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἢ ζωὴ. καὶ αἱ τέρας παραπλήσιαι· αἱ ὅ τῶ κατ' αὐτὸν νοσηρὸν ἀνθρώπου, ὡς ἢ, Νῦν δέ, με ζητεῖτε σκοπεῖναι, ἀνθρώπου ὅς τιν' ἀλλήθειαν ὑμῖν λελάληκα. lib. 2. adv. Celsum. * In relation to the precedent words, τῶ εἶναι ἢ ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ, for that ἡδὲ ἀγαπῆτος was the ἡδὲ πρωτότοκος.

descri-

describing the production only of corporeal substances : lest therefore those immaterial beings might seem exempted from the Son's creation, because omitted in *Moses* his description, he addeth *visible and invisible* ; and lest in that invisible world, among the many degrees of the celestial Hierarchy, any Order might seem exempted from an essential dependence upon him, he nameth those which are of greatest eminence, *whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers*, and under them comprehendeth all the rest. Nor doth it yet suffice, thus to extend the object of his power by asserting all things to be made by him, except it be so understood as to acknowledge the sovereignty of his Person, and the authority of his Action. For lest we should conceive the Son of God framing the World as a meer instrumental cause which worketh by and for another, he sheweth himself as well the final as the efficient cause ; for *all things were created by him, and for him*. Lastly, whereas all things first receive their being by creation, and when they have received it, continue in the same by virtue of God's conservation, *in whom we live, and move, and have our being* ; lest in any thing we should be thought not to depend immediately upon the Son of God, he is described as the Conserver, as well as the Creatour ; for *he is before all things, and by him all things consist*. If then we consider the two last cited verses by themselves, we cannot deny but they are a most compleat description of the Creatour of the World ; and if they were spoken of God the Father, could be no way injurious to his Majesty, who is no-where more plainly or fully set forth unto us as the Maker of the World.

Now although this were sufficient to perswade us to interpret this place of the making of the world, yet it will not be unfit to make use of another reason, which will compel us so to understand it. For undoubtedly there are but two kinds of Creation in the language of the Scriptures, the one literal, the other metaphorical; one old, the other new; one by way of formation, the other by way of reformation. *If any man be in Christ he is a new creature*, saith S. Paul; and again, *In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature*. In stead of which words he had before, *faith working by love. For we are the workmanship of God, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them*. From whence it is evident, that a new creature is such a person as truly believeth in *Christ*, and manifesteth that faith by the exercise of good works; and the new creation is the reforming or bringing man into this new condition, which by nature or his first creation he was not in. And therefore he which is so created is called a new man, in opposition to *the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts* : From whence the Apostle chargeth us to be *renewed in the spirit of our mind*, and to *put on that new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness* ; and *which is renewed in knowledge, after the image of him that created him*. The new creation then is described to us as consisting wholly in * renovation, or a translation from a worse unto a better condition by way of reformation ; by which those which have lost the image of God, in which the first man was created, are restored to the image of the same God again, by a real change, though not substantial, wrought within them. Now this being the notion of the new creation in all those places which undoubtedly and confessedly speak of it, it will be necessary to apply it unto such Scriptures as are pretended to require the same interpretation. Thus therefore I proceed. If the second or new creation cannot be meant by the Apostle in the

2 Cor. 5. 17.
Gal. 6. 15. and
5. 6.

Ephes. 2. 10.

Ephes. 4. 22;
23, 24.

Col. 3. 10.

* Ἀνανέωσις
or ἀνακαίνω-
σις as the new
man νέος ἄν-
θρωπος, or
καινὸς ἄνθρω-
πος. The first
ὁ ἀνανεώσιμος,
the last ὁ ἀνα-
καινέσιμος,
both the same.
Suidas, Ἀνα-

κωνισις, ἢ ἀνανέωσις λέγεται ἢ ἀνακαίνωσις which is the language of the new Testament. This Renovation being thus called καινὴ κτίσις, the Ancients framed a proper word for it, which is, ἀνάκλισις ἐν ἣ γίνεσθαι πάντων ἧς ἐστὶ ἀνθρώπου καὶ ψυχῆ καὶ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα κακῶν ἀναίρεσις. Just. Qu. & Resp. ad Græcos. This new creation doth so necessarily infer an alteration, that it is called by S. Paul a Metamorphosis ; μεταμορφῶδε τῆ ἀνακαίνωσις τῶ νοῦ ὑμῶν. Rom. 12. 2.

place produced out of the Epistle to the *Colossians*, then it must be interpreted of the first. For there are but two kinds of Creation mentioned in the Scriptures, and one of them is there expressly named. But the place of the Apostle can no way admit an interpretation by the new Creation, as will thus appear: The object of the Creation, mentioned in this place, is of as great latitude and universality as the object of the first Creation, not only expressed, but implied, by *Moses*. But the object of the new Creation is not of the same latitude with that of the old. Therefore that which is mentioned here cannot be the new Creation. For certainly if we reflect upon the true notion of the new Creation, it necessarily and essentially includes an opposition to a former worse condition, as the new man is always opposed to the old; and if *Adam* had continued still in innocency, there could have been no such distinction between the old man and the new, or the old and new Creation. Being then all men become not new, being there is no new Creature but such whose faith worketh by love, being so many millions of men have neither faith nor love; it cannot be said that by *Christ* all things were created anew that are in heaven and that are in earth, when the greatest part of mankind have no share in the new Creation. Again, we cannot imagine that the Apostle should speak of the Creation in a general word, intending thereby only the new, and while he doth so, express particularly and especially those parts of the old Creation which are incapable of the new, or at least have no relation to it. The Angels are all either good or bad: but whether they be bad, they can never be good again, nor did *Christ* come to redeem the Devils; or whether they be good, they were always such, nor were they so by the virtue of *Christ's* Incarnation, for he took not on him the nature of Angels. We acknowledge in mankind a new Creation, because an old man becomes a new; but there is no such notion in the Celestial Hierarchy, because no old and new Angels: they which fell, are fallen for eternity; they which stand, always stood, and shall stand for ever. Where then are the regenerated *thrones and dominions*? where are the recreated *principalities and powers*? All those Angels of whatsoever degrees were created by the Son of God, as the Apostle expressly affirms. But they were never created by a new Creation unto true holiness and righteousness, because they always were truly righteous and holy ever since their first creation. Therefore except we could yet invent another Creation, which were neither the old nor the new, we must conclude, that all the Angels were at first created by the Son of God; and as they, so all things else, especially Man, whose creation || all the first Writers of the Church of God expressly attribute unto the Son, asserting that those words, *Let us make man*, were spoken as by the Father unto him.

|| Ad hoc Dominus sustinuit pati pro anima nostra, cum sit orbis Terra-

tum Dominus, cui dixit die ante constitutionem Seculi, *Faciamus hominem ad imaginem & similitudinem nostram*. Barnabas *Epist.* c. 4. and again, λέγει ἡ γραφή περὶ ἡμῶν ὡς λέγει τὸ Ἱωῶ, Ποιήσωμεν κατ' εἰκόνα, (στ. c. 5. Ἐγκαλέμησεν Ἰσραὴλ οἱς τῶτον μὴ νομίσασιν Θεὸν ὑπὸ τῆς προφητῆς πολλαχῆ μεμαρτυρημένον ὡς μεγάλῳ ὄντι δυνάμει καὶ Θεῶν, καὶ τῆς ὄλων Θεῶν καὶ Πατέρων τῶτον γὰρ φαίμεν ἐν τῇ κτ' Μασσαῖα κοσμοποιεῖα προσάγοντα τὸ Πατέρα εἰρηκέναι τὸ, Γεννηθῆτω ὄντι καὶ Γεννηθῆτω σπέρματι καὶ τάλουτὰ, ὅσα προσέταξεν ὁ Θεὸς γενέσθαι καὶ τῶν εἰρηκέναι τὸ, Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν ἡμετέραν. Οὐίγ. αὐ. Celsum, l. 2.

Nor need we doubt of this Interpretation, or the Doctrine arising from it, seeing it is so clearly delivered by *S. John*: *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made.* Whereas we have proved *Christ* had a being before he was conceived by the *Virgin Mary*, because he was at the beginning of the world and have also proved that he was at the beginning of the world, because he made it; this place of *S. John* gives a sufficient testimony to the truth of both the

Joh. 1. 1, 2, 3.

πρὸ λόγου ἴδν, De Agricult. He attributes the creation of the world to this Λόγος, whom he terms ὄργανον Θεῶ, δὲ ἴ (ὁ κόσμος) καὶ σακλάσσω, De Flammeo gladio. Σκια δὲ Θεῶ ὁ Λόγος αὐτῶ ὄντιν, ὃ καθάπερ ὄργανον προσχευσαύτως ἐκασμοτοίαι Idem, Allegor. l. . Where we must observe, though Philo makes h the Λόγος of whom he speaks as instrumental in the Creation of the world; yet he taketh it not for a bare expression of the will of God, but for a God, though in the second degree, and expressly for the Son of God. Nor ought we to look on Philo Judæus in this as a Platonist, but merely, as a Jew, who refers his whole Doctrine of this Λόγος to the first chapter of Genesis. And the rest of the Jews before him, who had no such knowledge out of Plato's School used the same notion. For as Isai. 48. 13. the hand of God, is by the Chaldee Paraphrast translated the Word of God: so in the book of Wisdom, ἡ παντοδύναμος (ἡ χεὶρ ἡ κλίσασα ἢ κόσμον. Sap. 11. 17. is changed into ὁ παντοδύναμος σε λόφος ἀπ' ἐναντίον, 18. 15. and Siracides 43. 26. Ἐν λόγῳ αὐτῶ σύγκειται πάντα. Nay, the Septuagint hath changed Shaddai, the undoubted name of the omnipotent God, into Λόφος the Word, Ezek. 1. 24. יְהוָה—יְהוָה quasi vox sublimis Dei, quod Hebraice appellatur יְהוָה, & juxta LXX. φωνὴ τῶ λόγου, id est, vox verbi, ut universa quæ prædicantur in mundo vocem Filii Dei esse dicamus. S. Hieron. and therefore Celsus writing in the person of a Jew, acknowledgeth that the Word is the Son of God. Εἰ γὰρ ὁ Λόγος ὄντιν ὑμῶν ὑὸς τῶ Θεῶ, ἡ ἡμεῖς ἐπαίνωμεν. Orig. adv. Celium, l. 2. And although Origen object that in this Celsus makes the Jew speak improperly, because the Jews which he had conversed with, did never acknowledge that the Son of God was the Word; yet Celsus his Jew did speak the Language of Philo: but between the time of Celsus and that of Origen, (I guess about threescore years,) the Jews had learnt to deny that notion of Λόγος, that they might with more colour reject S. John. If then all the Jews, both they which understood the Chaldee Exposition, and those which only used the Greek Translation, had such a notion of the Word of God; if all things by their confession were made by the Word; we have no reason to believe S. John should make use of any other notion than what they before had, and that by means whereof he might be so easily understood.

delivered so great a mystery in so few words, as speaking unto them who at the first apprehension understood him. Only that which as yet they knew not was, that this Word was made flesh, and that this Word made flesh was Jesus Christ. Wherefore this exposition being so literally clear in it self, so consonant to the notion of the word, and the apprehension of the Jews; it is infinitely to be preferred before any such interpretation as shall restrain the most universals to a few particulars, change the plainest expressions into figurative phrases, and make of a sublime truth, a weak, useless, false discourse. For who will grant that *in the beginning* must be the same with that in S. John's Epistle, *from the beginning*, especially when the very interpretation involves in it self a contradiction? For *the beginning* in S. John's Epistle is that in which the Apostles saw, and heard, and touched the word: *the beginning* in his Gospel was that in which *the word was with God*, that is, not seen nor heard by the Apostles, but known as yet to God alone, as the new exposition will have it. Who will conceive it worthy of the Apostle's assertion, to teach that the Word had a being in the beginning of the Gospel, at what time John the Baptist began to preach, when we know the Baptist taught as much, who therefore *came baptizing with water, that he might be made manifest unto Israel*? When we are sure that S. Matthew and S. Luke, who wrote before him taught us more than this, that he had a being thirty years before? when we are assured, it was as true of any other then living as of the Word, even of Judas who betrayed him, even of Pilate who condemned him? Again, who can imagine the Apostle should assert that the Word was, that is, had an actual being, when as yet he was not actually the word? For if *the beginning* be when John the Baptist began to preach, and the word, as they say, be nothing else but he which speaketh, and so revealeth the will of God; Christ had not then revealed the will of God, and consequently was not then actually the Word, but only potentially or by designation. Secondly, 'tis a strange figurative speech, *the word was with God*, that is, was known to God, especially in this Apostles method. *In the beginning was the word*; there *was* must signifie an actual existence: and if so, why in the next sentence (*the word was with God*) shall the same verb signifie an objective being only? Certainly though to be in the beginning be one thing, and to be with God, another; yet *to be* in either of them is the same. But if we should imagine this being understood of the knowledge of God, why we should grant that thereby is signified he was known to God alone, I cannot conceive. For the Proposition of it self is plainly affirmative, and the exclusive particle *only* added to the exposition, maketh it clearly negative. Nay more, the affirmative sense is certainly true, the negative as certainly false. For except Gabriel be

God

1 Joh. 1. 1.

John 1. 31.

God, who came to the Virgin; except every one of the heavenly host which appeared to the Shepherds be God; except *Zachary* and *Elizabeth*, except *Simon* and *Anna*, except *Joseph* and *Mary* be God; it cannot be true that he was known to God only, for to all these he was certainly known. Thirdly, to pass by the third attribute, *and the Word was God*, as having occasion suddenly after to handle it; seeing the Apostle hath again repeated the circumstance of time as most material, *the same was in the beginning with God*, and immediately subjoyned those words, *all things were made by him, and without him was not anything made that was made*; how can we receive any exposition which referreth not the making of all these things to him in the beginning? But if we understand the latter part of the Apostles, who after the Ascension of our Saviour did nothing but what they were commanded and impowered to do by *Christ*, it will bear no relation to the beginning. If we interpret the former, of all which *Jesus* said and did in the promulgation of the Gospel, we cannot yet reach to the beginning assigned by the new Expositors: For while *John* the Baptist only preached, while in their sense the Word was with God, they will not affirm that *Jesus* did any of these things that here are spoken of. And consequently, according to their grounds, it will be true to say, In the beginning was the Word, and that Word in the beginning was with God, inasmuch as in the beginning nothing was done by him, but without him were all things done which were done in the beginning. Wherefore in all reason we should stick to the known interpretation, in which every word receiveth its own proper signification without any figurative distortion, and is preserved in its due latitude and extension without any curtailing restriction. And therefore I conclude from the undeniable testimony of *S. John*, that in the beginning, when the Heavens and the Earth and all the hosts of them were created, all things were made by the Word, who is *Christ Jesus* being made flesh; and consequently, by the method of Argument, as the Apostle antecedently by the method of Nature, that in the beginning *Christ* was. He then who was in Heaven and descended from thence before that which was begotten of the Virgin ascended thither, he who was before *John* the Baptist and before *Abraham*, he who was at the end of the first world, and at the beginning of the same; he had a real being and existence before *Christ* was conceived by the Virgin *Mary*. But all these we have already shewed belong unto the Son of God. Therefore we must acknowledge, that *Jesus Christ* had a real being and existence before he was begotten by the Holy Ghost: Which is our first Assertion, properly opposed to the * *Photinians*.

* The Photinians were Heretics, so called from Photinus,

Bishop of Sirmium, but born in Gallogræcia and Scholar to Marcellus Bishop of Ancyra. Photinus de Gallogræcia, Marcelli discipulus, Sirmii Episcopus ordinatus, Hebionis Hæresin instaurare conatus est. S. Hieron. Catal. Eccl. Photinus Sirmiensis Episcopus fuit à Marcello imbutus. Nam & Diaconus sub eo aliquandiu fuit. Hilar. Fragm. Wherefore when Epiphanius speaketh thus of him, ἔτ' ὠρῆτο ἀπὸ Σιρμίου, it hath no relation to the original of his Person, but his Heresie; of which S. Hilary, Pefistere, natum Iesum Christum ex Maria, Fannonia defendit, De Trin. He was a man of singular parts and abilities, φύσεως ἔχων ἃ λέγειν, καὶ πείθειν ἰκανός, says SOZOM. l. 4. c. 6. Γέγονε ἢ ἔτ' ὁ φώτεινός ἀλλ' ἢ τρώπων, καὶ ὠρμηδύος ἢ γ' ἰσθμίου, πολλὰς ἢ δυνάμειος ἀπατῶν τῆ τὸ λόγος περὶ φεῖ καὶ ἐτοιμολογία. Epiphani. Hæc. 71. Erat & ingenii viribus valens, & doctrinæ opibus excellens, & eloquio præpotens, quippe qui utroque sermone copiose & graviter disputaret & scriberet. Vincent. Lirin. c. 16. He is said by some to follow the Heresie of Ebion. Hebionis Hæresin instaurare conatus est, says S. Hierome, and S. Hilary ordinarily understands him by the name of Hebion, and sometimes expounds himself, Hebion, qui est Photinus. But there is no similitude in their Doctrines, Hebion being more Jew than Christian, and teaching Christ as much begotten by Joseph, as born of Mary. Philaster will have him agree wholly with Paulus Samosatenus in omnibus. Epiphanius with an ἄπο μέρους, and ἐτέλειν. Socrates and Sozomen, with him and with Sabellius: whereas he differed much from them both, especially from Sabellius, as being far from a Patripassian. Marcellus Sabellianæ hæresis assertor extiterat: Photinus vero novam hæresin jam ante protulerat, à Sabellio quidem in unione dissentiens, sed initium Christi ex Maria prædicabat. Severus Hist. Sac. Wherefore it will not be unnecessary to collect out of Antiquity what did properly belong unto Photinus, because I think it not yet done, and we find his Heresie in the propriety of it to begin and spread again. Photinus, mentis cæcitate deceptus, in Christo verum & substantiæ nostræ confessus est hominem, sed eundem Deum de Deo ante omnia secula genitum esse non credidit. Leo de Nativ. Christi Serm. 4. Ecce Photinus hominem tantum profiteretur Dei Filium; dicit illum non fuisse ante beatam Mariam. Lucifer Galarit. Si quis in Christo sic veritatem prædicat animæ & carnis, ut veritatem in eo nolit accipere Deitatis, id est, qui sic dicit Christum hominem, ut Deum neger, non est Christianus Catholicus, sed Photinianus Hæreticus. Euzig. ad Donat. l. 16. Φώτεινός τις ἀνθρώπων λέγει ἢ γεννημένον, θεὸς μὴ λέγων ἢ ἢ τὸκος; καὶ ἢ ἐκ μήτρας προελθόντα ἄνθρωπον ὑποτίθεται φησὶν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ. Theodot. Homil.

de Nativ. Ephes. Concil. p. 3. d. 10. Anathematizamus Photinum, qui Hebionis Hæresim instaurans, Dominum Jesum Christum tantum ex Maria Virgine confitetur, *Damasus Profess. Fidei.* ὁ δὲ σκεῖ εἶπε, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Χριστὸν μὴ εἶναι, ἀπὸ δὲ Μαρίας καὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπάρχειν, ἐξ ὅτου, φησὶ, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπὶ αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐγενήθη ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου. Epiph. p. 1. Ελεγε δὲ ὡς Θεὸς μὴ εἶναι παρτοκράτωρ εἰς ὃ ἴδιον λόγῳ τὸ πάντα δημιουργήσας. ἢ ἢ πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων γέννησιν τε καὶ ὑπαρξίν τε ἔσθ' ὡς Θεός, ἀλλ' ἐκ Μαρίας γεννηθῆναι καὶ Χριστὸν εἰσηγεῖτο. Sozomen. l. 4. c. 6. Photini ergo secta hæc est. Dicit Deum singulum esse & solitarium, & more Judaico confitendum. Trinitatis plenitudinem negat, neque ullam Dei verbi, aut ullam Spiritus Sancti putat esse personam. Christum vero hominem tantummodo solitarium asserit, cui principium adscribit, ex Maria; & hoc omnibus modis dogmatizat, solam nos personam Dei Patris, & solum Christum hominem colere debere. Vinc. *Lirinenfis adv. Hæres. c. 17.* In the disputation framed by Vigilius out of the seventh book of S. Hilary, as I conceive, Photinus rejecting the opinion of Sabellius (whom Socrates and Sozomen said he followed) as impious, thus declares his own: Unde magis ego dico, Deum Patrem Filium habere Dominum Jesum Christum, ex Maria Virgine initium sumentem, qui per sanctæ conversationis excellentissimum atque inimitabile beatitudinis meritum, à Deo Patre in Filium adoptatus & eximio Divinitatis honore donatus. And again, ego Dominò nostro Jesu Christo initium tribuo, purumque hominem fuisse affirmo, & per beatæ vitæ ex-natus. And again, ego Dominò nostro Jesu Christo initium tribuo, purumque hominem fuisse affirmo, & per beatæ vitæ excellentissimum meritum Divinitatis honorem fuisse adeptum. Vide eundem lib. 2. adv. Eutych. Ignorat etiam Photinus magnum pietatis, quod Apostolus memorat, sacramentum, qui Christi ex Virgine fatetur exordium: Et propterea non credit sine initio substantialiter Deum natum ex Deo Patre, in quo carnis veritatem confitetur ex Virgine. Fulg. ad Thrasim. l. 1. Greg. Nazianzen, according to his custom, gives a very brief, but remarkable expression; φάσειν δ' ἢ κατὰ Χριστὸν καὶ ἀπὸ Μαρίας ἀρχὴν μόνον. Orat. 26. But the opinion of Photinus cannot be better understood than by the condemnation of it in the Council of Sirmium; which having set out the Confession of their Faith in brief, addeth many and various Anathema's, according to the several Hæreses then apparent, without mentioning their names. Of these the fifth aims clearly at Photinus. Siquis secundum præscientiam vel prædestinationem ex Maria dicit filium esse, & non ante secula ex Patre natum, apud Deum esse & per eum facta esse omnia, Anathema sit. The 13, 14, and 15, also were particulars directed against him, as S. Hilary hath observed: but the last of all is most material. Siquis Christum Deum, Filium Dei, ante secula subsistentem, & ministrantem Patri ad omnium perfectionem; non dicat, sed ex quo de Maria natus est, ex eo & Christum & Filium nominatum esse, & initium accepisse ut sit Deus, dicat, Anathema sit. Upon which the observation of S. Hilary is this: Concludi damnatio ejus Hæresis propter quam conventum erat, (that is, the Photinian) expositione totius fidei cui adversabatur, oportuit, quæ initium Dei Filii ex partu Virginis mentiebatur, is, the Photinian) expositione totius fidei cui adversabatur, oportuit, quæ initium Dei Filii ex partu Virginis mentiebatur, S. Hilar. de Synod. contra Arianos. Thus was Photinus Bishop of Sirmium condemned by a Council held in the same City. They all agreed suddenly in the condemnation of him. Arians, Semi-Arians, and Catholicicks; καθέλιον αὐτοῦ, says Socrates, καὶ τὸ τοῦ μὲν ὡς καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ἠυδὲρον πάντας ἐπὶ ἀνεσάν καὶ τότε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα. l. 2. c. 29. And because his History is very obscure and intricate, take this brief Catalogue of his Condemnations, We read that he was condemned at the Council of Nice, and at the same time by a Council at Rome under Sylvester: but this is delivered only in a forged Epilogus Concilii Romani. He was then first condemned with Marcellus his Master, as Sulpitius Severus relates probably by the Synod at Constantinople; for in that Marcellus was deprived. Sozom. l. 2. c. 33. Socrat. l. 1. c. 36. Secondly, his Hæresis is renounced in the second Synod at Antioch. Athanas. de Syn. Socrat. l. 1. 19. Thirdly, he was condemned in the Council of Sardes, Epiphanius and Sulpitius Severus. Fourthly by a Council at Milan. S. Hilar. Fragm. Fifthly, in a Synod at Sirmium he was deposed by the Western Bishops; but by reason of the great opinion and affection of the people he could not be removed. S. Hilar. Fragm. Sixthly, he was again condemned and deposed at Sirmium by the Eastern Bishops, and being convicted by Basil Bishop of Ancyra, was banished from thence. S. Hilar. Epiph. Socr. Sozom. Vigil. Indeed he was so generally condemned not only then, but afterwards under Valentinian, as S. Hierome testifies, and the Synodic Epistle of the Aquileian Council, that his opinion was soon worn out of the world. Ἡ δὲ καὶ διεσκεδάσθη εἰς ὀλίγον χρόνον ἢ τέτυτε ἢ πατηνῶν ἀρεσσι, says Epiphanius, who lived not long after him. So suddenly was this opinion rejected by all Christians, applauded by none but Julian the Heretick, who railed at S. John for making Christ God, and commended Photinus for denying it; as appears by an Epistle written by Julian to him, as it is (though in a mean translation) delivered by Facundus. Tu quidem, O Photine, verisimilis videris, & proximus salvare, bene faciens nequaquam in utero inducere, quem credidisti Deum. Facun. ad Justinian. l. 4.

The second Assertion, next to be made good, is that the being which Christ had before he was conceived by the Virgin was not any created, but the Divine Essence, by which he always was truly, really and properly God. This will evidently and necessarily follow from the last demonstration of the first Assertion, the creating all things by the Son of God: from whence we inferred his pre-existence in the beginning, assuring us as much that he was God, as that he was. For he that built all things is God. And the same Apostle which assures us All things were made by him, at the same time tells us, In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. Where In the beginning must not be denied unto the third proposition, because it cannot be denied unto the second. Therefore in the beginning, or ever the earth was, the Word was God, the same God with whom he was. For we cannot with any shew of reason either imagine that he was with one God, and was another, because there can be no more supreme Gods than one; or conceive that the Apostle should speak of one kind of God in the second, and of another in the third proposition; in the second, of a God eternal and independent, in the third, of a made and depending God. Especially, first con-

Heb. 3. 4.

Prov. 8. 23.

|| And that upon so poor a ground as the want of an Article, because in the first place it is ὡς πρὸς τὸ Θεόν, in the second Θεὸς ὡς ὁ λόγος, not ὁ Θεός. from hence to conclude, ὁ Θεός is one God, that is, κατ' ἐξουσίαν, the supreme God, Θεός another, not the supreme, but one made God by him. Indeed they are beholden to Epiphanius for this observation, whose words are these: Εὐάν εἰπωμεν Θεός, ἀνὰ τὸ ἀρθεῖν, ἢ τυχόντα εἰπωμεν Θεὸν ἢ ἐβρωῶν, ἢ Θεὸν τὸν ὄντα (or rather ἐκ ὄντα) εὐάν ἢ εἰπωμεν ὁ Θεός, δὴλον ὡς ἄπο τὸ ἀρθεῖν, τὸν ὄντα (σημαίνοντα ἀληθῆ τε καὶ γινωσκόμενον). Samarit. Hæres. But whosoever shall apply this rule to the sacred Scriptures will find it most fallacious. In the beginning ἐποίησεν

ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς ἢ ἐγενὼν καὶ ἢ γένω, undoubtedly belongs to the true and supreme God : but it does not thence follow, that πνεῦμα θεῦ ἐπεφύετο ἐπάνω τῷ ὕδατος, should be understood of the Spirit of another or inferior God. Certainly S. John when he speaks of the Baptist, ἠγγέτο ἀνθρώπου ἀπεσταλμένος παρὰ θεῦ, meant, he had his commission from Heaven; and when it is spoken of Christ, ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τέμνα θεῦ ἡγέσθαι, and again, ἐν θεῷ ἐγενήθησαν, it must be understood of the true God the Father. In the like manner, θεὸν δὲ εἰς ἐόεμε πάποτε, if it were taken τυχόντως of any ever called God, nay, even of Christ Jesus as man, it were certainly false. How can then any deny the word to be the supreme God, because he is called simply θεός, when S. John in the four next places, in which he speaketh of the Supreme God, mentioneth him without an Article? This Criticism of theirs was first the observation of Asterius the Arian, Οὐκ εἶπεν ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος Χριστὸν κηρύσσειν ἢ τῷ θεῷ δύναμιν, ἢ τῷ θεῷ σοφίαν, ἀλλὰ δὶχῶν ἢ προσηύκεις, δύναμιν θεῦ, καὶ θεῷ σοφίαν ἄλλω ἢ τῷ τῷ ἰδίῳ αὐτῷ τῷ θεῷ δύναμιν τῶν ἔμφυτον αὐτῷ καὶ σὺνπαράχυσαν ἀγενήτως, κηρύσσειν. These are the words of Asterius recorded by Athanasius, Orat. 2. cont. Arianos. In which place, notwithstanding, none can deny but θεῷ is twice taken without an Article for the true and supreme God. Thus Didymus of Alexandria, de Sp. S. would distinguish between the Person and the gift of the Holy Ghost, by the addition or defect of the Article. Apostoli quando intelligi volunt Personam Spiritus Sancti addunt Articulum, τὸ πνεῦμα, sine quo Spiritus Sancti don a no-rantur. And Athanasius objects against his adversaries denying the Holy Ghost to be God, that they produced places out of the Prophe:ts to prove him a Creature, where πνεῦμα had not so much as an Article prefixed, which might give some colour to interpret it of the Holy Spirit. Οὐδ' ἐστὶν ἐδ' ἀντὶ ἀρθεῖν ἔχει τὸ παρὰ τῷ προφήτῃ λεγόμενον πνεῦμα, ἵνα καὶ πνεύματι ἔχεται. Epist. ad Serapionem. Whereas we find in the same place of S. John, the same Spirit in the same sense mentioned with and without an Article. Ἐν μὴ τις ἡγουμένη ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος John 3. 5. and, τὸ γεννηθέν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι, v. 6. So 1 John 4. 1. Μὴ παντὶ πνεύματι πισθεῖτε, ἀλλὰ δοκιμάζετε τὰ πνεύματα. And again, Ἐν τέτρῳ γινώσκετε τὸ πνεῦμα τῷ θεῷ. πᾶν πνεῦμα. 1 Thess. 5. 19. τὸ πνεῦμα μὴ σβέννυτε. In the like manner, it is so far from truth, that the Scriptures observe so much the Articles, as to use ὁ θεός, always for the true and supreme God, and θεός for the false or inferior; that where the true is professedly opposed to the false, even there he is styled simply θεός. As, Ἀλλὰ τότε ἡμεῖς εἰσὶν ἄλλοι θεοὶ, ἐδελύσατε τοὺς μὴ εὐσεβεῖσι θεοῖς. Νυνὶ ὁ γινώσκων θεόν, μάλλον ὁ γινώσκων τὸν θεόν Gal. 4. 8, 9. And where the supreme is distinguished from him whom they make the inferior God he is called likewise θεός without an Article: As, δόλος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀφωρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεῦ, and τῷ θεῷ ἐκ δυνάμεως. Rom. 1. 1, 4. Ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ διὰ δολήματος θεῦ, 1 Cor. 1. 1. 2 Cor. 1. 1. Eph. 1. 1. Col. 1. 1. And if this distinction were good, our Saviour's Argument to the Pharisees were not so: Εἰ ὁ ἐγὼ ἐν πνεύματι θεῦ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἄρα ἐστὼσεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τῷ θεῷ. Matth. 12. 28. For it doth not follow, that if by the power of an inferior or false God he cast out Devils, that therefore the Kingdom of the true and supreme God is come upon them.

Word, the only reason which we can conceive why the Apostle should thus use this phrase : and then observing the manner of S. John's writing, who rises strangely by degrees, making the last word of the former sentence the first of that which followeth: As, *In him was life, and the life was the light of men; and the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not; so, In the beginning was the Word, and the Word, which so was in the beginning, was with God, and the Word was God*; that is, the same God with whom the Word was in the beginning. But he could not be the same God with him any other way, than by having the same Divine Essence. Therefore the being which Christ had before he was conceived by the Virgin was the Divine nature, by which he was properly and really God.

John 1. 4, 5.

Secondly, He who was subsisting in the form of God, and thought himself to be equal with God, (in which thought he could not be deceived, nor be injurious to God) must of necessity be truly and essentially God : because there can be no equality between the Divine essence, which is infinite, and any other whatsoever, which must be finite. But this is true of Christ, and that antecedently to his conception in the Virgin's womb, and existence in his humane nature. For, *being (or rather † subsisting) in the form of God, he thought it not robbery to be equal with God: but emptied himself, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men.* Out of which words naturally result three Propositions fully demonstrating our Assertion, First, That Christ was in the form of a servant as soon as he was made man. Secondly, That he was in the form of God before he was in the form of a servant. Thirdly, That he was in the form of God, that is, did as truly and really subsist in the Divine nature, as in the form of a servant, or in the nature of man. It is a vain imagination, that our Saviour then first appeared a servant when he was apprehended, bound, scourged, crucified. For they were not all slaves which ever suffered such indignities, or died that death; and when they did, their death did not make, but find them, or suppose them servants. Beside our Saviour in all the degrees of his humiliation never lived as a servant unto any Master on earth. 'Tis true, at first he was subject, but as a son, to his reputed

Phil. 2. 6, 7.
† In effigie Dei constitutus, Tertull.
In figura Dei constitutus, Cyr.

Rom. 8. 3.

Gal. 4. 4.

Isa. 53. 2, 3.

Father and undoubted Mother. When he appeared in publick he lived after the manner of a Prophet, and a Doctor sent from God, accompanied with a Family, as 'twere of his Apostles, whose Master he professed himself, subject to the commands of no man in that Office, and obedient only unto God. The *form* then of a *servant* which he took upon him, must consist in something distinct from his sufferings, or submission unto men; as the condition in which he was when he so submitted and so suffered. In that he was *made flesh*, sent *in the likeness of sinful flesh*, subject unto all infirmities and miseries of this life, attending on the sons of men fallen by the sin of *Adam*: in that he was *made of a woman*, *made under the law*, and so obliged to perform the same; which Law did so handle the children of God, as that they differed nothing from servants: in that he was born, bred; and lived in a mean, low and abject condition; *as a root out of a dry ground*, he had no form nor comeliness, and when they saw him, there was no beauty that they should desire him; but was despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief: In that he was thus made man, he took upon him the form of a servant. Which is not mine, but the Apostle's explication; as adding it not by way of conjunction, in which there might be some diversity, but by way of apposition, which signifieth a clear identity. And therefore it is necessary to observe, that our translation of that verse is not only not exact, but very disadvantageous to that truth which is contained in it. For we read it thus; *He made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men.* Where we have two copulative conjunctions, neither of which is in the * original text, and three distinct propositions, without any dependence of one upon the other; whereas all the words together are but an expression of *Christ's* exinanition, with an explication shewing in what it consisteth: which will clearly appear by this literal translation, *But emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men.* Where if any man doubt how *Christ* emptied himself, the text will satisfy him, by taking the form of a servant; if any still question how he took the form of a servant, he hath the Apostle's resolution, by being made in the likeness of men. Indeed after the expression of this exinanition, he goes on with a conjunction, to add another act of *Christ's* humiliation; *And being found in fashion as a man, being already by his exinanition in the form of a servant, or the likeness of men, he humbled himself, and became (or rather, || becoming) obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.* As therefore his humiliation consisted in his obedience unto death, so his exinanition consisted in the assumption of the form of a servant, and that in the nature of man. All which is very fitly expressed by a strange interpretation on the Epistle to the *Hebrews*. For whereas these words are clearly in the Psalmist, *Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire, mine ears hast thou opened:* the Apostle appropriateth the sentence to *Christ*; *When he cometh into the world, he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me.* Now being the *boaring* of the ear under the Law was a note of perpetual servitude, being this was expressed in the words of the Psalmist, and changed by the Apostle into the preparing of a body; it followeth that when *Christ's* body first was framed, even then did he assume the form of a servant.

|| Ἄν' ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, μὴ ὄντως δὲ ἑλθε λαβῶν, ὡς ὁμοιωμασί ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος, which is also exactly observed by the *Vulgar Latine*, Sed semetipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens, in similitudine hominum factus, where γενόμενος is added by Opposition to λαβῶν, and have both equal relation to ἐκένωσε. or, which is all one ἐκένωσε λαβῶν, ἕλαβε γενόμενος.

Phil. 2. 8.

|| Ἐταπείνωσεν ἐαυτὸν γενόμενος ὁπίσκειος. For in both these verses there is but one Conjunction, joining together

two Acts of our Saviour, his first exinanition or ἐκένωσε, and his farther humiliation, or ἔταπείνωσε. the rest are all Participles added for explication to the Verbs. * *Psal.* 40. 6. *Exod.* 21. 6. *Deut.* 15. 17.

Again,

ficut caſeum, ἴσα τυρῶ 10. 10. כִּרְקָךְ, quaſi putredo, Sym. ομοίως στυπεδόνι, LXX. ἴσα ἀσκῶ, 13. 28. כִּמְיָם, ſicut aquam, ἴσα ποτῶ, 15. 16. וְכַדָּר, tanquam lignum, ἴσα ξύλω, 24. 20. כִּחֲמֵר, ſicut lutum, ἴσα πηλῶ, 27. 16. כִּעֲבָרָה, ſicut veſtimento, ἴσα διπלוῖ, 29. 14. כִּבְבֵר, quaſi boſ, ἴσα βουῖν, 40. 15. Where we ſee the vulgar Latin uſeth for the Hebrew כ, quaſi, ſicut, tanquam, the LXX. ἴσα. Sometime it anſwereth to no word in the original, but ſupplieth a ſimilitude underſtood, nor expreſſed, in the Hebrew: as כִּיָּי, tanquam pullum, ἴσα ὄνω, 11. 12. (כִּיָּי, & lapis, ἴσα λίθω, 28. 2. כִּחֲמֵר, luto, ἴσα πηλῶ 30. 19. Once it rendreth an Hebrew word rather according to the intention, than the ſignification; אֶפְרָיִם אֶפְרָיִם, comparabitur cineri, ad verbum, proverbial cineris, ἴσα ἀσπιδῶ. 12. 12. So that in all theſe places it is uſed adverbially for initar, and in none hath the addition of τὸ ἴδ to it. As for that anſwer of Socinus, that Chriſt cannot be God, becauſe he is ſaid to be equal with God, Tantum abeſt ut ab eo quod Chriſtus ſit æqualis Deo ſequatur ipſum eſſe æternum & ſummum Deum, ut potius ex hoc ipſo neceſſario confequatur non eſſe æternum & ſummum Deum, Nemo enim ſibi ipſi æqualis eſſe poteſt. Soc. ad 8. c. *Wiek.* as if there could be no predication of equality where we find a ſubſtantial identity: it is moſt certainly falſe, becauſe the moſt exact ſpeakers uſe ſuch language as this is. There can be no expreſſions more exact and pertinent than thoſe which are uſed by Geometricians, neither can there be any better judges of equality than they are; but they moſt frequently uſe that expreſſion in this notion, proving an equality, and inferring it from identity. As in the fifth Propoſition of the firſt Element of Euclid, two lines are ſaid to contain an Angle equal to the Angle contained by two other lines, becauſe they contained the ſame Angle, or γωνίαν κοινὴν. and the baſis of one Triangle is ſuppoſed equal to the baſis of another Triangle, becauſe the ſame line was baſis to both, or βάσις κοινή. In the ſame manner certainly may the Son be ſaid to be equal to the Father in eſſence or power, becauſe they both have the ſame eſſence and power, that is ἐſίαν καὶ δύνανται κοινῶν. Ocellus de Univerſo, ἀλλ' ἀὲ καὶ ταυτὸ καὶ ὁσαύτως διατελεῖ καὶ ἴſον καὶ ὁμοίον αὐτὸ ἐαυτῷ. p. 11. Iſa. 40. 25. and 46. 5.

in the form of God before he was in the form of a ſervant, that the form of God in which he ſubſiſted doth as truly ſignifie the Divine, as the likenes of man the humane nature; it neceſſarily followeth, that Chriſt had a real exiſtence before he was begotten of the Virgin, and that the being which he had was the Divine eſſence, by which he was truly, really and properly God.

Thirdly, he which is expreſſly ſtyled *Alpha* and *Omega*, the firſt and the laſt, without any reſtriction or limitation; as he is after, ſo was before any time aſſignable, truly and eſſentially God. For by this title God deſcribeth his own being, and diſtinguiſheth it from all other. *I the Lord, the firſt, and with the laſt, I am he. I am he, I am the firſt, I alſo am the laſt. I am the firſt, and I am the laſt, and beſide me there is no God.* But Chriſt is expreſſly called *Alpha* and *Omega*, the firſt and the laſt. He ſo proclaimed himſelf by a great voice, as of a Trumpet, ſaying, *I am Alpha and Omega the firſt and the laſt.* Which anſwereth to that ſolemn call and proclamation in the Prophet, *Hearken unto me, O Jacob, and Iſrael my called.* He comforteth S. *John* with the Maieſty of this title, *Fear not, I am the firſt and the laſt.* Which words were ſpoken by one like unto the Son of man, by him that liveth, and was dead, and is alive for evermore; that is undoubtedly, by Chriſt. He upholdeth the Church of *Smyrna* in her tribulation by virtue of the ſame deſcription, *Theſe things ſaith the firſt and the laſt, which was dead and is alive.* He aſcertaineth his coming unto Judgment with the ſame aſſertion, *I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the firſt and the laſt.* And in all theſe places this title is attributed unto Chriſt abſolutely and univerſally, without any kind of reſtriction or limitation, without any aſſignation of any particular in reſpect of which he is the firſt or laſt; in the ſame latitude and * eminence of expreſſion in which it is or can be attributed to the ſupreme God. There is yet another Scripture in which the ſame deſcription may ſeem of a more dubious interpretation: *I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, ſaith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty.* For being it is the Lord who ſo calls himſelf, which title belongeth to the Father and the Son, it may be doubted whether it be ſpoken by the Father or the Son; but whether it be underſtood of the one or of the other, it will ſufficiently make good what we intend to prove. For if they be underſtood of Chriſt, as the precedent and the following words imply, then is he certainly that Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty; that is, the ſupreme eternal God, of the ſame Divine Eſſence with the Father, who was

Iſa. 41. 4.
48. 12.
44. 6.
Rev. 1. 11.
Iſa. 48. 12.
Rev. 1. 17.
13. 18.
2. 3.
Rev. 22. 13.

* With the Article, ſo much elſewhere ſtood upon, τὸ α καὶ τὸ ω, ὁ πρῶτος, καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος, The Alpha and the Omega, the firſt and the laſt. For we muſt not take τὸ α as the Grammarians do, by which they ſignify only the letter written in that figure, and called by that name. As appeareth by Eratoſthenes, who was called Βῆτα, not τὸ βήμα, as Suidas corruptly. Heſychius Illuſtrius, from whom Suidas had that paſſage; Ἐρωτοθένης διὰ τὸ δαίμονον παντὶ ἄδει παιδείας τοῖς ἀετοῖς ἐγγίζων, Βῆτα ἐλάθη. And Martianus Heracleota in Periplo, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνον Ἐρωτοθένης, ὃν Βῆτα ἐκάλεσαν οἱ τῷ Μυσεῖο προσάνα. Rev. 1. 8.

before described by *him which is, and which was, and which is to come*, to whom the six-wing'd Beasts continually cry, *Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come*; as the familiar explication of that name which God revealed to *Moses*. If they belong unto the supreme God the Father of our Lord *Jesus Christ*; then did he so describe himself unto *S. John*, and express his supreme Deity; that by those words, *I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending*, he might be known to be the one Almighty and Eternal God: and consequently, whosoever should assume that title, must attribute as much unto himself. Wherefore being *Christ* hath so immediately, and with so great solemnity and frequency, taken the same style upon him by which the Father did express his Godhead; it followeth, that he hath declared himself to be the Supreme, Almighty, and Eternal God. And being thus the Alpha and the first, he was before any time assignable, and consequently before he was conceived of the Virgin; and the being which then he had was the Divine Essence, by which he was truly and properly the Almighty and Eternal God.

Fourthly, He whose Glory *Isaiab* saw in the year that King *Uzziab* died had a being before *Christ* was begotten of the Virgin, and that being was the Divine Essence, by which he was naturally and essentially God: For he is expressly called *the Lord, Holy, holy, holy, the Lord of hosts, whose Glory filleth the whole earth*; which titles can belong to none beside the one and only God. But *Christ* was he whose Glory *Isaiab* saw, as *S. John* doth testify, saying, *These things said Isaias, when he saw his glory, and spake of him*: and he whose Glory he saw, and of whom he spake, was certainly *Christ*: for of him the Apostle treateth in that place, and of none but him. *These things spake Jesus and departed. But though he (that is Jesus) had done so many miracles before them, yet they believed not on him, that is, Christ who wrought those miracles. The reason why they believed not on him was, That the saying of Esaias the Prophet might be fulfilled, which he spake, Lord, who hath believed our report? and as they did not, so they could not believe in Christ, because that Isaias said again, He hath blinded their eyes and hardened their hearts; that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with their hearts, and be converted, and I should heal them.* For those who God foresaw, and the Prophet foretold should not believe, could not do it without contradicting the prescience of the one, and the predictions of the other. But the *Jews* refusing to assent unto the Doctrine of our Saviour were those of whom the Prophet spake: For *these things said Isaias when he saw his glory, and spake of him.* Now if the glory which *Isaias* saw were the glory of *Christ*, and he of whom *Isaias* in that Chapter spake were *Christ* himself; then must those blinded eyes and hardened hearts belong unto these *Jews*, and then their Infidelity was so long since foretold. Thus doth the fixing of that Prophecy upon that people, which saw our Saviour's miracles, depend upon *Isaias's* Vision, and the appropriation of it unto *Christ*. Wherefore *S. John* infallibly hath taught us, that the Prophet saw the glory of *Christ*; and the Prophet hath as undoubtedly assured us, that he whose Glory then he saw was the one Omnipotent and Eternal God; and consequently both together have sealed this truth, that *Christ* did then subsist in that glorious Majesty of the Eternal Godhead.

Lastly, He who, being man, is frequently in the Scriptures called God, and that in such a manner, as by that name no other can be understood but the one only and eternal God, he had an existence before he was made man, and the being which then he had was no other than the Divine Essence; because all novelty is repugnant to the Deity, nor can any be that one God, who was

Rev. 1. 4.
Rev. 4. 8.

Exod. 3. 14.

Isa. 6. 1, 3.

John 12. 41.

36.

37.

38.

39.

40.

41.

not so from all eternity. But *Jesus Christ*, being in the nature of man, is frequently in the sacred Scriptures called God; and that name is attributed unto him in such a manner, as by it no other can be understood but the one Almighty and eternal God.

Which may be thus demonstrated. It hath been already proved, and we all agree in this, That there can be but one Divine Essence, and so but one supreme God. Wherefore were it not said in the Scriptures, there are *many Gods*; did not he himself who is supreme, call others so; we durst not give that name to any but to him alone, nor could we think any called God to be any other but that one. It had been then enough to have alledged that *Christ* is God, to prove his supreme and eternal Deity: whereas now we are answered, that there are Gods many, and therefore it followeth not from that name that he is the one eternal God. But if *Christ* be none of those many Gods, and yet be God, then can he be no other but that one. And that he is not to be numbred with them, is certain, because he is clearly distinguished from them, and opposed to them. We read in the Psalmist, *I have said ye are Gods, and all of you are children of the most High*. But we must not reckon *Christ* among those Gods, we must not number the only begotten Son among those Children. For *they knew not, neither would they understand, they walked on in darkness*: and whosoever were Gods only as they were, either did, or might so do. Whereas *Christ*, in whom alone dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, is not only distinguished from, but opposed to, such Gods as those, by his Disciples saying, *Now we are sure that thou knowest all things*; by himself proclaiming, *I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness*. S. Paul hath told us *there be gods many, and lords many*; but withal hath taught us, that *to us there is but one God, the Father, and one Lord Jesus Christ*. In which words as the *Father* is opposed as much unto the *many Lords*, as *many Gods*, so is the Son as much unto the *many Gods* as *many Lords*; the *Father* being as much Lord as God, and the Son as much God as Lord. Wherefore being we find in Scripture frequent mention of one God, and beside that one an intimation of many Gods, and whosoever is called God must either be that one, or one of those many; being we find our blessed favour to be wholly opposed to the many Gods, and consequently to be none of them, and yet we read him often stiled God, it followeth, that that name is attributed unto him in such a manner, as by it no other can be understood but the one Almighty and eternal God.

Again, those who deny our Saviour to be the same God with the Father, have invented rules to be the touchstone of the eternal power and Godhead. First, where the name of God is taken absolutely, as the subject of any proposition, it always signifieth the supreme power and Majesty, excluding all others from that Deity. Secondly where the same name is any way used with an Article by way of excellency, it likewise signifieth the same supreme Godhead as admitting others to a communion of Deity, but excluding them from the supremacy. Upon these two rules they have raised unto themselves this Observation, That whensoever the name of God absolutely taken is placed as the subject of any proposition, it is not to be understood of *Christ*: and whensoever the same name is spoken of our Saviour by way of predicate, it never hath an Article denoting excellency annexed to it; and consequently leaves him in the number of those Gods who are excluded from the Majesty of the eternal Deity.

Now though there can be no kind of certainty in any such observations of the Articles, because the *Greeks* promiscuously often use them or omit them, without any reason of their usurpation or omission, whereof examples

are innumerable:) though, if those rules were granted, yet would not their Conclusion follow, because the supreme God is often named (as they confess) without an Article, and therefore the same name may signifie the same God when spoken of *Christ*, as well as when of the Father, so far as can concern the omission of the Article: yet, to compleat my demonstration, I shall shew, first, that the name of God taken subjectively is to be understood of *Christ*; secondly, that the same name with the Article affixed is attributed unto him; thirdly, that if it were not so, yet where the Article is wanting, there is that added to the predicate which hath as great a virtue to signifie that excellency as the Article could have.

S. Paul, unfolding the mystery of Godliness, hath delivered six Propositions together, and the subject of all and each of them is God. *Without controversy great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifested in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of Angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory.* And this God which is the subject of all these Propositions must be understood of *Christ*, because of him each one is true, and all are so of none but him, He was the Word which was God, and was made flesh, and consequently *God manifested in the flesh.* Upon him the Spirit descended at his Baptism, and after his Ascension was poured upon his Apostles, ratifying his Commission, and confirming the Doctrine which they received from him: wherefore he was *God justified in the Spirit.* His nativity the Angels celebrated, in the discharge of his Office they ministred unto him, at his resurrection and Ascension they were present, always ready to confess and adore him: he was therefore *God seen of Angels.* The Apostles preached unto all Nations, and he whom they preached was *Jesus Christ.* The Father ² separated S. Paul from his Mothers womb, and called him by his grace, to reveal his Son unto him, that he might preach him among the heathen: therefore he was *God preached unto the Gentiles.* John the Baptist spake ³ unto the people, that they should believe on him which should come after him, that is, on *Christ Jesus* ⁴ We have believed in *Jesus Christ*, saith S. Paul, who so taught the Gaoler trembling at his feet, ⁵ Believe in the Lord *Jesus Christ*, and thou shalt be saved: he therefore was *God believed on in the world.* When he had been forty days on earth after his Resurrection, he was taken visibly up into Heaven, and sat down on the right hand of the Father: wherefore he was *God received up into glory.* And thus all these six Propositions, according to the plain and familiar language of the Scriptures, are infallibly true of *Christ*, and so of God, as he is taken by S. John, when he speaks those words, *the Word was God.* But all these cannot be understood of any other, which either is, or is called, God. For though we grant the Divine perfections and attributes to be the same with the Divine Essence, yet are they never in the Scriptures called God; nor can any of them with the least shew of probability be pretended as the subject of these propositions, or afford any tolerable interpretation. When they tell us that *God*, that is the * Will of God, was manifested in the flesh, that is, was revealed by frail and mortal men, and received up in glory, that is, † was received gloriously on earth, they teach us a language which the || Scriptures know not, and the Holy Ghost never used. And as no

1 Tim. 3. 16.
 Acts 8. 5, 35.
 9. 20. 11. 20.
 17. 3, 18. 19.
 13.
 Rom. 16. 25.
 2 Cor. 1. 19.
 11. 4.
 Phil. 1. 18.
 Gal. 1. 15, 16.
 Acts 19. 4.
 Gal. 2. 16.
 Acts 16. 31.

*Deus, i. e. voluntas ipsius de servandis; hominibus, per homines infirmos & mortales perfecte patescens
 † For Θεός is not
 || For Θεός is not

refacta est, Cyc. Catech. Racov. ad Quest. 59. † Insignem in modum & summa cum gloria recepta fuit 16. || For Θεός is not δέλημα Θεός, much less is ἀνελήφθη received or embraced. Elias speaketh not of his reception, but his ascension, when he saith to Elisha, Τί ποιήσω σοι πείν ἢ ἀναληφθῆναι ἀπὸ σοῦ; 2 Kings 2. 9. and Ἐάν ἴδης με ἀναλαμβανόμενον ἀπὸ σοῦ, κὶ ἔσται σοι ἔτι. When he actually ascended, as the original ἔγει, it is no otherwise translated by the Septuagint, than ἀνελήφθη Ἠλίας ἐν συναίτημ ὡς εἰς τὸ ἕρανόν. Which Language was preserved by the Hellenizing Jews: Ὁ ἀναληφθεὶς ἐν λαίλαπι πυρῆς, Sirac. 4. 9. and again, ἀνελήφθη ἕως εἰς τὸ ἕρανόν, 1 Mac. 2. 58. Neither did they use it of Elias only, but of Enoch also. Οὐδὲ εἰς ἐξίτην οἶ τὸ Ἐνώχ, κὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀνελήφθη ἀπὸ τῆ γῆς. The same Language is continued in the New Testament of our Saviour's Ascension. ἀνελήφθη εἰς τὸ ἕρανόν, Mar. 16. 19. ὁ ἀναληφθεὶς ἀπὸ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ ἕρανόν, Acts 1. 11. and singly, ἀνελήφθη, Acts 1. 2. and ἀνελήφθη ἀπὸ ἡμῶν, Acts 1. 22. As therefore ἀνάληψις τῆ Μωσέως, in the Language of the Jews, was not the reception of Moses

Moses by the Israelites, but the assumption of his body; so ἀνέλιψις τῆς Χεῖρς is the Ascension of Christ, Luke 9. 51. Wherefore this being the constant notion of the word; it must so be here likewise understood, ἀνελήφθη ἐν δόξῃ as the vulgar Latin, (whose authority is pretended against us,) *Assumptum est in gloria; rendring it here by the same word by which he always translated ἀνελήφθη.*

Attribute, so no person but the Son can be here understood under the name of God: Not the Holy Ghost, for he is distinguished from him, as being justified by the Spirit; not the Father, who was not manifested in the flesh, nor received up in glory. It remaineth therefore that, whereas the Son is the only person to whom all these clearly and undoubtedly belong, which are here joyntly attributed unto God, as sure as the name of God is expressed universally in the * Copies of the Original Language, so thus absolutely and subjectively taken must it be understood of Christ.

* For being the Epistle was written in the Greek language

it is enough if all those Copies do agree. Nor need we be troubled with the observation of Grotius on the place: *Suspectam nobis hanc lectionem faciunt Interpretes veteres. Latinus, Syrus, Arabs & Ambrosius, qui omnes legerunt ὁ ἐφανερώθη. I confess the vulgar Latin reads it otherwise than the Greek, Quod manifestatum est in carne; and it cannot be denied but the Syriac, however translated by Tremellius, agreeth with the Latin; and both seem to have read ὁ instead of Θεός. But the joint consent of the Greek Copies and Interpreters are above the authority of these two Translators; and the Arabick set forth in the Biblia Polyglotta agreeth expressly with them. But that which Grotius hath farther observed is of far greater consideration: Addit Hincmarus opusculo 55. illud Θεός hic positum à Nestorianis. For if at first the Greeks read ὁ ἐφανερώθη, and that ὁ were altered into Θεός by the Nestorians, then ought we to correct the Greek Copy by the Latin, and confess there is not only no force, but not so much as any ground or colour for our Arguments. But first, it is no way probable that the Nestorians should find it in the Original ὁ, and make it Θεός, because that by so doing they had overthrown their own Assertion, which was, that God was not incarnate, nor born of the Virgin Mary; that God did not ascend unto Heaven, but Christ by the Holy Ghost remaining upon him, καὶ ἦ ἀνέλιψιν αὐτῷ χερσὶ ἀμων. Concil. Ephes. part. 1. cap. 17. Secondly, it is certain that they did not make this alteration, because the Catholick Greeks read it Θεός before they were such Hereticks, so called, Nestoriani à Nestorio Episcopo, Patriarcha Constantinopolitano. Aug. Hæres. Nestorius, from whom that Heresie began, was Patriarch of Constantinople after Sisinius, Sisinius after Atticus, Atticus after Nectarius, who succeeded Joannes, vulgarly called Chrysostomus. But S. Chrysostome read not ὁ, but Θεός, as appears by his Commentaries upon the place; Θεός ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, τατέσι, ὁ δὴμωργός. And S. Cyril, who by all means opposed Nestorius upon the first appearance of his Heresie, wrote two large Epistles to the Queens Pulcheria and Eudocia, in both which he maketh great use of this Text. In the first after the repetition of the words as they are now in the Greek Copies, he proceedeth thus; Τίς ὁ ἐν σαρκί φανερώθης; ἢ δὴλον, ἢ πᾶντι τε καὶ πάντως ὁ ἐστὶ θεὸς πατρὸς λόγος. ἔτω γὰρ ἔσται μέγα τὸ ἡ εὐσεβείας μυστήριον, θεός ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί. Wherefore in S. Paul he read Θεός God, and took that God to be the Word. In the second, repeating the same Text verbatim, he maketh it thus against Nestorius: Εἰ θεός ὦν ὁ λόγος ἐνανθρωπήσας λέγοιτο, καὶ ἡ δὴπὲρ μεθῆς τὸ εἶναι θεός, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς ἡ αἰ διαμείων, μέγα δὴ τότε καὶ ὁμολογητέως μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ ἡ εὐσεβείας μυστήριον. εἰ δὲ ἀνθρώπος νοεῖται κοινὸς ὁ Χριστός, πῶς ἐν σαρκί φανερώεται, καὶ τοὶ πῶς ἐχ' ἀπασιν ἐναργές, ὅτι πᾶς ἀνθρώπος ἐν σαρκί τε ἔσται, καὶ ἂν ἐτέρως ἔρωτό τισι; And in the explanation of his second Anathematism he maketh use of no other Text but this to prove the Hypostatical Union, giving it this gloss or exposition: Τί ἐστὶ τὸ, ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, τατέσι, γέγονε σαρξὶς ὁ ἐστὶ θεὸς πατρὸς λόγος, &c. The same he urgeth in his Scholion de Unigenti Incarnatione. So also Theodoret contemporary with S. Cyril: Θεός γὰρ ὦν καὶ θεὸς υἱός, καὶ ἀόρατον ἔχων ἦ φύσιν, δὴλ' ἀπασιν ἐνανθρωπήσας ἐγένετο, σαφῶς ἢ ἡμᾶς δύο φύσεις ἐδίδαξεν, ἐν σαρκί γὰρ τὴν θεῶν ἐφανερώθηναί φύσιν. Thirdly, Hincmarus does not say that the Nestorians put Θεός into the Greek Text, but that he which put it in was cast out of his Bishoprick for a Nestorian. His words are these: Quidam nimirum ipsas Scripturas verbis illicitis imposturaverunt; sicut Macedonius Constantinopolitanus Episcopus, qui ab Anastasio imperatore ideo à Civitate expulsus legitur, quoniam falsavit Evangelia, & illum Apostoli locum ubi dicit, quod apparuit in carne, justificatum est in Spiritu, per cognationem Græcarum literarum O in Θ hoc modo mutando falsavit. Ubi enim habuit Qui, hoc est OΣ monosyllabum Græcum, litera mutata O in Θ vertit; & fecit Θεός, id est ut esset, Deus apparuit per carnem. Quapropter tanquam Nestorianus fuit expulsus. Hincm. Opusc. 55. c. 18. Now whereas Hincmarus says expulsus legitur, we read not in Euagrius, or the Excerpta of Theodorus, or in Joannes Malala, that Macedonius was cast out of his Bishoprick for any such falsation. It is therefore probable that he had it from Liberatus, a Deacon of the Church of Carthage, who wrote a Breviary, collected partly out of the Ecclesiastical Histories and Acts of the Councils partly out of the relations of such men as he thought fit to believe, extant in the fourth Tome of the Councils. In which, chap. 19. we have the same relation only with this difference, that O is not turned into Θ, but into Ω; and so OΣ becomes not Θεός, but ΩΣ. So that first the Greek Copies are not said to have read it ὁ, but ὁς, and so not to have relation to the mystery, but to the person of Christ; and therefore this makes nothing for the vulgar Latin. Secondly, whereas Hincmarus says there was but one letter changed, no such mutation can of OΣ make Θεός, it may ΩΣ, as we read in Liberatus; and then this is nothing to the Greek Text. Thirdly, Macedonius was no Nestorian, but Anastasius an Eutychian, and he ejected him not as he did other Catholick Bishops under the pretence of Nestorianism, but for other reasons. Howsoever Macedonius could not falsifie all the Greek Copies, when as well those which were before his time, as those which were written since all acknowledge Θεός. And if he had been ejected for substituting Θεός, without question Anastasius would have taken care for the restoring ὁς, which we find not in any Copy. It remaineth therefore that the Nestorians did not falsifie the Text by reading Θεός ἐφανερώθη, but that the ancient Greek Fathers read it so; and consequently, being the Greek is the Original, this Lesson must be acknowledged Authentical.*

Acts 20. 28.

Again S. Paul speaketh thus to the Elders of the Church of Ephesus; Take heed unto your selves, and to all the flock over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood. In these words this doctrinal Proposition is clearly contained, God hath purchased the Church with his own blood. For there is no other word either in or near the Text which can by any Grammatical construction be joynted with the Verb, except the Holy Ghost, to whom the Predicate is repugnant, both in respect of the act, or our Redemption, and of the means, the Blood.

AAs 3. 26.

Eph. 1. 9.
Col. 1. 13.

Gal. 1. 4.

Col. 1. 13, 14.

Heb. 9. 16.

buted to the Father. *Christ* hath blessed us; and the Apostle saith, the Father hath blessed us: which is true, because *he sent his Son to bless us*. *Christ* hath made known unto us the will of his Father; and the Apostle saith, the Father *hath made known unto us the mystery of his will*; because he sent his Son to reveal it. *Christ* hath delivered us; and the Father is said to *deliver us from the power of darkness*: not that we are twice delivered, but because the Father delivereth us by his Son. And thus these general acts are familiarly attributed to them both; but still a difference must be observed and acknowledged in the means or manner of the performance of these acts. For though 'tis true that the Father and the Son revealed to us the will of God; yet it is not true that the Father revealed it by himself to us; but that the Son did so, it is. They both deliver us from sin and death: but the Son *gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us*; the Father is not, cannot be, said to have given himself, but his Son: and therefore the Apostle giveth thanks unto the Father, *who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son, in whom we have redemption through his blood*. Now this blood is not only the blood of the new Covenant, and consequently of the Mediator: but the nature of this Covenant is such, that it is also a Testament, and therefore the blood must be the blood of the Testator; for *where a Testament is, there must also of necessity be the death of the Testator*. But the Testator which died is not, cannot be, the Father, but the Son; and consequently, the blood is the blood of the Son, not of the Father. It remaineth therefore that God, who purchased the Church with his own blood, is not the Father of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, or any other which is called God, but only *Jesus Christ* the Son of God, and God. And thus have I proved the first of the three Assertions, that the name of *God* absolutely taken and placed subjectively, is sometimes to be understood of *Christ*.

The second, That the name of *God* invested by way of excellency with an Article is attributed in the Scriptures unto *Christ*, may be thus made good. He which is called *Emmanuel* is named God by way of Excellency; for that name, saith S. *Matthew*, *being interpreted, is God with us*, and in that interpretation the Greek || Article is prefixed. But *Christ* is called *Emmanuel*; *that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the Prophet, saying, Behold, a Virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a Son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel*. Therefore he is that *God with us*, which is expressed by way of Excellency, and distinguished from all other who are any way honoured with that name: For it is a vain imagination to think that *Christ* is called *Emmanuel*, but that he is not what he is called: as *Moses* built an *Altar*, and called the name of it *Jehovah Nissi*, and *Gideon* another called *Jehovah Shalom*; and yet neither *Altar* was *Jehovah*: as *Jerusalem* was called *the Lord our righteousness*, and yet that *City* was not the *Lord*. Because these two notions, which are conjoined in the name *Emmanuel*, are severally true of *Christ*. First, he is *Emmanu*, that is, *with us*, for he hath dwelt among us: and when he parted from the earth, he said to his Disciples, *I am with you alway, even to the end of the world*. Secondly, he is *El*, and that name was given him, as the same Prophet testifieth, *For unto us a child is born, unto us a Son is given; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellour, the mighty God*. He then who is both properly called *El*, that is, *God*, and is also really *Emmanu*, that is, *with us*, he must infallibly be that *Emmanuel* who is *God with us*. Indeed if the name *Emmanuel* were to be interpreted by way of a proposition. *God is with us*, as *the Lord our righteousness*, and *the Lord is there*, must be understood where they are the names of *Jerusalem*; then should it have been the name not of

Christ

Matt. 1. 23.

|| Καὶ καλήσεται
τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς
Ἐμμανουήλ, ὅ
ἐστι, μεθερ-
μηνεύουσιν,
Μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ
Θεός.

I Verse 22. 23.
Exod. 17. 15.
Judges 6. 24
Jer. 33. 16

John 1. 14.
Matt. 28. 20.
Ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑ-
μῶν εἰμι
Isa. 9. 6.
אֱלֹהִים אֲרָם

Ezek. 48. 35.

Christ; but of his Church: and if we under the Gospel had been called so; it could have received no other interpretation in reference to us. But being it is not ours, but our Saviour's name, it bears no kind of similitude with those objected appellations, and is as properly and directly to be attributed to the *Messias* as the name of *Jesus*. Wherefore it remaineth that Christ be acknowledged God with us, according to the Evangelical Interpretation, with an expression of that excellency which belongeth to the Supreme Deity.

Again, He to whom S. Thomas said, *My Lord and my God*, or rather, *The Lord of me and the God of me*, he is that God before whose name the Greek Article is prefixed, which they require, by way of excellency. But S. Thomas spake these words * to Christ. For *Jesus spake unto Thomas, and Thomas answered and said unto him, My Lord and my God*. And in these || words he made confession of his Faith; for our Saviour replied, *Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed*. And let him be the Lord of me, and the God of me, who was the Lord and the God of an Apostle.

John 20. 28.

* Indeed it hath been answered, that these words are not to be referred to Christ, but to God the Father. So Theodor. Mopsue-

stenus in his Commentary on S. John; Thomas quidem, cum sic credidisset, Dominus meus & Deus meus dicit, non ipsum Dominum & Deum dicens, (non enim resurrectionis scientia docebat & Deum esse eum qui resurrexit) sed quasi pro miraculoso facto Deum collaudat. Syn. V. Collat. 4. As if Thomas had intended only to have praised God for raising Christ. But *fit*, it is plain that Thomas answered Christ; secondly, that he spake unto him, that is, to Christ, and consequently that the words which he spake belong to Christ; thirdly, that the words are a Confession of his Faith in Christ, as our Saviour doth acknowledge. And whereas Franciscus Davidis did object, that in a Latin Testament he found not & dixit ei, but & dixit without ei, it is sufficiently discountenanced by Socinus in his Epistle, affirming that all the Greek and Latin Copies had it, except that one which he had found: and therefore the omission must be imputed to the negligence of the Printer. || *Ὁ κύριός μου καὶ ὁ Θεός μου*. Either in these words there is an Ellipsis of *εἶπεν*, Thou art my Lord, thou art my God? or an Antiptosis, the Nominative Case used for the Vocative, as *Ἐλωϊ, Ἐλωϊ, ὁ Θεός μου, ὁ Θεός μου* Mark 15. 34. *Ἀλλὰ ὁ πατήρ*, Mark 14. 36. and *Χῶρε ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἰσραήλ*, John 19. 3. If it be an Ellipsis of the Verb *εἶπεν*, so frequent in the Scriptures, and of the Person sufficiently understood in the preceding Pronoun; then it is evident that *ὁ Θεός* is Attributed unto Christ, for then S. Thomas said unto him, Thou art *ὁ Θεός μου*. If it be an Antiptosis, though the construction require not a Verb, yet the signification virtually requireth as much, which is equivalent: for he acknowledgeth him as much God while he calleth him so, as if he did affirm him to be so. Neither can it be objected that the Article *ὁ* serveth only in the place of *ὦ*, as signifying that the Nominative is to be taken for the Vocative case; because the Nominative may as well stand vocatively without an Article, as *Ἰωσήφ, υἱὸς Δαβὶδ*, Mat. 1. 20. and *Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, Κύριε, υἱὸς Δαβὶδ*, Mat. 20. 30, 31. and therefore when the Vocative is invested with an Article, it is as considerable as in a Nominative. And being these words were an expression of the Apostle's Faith, as Christ understood and approved them, they must contain in them, virtually at least, a Proposition; because no act of our Faith can be expressed, where the Object is not at least a virtual Proposition. And in that Proposition, *ὁ Θεός* must be the predicate, and Christ, to whom these words are spoken, must also be the Subject. It cannot therefore be avoided, but that S. Thomas did attribute the name of God to our Saviour with an Article. Indeed to me there is no doubt but S. Thomas in these words did make as true and real a Confession of his Faith concerning the Person of Christ, as S. Peter did, when he answered and said, Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God, Mat. 16. 16. and consequently, that *ὁ Κύριος* and *ὁ Θεός* do as properly belong unto him, as S. Peter's *ὁ Χεῖρος* and *ὁ υἱός*. As therefore Christ said to his Disciples, Vos vocatis me *ὁ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου*, καὶ ὁ Κύριος, & bene dicitis, sum etenim, John 13. 13. so he might have replied to Thomas, You call me *ὁ Κύριος*, and *ὁ Θεός*, and you say well, for I am so. As for the Objection of Socinus, that though *Θεός* be here spoken of Christ, and that with an Article *ὁ*, yet that Article is of no force because of the following Pronoun *μου* it is most groundless: for the Article *ὁ* cannot have relation to the following Pronoun *μου*. ἐπεὶ πῶς ἢ ἀπαρροδέκτος ἀνώνυμος τῶν ἀρθρῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πῶσαι ἐυθείας ἀρθρῶν παρεδέχεται * as that great Critick Apollonius Alexandrinus observes, l. 1. de Syntax. c. 30. And if for *μου* it were *ἐμῶς*, yet even that Article would belong to *Θεός*, for in these words, *ὁ Θεός ἐμῶς*, neither Article belongs to *ἐμῶς* but both to *Θεός* for, as the same Critick observes in the same case, τὰ δύο ἀρθρα εἰς μίαν ἔυθείαν ἀναφέρεται * ἐκ ἀρχῆς ἐν τῷ, ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἐμῶς, καθ' ἑαυτὰς τὸ ἔτερον τῶν ἀρθρῶν ὅτι τῶν ἀνώνυμων φέρεται. So that if *ὁ Θεός* be the supreme God, then *ὁ Θεός μου* must be my supreme God: as when David speaks to God *ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός μου, πρὸς σε δεθείλω*, Psal. 62. 1. the latter is of as great importance as the former. So again Psal. 42. 5. ἔξομολογήσομαι ἐν κithάρα ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός μου and 49. 3. ὁ Θεός ἐμφανῶς ἦξει, ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν and 70. 13. ὁ Θεός μὴ μακρύνης ἀπ' ἐμῶν, ὁ Θεός μου. I dare not therefore say to any person that he is *ὁ Θεός μου*, except I do believe that he is *ὁ Θεός*. Wherefore I conclude that the words of S. Thomas, *ὁ κύριός μου καὶ ὁ Θεός μου*, are as fully and highly significative as those of David, *Πρόσες τῆ φωνῆ τῆ δεήσεώς μου, ὁ βασιλεὺς μου καὶ ὁ Θεός μου*, Psal. 5. 2. or those, *Ὁ Θεός μου καὶ ὁ κύριός μου, εἰς τὴ δίκην μου*, Psal. 35. 23. or those, *τὰ θυσιάσθητά σου, κύριε τῶν σωμάτων, ὁ βασιλεὺς μου καὶ ὁ Θεός μου*, Psal. 84. 3. or those of S. John in the Revelation, as they lie in the Alexandrian and Complutensian Copies, *Ἄξιός ἐστι, ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν ὁ ἅγιος, λαβεῖν, Ἦε* or that lastly in the most ancient Hymn, *Κύριε ὁ Θεός, ὁ ἀμνός τῶ Θεῶν* — ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

Nor have we only their acquired testimony of Christ's supreme Divinity but also an addition of verity asserting that Supremacy. For he is not only termed *the God*, but, for a farther certainty, *the true God*: and the same Apostle, who said the Word was God, lest any cavil should arise by any omission of an Article, though so frequently neglected by all, even the most accurate Authors, hath also assured us that he is the true God. For, *we know*, saith he, *that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding that we may*

I John 5. 20

know him that is true: and we are in him that is true, even in his Son: Jesus Christ. || This is the true God, and eternal life. As therefore we read in the Acts, of the Word which God sent unto the children of Israel, preaching peace by Jesus Christ; he is Lord of all? where it is acknowledged that the Lord of all is by the Pronoun * he joynd unto Jesus Christ, the immediate, not unto God, the remote antecedent: so likewise here the true God is to be referred unto Christ, who stands next unto it, not unto the Father; spoken of indeed in the Text, but at a distance. There is no reason alledged why these last words should not be referred to the Son of God, but only this, that in Grammatical construction they may be ascribed to the Father. As, when another King arose which knew not Joseph, the same dealt subtilly with our kindred; the same referreth us not to Joseph, but to the King of Egypt. Whereas, if nothing else can be objected but a possibility in respect of the Grammatical construction, we may as well say that Joseph dealt subtilly with his kindred as the King of Egypt; for whatsoever the incongruity be in History, it makes no Solœcism in the Syntax. Wherefore being Jesus Christ is the immediate Antecedent to which the Relative may properly be referred; being the Son of God is he of whom the Apostle chiefly speaketh; being this is rendred as a reason why we are in him that is true, by being in his Son, to wit, because that Son is the true God; being in the language of S. John the constant Title of our Saviour is eternal life; being all these reasons may be drawn out of the Text it self, why the Title of the true God should be attributed to the Son, and no one reason can be raised from thence why it should be referred to the Father: I can conclude no less, than that our Saviour is the true God, so styled in the Scriptures by way of eminency, with an Article prefixed, as the first Christian Writers which immediately followed the Apostles did both speak and Write.

||, Οὐ τὸς ὅτιν δ
 ληθινὸς Θε-
 ὄς, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ αἰ-
 ὰνίου. Hic i-
 gitur non so-
 lum de vero
 Deo, sed de il-
 lo uno vero
 Deo, ut arti-
 culus in Gra-
 co additus in-
 dicat. Catech.
 Racou.
 † Acts 10. 36.
 * Οὗτος for
 ὁς. in Acts 8.
 26. ἀπὸ Ἰερου-
 σαλήμ ἐστὶν Ἰά-
 ζαν ἀπὸ τῆν ὄτιν
 ἔρημος, quæ
 est deserta.
 * Acts 7. 18, 19.

* Δεξάζω Ἰη-
 σὺν Χριστὸν ἢ
 Θεόν. Ignat. E-
 pist. ad Smyrn.
 Ἐν θελήματι τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν. Id. Ep. ad Eph. Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐμυσφορήθη ὑπὸ
 Μαρίας. Ib. Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν Πατρὶ ἀν μᾶλλον φαίνεται. Ep. ad Rom. Τὸ Θεὸν λέγει τὰ λογικὰ πλάσματα
 ἡμεῖς. Cl. Al. adv. Gentes. And it was well observed by the Author of the Μικρὰ Δακρύματα, written about the beginning of the
 third Century, that not only the ancients Fathers before him, as Justin, Miltiades, Tatianus, Clemens, Irenæus, Melito, &c.
 did speak of Christ as God, but that the Hymns also penned by Christians from the beginning did express Christ's Divinity. Παλινοὶ
 ἢ ὅσοι καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ πιασὺν γραφεῖσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἢ Χριστὸν ὑμνεῖσαι θεολογῶντες. And the Epistle
 of Piny to Trajan testifies the same, Quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenq; Christo quasi Deo dicere.

Rom. 9. 5.

|| Though some
 would leave
 God out of the
 Text, upon this
 pretence, because
 S. Cyprian, in
 lib. 2. adv.

But, thirdly, were there no such particular place in which the Article were expressed, yet shall we find such Adjuncts fixed to the name of God when attributed unto Christ as will prove equivalent to an Article, or whatsoever may express the supreme Majesty. As when S. Paul doth magnifie the Jews out of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever, Amen. First, It is evident that Christ is called || God, even he who came of the Jews, though not as he came of them, that is, according to the flesh, which is here * distinguished from his Godhead. Secondly, He is so called God, as not to be any of the many Gods, but the one supreme or most high God; || for he is God over all. Thirdly, he hath also added the title of blessed; which of it self

Judeos, citing this place, leaves it out. But that must needs by the negligence of some of the Scribes, as is evident: First, because Manutius and Merellius found the word Deus in their Copies, and both the MSS. which Pamelius used acknowledge it. Secondly, because S. Cyprian produceth the Text to prove quod Deus Christus; and reckoneth it among the rest in which he is called expressly God. Thirdly, because Tertullian, whose Disciple S. Cyprian professed himself, and both so read it, and so use it. Solum autem Christum potero Deum dicere, sicut idem Apostolus, Ex quibus Christus, qui est (inquit) Deus super omnia benedictus in ævum omne. Adv Praxeam. And again in the same Book; Hunc & Paulus conspexit, nec tamen Patrem vidit. Nonne, inquit, vidi Jesum? Christum autem & ipsum Deum cognominavit: Quorum Patres & ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, qui est per (vel super) omnia Deus benedictus in ævum. Novatianus de Trinitate, useth the same Argument. And another ancient Author very expressly; Rogo te, Deum credis esse Filium, an non? Sine dubio, responsurus es, Deum; qui etsi negare volueris, sanctis Scripturis convinceris, dicente Apostolo, Ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in secula. So also S. Aug. Non solum Pater Deus est, sicut etiam omnes Hæretici concedunt, sed etiam Filius; quod, velint nolint, coguntur fateri, dicente Apostolo, Qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in secula. De Trin. l. 2. c. 13. & contra Faustum

Faustum, l. 16. c. 15 As for the objection, that S. Chrysostome doth not signifie in his Commentaries that he read Θεός, in the Text: I answer that neither does he signifie that he read ὁ ὄντι πάντων, for in his exposition he passeth over wholly ὁ ὄντι πάντων Θεός, but it doth not follow that he read not ὁ ὄντι πάντων in the Text. But when he repeats the words of the Apostle, he agrees wholly with the Greek Text, ὁ ὄντι πάντων Θεός εὐλογητός and Theodoret, who lived not long after him, doth not only acknowledge the words, but give a full Exposition of them: Ἡρακεῖ γὰρ ἡ τὴν καὶ σάρκα παρὰ τὴν πνεῦμα τὸ δευτέρου Χριστὸν ἢ Θεόν ἴσα ἀλλ' ὡς περὶ τὴν παρομοίαν εἰρηκώς, τὴν ἁποδοῦν ἐκ σπέρματος. Δαβὶδ καὶ σάρκα, ἐπήγεγε, τὸ δευτέρου ἢ Θεὸν ἐξ ὁμοιωμένης. Ἔως ἐνταῦθα ἔπων τὸ, καὶ σάρκα, προσέθηκε τὸ, ὄντι πάντων Θεός εὐλογητός εἰς τὸ αἰῶνα. As for the omission of Deus in S. Hilary on the Psalms, it must of necessity be attributed to the negligence of the Scribe, not to the reading of the Father For how he read it he hath clearly expressed in his books de Trinitate: Non ignorat Paulus Christum Deum, dicens, Quorum sunt Patres, & ex quibus Christus qui est super omnia Deus. Non hic creatura in Deum deputatur, sed creaturarum Deus est, qui super omnia Deus est. The pretence therefore of Erasmus from the Fathers is vain; and as vain is that of Grotius from the Syriac Translation, which hath in it the name of God, expressly, as well as all the Copies of the original, and all the rest of the Translations, כִּי לֹא יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה. * Τὸ καὶ σάρκα ὀπposed unto τὸ καὶ πνεῦμα. As Rom. 1. 3. where καὶ σάρκα is used without an Article, because καὶ πνεῦμα, to which it is opposed, followeth, and so the opposition is of it self apparent. But here being καὶ πνεῦμα is not to be expressed in the following words, the Article τὸ signifying of it self a distinction or exception, sheweth that it is to be understood. || Ὁ ὄντι πάντων. Not in omnibus, as Erasmus, nor super omnes, as Beza, with reference to the Fathers, which should have been ὄντι πάντων αὐτῶν. but, as the vulgar Translation, and the ancient Fathers before that, super omnia, ὄντι for ἐπάνω, as John 3. 31. ὁ ἀνωθεν ἐρχόμενος ἐπάνω πάντων ὄντι, which signifieth no less than Ἰησοῦ the ordinary name of God, ὁ ὑψιστος, the most high; as it is taken for the supreme God by it self, Acts 7. 48. and is described, Psal. 97. 9. Ὅτι σὺ εἶ Κύριος, ὁ ὑψιστος ὄντι πάντων τῶν γῶν, ὁ ὄντι πάντων ὑπερυψώθης ὑπερ πάντας τὸν Θεόν.

elsewhere signifieth the * supreme God, and was always used by the Jews to express that one God of Israel. Wherefore it cannot be conceived S. Paul should write unto the Christians, most of which then were converted Jews or Profelytes, and give unto our Saviour not only the name of God, but also add that title which they always gave unto the one God of Israel, and to none but him; except he did intend they should believe him to be the same God whom they always in that manner and under that notion had adored. As therefore the Apostle speaketh of the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is blessed for evermore, of the Creator, who is blessed for ever, Amen; and thereby doth signifie the supreme Deity, which was so glorified by the Israelites; and doth also testify that we worship the same God under the Gospel which they did under the Law: so doth he speak of Christ in as sublime a style, who is over all, God blessed for ever, Amen; and thereby doth testify the equality, or rather identity, of his Deity. If we consider the scope of the Apostle, which is to magnify the Israelites by the innumeration of such privileges as belonged peculiarly to that chosen Nation, the most eminent of which was contained in the Genealogy of our Saviour) we shall find their glory did not consist in this, that Christ at first was born of them a man, and afterwards made a God; for what great honour could accrue to them by the nativity of a man, whose Godhead is referred not to his birth, but to his death? whereas this is truly honourable, and the peculiar Glory of that Nation, that the most High God blessed for ever should take on him the seed of Abraham, and come out of the Israelites as concerning the flesh. Thus every way it doth appear, the Apostle spake of Christ as of the one eternal God.

* As Mark 14. 61. Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ; Art thou the Christ the Son of the Blessed? where the vulgar attribute is taken for God himself, which is usually added to the name of God, as 2 Cor. 11. 31. Ὁ Θεός, ὁ ὄντι εὐλογητός εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ὅτι to any description of him; as ἐλάτρευσαν τὴν κτίσιν παρὰ τὴν κτίσιν ὅτι εἰσιν εὐλογητός εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, Ἀμὲν. And these expressions of S. Paul are consonant to the ancient custom of the Jews, who, when the Priest in the Sanctuary rehearsed the name of God,

were wont to answer, Blessed be his name for ever. Inasmuch as the Blessed one did in their Language signifie as much as the Holy one, and both, or either of them, the God of Israel. Hence are so frequent in the Rabbins, קדוש ברוך הוא the Holy-Blessed one, and ברוך הוא the Blessed one, that they are written by abbreviation, ה' or ה'קב"ה; and the infinite blessed one, ב'ה' א'ם, Blessed be God for ever, Amen, and Amen, ב'י'ל'א, and ב'י'ל'א. 2 Cor. 11. 31. Rom. 1. 52.

He then who was the Word which in the beginning was with God, and was God; he whose glory Isaias saw as the Glory of the God of Israel; he who is styled Alpha and Omega without any restriction or limitation; he who was truly subsisting in the form of God, and equal with him, before he was in the nature of man; he who being man is frequently called God, and that in all those ways by which the supreme Deity is expressed; he had a being before Christ was conceived by the Virgin Mary, and the being which he had was the one eternal and indivisible Divine Essence, by which he always was truly

truly, really and properly God. But all these are certainly true of him in whom we believe, *Jesus Christ*, as hath been proved by clear testimonies of the sacred Scriptures. Therefore the being which Christ had before he was conceived of the Virgin was not any created, but the Divine Essence; nor was he any Creature, but the true eternal God: which was our second Assertion, particularly opposed to the * *Arian* Heresie.

* This Heresie was so called from two who

bare the same name, and fell at the same time into the same opinion; one of them being a Presbyter, and Rector of a Church in Alexandria, the other a Deacon: as Alexander Bishop of Alexandria, in his Epistle extant in Theodoret; *Ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναθεματιζομένων αἰρεσιῶν, ὑπὸ πρεσβυτέρων Ἄ, Ἀρειῶν ὑπὸ διακόνων Β, Ἀχιλλᾶς, Εὐζώιος, Ἀρειος ἕτερος, &c.* In the Epistle of the Arians to Alexander, he is reckoned amongst the Presbyters; *Ἀρειος, Ἀειθαλής, Ἀχιλλᾶς, Καρπῶνις, Σαρματᾶς, Ἀρειος, πρεσβύτεροι.* Of these two phœbadius contra Arian. Patrem & Filium esse non unam personam, ut Sabellius, aut duas substantias, ut Arrii, c. 25. The Heresie is so well known, that it needs no explication: and indeed it cannot be better described than in the Anathematism of the Nicene Council. *Τὸς δὲ λέγοντας ὡς ποτε ὄτε ἐκ ἑῶν, καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι ἐκ ἡῶν, καὶ ὅτι ἐξ ἐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ ἑσίας φασκοντας ἔνθ' ἢ κτιστὸν, ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν, ἢ τρεπτὸν ἢ ἕδον τῆς θεῆς, τέτυκται ἀναθεματίει ἢ καθολικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.* Thus translated by S. Hilary; *Eos autem qui dicunt, erat quando non erat, & antequam nasceretur non erat, & quod de non extantibus factus est, vel ex alia substantia aut essentia, dicentes esse convertibilem & demutabilem Deum, hos anathematizat Catholica Ecclesia.*

* Ἐνα γὰρ οὐδαμῶν ἀγέννητον, καὶ μίαν οὐ πάντων ἀρχῶν πατέρας τῆς κυρίας ἡ- ὡς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. S. Basil. Ep. 78.

Ἐν ἀγέννητον, ὁ πατήρ. Alex. Ep. apud Theodoretum.

John. 16. 15. Πάντα ὅσα ἐχει ὁ πατήρ, τὰ ἡῶ ὄντων, ὡς ἔμπροσθεν τῶν πατέρων ἡ-

δὲν ἐν ἰδίῳ, ὅτι κοινὰ, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ εἶναι κοινὸν καὶ ὁμοτιμον, ἐπὶ τῶν ἡῶ πατέρων. S. Greg. Naz. O. rat. 2. de Filio.

2 John 5. 26. Hoc dixit, Vitam dedit Filio ut haberet eam in semetipso, tanquam diceret, Pater, qui est vita in semetipso, genuit Filium qui esset vita in semetipso. Pro eo enim quod est genuit, voluit intelligi dedit, tanquam si cuiquam diceremus, dedit tibi Deus esse. S. Aug. Et paulo post, Quid ergo Filio dedit? dedit ei ut Filius esset; genuit ut vita esset; hoc est, dedit habere ei vitam in semetipso, ut esset vita non egens vita, ne participando intelligatur habere vitam. Si enim participando haberet vitam non in semetipso, posset & amittendo esse sine vita: hoc in Filio ne accipias, ne cogites, ne credas. Manet ergo Pater vita, manet & Filius vita. Pater vita in semetipso, non à Filio; Filius vita in semetipso, sed à Patre. So again, de Trinit. l. 1. c. 12. Plerumque dicit, Dedit mihi Pater; in quo vult intelligi quod eum genuerit Pater: non ut tanquam jam existenti scandalizati estis quia Patrem meum dixi Deum, quia æqualem me facio Deo? Ita sum æqualis, ut non ille à me, sed ego ab illo sim. Hoc enim intelligitur in his verbis, Non potest Filius à se facere quicquam, &c. hoc est, quicquid Filius habet ut faciat, à Patre habet ut faciat. Quare habet à Patre ut faciat? quia à Patre habet ut possit, quia à Patre habet ut sit. Filio enim hoc est esse quod posse. S. Aug. in locum. Paulo post, Hoc est, Non potest Filius à se quicquam facere, quod esset, si diceret, non est Filius à se. Etenim si Filius est, natus est, si natus est, ab illo est de quo natus est.

2 John 5. 26. Hoc dixit, Vitam dedit Filio ut haberet eam in semetipso, tanquam diceret, Pater, qui est vita in semetipso, genuit Filium qui esset vita in semetipso. Pro eo enim quod est genuit, voluit intelligi dedit, tanquam si cuiquam diceremus, dedit tibi Deus esse. S. Aug. Et paulo post, Quid ergo Filio dedit? dedit ei ut Filius esset; genuit ut vita esset; hoc est, dedit habere ei vitam in semetipso, ut esset vita non egens vita, ne participando intelligatur habere vitam. Si enim participando haberet vitam non in semetipso, posset & amittendo esse sine vita: hoc in Filio ne accipias, ne cogites, ne credas. Manet ergo Pater vita, manet & Filius vita. Pater vita in semetipso, non à Filio; Filius vita in semetipso, sed à Patre. So again, de Trinit. l. 1. c. 12. Plerumque dicit, Dedit mihi Pater; in quo vult intelligi quod eum genuerit Pater: non ut tanquam jam existenti scandalizati estis quia Patrem meum dixi Deum, quia æqualem me facio Deo? Ita sum æqualis, ut non ille à me, sed ego ab illo sim. Hoc enim intelligitur in his verbis, Non potest Filius à se facere quicquam, &c. hoc est, quicquid Filius habet ut faciat, à Patre habet ut faciat. Quare habet à Patre ut faciat? quia à Patre habet ut possit, quia à Patre habet ut sit. Filio enim hoc est esse quod posse. S. Aug. in locum. Paulo post, Hoc est, Non potest Filius à se quicquam facere, quod esset, si diceret, non est Filius à se. Etenim si Filius est, natus est, si natus est, ab illo est de quo natus est.

The third Assertion, next to be demonstrated, is, That the Divine Essence which *Christ* had as the Word, before he was conceived by the Virgin *Mary*, he had not of himself, but by communication from God the Father. For this is not to be denied, that there can be but one Essence properly Divine, and so but one God of infinite Wisdom, Power and Majesty; That there can be but * one person originally of himself subsisting in that infinite Being, because a plurality of more persons so subsisting would necessarily infer a multiplicity of Gods; That the Father of our *Lord Jesus Christ* is originally God, as not receiving his eternal being from any other. Wherefore it necessarily followeth that *Jesus Christ*, who is certainly not the Father, cannot be a person subsisting in the Divine nature originally of himself, and consequently, being we have already proved that he is truly and properly the eternal God, he must be understood to have the Godhead communicated to him by the Father, who is not only eternally, but originally, God. *All things whatsoever the Father hath are mine, saith Christ*; because in him is the same fulness of the Godhead, and more than that the Father cannot have: but yet in that perfect and absolute equality there is notwithstanding this disparity, that the Father hath the Godhead not from the Son, or any other, whereas the Son hath it from the Father: *Christ* is the true God and eternal life; but that he is so, is from the Father: *For as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself*, not by participation, but by communication. 'Tis true, our Saviour was so in the form of God, that he thought it no robbery to be equal with God: but when the *Jews* sought to kill him because he *made himself equal with God*, he answered them, *Verily, verily, I say unto you, the Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do*: by that connexion of his operations, shewing the reception of his Essence; and by the acknowledgment of his power, professing his substance from the Father. From whence he which was equal, even in that equality confesseth a priority, saying,

Quid ergo Filio dedit? dedit ei ut Filius esset; genuit ut vita esset; hoc est, dedit habere ei vitam in semetipso, ut esset vita non egens vita, ne participando intelligatur habere vitam. Si enim participando haberet vitam non in semetipso, posset & amittendo esse sine vita: hoc in Filio ne accipias, ne cogites, ne credas. Manet ergo Pater vita, manet & Filius vita. Pater vita in semetipso, non à Filio; Filius vita in semetipso, sed à Patre. So again, de Trinit. l. 1. c. 12. Plerumque dicit, Dedit mihi Pater; in quo vult intelligi quod eum genuerit Pater: non ut tanquam jam existenti scandalizati estis quia Patrem meum dixi Deum, quia æqualem me facio Deo? Ita sum æqualis, ut non ille à me, sed ego ab illo sim. Hoc enim intelligitur in his verbis, Non potest Filius à se facere quicquam, &c. hoc est, quicquid Filius habet ut faciat, à Patre habet ut faciat. Quare habet à Patre ut faciat? quia à Patre habet ut possit, quia à Patre habet ut sit. Filio enim hoc est esse quod posse. S. Aug. in locum. Paulo post, Hoc est, Non potest Filius à se quicquam facere, quod esset, si diceret, non est Filius à se. Etenim si Filius est, natus est, si natus est, ab illo est de quo natus est.

* The

* The Father is greater than I : The Son equal in respect of his nature, the Father greater in reference to the Communication of the Godhead. + I know him, faith Christ, for I am from him. And because he is from the Father, † therefore he is called by those of the Nicene Council, in their Creed, God of God, light of light, very God of very God. The Father is God, but not of God, light, but not of light; Christ is God, but of God, light, but of light. There is no difference or inequality in the nature or essence, because the same in both; but the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ hath that essence of himself, from none, Christ hath the same not of himself, but from him.

* Δύλον ὅτι τὸ μᾶλλον ἰσὺς ἔστι τῆς αἰτίας τὸ ἴσον τῆς οὐσίας. S. Gr. Naz. Orat. 2. de Filio. + John 7. 29. † So S. August. hath observed Ab ipso, inquit, sum, quia Filius de Patre; &

quicquid est filius, de illo est cujus est filius. Ideo Dominum Jesum dicimus Deum de Deo; Patrem non dicimus Deum de Deo sed tantum Deum. Et dicimus Dominum Jesum lumen de lumine; Patrem non dicimus lumen de lumine, sed tantum lumen. Ad hoc ergo pertinet quod dixit, Ab ipso sum. From hence then did the Nicene Council gather those words of their Creed, Ὁσὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ καὶ φῶς ἐκ φωτός, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινῷ. But not immediately, for they were partly in some of the Oriental Creeds before; as appeareth by that Confession which Eusebius presented to the Council, as containing what he had believed and taught ever since his Baptism, in which he had these words, καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ὃς ἐκ Θεοῦ λόγον, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, ζωὴν ἐκ ζωῆς. And as Eusebius calls him Life of life, so others Power of power, and Wisdom of Wisdom. Ideo Christus virtus & sapientia Dei, quia de Patre virtute & sapientia etiam ipse virtus & sapientia est, sicut lumen de Patre lumine, & fons vitæ apud Deum Patrem utique fontem vitæ. S. Aug. de Trin. l. 7. c. 3. And not only so but essence of essence. Pater & Filius simul una sapientia, quia una essentia; & singillatim sapientia de sapientia, sicut essentia de essentia.

And being the Divine Nature, as it is absolutely immaterial and incorporeal, is also indivisible, Christ cannot have any part of it only communicated unto him, but the whole, by which he must be acknowledged * co-essential. of the same substance with the Father; as the Council of Nice determined, and the ancient Fathers before them taught. Hence appeareth the truth of those words of our Saviour, which raised a second motion in the Jews to stone him; I and the Father are one: where the plurality of the Verb, and the neutrality of the Noun, with the distinction of their persons speak a perfect identity of their essence. And though Christ say, the Father is in me, and I in him; yet withal he saith, I came out from the Father: by the former shewing the Divinity of his essence, by the latter the origination of himself. We must not look upon the Divine Nature as ||steril, but rather acknowledge and admire the fecundity and communicability of it self, upon which the * creation of the world dependeth; God making all things by his Word, to whom he first communicated that omnipotency which is the cause of all things. And this may suffice for the illustration of our third Assertion, that the Father hath communicated the Divine Essence to the Word who is that Jesus who is the Christ.

* Ομοούσιος, which is coessential or consubstantial, is not to be taken of a part of the Divine Essence as if the Son were a part of the essence of the Father, and so of the same nature with him which was the opinion of the Manichees. Οὐχ ὡς Οὐαλεντινὸς περιέλαβεν τὸ γέννημα τῆ Πατρὸς ἐδογματίσεν ὡς Μανιχαῖος μέρος ὁμοούσι-

ον τῆ Πατρὸς τὸ γέννημα ἐσηγήσατο. as Arrius in his Epistle to Alexander; by the interpretation of S. Hilary, Nec ut Valentinus, prolationem natum Patris commentatus est; nec, sicut Manichæus, partem unius substantiæ Patris natum exposuit. de Trin. l. 6. Quod Hilarius ita Latine reddidit, tanquam ὁμοούσιον id significaret quod partem substantiæ habet ex toto resectam, says Dionysius Peravius, without any reason: for S. Hilary clearly translates ὁμοούσιον barely unius substantiæ, and it was in the Original μέρος ὁμοούσιον, which he expressed by partem unius substantiæ. Under this notion first the Arrians pretended to refuse the name ὁμοούσιον, As Arrius in the same Epistle signifieth, lest thereby they should admit a real composition and division in the Deity. Εἰ τὸ ἐκ πατρὸς, καὶ τὸ ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐγέννηθη, ὡς μέρος τῆς ὁμοούσιου καὶ ὡς περιελαβὴν ὑπὸ τινῶν νεύεται (ὡς ἄλλο ἐστὶν ὁ Πατήρ, καὶ διαμετέρος, καὶ τρεπίου. And S. Hierome testifies thus much not only of Arrius and Eunomius, but also of Origen before them: Habetur Dialogus apud Græcos Origenis, & Candidi Valentinianæ Hæreseos defensoris. Quos duos Andabatas digladiantes spectasse me fateor. Dicit Candidus, Filium de Patris esse substantia, errans in eo quod περιελαβὴν αἰσῆρι: E regione Origenes, juxta Arrium & Eunomium, repugnant eum vel prolatum esse vel natum, ne Deus Pater dividatur in partes. Apol. 2. in Ruffin. And therefore Eusebius Bishop of Cæsarea refused not to subscribe to the Nicene Creed, being so interpreted as that objection might be taken away. Τὸ ἐκ τῆ οὐσίας, ὡμοούσιον πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ αὐτικὸν ἔχον, ἐκ τῆ Πατρὸς εἶναι, ὡς ἂν ὡς μέρος ὑπερχεῖν τῆ Πατρὸς. Upon this Confession he subscribed to that clause, begotten of the substance of the Father, which was not in his own Creed. And again, Οὕτω ἡ καὶ τὸ ὁμοούσιον εἶναι τῆ Πατρὸς ἢ ἡδὲν, ἔξεταζόμενος ὁ λόγος σωίστην ἐστὶν ἡδὲν σωματικῶν τρόπων, ἔδει τοῖς θνητοῖς ζωῆς παρεμπλοίας, ἵνα καὶ διαίρεσιν ἢ ἑστίας, ἵνα καὶ ἀποθάνῃ, &c. Upon this acknowledgment he was persuaded to subscribe to the other clause also, (added to that Creed which he himself gave in to the Council) being of one substance with the Father: which clause was inserted by the Council at the instance of Constantine the Emperor. Now as the Manichees made use of the word ὁμοούσιος to express their errors concerning the nature of God and the person of Christ; so the ancient Fathers before the Nicene Council had used the same in a true Catholick sense, to express the unity in essence of the Father and the Son: as appeareth by the confession of the same Eusebius; ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆ παλαιῶν λογίας τινῶν, καὶ ὁμοούσιος ὁμοούσιος, καὶ συσφραγείας ἐγγραφεύς, ὅτι ἢ τῆ Πατρὸς καὶ ἡδὲν θεολογίας τῆ τῆ οὐσίας συσφραγισμῶν ὀνόματι. Wherefore the other Eusebius of Nicomedia, understanding the ancient Catholick sense, confessed that if they believed Christ to be the true begotten, and not created, Son of God, they must acknowledge him ὁμοούσιον, which the Arrians endeavoured to make so odious; and therefore

the Council in opposition to them determined it, Quid est aliud cur Homoufion Patri nolint Filium dici, nisi quia nolunt verum Dei Filium? sicut Author ipsorum Eusebius Nicomediensis Epistola sua prodidit, dicens, si verum, inquit, Dei Filium & increatum dicimus, Homoufion cum Patre incipimus confiteri. Hæc cum lecta esset Epistola in Concilio Nicæno, hoc verbum in Tractatu fidei posuerunt Patres, quod id viderunt adversariis esse formidini, ut tanquam evaginato ab ipsis gladio ipsorum nefandæ caput hæresis amputarent. S. Ambros. l. 3. de Fide, c. 7. De voce ὁμοούσιον, vide Dionys. Petav. de Trin. l. 4. c. 6. * Ἰωάν. 10. 30. * Ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὸν Θεὸν εἶπαι ἕρημον τῆ φυσικῆς γονιμότητος. Damasc. l. 1. c. 8. || Εἰ ἡμῖν καρπογόνον ὄζειν αὐτὴ ἡ θεία οὐσία, ἀλλ' ἕρημον, καὶ αὐτὸς, ὡς φῶς μὴ φωτίζον, καὶ πηγὴ ζῆσός· πῶς δημιουργικῶς ἐρέσειαν αὐτὸν ἔχειν λέγοντες ἐκ αἰχμύνονται; S. Athan. Orat. 2.

The fourth Assertion followeth, That the Communication of the Divine Essence by the Father is the Generation of the Son; and Christ, who was eternally God, not from himself, but from the Father, is the eternal Son of God. That God always had a Son, appeareth by Agur's question in the Proverbs of Solomon; *Who hath established all the ends of the earth? what is his name? and what is his Son's name? if thou canst tell.* And it was the chief design of Mahomet to deny this truth, because he knew it was not otherwise possible to prefer himself before our Saviour. One Prophet may be greater than other, and Mahomet might perswade his credulous Disciples that he was greater than any of the sons of men; but while any one was believed to be the eternal Son of God, he knew it wholly impossible to prefer himself before him. Wherefore he frequently inculcates that blasphemy in his * Alcoran, that God hath no such Son, nor any equal with him: and his Disciples have || corrupted the Psalm of David, reading, (instead of, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee,*) *Thou art my Prophet, I have educated thee.* The later * Jews, acknowledging the words, and the proper literal reading of them, apply them so unto David, as that they deny them to belong to Christ; and that upon no other ground, than that by such an exposition they may avoid the Christians Confession. But by the consent of the ancient Jews, by the interpretation of the blessed Apostles, we know these words belong to Christ, and in the most proper sense to him alone. For, unto which of the Angels said he at any time, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee?* as the Apostle argues. And if he had spoken them unto any other man, as they were spoken unto him, the Apostle's Argument had been none at all.

* This is often repeated there, and particularly in the last chapter but one, called Alechlas. Est ipse Deus unus Deus æternus, qui nec genuit, nec genitus est, & cui nullus est æqualis. And the Sarafenica set forth by Sylburgius mentions this as the first principle of Mahometanism,

Ὅτι εἰς θεός ὄζει, ποιητής τῶν ὄλων, μήτε γεννηθείς, μήτε γεννησας. And Joannes Siculus and Georgius Cedrenus relate how Mahomet gave command, *Ενα μόνον προσκυνῶν θεόν, καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν τιμᾶν ὡς λόγον τῶ θεοῦ ἢ, ἔχει υἱὸν δέ.* And we read of his ridiculous History, that Christ, after his ascension into Heaven, was accused by God for calling himself his Son; and that he denied it, as being so named only by men without any authority from him. Ὅτι ἀνεληθόντα τὸν Χριστὸν εἰς τὸν ἄραν ἠρώτησεν ὁ θεός, λέγων, Ὡ Ἰησοῦ, σὺ εἶπες τὸν λόγον τῶτον, Ὅτι υἱός εἰμι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θεός· καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Ἰησοῦς, Ὅτι ἐκ εἶπον ἐγὼ, ἰδέσθε αἰχμύνονται ἡ δ' οὐδ' ἔσθ' σου· ἀλλ' οἱ ἀσθηρωποὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι εἶπον τὸν λόγον τῶτον. || Alfirozabadius in his Kamuz: *Dictum Dei omnipotentis ad Jesum, (cui propitius sit & pacem concedat Deus) Tu es Nabija Propheta meus, ego walladtoca, fovi te; at dixerunt Christiani, Tu es Bonaya, filius meus, ego walladtoca, te genui. Longe est supra hæc Deus. And to the same purpose Ebnol Alhir: In Evangelio dixit Isæ, ego walladtoca, i.e. educavi te; at Christiani, dempta litera Lam altera, ipsum ei filium statuerunt. Qui longe elatus est super ea quæ dicunt. Whereas then the Apostles attributed those words of the Psalm to Christ, the Mahometans, who could not deny but they were spoken of the Messias, were forced to corrupt the Text: and for that they pretend the eminency and excellency of the Godhead, as if it were beneath the Majesty of God to beget a Son, or be a Father: And indeed whosoever would bring in another Prophet greater than Christ, as he was than Moses, must do so. * I say, the later Jews so attribute those words to David, as if they belonged not to the Messias; but the ancient Jews understood them of the Christ: as appeareth not only out of those places in the Evangelists where the Christ and the Son of God are synonymous; but also by the testimony of the later Jews themselves, who have confessed no less. So Rabbi David Kimchi in the end of his Commentaries on the 2d Psalm, *וישמעו כל בני ישראל והמוזר ער גינומנו והמשיח הוא מלך המשיח וכן פירש רבותינו*. Some interpret this Psalm of Gog and Magog, and the anointed is Messias the King; and so our Doctors of happy memory have expounded it. And Rabbi Solomon Jarchi not only confesseth that the ancient Rabbins did interpret it of the Messias, but shews the reason why the later Jews understood it rather of David, that thereby they might the better answer the Argument of the Christians deduced from thence: *רבותינו דרשו אה הענין ער מלך המשיח ולפי משמעות תשי ביה המינים נכין לפי תרו ער*. our Doctors have expounded it of the Messias: but as to the literal sense, and for the answering Hereticks, (that is, in their Language, Christians) it is rather to be interpreted of David in his own person. † Heb. 1. 5.*

Now that the Communication of the Divine Essence by the Father (which we have already proved) was the true and proper Generation by which he hath begotten the Son, will thus appear: because the most proper Generation which we know, is nothing else but a vital production of another in the same nature

nature, with a full representation of him from whom he is produced. Thus Man begetteth a son, that is, produceth another man of the same humane nature with himself; and this production, as a perfect generation, becomes the foundation of the relation of Paternity in him that produceth, and of Filiation in him that is produced. Thus after the prolific benediction, *Be fruitful and multiply, Adam begat in his own likeness, after his image*: and by the continuation of the same blessing, the succession of humane generations hath been continued. This then is the known * confession of all men, that a Son is nothing but another produced by his Father in the same nature with him. But God the Father hath communicated to the Word the same Divine essence by which he is God; and consequently he is of the same nature with him, and thereby the perfect image and similitude of him, and therefore his proper Son. In humane generations we may conceive two kinds of similitude; one in respect of the internal nature, the other in reference to the external form or figure. The former similitude is essential and necessary; it being impossible a man should beget a Son, and that son not be by nature a man: the latter accidental; not only sometimes the child representing this sometimes the other parent, but also oftentimes neither. || The similitude then, in which the propriety of generation is preserved, is that which consisteth in the identity of nature: and this Communication of the Divine essence by the Father to the Word is evidently a sufficient foundation of such a similitude; from whence *Christ is called the image of God, the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person.*

Gen. i. 28, and 3.

* Κοινὸν ἑσάρῃ
 χει πασι καὶ
 τοῦ δὲ ἀκρίτου ὁ-
 μολόγημα, ὡς
 ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ ἡ
 τῆς ὅτι τῶ γε-
 γνηκυβίαισιν
 καὶ φύσεως. Phil.
 Ep. 1. This is
 in the language
 of Aristotle, τὸ
 ποιῆσαι ἐλεγον
 αἰὲν ἀπὸ ζῶον,
 καὶ ζῶον, φύλον
 ἢ φύλον. Anst.
 S. Basil. lib 2.
 cont. Eunomi-
 um; παλῆς ἡ
 γὰρ ὁρῶν ὁ ὅτι
 ῥῶ τῶ ἐπὶ καὶ
 ὁμοίαν ἑαυτῷ
 φύσιν ἢ ἀρχῆ
 S. Aug. contra

παρὰ γὰρ. || Etiam si filius hominis, homo, in quibusdam similis, in quibusdam sit dissimilis patri; tamen quia ejusdem substantiæ est, negari verus filius non potest, & quia verus est filius; negari ejusdem substantiæ non potest. *Maximin. c. 13. 2 Cor. 4. 4. Heb. 1. 3.*

Nor is this Communication of the Divine essence only the proper generation of the Son, but we must acknowledge it far more proper than any natural generation of the Creature, not only because it is in a more perfect manner, but also because the identity of nature is most perfect. As in the Divine essence we acknowledge all the perfections of the Creature, subtracting all the imperfections which adhere unto them here in things below: so in the Communication we must look upon the reality without any kind of defect, blemish, or impurity. In humane generation the Son is begotten in the same nature with the Father, which is performed by derivation, or decision of part of the substance of the parent: but this decision includeth imperfection, because it supposeth a substance divisible, and consequently corporeal; whereas the essence of God is incorporeal, spiritual and indivisible; and therefore his nature is really communicated, not by derivation or decision, but by a total and plenary communication. In natural conceptions the father necessarily precedeth the Son, and begetteth one younger than himself: for being generation is for the perpetuity of the Species, where the individuals successively fail, it is sufficient if the parent can produce another to live after him, and continue the existence of his nature, when his person is dissolved. But this presupposeth the imperfection of mortality, wholly to be removed, when we speak of him who inhabiteth eternity: the essence which God always had without beginning, without beginning he did communicate; being always Father, as always God. * Animals when they come to the perfection of nature, then become prolific; in God eternal perfection sheweth his eternal fecundity. And that which is most remarkable

† Πάντα ἢ ὅσα
 ἡδὴ τέλεια γυ-
 νᾶ. τὸ ἢ αἰὲν
 τέλειον αἰὲν καὶ
 αἰὲν διὸν γεννᾶ.

Euseb. de Præp. Evang. ex Plotino. Ἀνθρώπων μὲν γὰρ ἴδιον τὸ ἐν χρόνῳ γεννᾶν, διὰ τὸ ἀτέλεις ἢ φύσεως. θεῶν ἢ αἰδίων τὸ γέννημα, διὰ τὸ αἰὲν τέλειον ἢ φύσεως. S. Athan. Orat. 2. This was it which so much troubled the Arians, when they heard the Catholicks constantly asserting, αἰὲν θεός, αἰὲν υἱός. ἀμα πατήρ, ἀμα υἱός.

In humane generations the Son is of the same nature with the Father, and yet is not the same man; because though he hath an essence of the same kind, yet he hath not the same essence: the power of generation depending on the first prolific benediction, *Increase and multiply*, it must be made by way of multiplication, and thus every Son becomes another man. But the Divine essence, being by reason of its simplicity not subject to division, and in respect of its infinity incapable of multiplication, is so communicated as not to be multiplied; insomuch that he which proceedeth by that communication hath not only the same nature, but is also the same God. The Father God, and the Word God; *Abraham* man, and *Isaac* man: but *Abraham* one man, *Isaac* another man; not so the Father one God, and the Word another, but the Father and the Word both the same God. Being then the propriety of generation is founded in the essential similitude of the Son unto the Father, by reason of the same which he receiveth from him; being the full perfect nature of God is communicated unto the Word, and that more intimately and with a greater unity or identity than can be found in humane generations: it followeth that this communication of the Divine nature is the proper generation by which *Christ* is, and is called the true and proper Son of God. This was the foundation of *S. Peter's* Confession, *thou art the son of the living God*; this the ground of our Saviour's † distinction, *I go unto my Father, and to your Father.* Hence did *S. John* raise a verity, more than only a negation of falsity, when he said, *we are in the true Son*: for we which are in him are true, not false, sons, we are not as *the true son*. Hence did *S. Paul* draw an argument of the infinite love of God toward man, in that he *spared not his own proper son*. Thus have we sufficiently shewed, that the eternal communication of the Divine essence by the Father to the Word was a proper generation by which *Christ Jesus* always was the true and proper Son of God: which was our fourth Assertion.

† Multum distat inter dominationem & conditionem inter generationem & adoptionem, inter substantiam & gratiam. Ideoque hic non permixtè nec passim dicitur, *Ascendit ad Patrem nostrum* aut *Deum nostrum*; sed *ad Patrem meum & Patrem vestrum, ad Deum meum & ad Deum vestrum*. Alier enim illi Deus Pater est, aliter nobis. Illum siquidem natura coæquat, misericordia humiliat: nos vero natura prosternit, misericordia erigit. *Capreolus Carthag. Epist.*

The fifth and last assertion followeth, That the Divine essence was so peculiarly communicated to the Word, that there was never any other naturally begotten by the Father; and in that respect *Christ* is the *Only-begotten* Son of God. For the clearing of which truth, it will first be necessary to enquire into the true notion of the *Only-begotten*; and then shew how it belongs particularly to *Christ*, by reason of the Divine nature communicated by way of Generation to him alone. First, therefore, we must avoid the vain interpretation of the ancient * Hereticks, who would have the restraining term *only* to belong, not to the Son, but to the Father; as if the *Only-begotten* were no more than *begotten* of the Father *only*. Which is both contrary to the language of the Scriptures, and the common custom of men, who use it not for him who is begotten of one, but for him who alone is begotten of any.

* This was the fallacy which Eunomius endeavoured to put upon the Church as appears by these words of his delivered and answered

Secondly we must by no means admit the exposition of the || later Here-

by *S. Basil*, *Δὲ τὸ τοῦ ὁμοίου, μονογενῆς, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ μόνου τῆ τοῦ ἀληθινῆς δωάμεθ γεννηθεῖς ἢ κτισθεῖς τελευτάται γένουεν ἢ πνεύματι, as if μονογενῆς were only παρὰ μόνου, and unigenitus were nothing else but genitus ab uno. This *S. Basil* sheweth copiously: First, from the Language of the Scriptures and the usage of mankind; *διὰ τὴ πανουργίαν ἡμῶν οὐ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ μονογενῆς ἐκαστηρῶσε, παρὰ τὸ πλὴν τῆ ἀνθρώπων συνήθειαν, ἢ παρὰ τὴν εὐσεβῆ ἢ γενομένων παρὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶν λαμβάνων αὐτὸ πλὴν δι' ἄνοιαν. Μονογενῆς γὰρ ἔχει ἢ παρὰ μόνου γενόμεθ, ἀλλ' ὁ μόνου γεννηθεῖς, ἐν τῇ κοινῇ χηρῆσει περὶ σωροδία. Secondly, by a retort peculiar to that Heresie, which held the Son of God might be called κτισθεῖς as well as γεννηθεῖς, created as well as begotten, and consequently might be properly named μονοκτισθῆθ as μονογενῆς. Εἰ μὴ παρὰ τὸ μόνου γεγεννηθῆσαι, ἀλλ' ὁ διὰ τὸ παρὰ μόνου μονογενῆς εἶρηται, τούτῳ δὲ ὅτι κατὰ τὸ ἐκείνου τὸ γεγεννηθῆσαι, τί ἔχει ἢ μονοκτισθῆθ αὐτὸν ὀνομάζει; Thirdly, by a particular instance, shewing the absurdity of such an interpretation, for that thereby no man could properly be called μονογενῆς because not begotten of one, but two parts. *Μονογενῆς ὅ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀνθρώπων ἐδῆς χεῖρ γε τὸ ὑμέτερον λόγον. διὰ τὸ ἐκ σωροδία τῆ πᾶσιν ὑπαρχειν τὴν γέννησιν ἢ δὲ ἢ Σάρρα μήτηρ μοι: οὐ γενῆς ἢν παιδός, διότι ἔχει μόνου αὐτὸν, ἀλλ' ἂ μὲ τὸ Ἀβραάμ, ἔτεκε ὡς ἄλλο. || The Socinians***

Socinians make very much of this Notion, and apply it so unto Christ, as that thereby they might avoid all necessity of an eternal generation. So the Racovian Catechism : Causa cur Christo ista attributa (sc. proprium & unigenitum Dei Filium esse) competant, hæc est; quod inter omnes Dei filios & præcipuus sit, & Deo Charissimus : quemadmodum Isaac, quia Abrahamo charissimus & hæres existit, unigenitus vocatus est, Heb. 11. 17. licet fratrem Ismaelem habuerit; & Solomon unigenitus coram matre sua, licet plures ex eadem matre fratres fuerint, 1 Paral. 3. 1, 2, 3, &c. And that this might be applied to the interpretation of the Creed, Schlingius hath inserted it as a material Observation; Nam hic unicus seu unigena filius nominatur, qui cæteris longe charior est Patri, longeque præstantior; and confirms the Interpretation with those two testimonies concerning Isaac and Solomon. But certainly this Observation of theirs is vain, or what else they say is false For if Christ be called the Son of God, because conceived by the Holy Ghost, and none else was ever so conceived, then is he the only begotten by virtue of his generation. And if so, then is he not the only begotten as Isaac and Solomon were, that is, by the affection and prelation of their Parents Or if Christ were the Only-begotten as Isaac and Solomon were, then was he not conceived after a singular manner, for the brethren of Solomon no way differed from him in their generation. It is plain therefore that this interpretation was invented, that when all the rest should fail, they might stick to this.

ticks, who take the *Only-begotten* to be nothing else but the most beloved of all the Sons; because *Isaac* was called the *only Son* of *Abraham*, when we know that he had *Ismael* beside, and *Solomon* said to be the *only-begotten* before his *Mother*, when *David* had other Children even by the *Mother* of *Solomon*. For the *only-begotten* and the *most beloved* are not the same; the one having the nature of a cause in respect of the other, and the same cannot be cause and effect to it self. For though it be true, that the *only Son* is the *beloved Son*; yet with this order, that he is therefore *beloved* because the *only*, not therefore the *only* because *beloved*. Although therefore *Christ* be the *Only-begotten* and the *beloved Son* of *God*, yet we must not look upon these two Attributes as synonymous, or equally significant of the same thing, but as one depending on the other, Unigeniture being the foundation of his singular love. Beside, *Isaac* was called the *only son* of *Abraham* for some other reason than because he was singularly beloved of *Abraham*, for he was the *only Son* of the *Free-woman*, the *only Son* of the promise made to *Abraham*, which was first this, *Sarah shall have a son*, and then, *In Isaac shall thy seed be called*. So that *Isaac* may well be called the *only son* of *Abraham* in reference to the promise, as the *Apostle* speaks expressly; *By faith Abraham when he was tried, offered up Isaac, and he that had received the promises offered up his only begotten Son*. Avoiding therefore these two expositions, as far short of the true notion of the *only begotten*, we must look upon it in the most proper, full and significant sense, as signifying a *Son* so begotten as none other is, was, or can be: so as the term restrictive *only* shall have relation not only to the **Father* generating, but also to the *Son* begotten, and to the manner of the *Generation*. 'Tis true, the *Father* spake from *Heaven*, saying, *Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased*: and thereby we are to understand, that whosoever of us are beloved by the *Father* are so beloved in and through the *Son*. In the same manner *Christ* is the *Only-begotten Son* of *God*; and as many of us as *God* hath bestowed his love upon, that we should be called the *Sons* of *God* are all brought into that near relation by our fellowship with him, who is by a far more near relation the natural and eternal *Son*.

Gen. 18. 14.
and 21. 12.
Heb. 11. 17,

* Eunomius would have it only *παρὰ* *παι-
ς*, in relation to the *Father* only. *S. Basil* shews that no way proper, and shews that *μονογενής* is not he which *παρὰ* *μόνος* but *μόνος*, *παρὰ* *παι-
ς*. *S. Cyril*

adds these two *παρὰ* *μόνος* and *μόνος* together, in relation to the *Father* and the *Son*: *Μονογενής* καὶ *παρὰ* *παι-
ς* ὡνόμασαι λόγῳ, ὅτι *μόνος* ἐκ *μόνος* γενένηται τὸ *παι-
ς*, *Epist.* 1. ad *Regin.* As *Ruffinus* d. th. in *Unicus*: *Ideo* sub-
jungit *Unicum* hunc esse *Filium Dei*, *Unus enim de uno nascitur. Expos. Symb. S. Greg. Naz.* adds to these two a third, in respect of the manner: *Μονογενής* ὅ, ἔχ' ὅτι *μόνος* ἐκ *μόνος*, καὶ *μόνος* ἀπὸ ὅτι καὶ *μοιρατικός* ἔχ' ὡς τὰ *σώ. α. α.* So he smeth-
thing obscurely and corruptly, but plainly enough in *Damascene*, who aims often to deliver himself in the words of *Nazianzen*: *λέγε-
ται μονογενής, ὅτι μόνος ἐκ μόνου τὸ πατρὸς μόνος ἐγενήθη. ἔδὲ γὰρ ὁμοιότητα ἔτερον γεννητὸς τῷ πατρὶ τὸ δὲ ἕξει τὸ δὲ ἕξει τὸ δὲ ἕξει
γὰρ ὅστιν ἄλλος ἢ ὅς τὸ θεῶ.*

Having thus declared the interpretation of the word, that, properly, as *Primogeniture* consisteth in *Prelation*, so *Unigeniture* in *Exclusion*; and that none can be strictly called the *Only-begotten* but he who alone was so begotten: we shall proceed to make good our Assertion, shewing that the *Divine Essence* was peculiarly communicated to the *Word*, by which he was begotten the *Son* of *God*, and never any was so begotten beside that *Son*.

And here we meet with two difficulties : One shewing that there were other Sons of God said to be begotten of him, to whom either the Divine Essence was communicated ; and then the Communication of that to the Word made him not the *Only-begotten* ; or it was not communicated, and then there is no such Communication necessary to found such a Filiation : The other, alledging that the same Divine Essence may be communicated to another beside the Word, and not only that it may, but that it is so, to the Person of the Holy Ghost ; whence either the Holy Ghost must be the Son of God, and then the Word is not the *Only-begotten* ; or if he be not the Son, then is not the Communication of the Divine Essence a sufficient foundation of the relation of Sonship. These two objections being answered, nothing will remain farther to demonstrate this last Assertion.

For the first, we acknowledge that others are frequently called the Sons of God, and that we call the same God *our Father* which *Christ* called his ; that *both he that sanctifieth and they who are sanctified are all of one, for which cause he is not ashamed to call us brethren* : we confess that those whom *S. Paul* hath begotten through the Gospel may well be termed the *begotten of God, whose seed remaineth in them* : but withal, we affirm that this our Regeneration is of a nature wholly different from the generation of the Son. We are first † generated, and have our natural being ; after that regenerated, and so receive a spiritual renovation, and by virtue thereof an inheritance incorruptible : whereas the Generation of *Christ* admits no Regeneration, he becoming at once there by God and Son and Heir of all. The state of Sonship which we come into is but of adoption, shewing the Generation by which we are begotten to be but metaphorical : whereas *Christ* is so truly begotten, so properly the natural Son of God, that his * Generation clearly excludeth the name of Adoption ; and not only so, but when he becometh the Son of man, even in his humanity refuseth the name of an adopted Son. For *when the fulness of time was come God sent forth his Son made of a woman, made under the Law, to redeem them that were under the Law, (not that he, but) that we might receive the adoption of sons*. He then whose Generation is totally different from ours whom he calleth Brethren ; he whom in the sacred Scriptures the Spirit nameth the true Son, the Father sometimes his own, sometimes his beloved, but † never his adopted Son ; he who by those proper and peculiar appellations is * distinguish'd from us, who can claim no higher filiation than that which we receive by the privilege of adoption ; he is truly the *Only-begotten Son* of God, notwithstanding the same God hath begotten us by his Word : and the reason why he is so is, because the Divine Essence was communicated unto him in his natural and eternal Generation, whereas only the grace of God is conveyed unto us in our Adoption. Indeed if we were begotten of the Essence of God as *Christ* was, or he were only by the grace of God † adopted, as we are, then could he by no priority of speech be called the *Only Son*, by reason of so many brethren : but being we cannot aspire unto the first, nor he descend unto the latter, it remaineth we acknowledge him, notwithstanding the first difficulty, by vertue of his natural and peculiar Generation to be the *Only-begotten Son*.

Heb. 2. 11.
 * 1 Cor. 4. 15.
 Ἐν ᾧ Χεῖρ ὁ
 Ἰησοῦ διὰ τῆς
 εὐαγγελίας ἐβλά
 ῦμας ἐγέννησα.
 1 John 3. 9
 Πᾶς ὁ γεννηθῆ
 ῖς ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ
 ἁμαρτίαν ἔποιεῖ,
 ὅτι σπέρμα αὐτοῦ
 ἐν αὐτῷ μένει.
 And more ex
 pressly 1 John 5.
 1. Πᾶς ὁ πισ
 τῶν ὅτι Ἰη
 σοῦς ὅταν ὁ Χεῖρ
 εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ
 γεννηταῦ καὶ
 πᾶς ὁ ἀγαπῶν
 τὸν γεννηθέντα,
 ἀγαπᾷ καὶ τὸν
 γεννηθέντα ἐκ
 αὐτοῦ. Quis
 quis credit Je
 sum esse Chri
 stum illum, ex
 eo genitus
 est ; & quisquis
 diligit eum qui
 genuit, diligit
 etiam eum qui
 ex eo genitus
 est.
 † Nos genuit
 Deus, ut filii e
 jus simus, quos
 fecerat ut ho
 mines essemus.
 Unicum autem
 genuit, non so
 lum ut filius ef
 fet quod Pater
 non est, sed e
 tiam ut Deus esset.

quod & Pater est. S. Aug. de Conf. Evangel. l. 2. c. 3. In the Book of Celsus there was a Jew introduced speaking thus to Christ ; Εἰ τὰτο λέγεις, ὅτι πᾶς ἄνθρωπος καὶ Θεῖον πρόνοιαν γεγονώς ἕός ἐστι Θεοῦ, τί αὐτὸν σὺ ἀνεδιαφύκεις ; who is thus answered by Origen ; Πρὸς ὃν ἐρέω, ὅτι πᾶς μὲν, ὡς ὁ Παῦλος ἀνέμασε, μικρὸν ἐπὶ φόβου πεισθαγωγέως, ἀλλὰ δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ καλὸν αἰρέω, ἕός ἐστι Θεοῦ ὅτι οὗτος ὁ πολλῶ καὶ μακρῶ διαφέρει παντὶ τῷ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἡμετέραν ἢ τῷ Θεῷ, ὅστις ὡς πρὸς πηγὴν τῆς καὶ ἀρχῆς τῆς ποιήτων τυγχάνει. Orig. adv. Celsum, l. 1. * First, it is most certain that the Word of God, as the Word, is not the adopted, but the natural Son of God. Non est Dei Filius Deus falsus, nec Deus adoptivus, nec Deus nuncupativus, sed Deus verus. S. Hilar. de Trin. l. 5. Hic etiam Filius Dei natura est Filius, non adoptione. Council. Tolet. 11. Υἱὸς τῆς Θεοῦ ὅτι φύσει, καὶ ἐθέσει, γεννηθείς ἐκ πατρὸς. S. Cyril. Hierosol. Catech. 11. and again, Οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ μή ὄντος ἐκείνου τὸ εἶναι τὸν ἕδον παρήγαγεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μή ὄντα ἐκείνου ἕδον ἡμετέραν ἢ τῷ Θεῷ ἀλλ' ἀίδιος ὢν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ ἐγένετο καὶ αὐτῷ.

ἀνεκφράστως ἢ δὲ ἓνα μόνον, ἀδελφὸν ἢ ἐχόντα. *This hath been so generally confessed, that Felix and Elipandus, who were condemned for maintaining Christ as man to be the adopted Son of God, did acknowledge it; as appeareth by the beginning of their Book, Confitemur & credimus Deum Dei Filium, ante omnia tempora sine initio ex Patre genitum, coæternum & consubstantialem, non adoptione sed genere. Secondly it is also certain, that the man Christ Jesus taken personally is the natural, not the adopted Son of God: because the man Christ Jesus is no other person than the Word, who is the eternal and natural Son, and by subsisting in the humane nature could not leave of to be the natural Son. The denial of this by Felix and Elipandus was condemned as Heretical in the Council of Francford; and their Opinion was thus expressed, partly in the words of S. Augustine, partly in their own additions. Confitemur & credimus eum factum ex muliere, factum sub Lege; non genere esse filium Dei, sed adoptione, non natura, sed gratia: This they maintained by forged testimonies of some Fathers, and by the Liturgy of the Church of Toledo composed by Hildephonus, as the Roman by Gregory, in the Mass de Cœna Domini, Qui per adoptivi hominis passionem cum suo non indulgit corpori; and in the Mass de Ascensione Domini, Hodie Salvator noster, per adoptionem carnis, sedem repetivit Deitatis. To this the Synod opposed their determination in Sacrosyllabo; Quod ex te nascetur sanctum vocabitur filius Dei, non adoptivus sed verus, non alienus sed proprius. And again; Porro adoptivus dici non potest qui alienus est ab eo à quo dicitur adoptatus; & gratis ei adoptio tribuitur, quoniam non ex debito, sed ex indulgentia tantummodo, adoptio præstatur: sicut nos aliquando cum essemus peccando filii iræ, alieni eramus à Deo, per proprium & verum Filium, qui non eguit adoptione, adoptio nobis filiorum donata est. And of this they give us the true ground in the Synodic Epistle; Unitas personæ quæ est in Dei filio & filio Virginis adoptionis tollit injuriam. Gal. 4. 4, 5. † Legi & relegi Scripturas, Jesum Filium Dei nusquam adoptione inveni. Ambrosiaster Com. in Ep. ad Rom. Dices mihi, Cur times adoptivum Christum Dominum nominare? Dico tibi, quia nec Apostoli eum sic nominarunt, nec sancta Dei & Catholica Ecclesia consuetudinem habuit sic eum appellare. Synod. Epist. Concil. Francoford. From whence they charge all those to whom they write that Synodic Epistle, that they should be satisfied with such expressions as they found in the Scriptures: Intelligite, fratres, quæ legitis, & nolite nova & incognita nomina fingere, sed quæ in S. Scriptura inveniuntur tenete, &c. * S. Aug. hath observed that S. Paul made use of ὑποθεσία, that he might distinguish the filiation of Christ from ours. At vero etiam nos, quibus dedit Deus potestatem filios ejus fieri, de natura atque substantia sua non nos genuit, sicut unicum Filium, sed utique dilectione adoptavit. Quo verbo Apostolus sæpe uti non ob aliud intelligitur, nisi ad discernendum Unigenitum. De consens. Evang. l. 2. c. 3. And S. Ambrose takes notice that the name of true destroyeth that of adopted: Adoptivum filium non dicimus filium esse natura, sed eum dicimus natura esse filium qui verus est filius. De Incarn. Sacr. c. 8. || Si unicus, quomodo adoptivus, dum multi sunt adoptivi filii? Unicus itaque de multis non potest dici. Concil. Francof. Quod si etiam Unigenitus Filius factus dicitur ex gratia, non vere genitus ex natura, proculdubio nomen & veritatem Unigeniti perdidit, postquam fratres habere jam cœpit: privatur enim hujus veritate nominis, si in Unigenito non est de Patre veritas naturalis. Fulgentius ad Thrasim. l. 3. c. 3. Si divina illa Filii sempiternaque nativitas non de natura Dei Patris, sed ex gratia, creditur substituisse, non debet Unigenitus vocari, sed tantummodo genitus. Quoniam sicut ei nomen geniti largitas adoptionis paternæ contribuit, sic eum ab Unigeniti nomine nobis quoque tributa communio paternæ adoptionis exclusit. Unigenitus enim non vocatur, quamvis genitus possit vocari, cum genitis. Ib. c. 4.*

But though neither Men nor Angels be begotten of the substance of God, or by vertue of any such natural Generation be called Sons; yet one person we know, to whom the Divine Essence is as truly and really communicated by the Father as to the Son, which is the third person in the blessed Trinity, the Holy Ghost, Why then should the Word by that Communication of the Divine Essence become the Son, and not the Holy Ghost by the same? or if by receiving the same nature, he also be the Son of God, how is the Word the Only-son? To this I answer, That the Holy Ghost receiveth the same Essence from the Father which the Word receiveth, and thereby becometh the same God with the Father and the Word: but though the Essence be the same which is communicated, yet there is a difference in the communication; the Word being God by Generation, the Holy Ghost by procession: and though

* Non omne id quod procedit nascitur, sicut omne id quod nascitur procedit. S. Aug. contra Max. l. 3. c. 14. who gives the same solution to the same argument. Quæris à me, si de substantia Patris est Filius, de substan-

tia Patris est etiam Spiritus Sanctus, cur unus Filius sit, & alius non sit filius. Ego respondeo, si ve capias, si ve non capias; De Patre est filius, de Patre est Spiritus S. sed ille genitus est, iste procedens. Πολλὰ τῆς τε τιτανότερον τὸ εἶναι, ἢ ἔ- κείνη γὰρ τὸ ἀγεννήτη φύσις ἢ Λόγον ἢ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. ἢ ἢ, ὡς Λόγον, ἐν τῆ νῦ γεννώμενον τὸ ἢ, ὡς Πνεῦμα, ἐκ- πορεύμενον. Συμπέσει τὸ πῶ Λόγῳ τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἢ Συγγενώμενον, ἀλλὰ ἔσων, ἢ παρομαρτεν, ἢ ἐκπορεύμενον. Theo- doret. Serm. 2. p. 504. || Nunquam fuit non Pater, sà quo filius natus. à quo Spiritus Sanctus non natus, quia non est Filius. Gemad. De Eccles. Dog. Deus Pater innascibilis non ex aliquo, Deus Filius unigenitus ex aliquo, hoc est, ex Patre, Spiritus S. innascibilis ex aliquo, hoc est, ex Patre. Isaac. lib. Fidei. Quod neque natum neque factum est, Spiritus S. est, qui à Patre & Filio procedit. S. Ambros. in Symb.

Ghost

Ghost proceedeth from the Father in the same nature with him, the Word proceedeth from the same person in the same similitude of nature also; but the Word proceeding is the Son, the Holy Ghost is not, because the first procession is by way of Generation, the other is not. As therefore the Regeneration and adoption of man, so the Procession of the Holy Ghost doth no way prejudice the eternal Generation, as pertaining solely to the Son of God.

Seeing then our Saviour *Jesus Christ* had a real being and existence before he was conceived by the *Virgin Mary*; seeing the being which he had antecedently to that Conception was not any created, but the one and indivisible Divine Essence; seeing he had not that Divinity of himself originally, as the Father, but by communication from him; seeing the communication of the same Essence unto him was a proper Generation; we cannot but believe that the same *Jesus Christ* is the begotten Son of God: and seeing the same Essence was never so by way of Generation communicated* unto any, we must also acknowledge him the *Only begotten*, distinguished from the Holy Ghost, as Son, from the adopted Children, as the Natural Son.

The necessity of the belief of this part of the Article, that *Jesus Christ* is the proper and natural Son of God, begotten of the substance of the Father, and by that singular way of Generation the *Only Son*, appeareth first in the confirmation of our Faith concerning the Redemption of Mankind. For this doth shew such an excellency and dignity in the person of the Mediator as will assure us of an infinite efficacy in his Actions, and value in his sufferings.

We know ¹ *it is not possible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins*: and we may very well doubt how the blood of him who hath no other nature than that of man, can take away the sins of other men; there appearing no such difference as will shew a certainty in the one, and an impossibility in the other. But since we may be ² *bought with a price*, well may we believe the blood of *Christ* sufficiently ³ *precious*, when we are assured that it is the *blood of God*: nor can we question the efficacy of it in ⁵ *purging our conscience from dead works*, if we believe *Christ* offered up himself through the *Eternal Spirit*. If we be truly sensible of our sins, we must acknowledge that in every one we have offended God; and the gravity of every offence must needs increase proportionably to the dignity of the party offended in respect of the offender; because the more worthy any person is, the more reverence is due unto him, and every injury tendeth to his dishonour; but between God and man there is an infinite disproportion; and therefore every offence committed against him must be esteemed as in the highest degree of injury. Again, as the gravity of the offence beareth proportion to the person offended; so the value of reparation ariseth from the dignity of the person satisfying: because the satisfaction consisteth in a reparation of that honour which by the injury was eclipsed; and all honour doth increase proportionably as the person yielding it is honourable. If then by every sin we have offended God, who is of infinite eminency, according to which the injury is aggravated; how shall we ever be secure of our reconciliation unto God, except the person who hath undertaken to make the reparation be of the same infinite dignity, so as the honour rendred by his obedience may prove proportionable to the offence and that dishonour which arose from our disobedience? This scruple is no otherwise to be satisfied than by a belief in such a Mediator as is the *Only-begotten Son* of God, of the same substance with the Father, and consequently of the same power and dignity with the God whom by our sins we have offended.

Secondly, The belief of the eternal Generation of the Son, by which he

* Ως μὲν ἐν υἱῷ, φυσικῶς γεννητὸν τὰ τὰ πατρὸς Ἰησοῦ, ὡς δὲ υιογενεῖς, ὅλα ἐκ ἐν ἑαυτῷ συναβάν, ἑσθὺς κατακευζομένης πρὸς ἕτερον. S. Basil Hom. de Fide.

¹ Heb. 10. 4.

² 1 Cor. 6. 20. and 7. 23.

³ 1 Pet. 1. 19.

⁴ Acts 20. 28.

⁵ Heb. 9. 14.

is the same God with the Father, is necessary for the confirming and encouraging a Christian in ascribing that honour and glory unto Christ which is due unto him. For we are commanded to give that Worship unto the Son which is truly and properly Divine; the same which we give unto God the Father, who hath committed all judgment unto the Son, that all men should honour the Son even as they honour the Father. As it was represented to S. John in a Vision, when he heard every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, saying, blessing, honour, glory, and power be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the lamb, for ever and ever. Again, we are commanded to fear the Lord our God, and to || serve him; and that with such an emphasis, as by him we are to understand him alone, because the Lord our God is one Lord. From whence if any one arose among the Jews teaching under the title of a Prophet to worship any other beside him for God, the judgment of the *Rabbins was, that notwithstanding all the Miracles which he could work, though they were as great as Moses wrought, he ought immediately to be strangled, because the evidence of this truth, that One God only must be worshipped, is above all evidence of sense. Nor must we look upon this Precept as valid only under the Law as if then there were only one God to be worshipped, but since the Gospel we had another; for our Saviour hath commended it to our observation, by making use of it against the Devil in his temptation, saying ¹ Get thee hence Satan, for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve. If then we be obliged to worship the God of Israel only, if we be also commanded to give the same Worship to the Son which we give to him; it is necessary that we should believe that the Son is the God of Israel.² When the Scripture bringeth in the first-begotten into the world, it saith, Let all the Angels of God worship him; but when the same Scripture calleth that first-begotten ³ Jehovah, and the Lord of the whole earth. For a man to worship that for God which is not God, knowing that it is not God, is affected and gross Idolatry; to worship that as God which is not God, thinking that it is God, is not the same degree, but the same sin: to worship him as God who is God, thinking that he is not God, cannot be thought an act in the formality void of Idolatry. Lest therefore, while we are all obliged to give unto him Divine worship, we should fall into that sin which of all others we ought most to abhor, it is no less necessary that we should believe that Son to be that eternal God, whom we are bound to worship, and whom only we should serve.

Thirdly, Our belief in Christ as the eternal Son of God is necessary, to raise us unto a thankful acknowledgment of the infinite love of God appearing in the sending of his only begotten Son into the world to die for sinners. This love of God is frequently extolled and admired by the Apostles. ⁴ God so loved the world, saith S. John, that he gave his only begotten Son. ⁵ God commended his love towards us, saith S. Paul, in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us; in that he spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all. ⁶ In this, saith S. John again, was manifested the love of God towards us, because that God sent his only-begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him. Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins. If we look upon all this as nothing else, but that God should cause a man to be born after another manner than other men, and when he was so born after a peculiar manner, yet a mortal man should deliver him to die for the sins of the world; I see no such great expression of his love in this way of redemption, more than would have appeared if he had redeemed us any other way. 'Tis true indeed, that the reparation of lapsed man is no act of absolute necessity in respect of God, but that he hath as freely de-

signed

John 5. 22, 23.

Rev. 5. 13.

Deut. 6. 13, 14.
|| The emphasis appears in this, that it is not barely וְהָעֵבֶר וְאֶתִּי תַעֲבֹד & servies ei, but וְאֶתִּי תַעֲבֹד & לְיְהוָה servies, with such a peculiar restriction as is expressed by the Chaldee Paraph.

וְהָעֵבֶר וְאֶתִּי תַעֲבֹד & in conspectu ejus servies, by the LXX. ἡ αὐτοῦ μόνω λατρεύσεις and that restriction approved by our Saviour, Matt. 4. 10.

* Moses Maim. Praef. in Seder Zeraim.

¹ Mat. 4. 10.

² Heb. 1. 6.

³ Psal. 97. 5. Εἰ ὁ μονοθεοῦς ὅστις, ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἐν ὅσῳ, ἔδειξαν ἀεὶ ἔχει πρὸς τὰ χλίσθ' κοινωσίαν. Theod. Hæret. Fab. l. 5. c. 2.

⁴ John 3. 16.

⁵ Rom. 5. 8. and 8. 32.

⁶ 1 John 4. 9. 10.

designed our Redemption as our Creation; considering the misery from which we are redeemed, and the happiness to which we are invited, we cannot but acknowledge the singular love of God even in the act of Redemption it self: but yet the Apostles have raised that consideration higher, and placed the choicest mark of the love of God in the choosing such means and performing in that manner our reparation, by sending his *Only-begotten* into the World; by not sparing his own Son, by giving and delivering him up to be scourged and crucified for us: and the estimation of this act of God's love must necessarily increase proportionably to the dignity of the Son so sent into the World; because the more worthy the person of Christ before he suffered, the greater his condescension unto such a suffering condition; and the nearer his relation to the Father, the greater his love to us for whose sakes he sent him so to suffer. Wherefore to derogate any way from the Person and nature of our Saviour before he suffered, is so far to undervalue the love of God, and consequently, to come short of that acknowledgment and thanksgiving which is due unto him for it. If then the sending of Christ into the World were the highest act of the love of God which could be expressed; if we be obliged unto a return of thankfulness some way correspondent to such infinite love; if such a return can never be made without a true sense of that infinity, and a sense of that infinity of love cannot consist without an apprehension of an infinite dignity of nature in the person sent: then it is absolutely necessary to believe that Christ is so the *Only-begotten Son* of the Father, as to be of the same substance with him, of Glory equal, of Majesty co-eternal.

By this discourse in way of explication every Christian may understand what it is he says, and express his mind how he would be understood, when he maketh this brief Confession, I believe in *Christ the only Son* of God. For by these words he must be thought to intend no less than this; I do profess to be fully assured of this assertion as of a most certain, infallible and necessary truth, That *Jesus Christ*, the Saviour and *Messias*, is the true, proper and natural Son of God, begotten of the substance of the Father; which being incapable of division or multiplication, is so really and totally communicated to him, that he is of the same Essence with him, *God of God, light of light, very God of very God*. And as I assert him so to be the Son, so do I also exclude all other persons from that kind of Sonship, acknowledging none but him to be begotten of God by that proper and natural Generation; and thereby excluding all which are not begotten, as it is a generation; all which are said to be begotten, and are called Sons, but are so only by adoption, as 'tis natural. And thus I believe in God the Father, and in *Jesus Christ* his *Only Son*,

Our Lord.

|| For though in the first Rules of Faith mentioned by Irenæus and Tertullian we find not Dominum nostrum, yet in all the Creeds

afterwards we find those words; probably inserted because denied by the Valentinians, of whom Irenæus, Δια τῆτο τὸν Σωτήρα λέει γίνεσθαι, ἕδρα γὰρ Κύριον ὀνομάζειν αὐτὸν θεῶνσι. l. i. c. i.

After our Saviour's Relation founded upon his eternal Generation, followeth his Dominion, || in all ancient Creeds, as the necessary consequent of his Filiation. For as we believe him to be the Son of God, so must we acknowledge him to be *our Lord*, because the only Son must of necessity be Heir and Lord of all in his Father's House; and all others which bear the name of Sons, whether they be men or Angels, if compared to him, must not be looked upon as Sons of God, but as Servants of Christ.

Three things are necessary, and more cannot be, for a plenary explication of this part of the Article. First, the proper notation of the word Lord in the Scripture-phrase, or language of the Holy Ghost, Secondly, the full signification of the same in the adequate latitude of the sense, as it belongs to Christ: Thirdly, the application of it to the person making confession of his Faith, and all others whom he involves in the same condition with himself, as saying, not *my*, nor *their*, but, *Our Lord*.

First then, we must observe that not only Christ is *the Lord*, but that this title doth so properly belong unto him, that *the Lord* alone absolutely taken is * frequently used by the Evangelists and Apostles determinately for *Christ*, insomuch that the Angels observe that Dialect, ' *Come, see the place where the Lord lay*. Now for the true Notation of the word, it will † not be so necessary to inquire into the use or origination of the *Greek*, much less into the Etymology of the correspondent *Latin*, as to search into the Notion of the *Jews*, and the language of the Scriptures, according unto which the Evangelists and Apostles spake and wrote.

And first, it cannot be denied but that the word which we translate *the Lord*, was used by the Interpreters of the Old Testament sometimes for men with no relation unto any other than humane Dominion. And as it was by the Translators of the Old, so is it also by the Pen-men of the * New. But it most certain that *Christ* is called *Lord* in another notion than that which signifies any kind of humane Dominion; because, as so, ² *there are many Lords*, but he is in that notion ³ *Lord* which admits of no more than *one*. They are only ⁴ *masters according to the flesh*; He ⁵ *the Lord of glory*, *The Lord from heaven*, ⁶ *King of Kings*, and *Lord of all other lords*.

* Mark 16. 19
20. Luke 12
42. and 24. 34.
John 4. 1. and
6. 23. and 11.
2. and 20. 2.
13, 20, 25. and
21. 7. Acts 9. 1.
6. 10, 11, 15,
17, 27. 31, 42.
and 11. 16, 24.
and 13. 47, &c.
Κύριος.

† Matt. 28. 6.
† For whatsoever shall consider the signification of Κύριος in the Scriptures, I think he will scarce find any footsteps of the same in the an-

cient Greeks. In our Sacred Writ it is the frequent name of God, whereas I imagine it is not to be found so used by any of the old Greek Authors. Julius Pollux, whose business is to observe what words and phrases may be properly made use of in that Language, tells us the Gods may be called Θεοὶ or Δαίμονες, but mentions not Κύριος, as neither proper, nor any name of God with them at all. Nor did they anciently use it in their Oeconomicks; where their constant terms were not Κύριος, but δεσπότης, and δέσλος * and they had then another kind of notion of it, as appears by the complaint of the servant in Aristophanes, Τὸ (ἀμα)Θ γὰρ ἐκ ἐμῆ κείρον κείρον ὁ δαίμων, ἢ ἂν ἐπ' ἐωνυμίου. In which words if they were interpreted by the Scripture usage, Κύριος would signifie the Master, and ἐωνυμίου the person bought, that is, the servant; whereas the place requires an interpretation wholly contrary: for ἐωνυμίου is not here ἡγορασμίου, but ἀγοράσας, or ἄνωσάμωρος, as the Scholiast, Suidas and Moschopolus have observed, that is, not the servant, but the Master who bought him. And though those Grammarians bring no other place to prove this active signification beside this of Aristophanes, by which means it might be still questionable whether they had rightly interpreted him without any authority; yet Phrynichus will sufficiently secure us of this sense. "Ετυχον ἐωνυμίου οὐκ ἔστιν ἂν ἀγορῆν ἐκείνου ἢ δὲν ἐρχομένη ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ πείλαδα * μάλιστα τὸ ἐωνυμίου δόκιμον. "Εωνυμίου then here is he which buyeth, that is, the Master: and consequently κύριος not the Master, but the servant bought, whom he supposeth originally to have power over his own body. Indeed it was not only distinguished, but in a manner opposed to δεσπότης * as appears by that observation of Ammonius thus delivered by Eustathius in Odys. 3. Κύριος γυναικὸς καὶ υἱῶν ἀνδρῶν ἡ πατὴρ, δεσπότης δ' ἀστυνομήτης ἐστίν. || As κύριος is generally translated κύριος, when it signifieth Lord or Master in respect of a servant or inferiour. So Sarah called her husband, Gen. 18. 12. 1 Pet. 3. 6. so Eleazer his Master Abraham, Gen. 24. frequently. Thus Rachel saluted her Father Laban, Gen. 31. 35. and Jacob his Brother Esau, Gen. 33. 8. Potiphar is the κύριος of Joseph whom he bought, Gen. 39. 2. &c. and Joseph in power is so saluted by his brethren, Gen. 42. 10. and acknowledged by his servant, 44. 5. The general name in the law of Moses for servant and master is παῖς and κύριος, Exod. 21. 2, 4. It is indeed so plain that the ancient Jews used this word to signifie no more than humane power, that we find אָדוֹן the name of man so translated, as 1 Sam. 17. 32. אָדוֹן אָדוֹן אֲנִי וְאַתָּה אָדוֹן אֲנִי וְאַתָּה אָדוֹן אֲנִי וְאַתָּה אָדוֹן אֲנִי. * For κύριος is used with relation and in opposition to παῖς Acts 16. 16. in the sense which the later, not the ancient, Greeks used it: Παιδίσκη, τὸ τοῦ δεσπότητος ἐστὶν τὸ πῶς οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ὄντι ἐν ἀνδρῶν, as Phrynichus observes, as it is opposed to οὐκ ἐστίν, Luke 16. 13. (according to that of Euseb. Κύριος ἢ πῶς τι ὄντι, ἔχει ἢ πῶς ἢ οὐκ ἐστίν) το δέσλος, Matt. 10. 24. and 18. 25, &c. And in the Apostolical rules pertaining to Christian Oeconomicks, the Master and servant are δέσλος and κύριος. As also by way of addition κύριος οὐ δεσπότης, Mat. 9. 38. κύριος τῶ ἀμπελωνος, Matt. 20. 8. κύριος τῶ οὐκίας, Mark 13. 35. Insomuch as κύριος is sometimes used by way of address or salutation of one man to another, (as it is now generally among the later Greeks, and as Dominus was anciently among the Latines, Quomodo obvios, si nomen non occurrat, Dominos salutamus, Sen.) not only of Servants to Masters, as Mat. 13. 27. or Sons to Parents, as Matt. 21. 30. or inferiours to men in authority, as Matt. 27. 63. but of strangers; as when the Greeks spake to Philip, and desired him, saying, Κύριε, θέλομεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἰδεῖν, John 12. 21. and Mary Magdalen speaking unto Christ, but taking him for a Gardener, Κύριε, εἰ σὺ ἐβάσθσας αὐτὸν, John 20. 15. And it cannot be denied but this title was sometimes given to our Saviour himself in no higher or other sense than this: As when the Samaritan woman saw him alone at the well, and knew no more of him than that he appeared to be one of the Jews, she said, Κύριε, ἀντανημα ἐκ ἔχθρας, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα σου ποῦ ἐστίν, John 4. 11. And the infirm man at the Pool of Bethesda, when he wist not who he was, said unto him, κύριε, ἡσέσωμαι ἐκ ἔχθρας, John 5. 7. The blind man, to whom he had restored his sight, with the same salutation makerth confession of his ignorance, and his faith, Τίς ἐστί, κύριε; and, πῶς ἔγω, κύριε, John 9. 35, 38. 1 Cor. 8. 5. 3 Ib. v. 6. and Eph. 4. 5. 4 Col. 3. 22. 5 1 Cor. 2. 8. and 15. 47. 6 Rev. 15. 16

Nor is it difficult to find that name amongst the Books of the Law in the most high and full signification ; for it is most frequently used as the name of the supreme God, sometimes for *El* or *Elohim*, sometimes for *Shaddai* or the *Rock*, often for *Adonai*, and most universally for *Jehovah*, the undoubted proper name of God, and that to which the *Greek* Translators, long before our Saviour's birth, had most appropriated the name of *Lord*, not only by way of explication, but distinction and particular expression. As when we read, *Thou whose name alone is Jehovah, art the most high in all the earth* ; and when God so expresseth himself, *I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by the name of God Almighty ; but by my name Jehovah was I not known unto them.* In both these places, for the name *Jehovah*, the *Greek* Translation, which the Apostles followed, hath no other name but *Lord* ; and therefore undoubtedly by that word which we translate *the* || *Lord* did they understand the proper name of God *Jehovah*. And had they placed it there as the exposition of any other name of God, they had made an interpretation contrary to the manifest intention of the Spirit : For it cannot be denied but God was known to *Abraham* by the true importance of the title *Adonai*, as much as by the name of *Shaddai* ; as much by his Dominion and sovereignty, as by his Power and All-sufficiency : but by any experimental and personal sense of

Psal. 83. 18.
Exod. 6. 3.
 || I know it is the vulgar opinion, that *κύριος* properly answereth unto *אֲדֹנָי*, and the reason why it was also used for *יְהוָה*, is no other than because the Jews were wont to read *Adonai* in the place of *Jehovah* Of which observation they make great use who deny the Divinity of Christ. Quia enim Adonai pro Jehovah in lectione Hebræorum verborum substitui consuevit, ideo illius etiam interpretatio huic accommodatur, says Crellius de Deo & Attrib. c. 14. But first it is not probable that the LXX. should think *κύριος* to be the proper interpretation of *אֲדֹנָי*, and give it to Jehovah only in the place of Adonai ; for if they had it would have followed, that where Adonai and Jehovah had met together in one sentence, they would not have put another word for Adonai, to which *κύριος* was proper, and place *κύριος* for Jehovah, to whom of it self (according to their observation) it did not belong. Whereas we read not only *אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה אֲדֹנָי* translated *δέσποτα κύριε*, Gen. 15: 2, 8. and *הָאֲדֹנָי צְבָאוֹת* ὁ δεσπότης κύριος *Σαβαώθ*, Isa. 1. 24. but also *יְהוָה אֲדֹנָינוּ* κύριος τῶ θεῶ ἡμῶν, Nehem. 10. 29. Secondly the reason of this assertion is most uncertain. For tho it be confessed that the Masoreths did read *אֲדֹנָי* where they found *יְהוָה* and Josephus before them expresses the sense of the Jews of his age, that the *τελεγγεγραμματον* was not to be pronounced, and before him Philo speaks as much ; yet it followeth not from thence, that the Jews were so superstitious above 300 years before ; which must be proved before we can be assured that the LXX. read Adonai for Jehovah, and for that reason translated it *Κύριος*. Thirdly, as we know no reason why the Jews should so confound the names of God ; so were it now very irrational in some places to read *אֲדֹנָי* for *יְהוָה*. As when God saith, *I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, בְּאֵל שַׁדַּי וּשְׁמִי יְהוָה לֵאמֹר אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה*, tho the Vulgar Translation render it, in Deo omnipotente, & nomen meum Adonai non indicavi eis, and thereby make an apparent sense no way congruous to the intended importance of the Holy Ghost ; (for it cannot be imagined either that God should not be known to Abraham by the name Adonai, or that it were any thing to the present intendment, which was to encourage Moses and the Israelites by the interpretation of the name Jehovah) yet we have no reason to believe that the LXX. made any such heterogeneous translation, which we read *κύριος ἢ ἐδύλωσα αὐτοῖς*. Thus again, where God speaks unto Moses, *οὕτως ἐρεῖς τοῖς υἱοῖς Ισραὴλ, κύριος, ὁ θεὸς τῶ πατέρων ὑμῶν, ἀπέσταλκε με πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τὸ τὸ μὲ δὲ ὄνομα αἰώνιον*, Exod. 3. 15. whosoever thinks *Κύριος* stands for Adonai doth injury to the Translators ; and whosoever readeth Adonai for Jehovah puts a force upon the Text. As also when the Prophet David saith, That men may know that thou, whose name alone is Jehovah, art the most high over all the earth. I confess the ancient Fathers did, together with the Jews, read Adonai for Jehovah in the Hebrew Text, as appeareth by those words of Epiphanius de Ponderibus, *Ἀδωναι, ἡλιχό, καρθη, ισουηλ, ιεβριτα, ακωλ* which very corruptly represent part of the first verse of the 141. Psalm, *יְהוָה קְדָאֲתָךְ חו שֶׁה לִי הָאֲוִינָה קוּלִי*, but plainly enough render *יְהוָה* Ἀδωναι. Notwithstanding it is very observable, that they were wont to distinguish *Κύριος*, in the Greek translations, where it stood for Jehovah, from *Κύριος*, where it stood for Adonai ; and that was done by adding in the Margin the Tetragrammaton it self, *יְהוָה*, which by the ignorance of the Greek Scribes, who understood not the Hebrew Characters, was converted into four Greek letters, and so made a word of no signification ΠΙΠΙ. This is still extant in the Copy of the Text of Isaiah printed by Curicius with the Commentary of Procopius, and St. Hierome gives an account of it in the Greek Copies of his age, Nonum *τελεγγεγραμματον* quod *ἀνεκωφόνιον*, id est, ineffabile putaverunt, quod his literis scribitur, jod י he ה vau ו he ה : quod quidam non intelligentes, propter elementorum similitudinem, cum in Græcis libris repererint, Pipi legere consueverunt. Ep. 136. Neither did the Greeks only place this ΠΙΠΙ in the margin of their Translations, but when they described the Hebrew Text in Greek Characters, they used the same ΠΙΠΙ for *יְהוָה*, and consequently did not read Adonai for Jehovah. An Example of this is to be found in that excellent Copy of the Prophets according to the LXX. collated with the rest of the Translators, in the Library of the most eminent Cardinal Barberin ; where at the 13. verse of the second Chap. of Malachy these words are written after the Translation of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, out of the Hebrew Text, after the manner of Origen's Hexapla, of which there is an excellent example in that MS. *Ουσωθ, σονιθ, δεστ, χεαυθ, δεμα, εθμαζβου, (ι. βου) πιπι, βεχι, εανακα, μιν, ωδ, σενωθ, ελ, αμμυα, υα, ηλακεθ, φακων, μεδνηχεμ*, Which are a very proper expression of these following Hebrew words, according to the punctuation and reading of that age, *וְאֵת שְׁנֵי תַעֲשׂוּ כְמוֹת דְּמַעָה אֶת לִבְחַ יְהוָה בְּבִי וְאֲנִקָּה מֵאֵין עוֹד פְּנוֹת אֶרֶץ הַמִּנְחָה וְלִקְחִי רִצּוֹן מִיָּדְכֶם* By which 'tis evident that Origen in his Hexapla, from whence undoubtedly that ancient Scholiast took his various Translations, did not read Ἀδωναι in that place ; but kept the Hebrew Characters, which they who understood them not formed into those Greek letters πιπι. And certainly the preserving of the name Jehovah in the Greek Translations was very ancient ; for it was described in some of them with the ancient Characters, as St. Hierome testifieth, Et nomen Domini Tetragrammaton in quibusdam Græcis voluminibus usq; hodie antiquis expressum literis invenimus. Ep. 106. Being then we cannot be assured that the LXX. read *אֲדֹנָי* for *יְהוָה* ; being they have used *Κύριος* for Jehovah, when they have made use of the general word *θεός* for Adonai ; being in some places Adonai cannot be read for Jehovah, without manifest violence offered to the Text : it followeth, that it is no way probable that *Κύριος* should therefore be used for Jehovah, because it was taken for the proper signification of Adonai.

the fulfilling of his promises his name Jehovah was not known unto him : for though God spake expressly unto Abraham, All the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed for ever ; yet the history teacheth us, and S. Stephen confirmeth us, that he gave him none inheritance in it, no not so much as to set his foot on, though he promised that he would give it to him for a possession. Wherefore when God saith he was not known to Abraham by his name Jehovah, the interpretation of no other name can make good that expression: and therefore we have reason to believe the Word which the first Greek Translators, and after them the Apostles, used, may be appropriated to that notion which the Original requires ; as indeed it may, being derived from a Verb of the same signification with the † Hebrew root, and so denoting the Essence or Existence of God, and whatsoever else may be deduced from thence, as revealed by him to be signified thereby.

Gen. 13. 15. and 26. 3.

Acts 7. 5.

† It is acknowledged by all that יהוה is from יהוה or יהוה, and

God's own interpretation proves no less יהוה יהוה יהוה Exod. 3. 14. And though some contend that futurity is essential to the name, yet all agree the root signifieth nothing but essence or existence, that is יהוה, or ὑπάρχειν. Now as from יהוה in the Hebrew יהוה, so the Greek ἄπο τῆς κύρειν Κύριος. And what the proper signification of κύρειν is, no man can teach us better than Hesychius, in whom we read Κύριος, ὑπάρχει, τυγχάνει, κύρω primâ longâ, κυρῶ primâ brevî. Sophocl. Oedipo Colon. παρ' ὧ δ' ὄντων ἔκυρον. Schol. ὄντων ἔκυρον, ἀντὶ τῆς ἐκύρω, ταύτην ἢ τῆς ἐτύχων. Hence was κύριος by the Atticks used for ἔσω fit : so I take it from the words of the Scholiast upon Sophocles, τὸ κυρῶ περιωριστικῶς φησὶν ἢ σωθήεια κ' Ἀττικῶι, ἐν ἧ ἐκυρῶσι βαρύνουσιν αὐτὸ Ἀττικῶι μετὰ ἐπίστασις τῆς ὑ, κύριος λέγοντες ἀντὶ τῆς κυρῶν. Not that they used it by an Apocope, taking it from κυρῶν : but that κύριος was taken in the sense of κυρῶν or κυρῶν, from κύρω, ὑπάρχω, κύριος, εἶν or ἀπάρχοι, as the Scholiast upon those words of Sophocles, Δειλαία δειλαίων κύριος • Κυρεῖς, ἢ γὰρ ὑπάρχεις. Neither know I better how to render κυρεῖς than by ὑπάρχεις in the place of Æschylus his Prometheus,

Ζηλῶ σ' ὅθ' ἔνεκ' ἐκείνου αἰτίας κυρεῖς, Πάντων μεταρῶν κ' τετολυμῶς ἐμοί.

As the Arundelian Scholiast upon the Septem Thebana, κυρεῖ, ὑπάρχει • and in the same Tragedy, ἐπ' ἀσπίδ' ὑπὲρ, is rendered by the more ancient Scholiast, ἔδ' ὅτι τ' ἀσπίδ' • as in the Persæ, σεσσωμῶς κυρεῖ, is by the same Interpreter explained κυρεῖς ἢ ὑπάρχει σεσσωμῶς. So the same Poet in his Agamemnon,

Ταύτην ἐπαινεῖν πάντοθεν πληθύνομαι, Τραγῶς Ἀτρεΐδου εἰδέναι κυρεῖν ὅπως.

Which the Scholiast renders thus, Ἐπαινεῖμαι διαφόροις ταύτην γνώμην, τὸ μαθεῖν ἐν οἷα ὅτι καταδάσει ὁ βασιλεὺς. And no other sense, can be imagined of that verse in Sophocles, φονέα σε φημὶ τάνδρῶς ἔζητεις κυρεῖν, than by rendering it, ἔδ' or ὑπάρχειν • and p. 296. κ' γὰρ εἰ γάρων κυρῶ, τὸ τ' δε χῶρεῖς ἢ γεγήρακ' ἔδ' ἔδ' • and p. 415. Ἀλλὰ ἐνθάδ' ἠδ' ἠ τῶν τῶν πᾶσι κυρῶ : or of that in Euripides his Phœnissæ,

Ὡς, τίς ἐν πύλαισι δωμάτων κυρεῖ ;

This original interpretation appeareth farther in the frequent use of κυρῶ for τυγχάνω as it signifieth no more than sum: as in Sophocles, ἐνθύνων κυρεῖς, for ἐνθύνεις μισῶν κυρῶς, for μισῆς, ἐπεικάζων κυρῶ, for ἐπεικάζω, ὦν κυρεῖς, for εἶς, εἰσείδως κυρῶ, for εἰσοίδα, κυρῶ λείων for λείω, δρῶν κυρεῖς, for δρᾶς, ἠπαρημῶς κυρῶ, for ἠπάτημα, εἰρηκῶς κυρεῖ, for εἰρηκεν, εἰσῶν κυρεῖς, for εἰσᾶς, ἐπύρει ζῶσα, for ἔζη • and in Euripides, ἔχων κυρεῖ, for ἔχει, εἰσεβαίνουσα κυρεῖ, for εἰσεβαίνει, ἠδ' ἠκημῶν κυρῆ, for ἠδ' ἠκημῶν, or ἠδ' ἠκημῶν, as the Scholiast. From all which it undeniably appeareth, that the ancient signification of κύρω or κυρῶ is the same with εἶμι or ὑπάρχω, sum, I am ; (which is much confirmed by that it was anciently observed to be a Verb transitive, as it was used by the forementioned Author, Κυρῶ συζυγίας πρώτης ἢ περιωριστικῶν, τὸ περιτυγχάνω • ἀντὶ ἧς ὑπάρχω κ' τὸ τυγχάνω ἀμετάβαλον. So an ancient Lexicon) and therefore κύριος immediately derived from thence must be ὄντων, or ὑπάρχων • and consequently the proper interpretation of יהוה descending from the root יהוה of the same signification. And well may we conceive the LXX. for this reason to have so translated it, because we find the origination delivered by them in that notion, rendering יהוה ὁ ὄντων, Exod. 3. 14. ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ ὄντων, and again, ὁ ὄντων ἀπέσταλκέ με πρὸς ὑμᾶς. From whence considering the name יהוה proceeding from that root, and given in relation to that sense, they made use of the word κύριος for the standing interpretation of that name, as being equivalent to ὁ ὄντων. We have no reason then to conceive either that they so translated it out of the superstition of the Jews (as some would persuade us, whom we have already refuted) or because they had no letters in the Greek language by which they could express the Hebrew name, whereas we find it often expressed even among the Gentile Greeks ; but because they thought the Greek κύριος to be a proper interpretation, as being reducible to the same signification. For even they which are pretended to have read Adonai for Jehovah, as Origen, &c. do acknowledge that the Heathens and the ancient Hereticks descending from the Jews had a name by which they did express the Hebrew Jehovah. We know that Oracle preserved by Macrobius, Saturnal. l. 1. c. 18. φερεῖτο τ' πάντων ὑπατων θεῶν ἐμὸν Ἰαῶ. and Diadorus hath taught us from whence that name first came, mentioning Moses in this manner, παρ' ἧ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις Μωσῶν τ' Ἰαῶ ὀνομαζόμενον θεῶν • and Theodoret more expressly, Quæst. 15. in Exod. Καλεῖται ἡ αὐτὸ Σαμαρείται μὲν Ἰαβὲ, Ἰουδαῖοι δ' Ἰαῶ. Porph. l. 4. cont. Christian. tells us, Sanchoniathon had his relations of the Jews παρ' ἧ Ἰερωβάβη τῆς ἰερωῆς θεῆς τῆς Ἰαῶ. Eusebius (as we formerly mentioned) said, Ἰωσὲς ὄντων, Ἰαῶ σωτηρία Hesychius, Ἰωθάμ, ἰαῶ σωτήρεια, taking ἰαῶ in composition for the contraction of ἰαῶ. As Ἰωνᾶς ἐρμηνεύεται, ὑψίστου πονηρός. And the LXX. Jer. 23. 6. have rendered יהוה צדק יהוה Ἰωσεδ' ἐκ, id est, Dominus justus, saith S. Hierome. And as the Heathens and the first Christians, so the Hereticks had among them the pronunciation and expression of the name יהוה. As the Valentinian was baptized ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς Ἰαῶ. Iren. l. 1. and the Ophiani had their several Gods, among the rest, ἄπο τῆς μαδίας τῆς Ἰαδ' αβ' αὐθ' κ' τῆς Ἀσαφῶν, κ' τῆς Ὀραῖον • ἀπο ἧς ἢ Ἐσραϊκῶν γεγραφῶν τ' Ἰαῶ, Ἰαῶ παρ' ἧ Ἐσραϊοῖς ὀνομαζόμενον. Orig. cont. Cels. l. 6. So I read it, not as it is in the Edition of Hoeschelius, Ἰαῶτα in one word, or Ἰαῶα, as our learned Countryman Nicolaus Fullerus hath endeavoured in vain to rectifie it ; but ἰαῶ ἰα, that is, the Ophiani took the name Ἰαῶ from the Jews, among whom it signifies the same who is called Jah. For that it ought so to be read appeareth by the former words of Origen, Οἰονταί τ' διελθόντα τ' Ἰαδ' αβ' αὐθ' κ' ὠθάσαντα ὅτι τ' Ἰαῶ εἶν λέγειν, Σὺ ἧς κρυπτοῦσιν μυστικῶν ἢ κ' πᾶρος ἀρχῶν νυκτοφανῆς ἀστέρων Ἰαῶ. In the printed Copy indeed it is ἰαδ' εἶν, and in the Latin ladin, but without sense : whereas dividing the words, the sense is manifest, and the reason of the former emendation apparent. Being then there were so many among the Greeks which did in all ages express the Hebrew name, it can be no way probable that the LXX. should avoid it as inexpressible in their language.

Being then this title *Lord* thus signifieth the proper name of God *Jehovah*; being the same is certainly attributed unto *Christ* in a notion far surpassing all other Lords, which are rather to be looked upon as Servants unto him: it will be worth our inquiry next, whether as it is the Translation of the name *Jehovah* it belong to *Christ*; or whether, though he be Lord of all other Lords, as subjected under his authority, yet he be so inferior unto him whose name alone is *Jehovah*, as that in that propriety and eminency in which it belongs unto the supreme God it may not be attributed unto *Christ*.

This doubt will easily be satisfied, if we can shew the name *Jehovah* it self to be given unto our Saviour; it being against all reason to acknowledge the original name, and to deny the interpretation in the sense and full importance of that original. Wherefore if *Christ* be the *Jehovah*, as so called by the Spirit of God; then is he so the *Lord*, in the same propriety and eminency in which *Jehovah* is. Now whatsoever did belong to the *Messias*, that may and must be attributed unto *Jesus*, as being the true and only *Christ*. But the *Jews* themselves acknowledge that *Jehovah* shall be known clearly in the days of the *Messias*, and not only so, but that it is the * name which properly belongeth to him. And if they cannot but confess so much who only read the Prophecies, as the Eunuch did, without an interpreter; how can we be ignorant of so plain and necessary a truth, whose eyes have seen the full completion, and read the infallible interpretation of them? If they could see *Jehovah the Lord of hosts* to be the name of the *Messias*, who was to them for a *stone of stumbling and rock of offence*, how can we possibly be ignorant of it, who are taught by *S. Paul*, that in *Christ* this Prophecy was fulfilled, ¹ *As it is written, Behold, I lay in Sion a stumbling-stone, and rock of offence, and whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed?* It was no other than *Jehovah* who spake those words, ² *I will have mercy upon the house of Judah, and will save them by the Lord (Jehovah) their God, and will not save them by bow nor sword.* Where not only he who is described as the original and principal cause, that is, the Father who gave his Son, but also he who is the immediate efficient of our Salvation, and that in opposition to all other means or instrumental causes, is called *Jehovah*; who can be no other than our *Jesus*, because ³ *there is no other name under heaven given unto men whereby we must be saved.* As in another place he speaketh, ⁴ *I will strengthen them in the Lord (Jehovah) and they shall walk up and down in his name, saith the Lord (Jehovah);* where he which strengthneth is one, and he by whom he strengtheneth is another, clearly distinguished from him by the personal Pronoun, and yet each of them is *Jehovah*, and ⁵ *Jehovah our God is one Jehovah.* Whatsoever † objections may be framed against us, we know *Christ* is the ⁶ *righteous branch raised unto David, the King that shall reign and prosper, in whose days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely; we are assured that this is his name whereby he shall be called, The Lord our Righteousness: the Lord, that is, Jehovah, the expression of his supremacy; and the addition of Our Righteousness can be no diminution to his Majesty.* If those words in the Prophet, ⁷ *Sing and rejoyce O daughter of Sion; for lo, I come, and I dwell in the midst of thee, saith the Lord (Jehovah),* did not sufficiently of themselves denote our Saviour who dwelt amongst us as they certainly do; yet the words which follow would evince as much, *And many nations shall be joined to the Lord in that day, and shall be my people; and I will dwell in the midst of thee, and thou shalt know that the Lord of hosts hath sent me unto thee:* For what other Lord can we conceive dwelling in the midst of us, and sent unto us by the Lord of hosts, but *Christ*?

* As Midrasch Tillim on 21. Psal. Echa Rabati Lam. 1. 6.

Isa. 8. 13, 14.

1 Rom. 9. 33.

2 Hos. 1. 7. where it is farther observable, that the Chaldee Paraphrase hath בְּיְהוָה לְבָרְכָהּ for יהוה by the word of Jehovah, for Jehovah.

3 Acts 4. 12.

4 Zach. 10. 12.

5 Deut. 6. 4.

† Two Adversaries we have to the exposition of this place, the Jew and the Socinian; only with this difference, that we find the less opposition from the Jew, from whom indeed we have so ample a concession as will destroy the other's contradiction. First Socinus answers, the name belongeth not to

Christ, but unto Israel; and that it so appears by a parallel place in the same Prophet, Jer. 33. 15, 16. Socin. refut. Jac. Wick cap. 6. Catech. Racov. de Pers. Christi, cap. 1. Crellius de Deo & Attribut. lib. 1. cap. 11. To this we first oppose the constant inter-

interpretation of the Jews, who attribute the name Jehovah to the Messias from this one particular Text. As in the Sepher Ikkarim, l. 2. c. 8. ויקרא הכתוב שם המשיח יי' עדקנו, The Scripture calleth the name of the Messias Jehovah our righteousness. And in Midrasch Til'im on Psal. 21. וקורא למלך המשיח בשמי ומהו שמו יהוה שנ' יהוה. God calleth the Messias by his own name, and his name is Jehovah; as is said (Exod. 15. 3.) The Lord is a man of war, Jehovah is his name. And it is written of the Messias, (Jer. 23. 6.) And this is the name which they shall call him, Jehovah our Righteousness. Thus Echa Rabati, Lam. 1. 6. מה שמי של משיח אל' אבא ויהוה שמו שנ' ויהוה אשר יקראו יהוה צדקנו. What is the name of the Messias? R. Abba said, Jehovah is his name; as it is said (Jer. 23. 6.) And this is the name which they shall call him, Jehovah our righteousness. The same he reports of Rabbi Levi. The Rabbins then, though enemies to the truth which we reduce from thence, constrained by the literal Importance of the Text, did acknowledge that the name Jehovah did belong to the Messias. And as for the collection of the contrary from the parallel place pretended, there is not so great a similitude as to enforce the same interpretation. For whereas in the 23. 6. of Jeremiah it is expressly said, ויהוה שמו this is the name, in the 23. it is only יהוה, without any mention of a name; and surely that place cannot prove Jehovah to be the name of Israel, which speaks not one word of the name of Jerusalem: for where we read in Crellius, hoc scilicet nomen est, all but hoc is not Scripture, but the gloss of Crellius, and hoc it self cannot be warranted for the Interpretation of יהוה, nor quo for אשר; the simplest interpretation of those words יהוה אשר יקראו לה being, iste qui vocabit eam, he which calleth Jerusalem, is the Lord our righteousness, that is, Christ. And thus the first answer of Socinus is invalid: which he easily foreseeing, hath joyned with the Jewish Rabbins in the second answer, admitting that Jehovah our righteousness is the name of the Messias, but withal denying that the Christ is that Jehovah. To which purpose they assert those words, Jehovah our righteousness, to be delivered by way of proposition, not of apposition: and this they endeavour to prove by such places of Scripture as seem to infer as much. As Moses built an Altar, and called the name of it Jehovah Nissi, Exod. 17. 15. Gideon built an Altar unto the Lord, and called it Jehovah Shalom, Judge 6. 24. And the name of the City in the last words of Ezekiel is Jehovah Shammah. In all which places it is most certain, that the Jehovah is not predicated of that of whose name it is a part; but is the Subject of a Proposition, given by way of nomination, whose Verb substantive or copula is understood. But from thence to conclude, that the Lord our righteousness can be no otherwise understood of Christ than as a Proposition, and that we by calling him so, according to the Prophet's prediction, can understand no more thereby than that God the Father of Christ doth justify us, is most irrational. For first, it is therefore necessary to interpret those names by way of a proposition of themselves, because Jehovah cannot be the Predicate of that which is named; it being most apparent that an Altar or a City built cannot be God: and whatsoever is not Jehovah without addition, cannot be Jehovah with addition. But there is no congruity in attributing of that name to Christ, to whom we have already proved it actually given: and our Adversaries, who teach that the name Jehovah is sometimes given to the Angels representing God, must acknowledge that it may be given unto Christ, whom they confess to be above all Angels, and far more fully and exactly to represent the Father. Secondly, that which is the addition in those names cannot be truly predicated of that thing which bears the name. Moses could not say that Altar was his Exaltation, nor Gideon that it was his Peace. And if it could not so be predicated by it self, it could neither be by apposition, and consequently, even in this respect it was necessary to make the name a Proposition. But our Righteousness may undoubtedly be predicated of him who is here called by the name of the Lord our Righteousness; for the Apostle hath expressly taught us that he is made righteous unto us, 1 Cor. 1. 30. And if it may be in it self, there can be no repugnancy in its predication by way of apposition. Thirdly, that addition of our righteousness doth not only truly belong to Christ, but in some manner properly and peculiarly, so as in that notion it can belong to no other person called Jehovah but to that Christ alone. For he alone is the end of the Law for righteousness to every one that believeth, Rom. 10. 4. and when he is said to be made unto us righteousness, 1 Cor. 1. 30. he is thereby distinguished from God the Father. Being then Christ is thus peculiarly called our Righteousness under the Gospel, being the place of the Prophet forementioned speaketh of this as a name to be used under the Gospel, being no other person called Jehovah is ever expressly called our righteousness under the Gospel; it followeth, not only that Christ may be so called, but that the Prophecy cannot otherwise be fulfilled, than by acknowledging that Christ is the Lord our righteousness: and consequently that is his name, not by way of proposition, but of apposition and appropriation; so that being both Jehovah and our righteousness, he is as truly Jehovah as our righteousness. Jer. 23. 5, 6. Zach. 2. 10, 11.

And as the original *Jehovah* was spoken of *Christ* by the holy Prophets; so the title of *Lord*, as the usual interpretation of that name, was attributed unto him by the Apostles. In that signal prediction of the first Age of the Gospel God promised by *Joel*, that *whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord* (*Jehovah*) *shall be delivered*: and *S. Paul* hath assured us that *Christ* is that *Lord*, by proving from thence, that *whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed*, and inferring from that, if *we confess with our mouth the Lord Jesus*, *we shall be saved*. For if it be a certain truth, that *whosoever confesseth the Lord Jesus shall be saved*; and the certainty of this truth depend upon that foundation, that *whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed*; and the certainty of that in relation to *Christ* depend upon that other promise, *Whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved*: then must the *Lord* in the thirteenth verse of the tenth Chapter to the *Romans*, be the same with the *Lord Jesus* in the ninth verse; or else *S. Paul's* Argument must be invalid and fallacious, as containing that in the Conclusion which was not comprehended in the Premises. But the *Lord* in the ninth verse is no other than *Jehovah*, as appeareth by the Prophet *Joel* from whom that Scripture is taken. Therefore our Saviour in the New Testament is called *Lord*, as that name or title is the interpretation of *Jehovah*.

If we consider the Office of *John* the Baptist peculiar unto him, we know it was he of whom it is written in the Prophet *Malachi*, *I will send my messenger,*

Joel 2. 32.

Rom. 10. 9, 11, 13.

Mal. 11. 30, and

and he shall prepare the way before me: we are sure he which spake those words was (Jehovah) the Lord of hosts; and we are as sure that Christ is that Lord before whose face John the Baptist prepared the way. The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, saith Isaiah, prepare ye the way of the Lord Jehovah: and this is he that was spoken of by the Prophet Isaiah, saith S. Matthew: this is he of whom his Father Zachariah did Divinely presage, Thou child shalt be called the Prophet of the Highest, for thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways. Where Christ is certainly the Lord, and the Lord undeniably Jehovah.

Malch. 3. 1.

Mat. 3. 3.

Luke 1. 16.

I say therefore undeniably, because it is not only the undoubt-

ed translation of the name יהוה in the Prophet, (which of it self were sufficient;) but also is delivered in that manner which is (though unreasonably) required to signifie the proper name of God, περιτομεύσων γὰρ πρὸς περιτομῶν Κυεῖς, not τὸ Κυεῖς that is, without, not with, an Article. For now our Saviour's Deity must be tried by a new kind of School-Divinity, and the most fundamental Doctrine, maintained as such ever since the Apostles times by the whole Catholick Church, must be examined, censured and condemned, by ὁ, ἡ, τὸ. Socinus first makes use of this observation against Wickus; and after him Crellius hath laid it as a grave and serious foundation, and spread it out into its several corners, to uphold the Fabrick of his superstruictions. First, Vox Jehovah magis quam cætera Dei nomina priorum naturam sequitur; ideo etiam Græca κύριος, cum pro illa ponitur, priorum indolem, quâ licet, æmulatur. Secondly, Propriis nominibus articulus libentius subtrahitur, licet cum etiam sæpe concinnitatis potius quam necessitatis causâ admittant. Idem fit in voce κύριος cum pro Jehovah ponitur. Thirdly, Hæc est causa cur in novo Testamento, maxime apud Lucam & Paulum, vox κύριος, cum Deum summum designat, articulo libentius careat; at cum de Christo subjective usurpatur, raro articulus omittitur. What strange uncertainties are these to build the denial of so important an Article as Christ's Divinity upon? He does not say absolutely Jehovah is the proper name of God, but only that it doth more follow the nature of proper names than the other names of God. And indeed it is certain that sometimes it hath the nature of an appellative, as Deut. 6. 4. יהוה אחד יהוה אחד, the Lord our God is one Lord, and yet if it be not always and absolutely a proper name, though all the rest were granted to be true, the Argument must be of no validity. Again, he cannot say an Article is never affixed to a proper name, but only that libentius subtrahitur, it is rather omitted than affixed: which yet is far from a certain or a true rule, especially in the language of the new Testament. For no man can deny Jesus to be the proper name of Christ, given him according to the Law at his Circumcision, καὶ ἐκαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν Ἰησοῦς, Luke 2. 21. and yet whosoever shall read the Gospel of S. Matthew, will find it ten times ὁ Ἰησοῦς with an Article, for once Ἰησοῦς, without it. And in the Acts of the Apostles, written in a more Attick style, S. Paul is oftner styled ὁ Παῦλος than simply Παῦλος. So Balaam, Gallio, &c. Some persons we find in the New Testament, whom, if we should stay till we found them without an Article, we should never call by their names at all; as Apelles, Balak, &c. Thirdly, ὁ κύριος is sooften used for that God who is the Father with an Article, and κύριος for the Son without an Article, (For the Father, Mat. 1. 22. 2. 15. 5. 33. 22. 44. Mark 12. 36. Luke 1. 6, 9, 15, 25, 46. 2. 15, 22, 23. 10. 2. Acts 2. 25, 34. 3. 19. 17. 27. Rom. 1. 5. 11. 1 Cor. 10. 26. 16. 7. 2 Cor. 5. 11. Eph. 5. 17, 19. Col 3. 16, 20, 23. 2 Thess. 3. 3. 2 Tim. 1. 16. Heb. 8. 2. 11, 12. 14. Jam. 4. 10. 15. 1 Pet. 2. 3. For the Son, Mat. 3. 3. 22. 43, 45. Mark 1. 3. Luke 1. 76. 2. 11. 3. 4, 20. 44. John 1. 23. Acts 2. 36. 10. 36. 11. 16, 21. 15. 11. Rom. 1. 7. 10. 9, 12. 14. 6. 8, 14. 16. 2. 8, 11, 12, 13, 22. 1 Cor. 1. 3. 4. 17. 7. 22, 25, 39. 9. 1, 2. 10. 21. 11. 11, 12. 3. 14. 37. 15. 5. 8. 16, 10, 19. 2 Cor. 1. 2. 2. 12. 4. 5. 10. 17. 11. 17. 12. 1. Gal. 1. 3. 5. 10. Eph. 1. 2. 2. 21. 4. 1, 5, 17. 5. 8. 6. 4, 10, 21, 23. Phil. 1. 2, 14. 2. 11, 19, 24, 29. 3. 1, 20. 4. 1, 2, 10. Col. 1. 3. 3. 17, 18, 24. 4. 7, 17. 1 Thess. 1. 1. 3. 8. 4. 1, 15, 17. 5. 2, 12. 2 Thess. 1. 1, 2. 2. 13. 3. 4. 1 Tim. 1. 1. 2 Tim. 2. 24. Tit. 1. 4. Philem. 3, 16, 20. Jam. 1. 1. 2 Per. 3. 8. 10. 2 John 3. Jude 14. Rev. 14. 13. 19. 16. I say, they are thus so often used) that though they equal not the number of their contrary acceptions, yet they come so near, as to yeild no ground for any such observation, as if the Holy Ghost intended any such Article distinction. Nay, it is most evident that the sacred Pen-men intended no such distinction, because in the same place speaking of the same person, they usually observe the indifferency of adding or omitting the Article. As Jam. 5. 11. τῷ ὑπομονῶν ἰωὶ ἡκιστα ἐλπί, καὶ τὸ τέλος κυρίου εἰδέτε, ὅτι πολὺ πλῆθος ἐστὶν ὁ κύριος καὶ οἰκίστημον. 2 Tim. 1. 18. Δόξα αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος εὐρεῖν ἕλεος πρὸς κύριον ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. 1 Cor. 7. 17. Ἐκαστος ὡς κληκεῖ ὁ κύριος, ἕτω ἑπιπατέτω. 22. Ὁ γὰρ ἐν κυρίῳ κληθεὶς δούλος, ἀπελεύθερος κυρίου ἐστὶ. See Rom. 14. 6, 7, 8. Wherefore being, Jehovah is not affirmed absolutely to be a proper name; being if it were, yet it appears that it is not the custom of the New Testament to use every proper name oftner without an Article than with one; being, ὁ κύριος is so often taken for him whom they acknowledge God, and κύριος for him whom they cannot deny to be the Christ: it followeth that Christ, acknowledged to be the Lord, cannot by any virtue of an Article be denied to be the true Jehovah. We must not then think to decide this Controversie by the Articles, of which the sacred Pen-men were not curious, and the Transcribers have been very careless, nor is there so great uncertainty of the ancient MSS. in any thing as in the words and Articles of κύριος and Θεός. The Vulgar Edition, Rev. 1. 8. hath λέγει ὁ κύριος only, the Complutensis λέγει κύριος ὁ Θεός, Plantine, λέγει ὁ κύριος ὁ Θεός. against the Socinian Rule, who will have an accession by ὁ το Θεός, and a diminution by ὁ from κύριος. As Rev. 4. 11. Ἀξίος εἶ, κύριε, λαθεῖν τὸ δόξαν. in other MSS. Ἀξίος εἶ ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν ὁ ἅγιος, λαθεῖν τὸ δόξαν. 1 Cor. 11. 27. τὸ ποσῆριον τῶ κυρίου ἀναξίως. others with an addition, τὸ ποσῆριον τῶ κυρίου ἀναξίως τῶ κυρίου. 1 Cor. 14. 37. the Vulgar Edit. ὅτι τῶ κυρίου εἰσὶν ἐντολαί. the Complut. ὅτι Κυεῖς. So where we usually read Χριστός, divers ancient MSS. have κύριος. Lastly, it is observable that even in these words of the Creed, which we now expound, κύριος is spoken expressly of Christ without an Article; for so we read it, Καὶ εἰς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῶν τὸ μονογεῖον, κύριον ἡμῶν.

Psal. 110. 1.

† Chald. Paraphras.

Malac. 3. 1. מלכא

Nor is this the only Notation of the Name or Title Lord taken in a sense Divine, above the expression of all mere humane power and dominion; for as it is oftner used as the interpretation of the name Jehovah, so is it also for that of Adon or Adonai. The Lord said unto my Lord, saith David, that is, in the Original, Jehovah unto Adon; and that Adon is the Word, that Lord is Christ. We know the Temple at Jerusalem was the Temple of the most High God, and the Lord of that Temple in the emphasis of an Hebrew Article was Christ, as appeareth by that Prophet; the Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his Temple, even the messenger of the Covenant, whom ye delight in.

Now

Now this Notation, as it is the interpretation of *Adon*, signifieth immediately and properly *dominion* implying a right of possession, and power of disposing. Which doth not only agree with that other notion of *Jehovah*, but presupposes it, as following and flowing from it. For he who alone hath a being or existence of himself, and thereby is the fountain of all things beside himself, must be acknowledged to have full power and dominion over all: because every thing must necessarily belong to him from whom it hath received what it is. Wherefore being *Christ* is the *Lord*, as that title is taken for *Jehovah*, the name of God, expressing the necessary existence and independence of his single Being, and consequently the independency of all others upon him; it followeth, that he be acknowledged also the *Lord*, as that name expresseth *Adon*, signifying power authoritative and proper dominion. Thus having explained the Notation of the word *Lord*, which we propounded as the first part of our exposition; we come next to the second, which is, to declare the nature of this Dominion, and to shew how and in what respect *Christ* is the *Lord*.

Now for the full and exact understanding of the Dominion seated or invested in *Christ* as the *Lord*, it will be necessary to distinguish it according to that diversity which the Scriptures represent unto us. As therefore we have observed two Natures united in his Person, so must we also consider two kinds of Dominion belonging respectively to those natures; one inherent in his Divinity, the other bestowed upon his Humanity; one as he is the Lord the maker of all things, the other as he is made Lord of all things.

For the First, we are assured that the *Word was God*, that by the same *Word all things were made, and without him was not any thing made that was made*; we must acknowledge, that whosoever is the Creator of all things must have a direct Dominion over all, as belonging to the possession of the Creator who made all things. Therefore the *Word*, that is, *Christ* as God, hath the supreme and universal Dominion of the World. Which was well expressed by that famous confession of no longer doubting, but believing *Thomas, my Lord and my God*. John 1. 1, 3.

For the second, it is also certain that there was some kind of Lordship given or bestowed on *Christ*, whose very *Uction* proves no less than an imparted Dominion; as *S. Peter* tells us that he was *made both Lord and Christ*. Acts 2. 36. What *David* spake of man, the Apostle hath applied peculiarly unto him, *Thou crownedst him with glory and honour, and didst set him over the works of thy hands: Thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet*. Heb. 2. 7, 8.

Now a Dominion thus imparted, given, derived or bestowed, cannot be that which belongeth unto God as God, founded in the Divine Nature, because whatsoever is such is absolute and independent. Wherefore this Lordship thus imparted or acquired appertaineth to the humane nature, and belongeth to our Saviour as the Son of man. The right of Judicature is part of this Power; and *Christ* himself hath told us, that the Father *hath given him authority to execute judgment, because he is the Son of man*; and by vertue of this delegated authority, the *Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his Angels, and reward every man according to his works*. Part of the same Dominion is the power of forgiving sins; as pardoning, no less than punishing, is a branch of the supreme Magistracy: and *Christ* did therefore say to the sick of the Palsie, *thy sins be forgiven thee, that we might know that the Son of man had power on earth to forgive sins*. Another branch of that Power is the alteration of the Law, there being the same authority required to abrogate or alter, which is to make a Law: and *Christ* asserted himself to be *greater than the Temple, shewing that the Son of man was Lord even of the Sabbath-day*. John 5. 27.
Mat. 16. 27.
Mat. 9. 2, 6.
Mat. 12, 6, 8.

This

John 13. 3.

Rom. 14. 9.
Mat. 28. 18.
Psal. 110. 7.
Phil. 2. 8, 9,
10, 11.Eph. 1. 20, 21,
22.

Psal. 110. 1.

1 Cor. 15. 25.

1 Cor. 15. 24,
28.

Psal. 110. 2.

This Dominion thus given unto *Christ* in his humane nature was a direct and plenary power over all things, but was not actually given him at once, but part while he lived on earth, part after his death and resurrection. For though it be true *that Jesus knew, before his death, that the Father had given all things into his hands*; yet it is observable that in the same place it is written that he likewise knew *that he was come from God, and went to God*: and part of that power he received when he came from God, with part he was invested when he went to God; the first to enable him, the second, not only so, but also to reward him. *For to this end Christ both died, rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living.* After his resurrection he said to the Disciples, *All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. He drunk of the brook in the way, therefore he hath lift up his head.* Because he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross: Therefore God hath also highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name; That at the name of *Jesus* every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; And that every tongue should confess that *Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.* Thus for and after his death he was instated in a full power and dominion over all things, even as the Son of man, but exalted by the Father, who raised him from the dead, and set him at his right hand in the heavenly places, far above all principality and power, and might and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come; and hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be head over all things to the Church.

Now as all the power given unto *Christ* as man had not the same beginning in respect of the use or possession; so neither, when begun, shall it all have the same duration. For part of it being merely Oeconomical, aiming at a certain end, shall then cease and determinate, when that end for which 'twas given shall be accomplished: part, being either due upon the union of the humane nature with the Divine, or upon covenant, as a reward for the sufferings endured in that nature, must be coeval with that union and that nature which so suffered, and consequently must be eternal.

Of the first part of this dominion did *David* speak, when by the spirit of Prophecy he called his Son his Lord; *The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool*: where the continuation of *Christ's* Dominion over his enemies is promised to be prolonged until their final and total subjection. *For he must reign till he hath put all things under his feet.* And as we are sure of the continuation of that Kingdom till that time, so are we assured of the resignation at that time. *For when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority and power, then shall he deliver up the Kingdom to God, even the Father. And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.* Thus he which was appointed to rule in the midst of his enemies during their rebellion, shall resign up his Commission after their subjection.

But we must not look upon *Christ* only in the nature of a General, who hath received a Commission, or of an Ambassador, with perfect Instructions; but of the only Son of God, impowered and employed to destroy the enemies of his Father's Kingdom: and though thus impowered and commissioned, though resigning that authority which hath already had its perfect work, yet still the only Son, and the heir of all things in his Father's house, never to relinquish his dominion over those whom he hath purchased with his own blood, never to be deprived of that reward which was assigned him for his Sufferings: for if the prize which we expect in the race of our imperfect obedience

dience be an immarcessible Crown, if the weight of glory which we look for from him be eternal ; then cannot his perfect and absolute Obedience be crowned with a fading power, or he cease ruling over us, who hath always reigned in us. We shall for ever reign with him, and he will make us priests and kings ; but so that he continue still for ever High Priest and King of Kings.

The certainty of this eternal Dominion of *Christ*, as Man, we may well ground upon the promise made to *David*, because by reason of that promise *Christ* himself is called *David*. For so God speaketh concerning his People ; *I will set up one Shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even my servant David ; he shall feed them ; and he shall be their shepherd. And I the Lord will be their God, and my servant David a Prince among them. I the Lord have spoken it.* Now the promise was thus made expressly to *David*, *Thy house and thy kingdom shall be established for ever before thee, thy throne shall be established for ever.* And although that term *for ever* in the Hebrew Language may signify oft-times no more than a certain duration so long as the nature of the thing is durable, or at the utmost but to the end of all things ; and so the Oeconomical Dominion or Kingdom of *Christ* may be thought sufficiently to fulfil that promise, because it shall certainly continue so long as the nature of that Oeconomy requireth, till all things be performed for which *Christ* was sent, and that continuation will infallibly extend unto the end of all things : yet sometimes also the same term *for ever* signifieth that absolute eternity of future duration which shall have no end at all: and that it is so far to be extended particularly in that promise made to *David*, and to be fulfilled in his Son, is as certain as the Promise. For the Angel *Gabriel* did give that clear exposition to the blessed Virgin, when in this manner he foretold the glory of him who was then to be conceived in her womb; *The Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his Father David : And he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end.* Nor is this clearer in *Gabriel's* explication of the promise, than in *Daniel's* prevision of the performance ; who saw in the night-visions, and beheld, 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 kingdom, that all people and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not to be destroyed.*

Ezek. 34. 23, 24.

2 Sam. 7. 16.

עד עולם

Luke 1. 32, 33.

Dan. 7. 13, 14.

Thus *Christ* is Lord both by a natural and independent Dominion : as God the Creator, and consequently the Owner of the works of his hands ; and by a derived, imparted and dependent right, as man, sent, anointed, raised and exalted, and so made Lord and *Christ* : which authority so given and bestowed upon him is partly Oeconomical, and therefore to be resigned into the hands of the Father, when all those ends for which it was imparted are accomplished ; partly so proper to the union, or due unto the passion, of the humane nature, that it must be co-æval with it, that is, of eternal duration.

The third part of our Explication is, the due consideration of the Object of *Christ's* Dominion, enquiring whose Lord he is, and how *ours*. To which purpose first observe the latitude, extent, or rather universality, of his Power under which all things are comprehended, as subjected to it. For *he is Lord of all*, saith *S. Peter*, of all things, and of all persons ; and he must be so, who made all things as God, and to whom all power is given as man. To him then all things are subjected whose subjection implieth not a contradiction. For *he hath put all things under his feet : but when he saith all things are put under him, it is manifest that he is excepted which did put all things under him.* God only then excepted, whose original Dominion is repugnant to the least sub-

Acts 10. 36.

1 Cor. 15. 27.

Heb. 1. 6.
Psal. 2. 8.

jection, all things are subject unto *Christ*, whether they be things in Heaven, or things on Earth. In Heaven he is far above all Principalities and Powers, and all the Angels of God worship him; on Earth all nations are his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth are his possession. Thus *Christ* is certainly our Lord, because he is the Lord of all; and when all things were subjected to him, we were not excepted.

But in the midst of this Universality of *Christ's* Regal Authority it will be farther necessary to find some propriety of Dominion, by which he may be said to be peculiarly *our* Lord. 'Tis true, he made us, and not we our selves, we are the work of his hands; but the lowest of his Creatures can speak as much. We are still preserved by his power, and as he made us, so doth he maintain us; but at the same time he feedeth the Ravens and cloatheth the lilies of the field. Wherefore beside his original right of Creation, and his continued right of Preservation, we shall find a more peculiar right of Redemption, belonging properly to the sons of men. And in this Redemption though a single word, we shall find a double title to a most just Dominion, one of Conquest, another of Purchase.

|| For the right understanding of this double title involved in

the word redemption, it will be necessary to take notice of the ways by which Humane Dominion is acquired, and Servitude introduced. *Servi aut nascuntur, aut fiunt, saith the Civilian, Inst. l. 1. tit. 3. but in Theology we say more, Servi & nascuntur, & fiunt. Man is born the servant of God his Maker, man is made the servant of his Redeemer. Two ways in general they observed by which they came to serve who were not born slaves. Fiunt aut jure gentium, id est, captivitate; aut jure civili cum liber homo major viginti annis ad pretium participandum sese venundari passus est. Two ways then also there were by which Dominion over those servants was acquired, by Conquest or by Purchase, and both these were always accounted just. Dionysius Halicarnassæus; an excellent Historian, a curious observer of the Roman Customs, and an exact judge of their actions, being a Grecian, justifieth the right which the Masters in Rome claimed over their Servants upon these two grounds. Ετύχων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων αἱ τῶν δεσποπόντων κήσεις καὶ τῶν δικαιότατος γινόμεναί τε τρόπος. ἢ γὰρ ἀνησάμφοροι παρὰ τῆς δημοσίας τῆς ἐπὶ δόρυ πωλεμέωνος ἐκ τῆς λαβύρων, ἢ τῆς στρατηγῆς συγχωρήσαντες. ἅμα δὲ ἄλλοις ἀφελείαις καὶ δορυαλώτους τοῖς λαβῆσιν ἔχειν, ἢ περιάμφοροι παρ' ἑτέρων, καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπος κυείων ἡγομένων ἐκτετατοῦ τῶν δόρυ. Hist. l. 4. Where it is also farther to be observed, that the same persons were made slaves by Conquest, and possessed by Purchase; by Conquest to the City of Rome, by Purchase to the Roman Citizen. The General first took and saved them, and so made them his, that is, reduced them to the Will and Power of the State from which he received his Commission, and in whose name and for whose interest he fought: This State exposed their interest to sale, and so whatever right had been gained by the conquering Sword was devolved on the Roman Citizen for a certain Summ of Money paid to the State to defray the charges of that war. Thus every Lord or Master of a slave so taken had full power over him, and possession of him, by right of Purchase, unto which he was first made liable by Conquest. And though not exactly in that manner, yet by that double right, is *Christ* become our Lord, and we his Servants.*

Rom. 6. 16.
Heb. 2. 14.
Col. 2. 15.

We were first servants of the enemy of God; for him we obeyed, and his servants we are whom we obey: when *Christ* through death destroyed him that had the power of death, that is, the Devil, and delivered us; he spoiled principalities and powers, and made a Jew of them openly, triumphing over them. But contrary to the custom of triumphing Conquerours, he did not sell, but buy us; because while he saved us, he died for us, and that death was the price by which he purchased us; even so this dying Victor gave us life upon the Cross, as his triumphant chariot, he shed that precious blood which bought us, and thereby became our Lord by right of Redemption, both as to Conquest and to Purchase.

Acts 3. 15.
1 Cor. 9. 8.
2 Theff. 2. 14.

Beside he hath not only bought us, but provideth for us; whatever we have, we receive from him as the Master of the Family; we hold of him all temporal and eternal blessings, which we enjoy in this, or hope for in another life. He is the *Prince of life*, and by him we live; he is the *Lord of glory*, and we are called by his Gospel to the obtaining of the glory of our Lord. Wherefore he hath us under his dominion; and becomes our Lord by right of Promotion.

Rom. 6. 6, 13,
19.

Lastly, Men were not anciently sold always by others, but sometimes by themselves; and whosoever of us truly believe in *Christ*, have given up our names unto him. In our baptismal vow we bind our selves unto his service, that henceforth we will not serve sin; but yield our selves unto God, as those that are alive from the dead, and our members

as instruments of righteousness unto God: that, as we have yielded our members servants to uncleanness and to iniquity; even so we should yield our members servants to righteousness, unto holiness. And thus the same Dominion is acknowledged by Compact, and confirmed by Covenant; and so Christ becomes our Lord by right of Obligation.

The necessity of believing and professing our faith in this part of the Article appeareth, first, in the discovery of our condition; for by this we know that we are not our own, neither our persons nor our actions. Know ye not, saith S. Paul, that ye are not your own? for ye are bought with a price. And ancient servitude, to which the Scriptures relate, put the servants wholly in the * possession of their Master; so that their persons were as properly his as the rest of his goods. And if we be so in respect of Christ, then may we not live to our selves but to him; for in this the difference of || service and freedom doth properly consist: we cannot do our † own wills, but the will of him whose we are. Christ took upon him the form of a servant: and to give us a proper and perfect example of that condition, he telleth us, I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me. First therefore we must conclude with the Apostle, reflecting upon Christ's Dominion and our Obligation, that none of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself. For whether we live, we live unto the Lord; or whether we die, we die unto the Lord: whether we live therefore, or die, we are the Lords.

1 Cor. 6. 19, 20.

* Δὲλαθ κίημα μά τι ἔμψυχον κὶ ὡσπερ ὄργανον πρὸς ἐργάνων πάς ὁ ὑπηρετήσ. Aristot. Pol. l. 1. c. 4. Τὸς τε γὰρ σώμα ὄσιν ὄργανον σύμφοτον, κὶ τὸ δεσπότης ὁ δὲ δὲλος ὡσπερ μείον κὶ ὄργανον ἀφαιρέσιον τὸ δ' ὄργανον ὡσπερ

δὲλος ἀψυχος. Id. Eth. l. 8. c. 9. And again more expressly, Τίς γὰρ ἐν ἡ φύσει τὸ δὲλον, κὶ τίς ἡ δὴμιαις, ἐν τῶτων δὴλον. Ὁ γὰρ μὴ αὐτὸς φύσει, ἀλλ' ἀλλοῦ ἀνθρώπου, οὗτος οὖσαι δὴλος ὄσιν ἄλλοι δ' ὄσιν ἀνθρώπος, ὅς ἂν κίημα ἢ, ἀνθρώπος ὄν. So that the definition of a servant according to Aristotle, is, he, who being a man, is notwithstanding the possession of a man. And altho' all relatives be predicated of each other in obliquo, as pater est filii pater, & filius patris filius; dominus est servi dominus, & servus domini i servus: yet he observes a difference in this, that a servant is not only servus domini, but simply domini, but the master is not simply servi, but dominus servi. Ὁ γὰρ δεσπότης τὸ δὲλον δεσπότης μόνον, ἐκεῖνος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ δὲλος ἢ μόνον δεσπότης δὲλος ὄσιν, ἀλλὰ κὶ ὄλος ἐσέιν. The servant then is so wholly in the possession and for the use of his master, that he is nothing else but a living tool or instrument; inasmuch, says he, that if all tools were like those of Dædalus, or the Tripods of Vulcan, which the Poets feign'd to move of themselves, Artificers would need no under workmen, nor Masters servants. || So Arist. Ethic. 4. πρὸς ἄλλον ζῆν δειλικόν. and in the first of his Rhetoricks on the contrary, ἐλάθερον τὸ μὴ πρὸς ἄλλον ζῆν. † Τὸ ζῆν ὡς βέλεται τίς, ἢ ἐλάθερίας ἔργον ἔπερ τὸ δὲλ ἢ ὄντος, τὸ ζῆν (μὴ ὡς βέλεται. Arist. Pol. 6. 2. Quid est libertas? potestas vivendi ut velis. Cic. Par. 1 Job. 8:3 8. 2 Rom. 14. 7, 8

Secondly, the same is necessary both to inforce and invite us to obedience; to inforce us, as he is the Lord, to invite us, as Christ the Lord. If we acknowledge our selves to be his servants, we must bring into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ. He which therefore died, and rose and revived, that he might become the Lord both of the dead and living, maketh not that death and resurrection efficacious to any but such as by their service acknowledge that Dominion which he purchased. He, though he were a Son, yet learned obedience by the things which he suffered; And being made perfect he is become the Author of eternal Salvation unto all them that obey him. Thus the consideration of the power invested in him, and the necessity of the service due unto him, should force us to obedience; while the consideration of him whom we are thus obliged to serve should allure and invite us. When God gave the Law with fire and thunder, the affrighted Israelites desired to receive it from Moses, and upon that receipt promised obedience. Go thou near, said they to him, and hear all that the Lord our God shall say; and speak thou unto us, and we will hear it and do it. If they interpreted it so great a favour to receive the Law by the hands of Moses; if they made so ready and chearful a promise of exact obedience unto the Law so given; how should we be invited to the same promise, and a better performance, who have received the whole will of God revealed to us by the Son of Man, who are to give an account of our performance to the same Man set down at the right hand of the Father? He first took our nature to become our Brother, that with so near a Relation he might be made our Lord. If then the Patriarchs did

2 Cor. 10: 5

Heb. 5. 8, 9.

Deut. 5. 27.

did cheerfully live in the land of *Goshen*, subject to the power and command of *Egypt*, because that power was in the hand of *Joseph* their exalted brother; shall not we with all readiness of mind submit our selves to the Divine dominion now given to him who gave himself for us? Shall all the Angels worship him, and all the Archangels bow down before him? and shall not we be proud to join with them?

Thirdly, the belief of Christ's Dominion is necessary for the regulation of all power, authority and dominion on earth, both in respect of those which rule, and in relation to those that obey. From hence the most absolute Monarchs learn, that the people which they rule are not their own, but the Subjects of a greater Prince, by him committed to their charge. Upon this *S. Paul* doth ground his admonition to Masters, *Give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven.* God gave a power to the *Israelites* to make hired Servants of their brethren, but not slaves; and gives this reason of the interdiction, *For they are my servants which I brought forth out of the land of Egypt; they shall not be sold as bondmen.* What tenderness then should be used towards those who are the Servants of that Lord who redeemed them from a greater bondage, who bought them with a higher price? From hence those which are subject learn to obey the powers which are of humane ordination, because in them they obey the Lord of all. Subjects bear the same proportion, and stand in the same relation to their Governours, with servants to their Masters: and *S. Paul* hath given them this charge, *Obey in all things your masters according to the flesh; And whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men; Knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance: for ye serve the Lord Christ.* Neither do we learn from hence only whom, but also how, to obey. For while we look upon one *Lord* in Heaven, while we consider him as the *Lord of lords*, we regulate our obedience to them by our service due to him, and so are always ready to obey, but *in the Lord*.

Lastly, this Title of our Saviour is of necessary belief for our comfort and encouragement. For being Lord of all, he is able to dispose of all things for the benefit of those which serve him. He who commanded the unconstant winds, and stilled the raging seas, he who multiplied the loaves and fishes, and created wine with the word of his mouth, hath all creatures now under exact obedience, and therefore none can want whom he undertaketh to provide for. *For the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him.* Many are the enemies of those persons who dedicate themselves unto his service; but our enemies are his, and part of his dominion is therefore given him, and to continue in him until all his enemies be made his footstool. Great is the power of the lusts of our flesh which war in our Members; but his grace is sufficient for us, and the power of that spirit by which he ruleth in us. Heavy are the afflictions which we are called to undergo for his sake: but if we suffer with him, we shall reign together with him: and blessed be that Dominion which makes us all Kings, that he may be for ever Lord of lords and King of kings.

After this explication, every Christian may perceive what he is to believe in this part of the Article, and express himself how he would be understood, when he maketh his profession of his Faith, *I believe in Christ our Lord.* For thereby we may and ought to intend thus much; I do assent unto this as a certain and infallible truth, taught me by God himself, that *Jesus Christ*, the only Son of God, is the true *Jehovah*, who hath that being which is originally and eternally of it self, and of which all other beings do essentially depend: that, by the right of emanation of all things from him, he hath an absolute,

Col. 4. 1.

Lev. 25. 42.

Col. 3. 22, 23, 24.

Rom. 10, 12.

solute, supreme and universal Dominion over all things, as God: That as the Son of man he is invested with all power in Heaven and Earth: partly Oeconomical, for the compleating our Redemption, and the destruction of our enemies, to continue to the end of all things, and then to be resigned to the Father; partly consequent unto the union, or due unto the obedience of his Passion, and so eternal, as belonging to that Kingdom which shall have no end. And though he be thus Lord of all things by right of the first creation and constant preservation of them, yet is he more peculiarly the Lord of us who by Faith are consecrated to his service: for through the work of our Redemption he becomes our Lord both by the right of Conquest and of Purchase; and making us the Sons of God, and providing heavenly Mansions for us, he acquires a farther right of Promotion, which, considering the Covenant we all make to serve him, is at last compleated in the right of a voluntary obligation. And thus I believe in *Christ our Lord*.

ARTICLE III.

Which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary.

These words, as they now stand, clearly distinguish the Conception of Jesus from his Nativity, attributing the first to the Holy Ghost, the second to the blessed Virgin: whereas the ancient Creeds made no such distinction, but, without any particular express mention of the Conception, had it only in this manner, * *who was born by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary; or of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary;* understanding by the word *born*, not only the Nativity, but also the Conception and Generation. This is very necessary to be observed, because otherwise the addition of a word will prove the diminution of the sense of the Article. For they which speak only of the operation of the Holy Ghost in Christ's Conception, and of the manner of his Birth, leave out most part of that which was anciently understood under that one term of being *born* of the Holy Ghost and of the Virgin Mary.

That therefore nothing may be omitted which is pertinent to express the full intent and to comprehend the utmost signification of this Article, we shall consider three Persons mentioned, so far as they are concerned in it. The first is He who was conceived and born; the second, He by whose energy or operation he was conceived; the third, She who did conceive and bear him.

* Deum Judæi sic prædicant solum, ut negent filium ejus; negent simul cum eo unum esse qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine. Novatianus. Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine. Ruffinus in Symbolo S. Augustini. ad Laurent. c. 34, 37.

and 38. Natus de Spiritu S. & Maria Virgine, as also the Council of Franckford in Sacrosyllabo. S. Aug. de Fide & Symb. Natus est per Spiritum S. ex Virgine Maria. Nonne de Spiritu S. & Virgine Maria Dei filius unicus natus est? S. Aug. de Prædest. S. & c. 15. & paulo post. quia natus est de Spiritu S. ex Maria Virgine. S. Leo Epist. 10. c. 2. Maximus Taurin. Chrysol. Etherius Oxam. Author Symbol. ad Catechum. Qui natus est de Spiritu S. ex Maria Virgine. So also Venantius Fortunatus. From whence Fulgentius de Fide ad Petrum Diaconum; Natam de Spiritu S. ex Maria Virgine, in Symbolo acceptum, & corde ad justitiam credit, & ore ad salutem S. Ecclesia confitetur. Item prædicandum est quomodo Filius Dei incarnatus est de Spiritu S. ex Maria semper-Virgine. Capitul. Caroli 82. And Alcuinus l. 3. de Trinit. c. 1. Dicitur in Symbolo Catholicæ fidei, quod Christus de Spiritu S. & ex Maria Virgine sit natus. In the ancient MS. transcribed by the learned Archbishop of Armagh, τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου. So Paulus Samosatenus in his fifth Proposition; Ἰησοῦς ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου. These, omitted in the Nicene Creed, were put in by the Council of Constantinople, upon the occasion of the Apollinarian Heresie, as was observed by Diogenes Bishop of Cyzicum in the Council of Chalcedon. Οἱ γὰρ ἅγιοι πατέρες οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα, τὸ ἰσαρκόθη, ὃ εἶπον οἱ ἅγιοι ἐν Νικαίᾳ πατέρες, ἰσαοῦνισαν εἰπόντες, ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου. In the several expositions among the Sermons de Tempore, falsely attributed to S. Aug. Qui conceptus est de Spiritu S. natus ex Virgine Maria. So Eusebius Gallicanus Homil. de Symbolo. And from thence it hath continued, as we now read it, Which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary.

For the first, the Relative in the front of this carries us clearly back unto the former Article, and tells us that he which was thus conceived and born was

† Huic quem dudum de Patre natum ineffabiliter didicisti, nunc à Spiritu S. templum fabricatum intra fecreta uteri Virginalis intellige. *Ruff.*

was *Jesus Christ*, the only Son of God. And being we have already demonstrated that this only Son is therefore called so, because he was begotten by the Father from all eternity, and so of the same substance with him; it followeth that this Article at the first beginning, or by virtue of its connexion, can import no less than this most certain, but miraculous, truth, that † He which was begotten by the Father before all worlds, was now in the fulness of time *conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary.* Again, being by the Conception and Birth is to be understood whatsoever was done toward the production of the humane nature of our Saviour; therefore the same Relative considered with the words which follow it can speak no less than the incarnation of that Person. And thus even in the entry of the Article we meet with the Incarnation of the Son of God; that great mystery wrapt up in that short sentence of *S. John, The word was made flesh.*

Indeed the Pronoun hath relation not only unto this but to the following Articles, which have their necessary connexion with and foundation in this Third; for he who was *conceived and born*, and so made man, did in that humane nature suffer, die, and rise again. Now when we say this was the Word, and that Word was God, being whosoever is God cannot cease to be so; it must necessarily follow, that he was made man by joyning the humane nature with the Divine. But then we must take heed lest we conceive, because the Divine Nature belongeth to the Father, to which the humane is conjoynd, that therefore the Father should be incarnate, or *conceived and born.* For as certainly as the Son was crucified, and the Son alone; so certainly the same Son was incarnate, and that Son alone. Although the humane nature was conjoynd with the Divinity, which is the nature common to the Father and the Son; yet was that union made only in the Person of the Son Which Doctrine is to be observed against the Heresie of the * *Patripassians*, which was both very ancient and far diffused, making the Father to be incarnate, and becoming man to be crucified. But this very Creed was * always thought to be a sufficient confutation of that fond opinion, in that the Incarnation is not subjoynd to the first, but to the second, Article; we do not say, *I believe in God the Father Almighty, which was conceived*, but, *in his only Son, our Lord, which was conceived by the Holy Ghost.*

* The Heresie of the Patripassians seems only to have relation to the suffering of our Saviour, because the word signifies no more than the Passion of the Father.

But it is founded in an error concerning the Incarnation, it being out of question that he which was made man did suffer. Epiphanius observes, Noetus was the first which taught this Heresie, who lived 130 years before him, more or less, and when he was questioned for it he denied it: *διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ ἐξεμίσσαι ταυτὴν τὴν πικρίαν.* But certainly this Heresie was ancienter than Noetus; for the Patripassians are named by S. Cyprian, Epist. 73. and Tertullian his Master chargeth it upon Praxeas: *Duo negotia Diaboli Praxeas Romæ procuravit, Prophetiam expulit, & Hæresim intulit; Paracletum fugavit, & Patrem crucifixit. Adv. Prax. c. 1.* And expressing the absurdity of that opinion; *Itaque post tempus Pater natus & Pater passus, ipse Deus Dominus Omnipotens Jesus Christus prædicatur. c. 2.* And *De Præsc. adv. Heret.* Post hos omnes etiam Praxeas quidem Hæresim introduxit, quam Victorinus corroborare curavit. Hic Deum Patrem Omnipotentem Jesum Christum esse dicit, hunc crucifixum passumque contendit; mortuum præterea seipsum sibi sedere ad dextram suam, cum profana & sacrilega temeritate proponit, c. 53. After Praxeas Noetus taught the same. *Ἐτόλμησε λέγειν ὅτι πατέρα πεπονθέναι, says Epiphanius; and being questioned for it, he answered, τί ἵδ' κακὸν πεποιήκα; ἓνα θεὸν δοξάζω, ἓνα ὀπίσασμαι; καὶ ἕκ' ἄλλου πλὴν αὐτοῦ ἄνυθὲντα πεποιήτοτα, ἀποθανόντα. He thought the Father and the Son to be the same Person, and therefore if the Son, the Father to be incarnate. Τισὶ ἀπορεῖ ἢ χεῖρον ἐδίδασκε, ἢ ἐὶ τὸν ἴδιον πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἄγιον πνεῦμα. Epiph. Anaceph.* After the Noetians followed the Sabellians. So Philastrius: Sabellius Discipulus ejus, qui similitudinem sui Doctoris itidem secutus est, unde & Sabelliani postea sunt appellati, qui & Patripassiani, & Praxeani à Praxea, & Hermogeniani ab Hermogene, qui fuerunt in Africa, qui & ista sentientes abjecti sunt ab Ecclesia Catholica. So S. Aug. Sabelliani dicti sunt quidem Hæretici, qui vocantur & Patripassiani, qui dicunt ipsum Patrem passum esse *Tract. 36. in Joh. This I confess is denied by Epiphanius, who acknowledged Sabellius to have followed Noetus in many things, but not in the Incarnation or Passion of the Father. Sabelliani οἱ τὰ ὅμοια ἀνοήτως (ἀνοήτως, id est, Nonτιανοῖς, vel ἀνοήτως, id est, Noeto, as S. Aug. Novato) δοξάζοντες πᾶσι τὰ το μόνον λέγουσι γὰρ μὴ πεπονθέναι τὸν πατέρα. This S. Augustine wonders very much at in Epiphanius: Sabelliani, inquit, similia Noeto dogmatizantes, præter hoc quod dicunt Patrem non esse passum; quomodo de Sabellianis intelligi potest, cum sic innotuerint dicere Patrem passum, ut Patripassiani quam Sabelliani sæpius nuncupentur? Aug. Her. 41. Indeed the Latin Fathers generally call the Sabellians Patripassians; and not only so, but Theodoret doth so describe them as professing one Person, ἐν ᾧ τῇ παλαιᾷ, ὡς πατέρα νομοθετῆσαι, ἐν ᾧ τῇ καινῇ, ὡς υἱὸν ἐκζητῶσπῆσαι. l. 2. c. 9. After the Sabellians succeeded in the same Heresie the Priscillianists, as appeareth by Pope Leo, who shews they taught but one Person of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: Quod blasphemix genus de Sabellii opinione sumperunt, cujus discipuli etiam Patripassiani merito nuncupantur; quia si ipse est Filius qui & Pater, crux Filii patris est passio, & quicquid in forma servi Filius Patri obediendo, sustinuit, totum in se Pater ipse suscepit. Ep. 93. c. 1. Thus the Patripassian Heresie, beginning from Praxeas and Hermogenes.*

was continued by Noetus, Sabellius and Priscillianus, and mingled with all their several Heresies, the sum and substance of which is thus well set down by Victorinus; *Patripassiani Deum solum esse dicunt quem nos patrem dicimus; ipsum solum existentem & effectorem omnium, & venisse non solum in mundum, sed & in carnem, & alia omnia quæ nos Filium fecisse dicimus.* * It appeareth plainly that Tertullian confuted Praxeas, by reducing him to these words of the Creed. For when he had first declared, *Nos unicum quidem Deum credimus* (which was the objection of Praxeas) sub hac tamen dispensatione, *quæ μοι νομομίαν* dicimus, ut unicus Dei sit & Filius sermo ipsius, qui ex ipso processerit, per quem omnia facta sunt, & sine quo factum est nihil. Then he subjoyneth. Hunc missum à Patre in Virginem, & ex eanatum hominem, & Deum, filium hominis, & filium Dei, & cognominatum Jesum Christum: Hunc passum, hunc mortuum, & sepultum, secundum Scripturas, & resuscitatum à Patre, & in cælos resumptum sedere ad dextram Patris, venturum judicare vivos & mortuos. And that we may be assured that he used these words out of the Creed, it followeth, *Hanc Regulam ab initio Evangelii decucurrisse.* &c. This is yet farther evident out of Epiphanius, who tells us the Eastern Doctors confuted Noetus in the same manner, by reducing him to the words of the Creed. "Ενα Θεόν ὁμοῦσόν, καὶ ἀγνοῦν (just as Tertullian; *Nos unicum quidem Deum credimus*) ἀλλ' ὡς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι δικάσαι δόξαζεν καὶ ἕνα Χριστὸν ἔχοντα, ἀλλ' ὡς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἕνα Χριστὸν ἕνα Θεῶν, παθόντα ὡς ἑπταθεν, ἀποθανόντα καθὼς ἀπέθανεν, ἀναστάντα, ἀνεληθόντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὅπλα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐσχόμενον κείμεν ζῶντα καὶ νεκρῶν. And when the argument of Tertullian against Praxeas and the Greeks against Noetus drawn from the Creed did not sufficiently convince the Patripassians, the Church of Aquileia, to exclude them wholly, added these two words to the first Article, *Invisibilem, and Impassibilem.* *Invisibilem, to shew he was not incarnate; Impassibilem to shew he was not crucified.* So Rufinus in the conclusion of his exposition upon these words, *Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem* addeth, *His additur Invisibilem & Impassibilem: and then gives the reason, Sciendum quod duo isti Sermones in Ecclesiæ Romanæ Symbolo non habentur.* Constat autem apud nos additos Hæreseos causâ Sabellii, illius profecto quæ à nostris *Patripassiana* appellatur, id est, quæ Patrem ipsum vel ex Virgine natum dicit, & visibilem factum, vel passum affirmat in carne. Ut ergo excluderetur talis impietas de Patre, videntur hæc addidisse majores, & invisiblem Patrem atque impassibilem dixisse. Constat enim Filium, non Patrem, in carne & ex carne natum, & ex nativitate carnis Filium visibilem & passibilem factum.

First then, we believe that he which was made flesh was the Word, that he which took upon him the nature of man was not the Father nor the Holy Ghost, nor any other person but the only begotten Son. And when we say that Person was *conceived* and *born*, we declare he was made really and truly man, of the same humane nature which is in all other men who by the ordinary way of generation are conceived and born. For the ¹ *Mediator between God and Man is the man Christ Jesus*: That since ² *by man came death, by man also should come the resurrection of the dead.* As sure then as the first *Adam* and we who are redeemed are men, so certainly is the second *Adam* and our Mediator man. He is therefore frequently called the *Son of man*, and in that nature he was always promised. First ³ *to Eve*, as her *seed*, and consequently her Son. Then to *Abraham*, ⁴ *In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed*; and that ⁵ *seed is Christ*, and so the Son of *Abraham*. Next to *David*, as his *son to sit upon his throne*; and so he is ⁶ *made of the seed of David according to the flesh*, ⁷ *the son of David, the son of Abraham*, and consequently of the same nature with *David* and with *Abraham*. And as he was their Son, so are we his Brethren, as descending from the same Father *Adam*; ⁸ *and therefore it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren.* For he ⁸ *laid not hold on the Angels, but on the seed of Abraham*, And so became not an Angel, but a man.

As then man consisteth of two different parts, *Body* and *Soul*, so doth *Christ*: He assumed a *Body*, at his *Conception*, of the blessed *Virgin*. ⁹ *Forasmuch as the children are partakers of the flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same.* The verity of his *body* stands upon the truth of his *nativity*; and the actions and passions of his life shew the nature of his *flesh*.

He was first born with a *body* which was prepared for him, of the same appearance with those of other *Infants*; he grew up by degrees, and was so far from being sustained without accustomed nutrition of our bodies, that he was observed even by his enemies to *come eating and drinking*, and when he did not so, he suffered hunger and thirst. Those plowers never doubted of the true nature of his *flesh*, who *plowed upon his back and made long furrows*. The *Thornes* which pricked his sacred *Temples*, the *Nails* which penetrated through his *Hands* and *Feet*, the *Spear* which pierced his sacred *Side*, give sufficient testimony of the natural tenderness and frailty of his *flesh*. And left his fasting forty days together, left his walking on the waters and traversing the Seas, left his sudden standing in the midst of his *Disciples* when the doors were

+
¹ I Tim. 2. 5.
² I Cor. 15. 21.
³ Gen. 3. 15.
⁴ Gen. 22. 18.
⁵ Gal. 3. 16.
⁶ Rom. 1. 3.
⁷ Mat. 1. 1.
⁸ Heb. 2. 17, 16.
⁹ Heb. 2. 14.
 || Marcion, ut carnem Christi negaret, negavit etiam nativitatem; aut, ut nativitatem negaret, negavit & carnem: scilicet, ne invicem sibi testimonium redderent & responderent nativitas & caro; quia nec nativitas sine carne nec caro sine nativitate: Tertul. de Carne Christi, c. 1.

were shut, should raise an opinion that his body was not true and proper flesh he confirmed first his own Disciples, *Feel and see, that a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as you see me to have.* As therefore we believe the coming of Christ, so must we confess him to have come in the verity of our humane nature, even in true and proper flesh. With this determinate expression was it always necessary to acknowledge him: For every spirit that confesseth Jesus Christ come in the flesh is of God; and every spirit that confesseth not Jesus Christ come in the flesh, is not of God. This spirit appeared early in opposition to the Apostolical Doctrine; and Christ, who is both God and Man, was as soon denied to be Man as God. || Simon Magus, the Arch-heretick, first began, and many after followed him.

|| Simon Magus first made himself to be Christ; and what he

feigned of himself, that was attributed by others unto Christ. Dixerat se in monte Sina Legem Mofi in Patris persona dedisse Judæis, tempore Tiberii in Filii persona putative apparuisse. S. Aug. So S. Cyril represents him ἐκ ἐν σαρκί, ἀλλὰ δόκησας, ὡς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν φανέντα. Catech. 6. From this δόκησας of his invention arose the Heresie of the Δοκῆσαι. For Saturnilus or Saturninus, followed his Disciple Menander with his putative tantum hominem, as Irenæus; and in phantasmate tantum venisse, as Tertullian speaks. After him Valentinus and his followers, Epiphanes, Isidorus and Secundus: then the Marcosians, Heracleonitæ and Ophitæ, Cerdon, Marcion, Lucanus, and generally the Manichees. These were the Δοκῆσαι or Φαντασασαί, all conspiring in this, that Christ was not really what he appeared, nor did truly suffer what he seemed to endure. This early Heresie appeareth by the opposition which S. Ignatius made unto it in his Epistles.

And certainly, if the Son of God would vouchsafe to take the frailty of our flesh, he would not omit the nobler part, our Soul, without which he could not be man. For *Jesus increased in wisdom and stature*; one in respect of his body, the other of his Soul. Wisdom belongeth not to the flesh, nor can the knowledge of God, which is infinite, encrease: he then whose knowledge did improve together with his years must have a subject proper for it, which was no other than a humane Soul. This was the Seat of his finite Understanding and directed Will, distinct from the Will of his Father, and consequently of his divine Nature; as appeareth by that known submission, *Not my will, but thine be done.* This was the subject of those Affections and Passions which so manifestly appeared in him: Nor spake he any other than a proper Language, when before his suffering he said, *My Soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death.* This was it which on the Cross, before the departure from the body, he recommended to the Father: teaching us in whose hands the Souls of the departed are: For when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, *Father into thy hands I commend my spirit: and having said thus he gave up the Ghost.* And as his death was nothing else but the separation of the Soul from his Body; so the life of Christ as Man did consist in the conjunction and vital union of that Soul with the Body. So that he which was perfect God, was also perfect man, of a reasonable soul and humane flesh subsisting. Which is to be observed and asserted against the * ancient Hereticks, who taught that Christ assumed humane flesh, but that the Word or his Divinity was unto that Body in the place of an informing Soul.

Luke 2. 52.

Luke 22. 42.

Mat. 26. 38.

Luke 23. 46.

* Of this kind two several Sects were most remarkable, the Arians and the Apollinarians.

Arius taught that Christ had nothing of man but the flesh, and with that the Word was joined. Ἄριστος ὁ σῶμα μόνον πρὸς σποκευρήν τῆς θεότητος ὁμολογεῖ ἀντὶ ὃ τὰ ἑσώθεν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀνθρώπου τοῦ σώματος τῆς ψυχῆς, ἢ λόγον ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ λέγει γεγονέναι. Athan. de adv. Christi. So Felicianus the Arian, in Vigilius de Unitate Trin. c. 17. Ita enim à majoribus nostris semper est traditum, quod Christi corpus ad vicem animæ communis ipsius Filii Dei habitus animarum; nec accensione animalis spiritus indigens fuerit, cui inhabitans fons vitæ potuit conferre quod vixit. Eunomius followed him in this particular: Ἄριστος ὁ καὶ Εὐνόμιος σῶμα μὲν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν εἰληφέναι, θεότητα δὲ ψυχῆς ἐνηργηκέναι τὴν χερίαν. Theod. l. c. cont. Hæc c. 11. Apollinaris distinguished between the Soul and the Mind, the ψυχὴ and the νῦς, and acknowledged that the word assumed the Body and Soul or ψυχὴ of man, but not the Mind or Spirit, or the Νοῦς, but the Word it self was in the place of that. Apollinaristas Apollinaris instituit, qui de anima Christi ab Ecclesia Catholica disenserunt, dicentes, sicut Ariani, Deum Christum carnem sine anima suscepisse. In quæstione testimonii Evangelicis victi, mentem, quæ rationalis est anima hominis, non fuisse in anima Christi, sed pro hac ipsum verbum in ea fuisse, dixerunt. This was then the clear difference betwixt the Arian and Apollinarian Heresie: Apollinaristas quidem carnis & animæ naturam sine mente assumpsisse Deum credunt, Ariani vero carnis tantummodo. Facundus l. 9. So that two things are to be observed in the Apollinarians, their Philosophy, and their Divinity: their Philosophy, in making man consist of three distinct parts, the Body, the Soul and the Mind; their Divinity, in making the humane nature of Christ to consist but of two, the Body and the Soul, and the third to be supplied by the Word. Which is excellently expressed by Nemesius de Nat. Iom. in respect of his Philosophy: Τινὲς μὲν, ὡν ἓτι καὶ Πλωτῖνος, ἀλλω ἔδωκε τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ ἄλλον δὲ νοῦν, λογισάσαντα τὴν

τριῶν τὸν ἀνθρώπου συνεσθῆναι, βάλονται, σώματος, καὶ ψυχῆς, καὶ νῦν. Οἷς ἠκολούθησε καὶ Ἀπολλινάριος ὁ τῆς Λαοδικείας γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος· τῆτον γὰρ πηξάδωτος τὸν δεμέλιον τῆς εἰκείας δόξης. καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσωκοδόμησε κατὰ τὸ οἰκείον δόγμα. and by Theodoret in respect of his Divinity: Σαρκωθῆναι ἢ τὸν Θεὸν ἔρησε λόγοι, σῶμα καὶ ψυχῆ ἀνεληφότα ἢ τὴν λογικῆν, ἀλλὰ ἢ ἀλογον, ἢ φυσικὴν, ἢ γυναικτικὴν, τινὲς ὀνομάζουσι. τὸν ἢ νῦν ἀλλό τι παρὰ τὴν ψυχὴν ἔβλεπον, ἐκ ἔρησε ἀνεληφθαι, ἀλλ' ἀρκέσαι τὴν θείαν φύσιν εἰς τὸ πληρῶσαι τὸ νῦν τὴν χερίαν.

Thus the whole perfect and || complete nature of man was assumed by the Word, by him who was conceived and born of a woman, and so made a man. And being the Divine nature which he had before could never cease to be what before it was, nor ever become what before it was not; therefore he who was God before by the Divine nature which he had, was in this Incarnation made man by that humane nature which he then assumed; and so really and truly was * both God and man. And thus this third Article from the conjunction with the second, teacheth us no less than the two natures really distinct in Christ incarnate.

|| Quid à Patre Christus acciperat, nisi quod & induerat? hominem sine dubio carnis animæque, tunc curam. Tertul. de Resurrex. carn. c. 34. Hoc toto credente jam mundo, puto quod & Dæmones confiteantur Filium Dei natum de Maria Virgine, & carnem naturæ humanæ atque animam suscepisse. S. Hier. Apol. 2. advers. Ruffinum. * Nῦν ἢ ἐπέφανη ἀνθρώποις αὐτὸς ἔτος ὁ λόγος ὁ μόνος ἀμφοῦ, Θεός τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος. Cl. Alexand. adv. Gentes.

For if both natures were not preserved complete and distinct in Christ, it must be either by the conversion and transubstantiation of one into the other, or by commixtion and confusion of both into one. But neither of these ways can consist with the person of our Saviour, or the Office of our Mediator. For if we should conceive such a mixtion and confusion of substances as to make an union of natures, we should be so far from acknowledging him to be both God and man, that thereby we should profess him to be neither God nor Man, but a Person of a nature as different from both, as all mixt bodies are distinct from each element which concurs unto their composition. Besides, we know there were in Christ the Affections proper to the nature of man, and all those infirmities which belong to us, and cannot be conceived to belong to that nature of which the Divine was but a part. Nor could our humanity be so commixed or confounded with the Divinity of our Saviour, but that the Father had been made Man as much as the Son, because the Divine nature is the same both of the Father and the Son. Nor ought we to have so || low an esteem of that infinite and independent being, as to think it so commixed with, or immersed in, the creature.

|| Absit ita credere, ut conflati quodam genere duas naturas in unam

arbitremur redactas esse substantiam; hujusmodi enim commixtio partis utriusque corruptio est. Deus enim qui capax est, non capabilis, penetrans, non penetrabilis, implens, non implebilis, qui ubique simul totus, & ubique diffusus est per infusionem potentie sue, misericorditer naturæ mixtus est humanæ, non humana natura naturæ est mixta Divinæ. Leporius Libel. Emend.

Again, as the confusion, so the conversion of natures is impossible. For first, we cannot with the least shew of probability conceive the Divine nature of Christ to be transubstantiated into the humane nature; as those whom they call * Flandrian Anabaptists in the Low-Countries at this day maintain. There is a plain repugnancy even in the supposition: for the nature of Man must be made, the nature of God cannot be made, and consequently cannot become the nature of man. The immaterial, indivisible and immortal Godhead cannot be divided into a spiritual and incorruptible Soul, and a carnal and corruptible Body; of which two Humanity consisteth. There is no other Deity of the Father than of the Son; and therefore if this was converted into that Humanity, then was the Father also that man, and grew in knowledge, suffered, and died. We must not therefore so far stand upon the propriety of speech, when it is written, || The Word was made flesh, as to destroy the propriety both of the Word and of the Flesh.

* Teste Episcopo, Instit. Theol. l. 4. c. 8.

|| In that proposition, ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, there hath been

strange force used by men of contrary judgments, and for contrary ends, as to the word ἐγένετο. The Socinians endeavouring to prove it can have no other sense than simply suit, the word was flesh. The Flandrian Anabaptists stretching it to the highest sense of factum est, the Word was made flesh. It is confessed that the Verb γίνεσθαι in the use of the Greek Language is capable of either incarnation: it is also acknowledged that the most ancient Interpreters were divided in their Renditions. For the Syriack rendered it

נְתַתְּנוּ בְּסֵרֵן וּבְמִיתָה Et verbum caro fuit; the ancient Latine, Et verbum caro factum est. It cannot be denied but in the Scriptures it hath been used indifferently in either sense. And the same old Vulgar Translation in some places renders it, as the Syriack doth here, Matth. 10. 16. γίνεσθε ἕν φρόνιμοι ὡς οἱ ὄφεις, Estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes; and 25. Ἀρκητὸν πῶς μαθητὴ ἵνα γίνῃται ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος αὐτοῦ, Sufficit discipulo ut sit sicut magister ejus. From whence it is evident that they placed not the force in the signification of the word γίνεσθαι, but in the circumstance of the matter in which 'twas used. Howsoever, neither of these Interpretations prove either of these Opinions. For if it be acknowledged that the Word was flesh, and it hath been already proved, and presupposed by S. John in his precedent discourse, that the Word had a former being antecedent to his being flesh; it followeth, that he which was before the Word, and was not flesh, if after he were flesh, must be made such. And so the Socinian Observation falls. Again, If he which was made flesh was the Word, and after he was made such was still the Word, as certainly he was, and is still the same; then his being made or becoming flesh can no way evacuate that nature in which he did before subsist. And so the Flandrian Interpretation is of no validity.

Secondly, we must not, on the contrary, invent a conversion of the humane nature into the Divine, as the *Eutychians* of old did fanſie. For ſure the Incarnation could not at firſt conſiſt in ſuch a conversion, it being unimaginable how that which had no being ſhould be made by being turned into ſomething elſe. Therefore the humanity of Chriſt could not at the firſt be made by being the Divinity of the Word. Nor is the Incarnation ſo prepoſterouſly expreſſed, as if the fleſh were made the Word, but that the Word was made fleſh. And if the Manhood were not in the firſt act of Incarnation converted into the Divine nature, as we ſee it could not be; then is there no pretence of any time or manner in or by which it was || afterward ſo tranſubſtantiated. Vain therefore was that old conceit of *Eutyches*, who thought the Union to be made ſo in the natures, that the Humanity was abſorpt and wholly turned into the Divinity, ſo that by that tranſubſtantiation the humane nature had no longer being. And well did the ancient Fathers, who oppoſed this Heresie, make uſe of the Sacramental union between the Bread and Wine and the Body and Blood of Chriſt, and thereby ſhewed, that the humane nature of Chriſt is no more really converted into the Divinity, and ſo ceaſeth to be the humane nature, than the ſubſtance of the Bread and Wine is really converted into the ſubſtance of the Body and Blood, and thereby ceaſeth to be both Bread and Wine. From whence it is by the way obſervable, that the Church in thoſe days underſtood no ſuch Doctrin as that of * Tranſubſtantiation.

|| This was the proper Opinion of Eutyches, as appeareth by his own Confession in the Council of Chalcedon: Ο- μολογῶ ἐν δύο φύσεων γενέσθαι τὸ Κύριον ἡμῶν πρὸς τῆς ἐνώσεως, μετὰ δὲ ἑνωσιν μίαν φύσιν ὁμολογῶ. Act. 1. Two distinct natures he confessed at first, but when the Union was

once made he acknowledged but one. But when that Union was made he expressed not, nor could his followers agree; some attributing it to the Conception, some to the Resurrection, others to the Ascension. Howsoever, when they were united, his opinion clearly was, that the humane nature was so abſorpt into the Divine, ſo wholly made the ſame, that it ceaſed wholly to be what it was, and ſo there was but one, that is, the Divine, nature remained. This is ſufficiently expreſſed by S. Leo, who was the ſtrongeſt oppoſer of him, and ſpeaketh thus of his Opinion, Serm 8. de Nativ. Hic autem recentioris ſacrilegii proſanus aſſertor unionem quidem in Chriſto duarum confeſſus eſt naturarum; ſed ipſa unione id dixit effectum, ut ex duabus una remaneret, nullatenus alterius exiſtente ſubſtantiâ. And Eranistes in the Dialogue of Theodoret arguing for that Opinion, being urged to declare whether in that Union one nature was made of them both, or one remaining, the other did not ſo, answered plainly Ἐγὼ τὴν θεοῦ λέγω μεθρηκέναι, καταποθῆναι ἢ ὑπὸ ταύτης ἢ ἀνθρωπότησα. * There can be no time in which we may obſerve the Doctrine of the Ancients ſo clearly, as when they write professedly againſt an Heresie evidently known, and make uſe generally of the ſame Arguments againſt it. Now what the Heresie of Eutyches was is certainly known, and the nature of the Sacrament was generally made uſe of as an Argument to confute it. Gelasius Biſhop of Rome hath written an excellent Book againſt Eutyches, De duabus naturis in Chriſto, in which he propoundeth their Opinion thus: Eutychiani dicunt unam eſſe naturam, id eſt, Divinam; and ſolâ exiſtente Deitate, Humanitas illis eſſe jam deſtitit. That then which he diſputes againſt is the Tranſubſtantiation of the humane nature into the Divine. The Argument which he makes uſe of againſt it is drawn from the Eucharist: Certe Sacramenta quæ ſumimus corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti Divina res eſt, propter quod & per eadem Divinæ efficiamur conſortes naturæ; & tamen eſſe non deſinit ſubſtantia vel natura Panis & Vini. Et certe imago & ſimilitudo corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti in actione myſteriorum celebrantur. Satis ergo nobis evidenter oſtenditur, hoc nobis ipſo Chriſto Domino ſentiendum, quod in ejus imagine profitemur, celebramus, & ſumimus, ut ſicut in hanc, ſcilicet, in Divinam, tranſcant, S. Spiritu perficiente ſubſtantiam, permanentes tamen in ſuâ proprietate naturæ; ſic illud ipſum myſterium princiale, cujus nobis efficientiam virtutemque veraciter repræſentant, ex quibus conſtat proprie permanentibus, unum Chriſtum, quia integrum verumque, permanere demonſtrant. In which words 'tis plain he affirms the union of the Humane nature of Chriſt to be the principal myſtery, the representation of that myſtery to be in the Sacrament of the Eucharist: he concludes from thence, that as in the representation the ſubſtance of the Bread and Wine remaineth in the propriety of their own nature, ſo the humane nature of Chriſt in the greater myſtery, doth ſtill remain. In the margin of this place in the Bibliotheca Patrum there is printed Caute, as if there could be any danger in obſerving the ſenſe of the Fathers, when they ſpeak ſo expreſſy and conſiderately. In the ſame manner we find a Diſputation between an Heretick and a Catholick in the ſecond Dialogue of Theodoret, where Eranistes, as an Heretick, aſks Orthodoxus by what names he calls the Bread and Wine after Conſecration; who answers, the Body and Blood of Chriſt: From whence Eranistes argues, Ὡς περ τοίνω τὰ σύμβολα τῶ δεσποτικῆ σώματος τε καὶ αἵματος ἀλλὰ μὴ εἰσι πρὸς τὴν ἑρατικὴν ὀπλήσειος, μετὰ δὲ γε τὴν ὀπλήσειν μεταβάλλεται καὶ ἕτερα γίνεται ἄτω τῶ δεσποτικὸν σῶμα μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν εἰς τὴν ἰστίαν μετοβλήθη τὴν θείαν. As the Symbols of the Body and Blood of Chriſt are one thing before Conſecration, and

after that change their name, and become another; so the Body of Christ after his ascension is changed into the Divine substance. To this Orthodoxy answers Ἐάλλως αἰεὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀρμυσι, You are taken in your own nets. Οὐδὲ γὰρ μὲν τὸν ἀγι-
ασμὸν τὰ μυσικὰ σύμβολα τῆ οἰκίας ἐξίσταται φύσεως, ὡς γὰρ ὅτι τὴ προσέρας ἑστίας, καὶ τὴ σχήματῳ, καὶ τὴ εἶδος καὶ ὄμο-
τα ὅτι καὶ ἀπτά, οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν. The Bread and Wine even after Consecration leave not their own nature, but remain
in their former substance, shape, and form. In the same manner, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τὸ μὲν πρότερον εἶδῳ ἔχει καὶ σχῆμα καὶ
περιγραφήν, καὶ ἀπαξ ἀπλῶς εἰπέν, τὴ τὸ σῶμα εἶδῳ ἑστίας. the body of Christ had the same form, figure and shape, and
indeed, the same bodily substance. And when Eranistes still objects, that the bread is called the Body, and not Bread, Ortho-
doxus answers that he is mistaken; Οὐ γὰρ σῶμα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄρτος ζωῆς ὀνομάζεται, ἕτως αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος προσεγορεύσεται,
καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα θεῖον ὀνομάζουσαν σῶμα. For it is not only called the Body, but also Bread of life, and the Body it self we
call the Divine body. Who sees not then that Theodoret believed no more that the Bread is converted into the Body, than that the
Body is converted into the Divinity of Christ? Who perceives not that he thought the Bread to be as substantially and really Bread after
the Consecration, as the body of Christ is really a Body after his Ascension? The same Argument is used by S. Chryostome upon the
same occasion against the Apollinarians in his Epistle ad Cæsarium, not yet published in Greek, and by Ephraïmus in Photii Bibli-
otheca against the Eutychians. As therefore all the μεταστροφῆς of the Sacramental elements maketh them not cease to be of the
same nature which before they were; so the humane nature of Christ, joined to the Divine; loseth not the nature of humanity, but
continueth with the Divinity as a substance in it self distinct; and so Christ doth subsist not only ex, but in diabus naturis, as the
Council of Chalcedon determined against Eutyches.

Being then he which is *Conceived* was the *only Son of God*, and that *only Son* begotten of the substance of the Father, and so always subsisted in the Divine Nature; being by the same Conception he was made truly Man, and consequently assumed an humane nature; being these two natures cannot be made one either by commixtion or conversion, and yet there can be but one *Christ* subsisting in them both, because that only Son was he which is conceived and born: it followeth, that the Union which was not made in the nature, was made in the person of the Word; that is, it was not so made, that out of both natures one only should result, but only so, that to one Person no other should be added.

Nor is this Union only a scholastick speculation, but a certain and necessary truth, without which we cannot have one *Christ*, but two *Christs*, one Mediator, but two Mediators; without which we cannot join the second Article of our Creed with the third, making them equally belong to the same person; without which we cannot interpret the sacred Scriptures, or understand the History of our Saviour. For certainly he which was before *Abraham* was in the days of *Herod* born of a woman; he which preached in the days of *Noah*, began to preach in the reign of *Tiberius*, being at that time about thirty years of age; he was demonstrated the Son of God with power who was the seed of *David* according to the *Flesh*, he who died on the Cross raised him from the dead who died so, being *put to death through the flesh, and quickned by the Spirit*; he was of the fathers according to the *flesh* who was *God over all blessed for ever*. Being these and the like actions and affections cannot come from the same nature, and yet must be attributed to the same Person; as we must acknowledge a diversity of natures united, so must we confess the identity of the Person in whom they are conjoined, against the ancient Heresie of the || *Nestorians*, condemned in the Council of *Ephesus*.

2 Pet. 3. 18.
Rom. 9. 5.

u

|| This Heresie doth most formally contradict these words of

the Creed, because it immediately denies this truth, that the eternal Son of God was conceived and born. And in vain did Nestorius seek not only to avoid it in the Nicene Creed, but to make use of the words of the Creed even against the Unity of the Person of Christ. S. Cyril had well objected the series, order and consequence of that confession: Ἐρη ἡ ἀγία καὶ μεγάλη Σύνοδος, αὐτὸν τὸ ἐν Θεῷ Πατρὶ καὶ φύσιν ἑὸν μονογενῆ, τὸ ἐν Θεῷ ἀλαθινῶ Θεῶν ἀληθινόν, τὸ ὡς τὸ ἐν τῷ φωτὶ, τὸ δὲ ἕ τὰ πάντα πεποίηκεν ὁ Πατήρ, καλεσθῆναι σαρκωθῆναι τε καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαι παθεῖν, ἀναστῆναι τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἀνελθεῖν εἰς οὐρανόν. The strength of this objection lies in this, that Christ, the only-begotten Son, begotten of the Father before all Worlds, was incarnate. The answer of Nestorius, was in this manner: Πιστεύουσα εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸ ἑὸν αὐτῷ τὸ μονογενῆ, σλόπησον ὅπως Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, καὶ μονογενῆς, καὶ ἑὸς, πρότερον θέντες, τὰ κοινὰ τῷ θεότητος καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος, ὡς θεμελίως, ὀνόματι, τότε τὸ ἐνανθρωπήσεως, καὶ τὸ παθῆναι, καὶ τὸ ἀναστῆναι, ἐποικοδομῶσι παράδοσιν. And the strength, or rather the weakness, thereof is this: that first the Council plac'd the name of *Jesus Christ*, and the only-begotten Son, names common to the Divinity and Humanity of Christ: and then upon them built the doctrine of his Incarnation. Whereas it is evident that, supposing the Only-begotten a term common to the Humanity and Divinity, yet the Council clearly expounds it of the eternal generation, adding immediately, begotten of his Father before all Worlds; neither is there any word between that exposition and the Incarnation, but such as speak wholly of Christ as God. Therefore that only-begotten Son, who was begotten of his Father before all Worlds, descended from Heaven, and was incarnate. Thus S. Cyril in his second Epistle to Nestorius, and Nestorius in his second to him. Which mistake of his seems yet more strange to me, when I consider in the same Epistle of Nestorius that fundamental truth asserted, which of it self sufficiently, nay fully confutes his Heresie: For he acknowledgeth the name of Christ to be ἀπαθῆς καὶ παθητῆς ἑστίας ἐν μοναδικῶ προσώπῳ προσηγορίας

συνυφάαν συνυφάντων, and consequently Christ himself to be a single Person in a double nature, passible and impassible: which once granted, it evidently followeth, that he which was born from eternity was also born in time, for by those several natures he had those several natures; that he which was impassible as God, might, and did suffer as man, because the same Person was of an impassible and a passible nature; impassible as God, passible as man. Wherefore by that which Nestorius hath confessed, and notwithstanding that which he hath objected, it is evident out of the Nicene Creed, that the Son of God, begotten of his Father before all Worlds, was incarnate and made Man; and as evident out of the Apostles Creed, especially expounded by the Nicene, that the same only-begotten Son was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary.

By the holy Ghost.

HAVING thus dispatched the consideration of the first Person concerned in this Article, and the Actions contained in it so far as distinctly from the rest they belong to him, we descend unto the other two concerned in the same; and first to him whose operation did precede in the Conception, the Holy Ghost. Which second part some may think to require a threefold consideration; first, of the Conception, secondly, of the Person, thirdly, of the Operation: But for the Person or existence of the Holy Ghost, that is here only mentioned obliquely, and therefore to be reserved for another Article where it is propounded directly. And for the Conception it self, that belongeth not so properly to the Holy Ghost, of whom the Act cannot be predicated. For tho' *Christ was conceived by the Holy Ghost*, yet the Holy Ghost did not conceive him, but said unto the Virgin, *Thou shalt conceive.* There remaineth therefore nothing proper and peculiar to this second part, but that Operation of the Holy Ghost in *Christ's* Conception, whereby the Virgin was enabled to conceive, and by virtue whereof *Christ* is said to be *conceived by him.*

Luke 1. 31.

Now when we say the Conception of our Saviour was wrought by the operation of the Spirit, it will be necessary to observe, first, what is excluded by that attribution to the Spirit; secondly, what is included in that operation of the Spirit.

Luke 1. 34.

Matth. 1. 18.

Luke 2. 27.

Luke 2. 33.

John 1. 45.

Luke 2. 48.

Luke 3. 23.

For the first of these we may take notice in the Salutation of the Angel, when he told the blessed Virgin she should conceive and bring forth a Son, she said, *How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?* By which words she excludeth first all men, and then herself: all men, by that assertion, *I know not a man*; her self, by the question, *How shall this be, seeing it is so?* First, our *Melchizedek* had no father on earth, in general; not any man, in particular, not *Joseph*. 'Tis true, *his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph*: but 'tis as true, *before they came together, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost*. We read in *S. Luke*, that *the parents brought up the child Jesus into the Temple*: but these Parents were not the Father and the Mother, but as it followeth, *Joseph and his Mother marvelled at those things which were spoken of him*. 'Tis true, *Philip* calleth him *Jesus of Nazareth the Son of Joseph*; and, which is more, his Mother said unto him, *Behold, thy Father and I have sought thee sorrowing*: but this must be only the reputed Father of *Christ*, he being only, *as was supposed, the son of Joseph, which was the son of Eli*. Whence they must needs appear without all excuse who therefore affirm our Saviour to have been the proper son of *Joseph*, because the Genealogy belongs to him; whereas in that very place where the Genealogy begins, *Joseph* is called the supposed Father. How can it then therefore be necessary *Christ* should be the true Son of *Joseph*, that he may be known to be the son of *David*, when in the same place where it is proved that *Joseph* came from *David*, it is denied that *Christ* came from *Joseph*? And that not only in *S. Luke*, where *Joseph* begins, but also in *S. Matthew*, where he ends the Genealogy. *Jacob begat Joseph the husband*

1. Matth. 1. 16. Indeed in our Translation,

whom may re-

late to both, as well as one, and to Joseph as well as Mary; but in the Original it evidently belongs to Mary: τὸν Ἰωσήφ & εὐδίας

Μαριάμ, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς.

of

of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ. Howsoever then the Genealogies are described, whether one belong to Joseph, the other to Mary, or both to Joseph, it is from other parts of the Scriptures infallibly certain, not only that Christ descended lineally from David according to the flesh, but also that the same Christ was begotten of the Virgin Mary, and not by Joseph.

Secondly, as the blessed Virgin excluded all mankind, and particularly Joseph, to whom she was then espoused, by her assertion; so did she exclude her self by the manner of the question, shewing that of her self she could not cause any such Conception. Altho she may be thought the Root of Jesse, yet could she not germinate of herself; though Eve were the Mother of all living, yet generation was founded on the Divine Benediction which was given to both together: For God blessed them, and said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth. Tho Christ was promised as the Seed of the Woman; yet we must not imagine that it was in the power of Woman to conceive him. When the Virgin thinks it impossible she should conceive because she knew not a man, at the same time she confesseth it otherwise as impossible, and the Angel acknowledgeth as much in the satisfaction of his answer, For with God nothing shall be impossible. God then it was who immediately and miraculously enabled the blessed Virgin to conceive our Saviour; and while Mary, Joseph, and all men are denied, no person which is that God can be excluded from that operation.

Gen. 1. 28:

Luke 1. 37.

But what is included in the conception by the Holy Ghost, or how his operation is to be distinguished from the Conception of the Virgin, is not so easily determined. The words by which it is expressed in Scripture are very general: First, as they are delivered by way of promise, prediction, or satisfaction to Mary; The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: Secondly, as they suppose the Conception already past; When his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph, before they came together, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost; and give satisfaction unto Joseph, Fear not to take to thee Mary thy Wife, for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost. Now being the expressions in the Scriptures are so general, that from thence the operation of the Spirit cannot precisely be distinguished from the concurrence of the Virgin; much less shall we be able exactly to conclude it by that late distinction made in this Article, conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin; because it is certain that the same Virgin also conceived him according to the Prophecy, Thou shalt conceive and bear a Son: and therefore, notwithstanding that distinction, the difficulty still remains, how he was conceived by the Spirit, how by the Virgin. Neither will any difference of * Prepositions be sufficient rightly to distinguish these operations. Wherefore there is no other way to bound or determine the Action of the Holy Ghost, but by that concurrence of the Virgin which must be acknowledged with it. For if she were truly the Mother of Christ, (as certainly she was, and we shall hereafter prove,) then is there no reason to deny to her in respect of him whatsoever is given to other Mothers in relation to the fruit of their womb; and

Luke 1. 35:

* As conceptus de Spiritu S. natus ex Maria Virgine. S. Aug. indeed hath delivered a distinction between De and Ex, after this manner, speaking to those words of the A-

postle, Quoniam ex ipso, & per ipsum, & in ipso, sunt omnia. Ex ipso non hoc significat quod de ipso. Quod enim de ipso est potest dici ex ipso, non autem omne quod ex ipso est rectè dicitur de ipso. Ex ipso enim cœlum & terra, quia ipse fecit ea; non autem de ipso, quia non de substantia sua. Sicut aliquis homo si gignat filium, & faciat domum, ex ipso filius, ex ipso domus; sed filius de ipso, sicut domus de terra & ligno. De Nat. Boni adv. Manich. c. 27. This distinction having no foundation in the Latin Tongue, is ill made use of for the illustration of this Article, because in the Greek Language of the Testament there is no such diversity of Prepositions; for as we read of Mary ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς, so also of the Holy Ghost, ἀγέθη ἐν γαστρὶ ἑρως ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου, and τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθὲν ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου. It is therefore said as well ἐκ πνεύματος, as ἐκ Μαρίας. Again, the Vulgar observeth no such difference, as rendering for the one, de qua natus est Jesus, and for the other, in utero habens de Spiritu S. Correspondently in the Greek Creeds, συλληφθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος, γεννηθέντα ἐκ Μαρίας, or, as in the Nicene, ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας. And the Latin not only de Spiritu S. ex Maria Virgine, but sometimes de Sp. S. & Maria

Maria Virgine, and de Maria Virgine. Chrysol. and S. Aug. often de Trinitate. Wherefore in vain have the Schools first accepted of S. Augustine's distinction, and then applied it to Christ's Conception; first taking the Preposition de to signifie no less than a procession from the substance of the cause, and then acknowledge Christ so begotten of the Holy Ghost, because the eternal Son who was so begotten was of the same substance with the Holy Ghost. Thus Thomas Aquinas has delivered the subtilty, Sum. p. 3. q. 32. a. 2. In Spiritu S. duplex habitudo consideratur respectu Christi. Nam ad ipsum filium Dei, qui dicitur esse conceptus, habet habitudinem consubstantialitatis; ad corpus autem ejus habet habitudinem causæ efficientis. Hæc autem præpositio De utramque habitudinem designat, sicut cum dicimus hominem aliquem esse de suo patre. Et ideo convenienter dicere possumus Christum esse conceptum de Spiritu S. hoc modo, quod efficientia Sp. S. referatur ad corpus assumptum, consubstantialitatem verò ad personam assumptam. But this distinction of Consubstantiality and effective Causality can make nothing for the propriety of the Phrase; for the Preposition De signifieth the material cause as well as the efficient, it must do so in respect of that which is the effect, if it require that the thing which is made be made of the substance of that de quo est: then must Christ, according unto that which is made, be made of the substance of the Holy Ghost; or, to speak in the words of the Scripture, Quod in ea natum est, de Spiritu Sancto est. Where either that which was conceived in the Virgin must be acknowledged of the substance of the Holy Ghost, or else the Preposition De must not be taken in S. Augustine's sense. Howsoever, being there is but one Preposition, ἐκ, common to both in the Original Greek; being the Vulgar Translation useth De indifferently for either; being where they have distinguished De and Ex, they have attributed Ex, which doth not signifie Consubstantiality, to the Virgin, of whom they confess he did assume the substance of his Body, and De, which signifieth (as they say) Consubstantiality, to the Holy Ghost, of whose substance he received nothing: it followeth, that the difference in the Prepositions can no way declare the different concurrence of the Spirit and the Virgin in Christ's Conception.

consequently, no more is left to be attributed to the Spirit, than what is necessary to cause the Virgin to perform the actions of a Mother. When the Scripture speaketh of Regeneration, or the second birth, it denieth all which belongeth to natural procreation, describing the sons of God as begotten not of bloods, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God: And in the Incarnation of our Saviour, we remove all will or lust of the flesh, we deny all will of man concurring; but as the bloods in the Language of the Hebrews did signifie that substance of which the flesh was formed in the womb, so we acknowledge in the generation of Jesus Christ, that he was made of the substance of his Mother.

John 1. 13.

But as he was so made of the substance of the Virgin, so was he not made of the substance of the Holy Ghost, whose essence cannot at all be made. And because the Holy Ghost did not beget him by any communication of his essence, therefore he is not the Father of him, tho he were conceived by him. And if at any time I have said, Christ was begotten by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, if the Ancients speak as if he generated the Son, it is not so to be understood, as if the Spirit did perform any proper act of generation, such as is the foundation of Paternity.

|| As Chrysol. Ubi Spiritus generat, Virgo parturit, torum divinum geritur, nihil humanum. Et Ser. 62. Stupenti mundo solus aperit quid est, quod Spiritus generat, Virgo concipit, Virgo parit. * Deus ipsemet ad sanguinem Mariæ addidit alliam materiam, ex quibus deinde Christi

Again, as the Holy Ghost did not frame the humane nature of Christ out of his own substance; so must we not believe that he formed any part of his flesh of any other substance than of the Virgin. For certainly he was of the Fathers according to the flesh, and was as to that truly and totally the Son of David and of Abraham. The Socinians, who will acknowledge no other way before Christ's Conception by which he could be the Only-begotten Son of God, have been forced to invent a strange conjunction in the nature of Christ: one part received from the Virgin, and so consequently from David and from Abraham, from whom that Virgin did descend; another * framed by the Spirit, and conjoynd with it: by the one part of which Humanity he was the Son of man, as by the other part he was the Son of God.

Smalcus, De Verbo & Naturali Dei Filio, c. 2. Verum manet generationem & hanc dici posse, quatenus in Deum ea cadere potest, si ad sanguinem Mariæ addita sit ex parte Dei materia, ex qua cum sanguine Mariæ juncta natus sit Christus. Ib. c. 3. What this was thus added to the substance of the Virgin, he elsewhere explains: Nos Dei virtutem in Virginis utero aliquam substantiam creatam vel immisisse aut ibi creasse affirmamus, ex qua, juncto eo quod ex ipsius Virginis substantia accessit, verus homo generatus fuit. This he doth not only without any authority affirm, but ground upon it the Sonship of Christ. For so it follows: Alias enim homo ille Dei Filius à conceptione & nativitate propriè non fuisset. And again; Necessitas magna fuit ut Christus ab initio vitæ suæ esset Deo Filius, qualis futurus non fuisset, nisi Dei virtute aliquid creatum fuisset quod ad constituendum Christi corpus una cum Mariæ sanguine concurreret. Thus while they deny the eternal generation of the Son, they establish a temporal in such manner as is not consonant with that Word which they pretend wholly to follow, and have made a body of Christ partly descending from the Father, partly not: and whereas as man he is like to us in all things sin only excepted; they have invented a body, partly like ours, partly not: and so in no part totally like. Indeed some of the ancients did speak so as to make the Holy Ghost the semen Dei: as Tertullian; Ergo jam Dei filius ex Patris Dei semine, i.e. Spiritu, ut esset hominis filius, caro ei sola erat ex hominis carne sumenda sine viri semine. Vacabat enim viri semen apud habentem Delsamen. De carne Christi, c. 18. And S. Hilary calls it Sementivam ineuntis Spiritus efficaciam, l. 2. de Trin. But in this they

they only understood the Operation of the Spirit, loco seminis. And whosoever spake of any proper semen, they abhorred; as appears by the 191. Sermon de Tempore: Nec ut quidam sceleratissimi opinantur, Spiritum S. dicimus pro semine fuisse, sed potentia & virtute Creatoris operatum. I know not whether be the greatest folly, to make the Holy Ghost the Father, as these men have done; by creating part of his body by way of seminal conjunction; or to make the same Spirit Mother of Christ, as the Nazareans did. In Evangelio Hebræorum quod lectitant Naziræi, Salvator inducitur loquens, *Môd me arripit mater mēa, Spiritus Sanctus.* There is only this difference, that one is founded upon no authority of Scripture; the other upon the authority of a pretended but no Scripture: the one maketh the Holy Ghost a partial, the other a total, mother.

The belief of this is necessary to prevent all fear or suspicion of spot in this Lamb, of Sin in this *Jesus*. Whatsoever our original corruption is, howsoever displeasing unto God, we may be from hence assured there was none in him, in whom alone God hath declared himself to be well pleased. *Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?* saith *Job*; a clean and undefiled Redeemer out of an unclean and defiled nature? He whose name is Holiness, whose operation is to sanctifie, the Holy Ghost. Our *Jesus* was like unto us in all things, as born of a Woman, sin only excepted, as conceived by the Holy Ghost. This original and total sanctification of the humane nature was first necessary, to fit it for the personal union with the Word, who, out of his infinite love, humbled himself to become flesh, and at the same time, out of his infinite purity, could not defile himself by becoming sinful flesh. Secondly, the same sanctification was as necessary in respect of the end for which he was made man, the Redemption of mankind: that as the || first *Adam* was the fountain of our impurity, so the second *Adam* should also be the pure fountain of our righteousness. *God sending his own son in the likeness of sinful flesh, condemned sin in the flesh;* which he could not have condemned, had he been sent in sinful flesh. *The Father made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him;* which we could not have been made in him, but that he *did no sin, and knew no sin.* For whosoever is sinful wanteth a Redeemer; and he could have redeemed none who stood in need of his own redemption. *We are redeemed with the precious blood of Christ:* therefore precious, because of a lamb without blemish, and without spot. Our atonement can be made by no other High-priest than by him who is *holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners.* We cannot *know that he was manifested to take away our sins,* except we also know that *in him is no sin.* Wherefore, being it is so necessary to believe the original holiness of our humane nature in the person of our Saviour; it is as necessary to acknowledge that way by which we may be fully assured of that sanctity, his conception by the Holy Ghost.

|| Illud unum peccatum, quod tam magnum in loco & habitu tantæ felicitatis, admittitur, ut in uno homine originaliter, atque, ut ita dixerim, radicaliter, totum genus humanum damnaretur, non solvitur ac diluitur nisi per unum Mediatorem Dei & hominum, hominem Christum Jesum, qui solus potuit ita nasci, ut et opus non esset

renasci. S. August. *Enchirid. cap. 48.* ¹ Rom. 8. 3. ² 2 Cor. 5. 21. ³ 1 Pet. 2. 22. ⁴ 1 Pet. 1. 19. ⁵ Heb. 3. 5. in quo non est peccatum, ipse venit auferre peccatum. Nam si esset in illo peccatum, auferendum esset illi, non ipse auferret. S. August.

Again, it hath been * observed, that by this manner of Christ's conception is declared the freedom of the grace of God. For as the Holy Ghost is God so is he also called the gift of God: and therefore the humane nature in its first original, || without any precedent merit, was formed by the Spirit, and in its formation sanctified, and in its sanctification united to the Word; so that the Grace was coexistent, and in a manner conatural with it. The Mystery of the incarnation is frequently attributed in the Scriptures to the love, mercy and goodness of God. *Through the tender mercy of our God the day-spring from an high hath visited us;* In this *the kindness and love of God our Saviour*

* By S. August. Ex hoc quod de Spiritu S. est secundum hominem naturam Christi quid aliud quam ipsa gratia demonstratur; *Ench. c. 37.* || Modus iste quo natus est Christus de Sp.

S. non sicut filius, & de Maria Virgine sicut filius, insinuat nobis gratiam Dei, quâ homo, nullis precedentibus meritis in ipso exordio naturæ suæ quo esse coepit, verbo Dei copularetur in tantum personæ unitatem, ut idem ipse esset filius Dei quia filius hominis & filius hominis qui filius Dei: ac sic in humanæ naturæ assumptione fieret quodammodo ipsa gratia naturalis, quæ nullum peccatum posset admittere. Quæ gratia propterea per Spiritum S. fuerat significanda, quia ipse propriè sic est Deus, ut etiam dicatur Dei Donum. *Id. c. 40.* ¹ Luke 1. 78. ² Tit. 3. 4.

toward man appeared And though these and such other Scriptures speak properly of the love and mercy of God to man alone, offered unto him in the Incarnation of our Saviour, and so directly exclude the merits of other men only; yet because they speak so generally with reference to God's mercy, they may well be thought to exclude all universally. Especially considering the impossibility of * merit in *Christ's* Humanity, in respect of his Conception; because all desert necessarily precedeth its reward, and *Christ* was not man before he was conceived, nor can that merit which is not.

* Cùm ad naturam Dei non pertineat natura humana, ad personam ta-

men unigeniti Filii Dei per gratiam pertinet humana natura; & tantam gratiam, ut nulla sit major, nulla prorsus æqualis. Neque enim illam susceptionem hominis ulla merita præcesserunt, sed ab illa susceptione merita ejus cuncta cœperunt. S. Aug. Tract. 82. in Joan.

Thirdly, whereas we are commanded to be holy and that even as he is holy; by this we learn from what foundation this holiness must flow. We bring no such purity into the World, nor are we sanctified in the womb; but as he was sanctified at his Conception, so are we at our Regeneration. He was conceived not by man, but by the Holy Ghost; and we are *not of blood nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God*. The same overshadowing power which formed his humane nature, reformeth ours; and the || same Spirit assureth us a remission of our sins, which caused in him an exemption from all sin. He which was born for us upon his Incarnation, is born * within us upon our Regeneration.

John I. 13.

|| Eâ gratiâ fit ab initio fidei suæ homo quicumq; Christianus, quâ gratiâ

homo ille ab initio suo factus est Christus. De ipso Spiritu & hic renatus, de quo est ille natus. Eodem Spiritu fit in nobis remissio peccatorum, quo Spiritu factum est ut nullum haberet ille peccatum. S. Aug. de Prædest. Sanct. c. 15. * Nolite desperare; quod semel natum est ex Maria, quotidie & in nobis nascitur, Hieron. Comm. in Psal. 84. 17.

All which considered, we may now render a clear explication of this part of the Article, whereby every person may understand what he is to profess, and express what is the Object of his Faith, when he saith, I believe in *Jesus Christ, which was conceived by the Holy Ghost*. For hereby he ought to intend thus much; I assent unto this as a most necessary and infallible truth, that the only-begotten Son of God, begotten by the Father before all worlds, very God of very God, was conceived and born, and so made man, taking to himself the humane nature, consisting of a Soul and Body, and conjoyning it with the Divine in the unity of his person. I am fully assured that the Word was in this manner made flesh, that he was really and truly conceived in the womb of a woman, but not after the manner of men; not by carnal copulation, not by the common way of humane propagation, but by the singular, powerful, invisible, immediate operation of the Holy Ghost, where by a Virgin was beyond the Law of nature enabled to conceive, and that which was conceived in her was originally and compleatly sanctified. And in this latitude I profess to believe in *Jesus Christ, which was conceived by the Holy Ghost*,

Born of the Virgin Mary.

THE third Person considerable in this third Article is represented under a threefold description, of her *Name*, *Condition* and *Action*: The first telleth us who it was, it was *Mary*; the second informeth us what she was, a *Virgin*; the third teacheth us what she did, she conceived and bare our *Saviour*, and brought forth the Son of God: which was *Born of the Virgin Mary*.

The *Evangelist*, relating the *Annunciation*, taketh particular notice of this Name; for shewing how an Angel was sent unto a *Virgin espoused to a man*, he first observeth that his name was *Joseph*; and then that the *Virgin's name was Mary*: Not for any peculiar Excellency in the name it self, or any particular Application to the *Virgin* arising from the origination of it, || as some have conceived; but only to denote that singular Person, which was then so well known to all men, being espoused unto *Joseph*, as appeareth by the question of his admiring Countreymen, *Is not this the Carpenter's Son? is not his Mother called Mary?* Otherwile the Name was common even at that time to many; to the ² Sister of *Lazarus*, to the ³ Mother of *James* and *Joses*, to the ⁴ Wife of *Cleophas*, to the ⁵ Mother of *John* whose Surname was *Mark*, to her which was ⁶ of *Magdal* in *Galilee*, to ⁷ her who bestowed much labour, on *S. Paul*: Nor is there * any original distinction between the name of these and of the Mother of our Lord. For as the name of *Jesus* was the same with *Josuah*, so this of *Mary* was the same with *Miriam*. The first of which Name recorded was the Daughter of *Amram*, the Sister of *Moses* and *Aaron*, a Prophetess; to whom the bringing of *Israel* out of *Aegypt* is attributed as well as to her Brethren. ⁸ For I brought thee up out of the land of *Aegypt*, saith the Lord, and redeemed thee out of the House of servants; and I sent before thee *Moses*, *Aaron* and *Miriam*. As she was exalted to be one of them who brought the People of God out of the *Aegyptian* bondage; so was this *Mary* exalted to become the Mother of that Saviour, who through the red Sea of his Blood hath wrought a plenteous Redemption for us, of which that was but a Type: and even with the confession of the lowliness of an Handmaid she seems to bear that || Exaltation in her Name.

Luke 1. 27.

|| For some have thought the dignity of the Virgin to be denoted in her name. As Greg. Nyss. (or rather his Interpolator). Hom. in Natal. Christi: Ἐπειδὴν ἐτέχθη τὸ παιδίον, ὠνόμασε τὴν αὐτὴν Μαρτίαν ὡς ἐν τῇ διατῆς ἐπαγγελίας τὸ θεῖον τοῦ διασημαίνον τῆς χάριτος. Mistaking, as I conceive the Origination of Mary for that of Anna, her Mother, ἡ ἡ. Thus he thought Grace, others Dominion, to be contained in

her Name. * Η Μαρία ἐρωμεύεται κυρία, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλπίς. Κύριον γὰρ ἔτεκε τὴν ἐλπίδα τῶ πάντων κόσμου Χριστόν Author. Hom. de Laud. B. Mariæ, sub nomine Epiphani. Τί κλει τοιγαρὲν ἡ χάρις (τὸ το γὰρ ἡ ἄγγελος ἐρωμεύεται) τὴν κυρίαν τὸ το γὰρ σημαίνει ἡ Μαρία τὸ ὄνομα. Damasc. Orthod. Fid. l. 4. c. 15. S. Hieron. de Nom. Hebraicis: Sciendum quod Maria sermone Syro Domina nuncupatur. So Chrysologus; Dignitas Virginis annunciat ex nomine: Nam Maria Hebræo sermone, Latine Domina nuncupatur. Vocat ergo Angelus Dominam, ut Dominatoris genetricem trepidatio deserat servitutis, quam nasci & vocari Dominam ipsa sui germinis fecit & impetravit autoritas. Serm. 142. Sermone Syro Maria Domina nuncupatur, & pulchre, quia Dominum genuit, Isidor. Hispal. Orig. l. 7. c. 10. The same Isidore with others gives another Etymology: Maria illuminatrix, sive stella maris; genuit enim lumen mundi. And Bernard. Homil. 2. super Missus est, Loquemur pauca & super hoc nomine, quod interpretatum maris stella dicitur, & matri Virgini valde convenienter aptatur. Ipsa namque aptissime sideri comparatur, quia sicut sine sui corruptione sidus suam emitit radium, sic absque sui læsione Virgo parturit filium. So far not amiss. But when from a bad Etymology he makes worse divinity, calling her the Star of Jacob, and attributing unto her the Light of our Minds, the Life of our Graces, and Extirpation of our Vices, (the Work of the Spirit of Christ;) when in the midst of all our Temptations, Horrors of Conscience, and depths of Despair, he adviseth us immediately to a Respice Stellam, Mariam cogita, Mariam invoca; his Interpretation can warrant no such Devotion. This Etymology also descendeth from S. Hierom, who in his Interpretation of the Names in Exodus, as from Philo, Maria illuminatrix mea, vel, illuminans eos, aut smyrna maris, vel stella maris. And again, on the Names in S. Matthæw, Mariam plerique existimant interpretari, illuminant me isti, vel illuminatrix, vel smyrna maris; sed mihi nequaquam videtur. Melius autem est ut dicamus sonare eam stellam maris, sive amarum mare. Ἐρωμεύεται πάλιν ἡ Μαρία Κυρία. Δαλάου. Homil. de Laudibus B. Mariæ. Dictæ sunt & ante Mariæ multræ: nam & Maria soror Aaron dicta fuit, sed illa Maria amaritudo maris vocabatur. S. Ambros. Instit. Virg. c. 5. Indeed that ab amaritudine, without the adjection of mare, is the Etymology observed by the Jews; as appears by the Author of the Life of Moses, who relating how Amram took Jochebed to Wife, and of her begat a Daughter, addeth, ותקרא שמה מרי כי בעת ההיא, she was called Miriam, because at that time the Egyptians, who were the Offspring of Cham, made the lives of the Sons of Israel bitter. And in the like manner Sedar Olam, נקרא שמה מרי. Matth. 13. 57. * John 11. 1. 3 Matth. 27. 55. 4 John 19. 25. 5 Acts 12. 12. 6 Luke 8. 2. 7 Rom.

from all others of the same common nomination, as *Jacob* is called *Israel*, and *Abraham* the Friend of God, or Father of the faithful; so is this *Mary* sufficiently characterized by that inseparable companion of her name, *the Virgin*. For the full explication whereof more cannot be required, than that we shew first that the *Messias* was to be born of a Virgin, according to the prediction of the Prophets; secondly that this *Mary*, of whom *Christ* was born, was really a Virgin when she bare him, according to the relations of the Evangelists; thirdly, that being at once the Mother of the Son of God and yet a Virgin, she continued for ever in the same Virginitie, according to the tradition of the Fathers, and the constant Doctrine of the Church.

The obdurate *Jew*, that he might more easily avoid the truth of the second, hath most irrationally denied the first; resolved rather not to understand *Moses* and the Prophets, than to acknowledge the interpretation of the Apostles. It will therefore be necessary from those Oracles which were committed unto them, to shew the promised *Messias* was born after a miraculous manner, to be the Son of a woman, not of a man. The first promise of him seems to speak no less, *The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's Head*: for as the name of *seed* is not generally or collectively to be taken for the generation of mankind, but determinately and individually for that one seed, which is *Christ*; so the woman is not to be understood with relation unto Man, but particularly and determinately to that Sex from which alone immediately that Seed should come.

According to this first Evangelical promise followed that prediction of the Prophet, *The Lord hath created a new thing on the earth, a woman shall compass a man*. That new creation of a man is therefore new, and therefore a creation, because wrought in a Woman only, without a man, compassing a man. Which interpretation of the Prophet is ancient, † literal and clear and whatsoe're the *Jews* have invented to elude it, is frivolous and forced. For while they force the phrase of *compassing a man* in the latter part of the Prediction to any thing else than a Conception, they do not only wrest the Scripture, but contradict the former part of the Promise, making the new creation neither new, as being often done, nor a creation, as being easie to perform.

Jer. 31. 22.

|| For it is not to be denied that the proper signification of כָּסַב is circundare, or cingere. R. Judah has observed but one interpretation of this Verb,

כָּסַב עִנְיָן אַחַר : and Kimchl testifieth, that all words which come from the root כָּסַב signifie incompassing, or circuition. Therefore those words, נִקְבָּה חֶסֶב גֵּבֶר, must literally import no less than that a woman shall compass, or enclose, a man, which, with the addition of a new creation, may well bear the interpretation of a miraculous Conception. Especially considering that the ancient *Jews* did acknowledge this sense, and did apply it determinately to the *Messias*: as appeareth in Bereshit Rabba Parash. 89. where shewing that God doth heal with that with which he woundeth, he saith, as he punished *Israel* in a Virgin, so would he also heal them with a Virgin, according to the Prophet, The Lord hath created a new thing on the earth, a woman shall compass a man. By the testimony of R. Huna, in the name of R. Idi, and R. Joshua the Son of Levi, הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה הַמֶּלֶךְ הַמְּשִׁיחַ שֶׁנִּשְׁנָה הַיּוֹם לְדָוִד? This is *Messiah* the King, of whom it is written, (Psal. 2. 7.) This day have I begotten thee. And again in Midrash Yillim, upon the 2 Psal. R. Huna in the name of R. Idi, speaking of the sufferings of the *Messiah*, saith, That when his hour is come God shall say, וְכֵן הוּא אוֹמֵר אֲנִי עָלֶי לְבַר אַחַר בְּרִית חֲדָשָׁה הַיּוֹם וְדָחוּךְ, I must create him with a new creation. And so (by virtue of that new creation) he saith, This day have I begotten thee. From whence it appeareth that this sense is of itself literally clear, and that the ancient Rabbins did understand it of the *Messias*; whence it followeth that the later Interpretations, are but to avoid the Truth which we profess, that *Jesus* was born of a Virgin, and therefore is the *Christ*.

But if this Prophecy of *Jeremy* seem obscure, it will be sufficiently cleared by that of *Isaiab*; * Behold, a Virgin shall conceive and bear a Son, and shall call his name *Emmanuel*. The ancient *Jews* † immediately upon the promulgation of the Gospel, understanding well how near this place did press them

* Is. 7. 14. † How soon these Objections were made use of by the *Jews*, will appear by Ju-

stin Martyr, the first Writer which made any considerable Explication and Defence of the Christian Religion; who, in his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, shews us what were the Objections of the Rabbins: Ἐπεὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ διδασκαλοὶ ὑμῶν πολὺ μᾶλλον λέγετε, μὴ δὲ εἰρηθεῖαι ἐν τῇ προφητεῖα τῆ Ἐσαίου, ἰδὲ ἢ παρ' ἐν ἐν γαστρί ἔξει, ἀλλ', ἰδὲ ἢ νεάνις ἐν γαστρί ἑλθεῖ, καὶ τέκεται υἱόν. And Tertullian, whose works are full of the Divinity of *Justin*; Si quando ad deiciendos aliquos ab hac divina prædicatione, vel convertere singulos simplices quosque gestitis, mentiri auderis, quasi non virginem, sed juvenculam, concepturam Scriptura contineat. Advers. Judæos, c. 9. & adv. Marcionem, lib. 3. cap. 13.

† And as they
som began, so
did they go on
with this Ob-
jection: Hodie,
toto jam cre-
dente mundo,
argumentantur
Judæi, Esaiâ
docente de
Maria & virgi-
nitate ejus, Ec-
ce virgo in utero
conciptet, & pa-
riet filium, in
Hebræo juven-
culam scriptum
esse, non vir-
ginem, id est
balma, non be-
thula.

* Dicunt ju-
dæi, Provoce-
mus istam præ-
dicationem E-
saiæ, & facia-
mus compara-
tionem, an
Christo, qui
jam venit com-
petat illi primò
nomen quod
Esaiâs prædi-
cavit, & Infig-
nia ejus quæ de eo nunciavit.

Equidem Esaiâs prædicat eum Emmanuelem vocari oportere, dehinc virtutem sumpturum Da-
masci & spolia Samaritæ adversus regem Assyriorum. Porro, inquit, iste qui venit neque sub ejusmodi nomine est dictus,
neque re bellica functus, *Tertul. adv. Judæos.* † So Justin testifieth of the Jews, speaking to Trypho, and in him to them:
Ἰσχυεῖσθε τὴν προφητείαν ὡς εἰς Ἐζεκιάν τὸν υἱὸν βασιλέα. And Trypho replies again to Justin; Ἰσχυεῖσθε ὡς
ἐμῶν εἰς Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν ἐμῆς ἐπιπέμειν εἰρησθαι, ἢ μὲν γὰρ εἰς Ἐζεκιάν αὐτὴν λέγουσιν πεπεροῦσθαι. * The LXX. Ἰσχυ-
ῖ παρθένης ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται. 'Tis true, the rest of the Interpreters, concurring with the Objection of the Jews, translated it,
ἰδὲ ἢ νεάνις; i. e. adolescentula, or juvencula. But as their antiquity, so their authority is far short of the LXX, especially
in this case. I shall not need to shew how the Origination of משיח from מלך proves no less. We know the affinity of the
Punic tongue with the Hebrew; and by the Testimony of S. Hierome, Linguâ Punicâ, quæ de Hebræorum fontibus manare di-
citur, proprie virgo alma appellatur. 2 King. 16. 2. 2 King. 18. 2. * It is the known saying of Hillel, recorded in Sanhe-
drin, c. Uhelek משיח לישראל שנבר אנדוהו בימי חזקיהו. There is no Messias to the Is-
raelites, because they have already enjoyed him in the days of Hezekiah. Divers of the later Rabbins endeavour to mollifie these
words of Hillel by their several expositions, but in vain. And R. Joseph understood him better, who thought he took away all
expectation of a Messias, and therefore fairly prayed for him, Condonet Dominus hoc R. Hillel. Howsoever it appears that
from two principles, whereof one was false, he gathered that false conclusion. For first, he thought those words in Isaiah were spoken
of the Messias: which proposition was true. Secondly, he conceived that those words were spoken of Hezekiah, and fulfilled in
him: which proposition was false. From hence he inferred, that the Israelites were not to expect a Messias after Hezekiah:
which conclusion was also false:

gave three several answers to this Text: First, denying that it spake of a
† Virgin at all; secondly, asserting that it could not belong to * Jesus; third-
ly, affirming that it was fully compleated in the person of † Ezekias. Whereas
the Original word was translated a *Virgin*, by such * Interpreters as were Jews
themselves, some hundred years before our Saviours birth. And did not the
notation of the word and frequent use thereof in the Scriptures persuade it,
the wonder of the sign given by the Lord himself would evince as much. But
as for that conceit, that all should be fulfilled in *Hezekiah*, it is so manifestly
and undoubtedly false, that nothing can make more for the confirmation of
our Faith. For this sign was given and this promise made (*A Virgin shall con-
ceive and bear a son*) at sometime in the reign of *Abaz*. This *Abaz* reigned
but sixteen years in *Jerusalem*; and *Hezekiah* his Son, who succeeded him,
was twenty and five years old when he began to reign, and therefore born several
years before *Abaz* was King, and consequently not now to be conceived
when this sign was given. Thus while the ancient Jews name him only to
fulfil the prophecy in whom it is impossible it should be fulfilled, they plain-
ly shew that, for any knowledge which they had, it was not fulfilled till our
Saviour came: and therefore they cannot with any reason deny but that it
belonged unto the *Messias*, as divers of the ancient Rabbins thought and
confessed; and is yet more evident by their monstrous error, who therefore
expected * no *Messias* in *Israel*, because they thought whatsoever was spoken
of him to have been completed in *Hezekiah*. Which is abundantly enough
for our present purpose, being only to prove that the *Messias* promised by
God, and expected by the people of God before and under the Law, was to
be conceived and born of a *Virgin*.

Secondly, as we are taught by the predictions of the Prophets, that a
Virgin was to be Mother of the promised *Messias*; so are we assured by the
infallible relations of the Evangelists, that this *Mary*, the Mother of *Jesus*,
whom we believe to be *Christ*, was a *Virgin* when she bare him, when she
brought forth her first born son. That she was a *Virgin* when and after she
was espoused unto *Joseph*, appeareth by the narration of S. *Luke*: For the
Angel *Gabriel* was sent from God to a *Virgin* espoused to a man whose name was
Joseph. After the Salutation of that Angel, that she still was so, appeareth
by her question, *How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?* That she conti-
nued so after she conceived by the Holy Ghost, is evident from the rela-
tion of S. *Matthew*: For when she was espoused unto *Joseph*, before they came
together, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost. That she was a *Virgin*
not only while she was with child, but even when she had brought forth,

Luke 1.27.

Matth. 1. 18.

is also evident out of this application of the Prophecy : *Behold a Virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a Son.* For by the same || prediction it is as manifest that a Virgin should *bring forth*, as *conceive a Son.* Neither was her act of Parturition more contradictory to Virginity, than that former of Conception.

Matth. i. 23.
|| Hæc est virgo quæ in utero concepit, virgoque peperit filium. Sic enim scriptum

est, *Ecce Virgo in utero concipiet, & pariet Filium.* Non enim concepturam tantummodo Virginem, sed & parituram Virginem dixit. S. Ambros. Epist. 7. ad Siricium. So he argueth from the Prophecy, and S. Aug. from the Creed: Si vel per nascentem corrumpere ejus integritas, non jam ille de Virgine nasceretur; eumque falso, quod absit, de Virgine natum tota confiteretur Ecclesia, quæ, imitans ejus matrem, quotidie parit membra, & Virgo est. Enchir. c. 34. As also S. Ambrose in the same Epistle: Quæ potuit Virgo concipere, potuit virgo generare; quum semper conceptus præcedat, partus sequatur. Sed si doctrinis non creditur sacerdotum, credatur oraculis Christi, credatur monitis Angelorum, credatur symbolo Apostolorum, quod Ecclesia Romana intemeratam semper custodit & servat. And S. Basil upon occasion of the same Prophecy: ἡ ἀὐτὴ γυνὴ ἡ παρθένος ἡ μήτηρ, ἡ ἐν τῷ ἀγιασμῷ ἡ παρθένης μήτρα, ἡ τὴν ἡ τεκνογονίας εὐλογίαν κληρονομήσα. Hom. 25 Virgo peperit, quia Virgo concepit. Vigil. de Unitate Trinit. c. 10.

Thirdly we believe the Mother of our Lord to have been not only before and after his Nativity, but also for ever, the most immaculate and blessed Virgin. For although it may be thought sufficient || as to the mystery of the Incarnation, that when our Saviour was conceived and born, his Mother was a Virgin; though whatsoever should have followed after could have no reflective operation upon the first fruit of her womb; though there be no farther mention in the Creed, than that he was *born of the Virgin Mary*: yet the peculiar eminency and unparallel'd privilege of that Mother, the special honour and reverence due unto that Son, and ever paid by her, the regard of that Holy Ghost who came upon her, and the power of the Highest which overshadowed her, the singular goodness and piety of Joseph, to whom she was espoused, have persuaded the Church of God in all Ages to believe that she still continued in the same Virginity, and therefore is to be acknowledged the * *Ever Virgin Mary.* As if the gate of the Sanctuary in the Prophet Ezekiel were to be understood of her; *This gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall enter in by it: because the Lord the God of Israel hath entered in by it, therefore it shall be shut.*

|| Μέχρι τοῦ ἡμετέρου καιροῦ τὴν ἐνονομίαν ὑπηρεσίας ἀναγκαία ἡ παρθένια, τὸ δ' ἐρεξῆς ἀπολυπρασμόνητον τῷ λόγῳ ἡ μυστηρίου κατὰ τὴν εὐαγγέλιον. S. Basil. Hom. de Nativ.

|| For so the Greek Church always called her ἀειπαρθένος, and from them the Latins Semper Virgo. Ezek. 44. 23 * First we read in the time of Origen, that some did maintain the Virginity of Mary no longer than to Christ's Nativity. In tantum

nescio quis prorupit insaniam, ut assereret negatam fuisse Mariam à Salvatore, eo quod post nativitatem illius junctæ fuerit. Joseph. Homil. 7. in Lucan. Tertullian himself was produced as an Asserter of the same Opinion; nor does S. Hierome deny it, though I think he might have done it. Apollinarius, or at least his followers, delivered the same, says Epiphanius; and Eunomius with his, τὸν Ἰωσήφ μετὰ τὴν ἄρραστον κνοφορίαν ἑνωπίαν ἢ περὶ κασί τῆ παρθένο. Photius out of Philostorgius Not that these words in Photius were the words of Philostorgius, for he was clearly an Eunomian, and therefore would never express their Opinions with an ἢ περὶ κασί. And as he always commended Eunomius, so was he not commended but by an Eunomian, that is a man of his own Sect. As that Epigram,

Ἐυνομιανῆ
Ἰσορίην ἐτελέωα Θεῷ χαρίτεωσι Κοφῆσι

Which I therefore mention, because Gotosfred hath made an unnecessary Emendation in the Verse ἐτελέωα ἀδελφῶν, and a worse Interpretation in the Inscription, taking the Eunomian to be a Catholick, and the name of the Sect for the name of a Man; and confirming this Error by a greater mistake, saying Eunomianus was the name of a Man, twice spoken of in Suidas, once, in Ἐυνομιανῶν, and again in ἑλεσε. 'Tis true indeed Suidas saith expressly, Εὐνομιανῶν, ὄνομα κῆριον, and immediately adds these words, ἡ δ' Εὐνομιανῶν ἐλεσε Βελισάριον τὸ θεῖον λέγον, as if Belisarius had baptized one whose name was Eunomianus. But the words are taken out of Procopius in Hist. Arcana, pag. 2. from whence it appears that he who was baptized was by name Theodosius, and by Sect an Eunomian. And whatsoever his name was who wrote that Epigram on the History of Philostorgius, he was certainly by Sect an Eunomian, and that was intended in the Inscription, written without question by some Catholick, who thought no man could commend the History of Philostorgius but one of his own Opinion. These Contradictors of the perpetual Virginity of the Mother of our Lord afterwards increased to a greater number, whom Epiphanius calls by a general name Antidicomarianitæ. And from S. Aug. Antidicomarianitæ appellati sunt Hæretici, qui Mariæ Virginitati usq; adeo contradicunt, ut affirmant eam post Christum natum viro suo fuisse commixtam, de Hæres. Condemned under that name by the sixth General Council, Act. 11. The same were called by the Latins, Helvidiani, from Helvidius, (a Disciple of Auxentius the Arian) whose name is most made use of, because refuted by S. Hierome. He was followed by Jovinian a Monk of Millan, as S. Hierom testifieth; though S. Augustine delivereth his Opinion other wise, Virginitatem Mariæ

Mariæ destruebat, dicens eam pariendo fuisse corruptam. And Bonosus, a Bishop in Macedonia, referred by the Council of Capri a to the judgment of Anysius Bishop of Thessalonica, was condemned for the same, as appeareth by the 79. Epistle of S. Ambrose, written to Theophilus and Anysius: Sane non possumus negare de Mariæ filiis jure reprehensum, meritoque vestram Sanctitatem abhoruisse, quod ex eodem utero virginali, ex quo secundum carnem Christus natus est, alius partus effusus sit. This is the Catalogue of those by the Ancients accounted Hereticks for denying the perpetual Virginity of the Mother of our Lord. * Matth. 1. 25.

For in the word "Eos there is no such force. Το "Eos ε' παντως αντιδιαρεται τω μενδοντι, ανδ' το μεχρη ε' ουδε τιθι- σις το μετα τα- το ε' ανεινε- λαι, Naz. Orat. 2. de Filio. Το "Eos πολλαχθ' χρονω μω τινα δοκει περιρισ- μον υποβαι- νειν, κτ' η τω

α λυθειαν το εδουσον δ' ακυρουν. S. Basil. Hom. de Nat. Dom. Εθ' η γραφη ε' ρησιν ταυττω μη εθι διαεισμεθ' τιθ' ειναι χρονω. S. Chrysof. Το "Eos πολλακις κ' εθι ε' διωκεται εν τω θειω γραφη ε' εισκομω κειμενον. Isid. Pelus. l. 1. Ep. 18. Το "Eos πολλα- χθ' ε' ε' εθι χρονω λεγει, αλλ' εθι τα αυτα πραγματα. Adria Isag. in S. S. Το "Eos ενισθη μω προς ανιδιασολω ε' εφεξις χρονω παραλαμβανειν, ενισθη ε' εν εθι δηλωσει μεγαλων μω εργων κ' θεοπροπειων καθ' απερ κ' νω, ε' μω προς ανιδια- σολω ε' εθι χρονω τινος, αλλα κ' εναντιον εις υποδηλωσιν ε' περιεθι διασημα. Phot. Ep. 30. In the same manner it is observed by the Greek Grammarians of πειν, that if any one declared that he did it not πειν before such a thing were done, it followeth not that he did it when or after that thing was done. As when Helena saw and knew Ulysses a Spy in Troy, she promised upon Oath that she would discover him to none till he was safe returned to the Grecian Fleet:

Και ωμοσα καρτερον ορκον, Μη μω πριν Οδυσηα μετα Τρωσων αναρηται, Πριν γε τον ες νηας τε δοας κλισιας τ' αρχικεθαι, Od. δ'.

And yet it is not likely says Eustathius, that Helena did ever discover Ulysses to the Trojans after he was returned. Εγ' η τω Μη πριν Οδυσηα Τρωσιν αναρηται, πριν αυτον εις νηας ικεθαι, ειπερ μη δοκει πιθανον η ευλογισον το αναρηται ολω τον Οδυσηα τοις Τρωσιν, ενδυμησεν τω δυναμιν τα μη πριν ποιησαι τοδε τι πριν αν τοδα γενηται, (ητις εν τω ε' ραφω- δια της Ιλιαδ' κ' ηται) κ' φανειται ενειθεν, ως εκ εικος την Ελενην ειπεν τοις Ιλιευσι περι το Οδυσεωσ ε' ε' οτε ει νηας κ' κλισιας ε' φικετο αυτος. A Negation antecedent πριν or εως, is no Affirmation following them. * Gen. 28. 15. * Deut. 34. 6. * 1 Sam 15. 35. * 2 Sam. 6. 23.

* For I shall not deny that Christ was called the first-born in respect of his Mother, though Epiphanius thought that a sufficient Answer: εκ ε' πεν ε' τι εγεννησε τον πρωτοτον αυτησ, αλλ' εκ ε' γνω αυτην εως εγεννησε τον υιον αυτησ κ' ε' κ' ε' πεν, τον πρωτοτον αυτησ, αλλα τον πρωτοτον. Επ' η μ' γαρ τω υιω αυ- της εσημανεν, ε' αυτησ κ' σαρκα γενησθαι εθι η τω ε' πρωτοτον ε' πωνυμια κ' ε' τι το αυτησ ε' θετο, αλλα πρωτοτον μωνον. Hares 78.

Again, 'tis * true that Christ is termed the first-born Son of Mary, from whence they infer she must needs have a second ; but might as well conclude that wheresoever there is one, there must be two. For in this particular the Scripture-notion of priority excludeth an Antecedent, but inferreth not a Consequent ; it supposeth none to have gone before, but concludeth not any to follow after. Sanctifie unto me, saith God, all the first-born ; which was a firm and fixed Law, immediately obliging upon the Birth : whereas if the First-born had included a relation to a second, there could have been no present certainty, but a suspension of obedience ; nor had the first-born been sanctified of it self, but the second Birth had sanctified the first. And well might any † sacrilegious Jew have kept back the price of Redemption due unto the Priest, nor could it have been required of him, till a second Off-spring had appeared ; and so no Redemption at all had been required for an only Son. Whereas all such pretences were unheard of in the Law, because the Original || Hebrew word is not capable of any such construction ; and in the Law it self it carrieth with it a clear interpretation, * Sanctifie unto me all the first-

As if her Son the first-born were not her first-born Son. Ου παντως ο Πρωτοτοκ' προς τα εθι γινομεθ' ε' χει την ισχυειν, αλλ' ο πρωτον διανοιγων μητραν Πρωτοτοκ' ονομαζεσαι. S. Basil. Hom. de Nativ. Primogenitus est non tantum post quem & alii, sed ante quem nullus. S. Hieron. adv. Helvid. It is observed by Servius, to that of Virgil's Aeneid. 1. Troje qui primus ab oris, that Primus is post quem nullus. † Thus Hierom makes his Plea: Quid me in unius mensis stringis articulo? quid primogenitum vocas, quem an sequantur fratres ignoro? Exspecta donec nascatur secundus: nihil debet sacerdoti, nisi & ille fuerit procreatus, per quem is qui ante natus est incipiat esse primogenitus. Advers. Helvid. Ε' 777777

* Exod. 13. 2

born

habet juxta Petrum, aut ex libro Jacobi) filios Joseph ex priore uxore, quæ convixerat ipsi antequam duceret Mariam, in Mat. 13. 55. This Jacobus mentioned by Origen, is the same with him whom Eustathius mentions in Hexamero, Ἀξίον ὅτι ἰσοείων ἢ διέξεισι πρὸς τῆς ἀγίας Μαρίας Ἰακώβος τις ἐπελθεῖν. Where he reckons Joseph inter τὰς χυρῶντας * and E. Piphanius calls Ἰακώβος Ἐβραῖος. S. Hierom therefore observing that the former opinion of Joseph's Sons was founded merely upon an Apocryphal writing, and being ready to assert the Virginity of Joseph as well as Mary, first invented the other Solution in the kindred of Mary, as founded not only in the Language but also Testimony of the Scriptures: Quidam fratres Domini de alia uxore Joseph filios suspicantur, sequentes deliramenta Apocryphorum, & quandam Escham mulierem confingentes. Nos autem, sicut in libro quem contra Helvidium scripsimus continetur, fratres Domini non filios Joseph, sed consobrinos Salvatoris, Mariæ liberis intelligimus materteræ Domini, quæ esse dicitur mater Jacobi minoris & Joseph & Judæ, quos in alio Evangelii loco fratres Domini legimus appellatos. Fratres autem consobrinos dici omnis Scriptura demonstrat. S. Hieron. in Matth. 12. 49. After S. Hieron S. Aug. embraced this opinion: Consanguinei Virginis Mariæ fratres Domini dicebantur Erat enim consuetudinis Scripturarum appellare fratres quoslibet consanguineos & cognationis propinquos, in Joh. Tract. 28. item Tract. 10. & contra Faustum l. 22. 35. Although therefore he seem to be indifferent in his Exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians, Jacobus Domini frater, vel ex filiis Joseph de alia uxore, vel ex cognatione Mariæ matris ejus, debet intelligi: yet because this Exposition was written while he was a Presbyter, and those before mentioned after he was made a Bishop; therefore the former was taken for his undoubted Opinion; and upon his and S. Hierom's Authority hath been generally since received in the Latin Church.

And yet this difficulty, tho' usually no farther considered, is not fully cleared: for they which impugned the perpetual Virginity of the Mother of our Lord urged it farther, pretending that as the Scriptures called them the Brethren of Christ, so they also shewed them to be the Sons of Mary the Mother of Christ. For first the Jews express them particularly by their Names, *Matth. 13. 55. Is not his Mother called Mary? and his brethren James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas?* * Therefore James and Joses were undoubtedly the brethren of Christ, and the same were also as unquestionably the Sons of Mary: For among the Women at the Cross we find ² *Mary Magdalene, and Mary the Mother of James and Joses.* Again, this Mary they think can be no other than the Mother of our Lord, because they find her early in the morning at the Sepulchre ³ with *Mary Magdalene and Salome*; and it is not || probable that any should have more care of the Body of the Son than the Mother. She then who was certainly present at the Cross, was not probably absent from the Sepulchre: Wherefore they conclude, she was the Mother of Christ, who was the Mother of James and Joses, the Brethren of Christ.

* From this place Helvidius argued, Hæc eadem vocabula in alio loco nominari, & eisdem esse fratres Domini filios Mariæ S. Hier. advers. Helv. And from the next he concluded, Ecce Jacobus & Joses, filii Mariæ, Quam miserum erit & impium de maria hoc sentire, ut cum aliæ foeminae curam sepulturæ habuerint, matrem ejus dicamus absentem!

² Matth. 27. 56. ³ Mark 16. 1. || Here Helvidius exclaiming triumphed,

And now the urging of this Argument will produce a greater clearness in the solution of the question. For if it appear that *Mary* the Mother of James and Joses was different and distinguished from *Mary* the Virgin; then will it also be apparent that the Brethren of our Lord were the Sons of another Mother, for James and Joses were so called. But we read in S. John, that there stood by the Cross of Jesus his mother, and his mother's sister, *Mary the Wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene.* In the rest of the Evangelists we find at the same place *Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joses*; and again at the Sepulchre, *Mary Magdalene and the other Mary*: wherefore that other Mary by the conjunction of these Testimonies appeareth to be *Mary* the wife of Cleophas, and the mother of James and Joses; and consequently James and Joses, the Brethren of our Lord, were not the Sons of *Mary* his Mother, but of the || other *Mary*, and therefore called his Brethren, according to the language of the Jews, because that the other *Mary* was the Sister of his Mother.

|| Jacobus qui appellatur frater Domini, cognomento Justus, ut nonnulli existimant, Joseph ex alia uxore, ut autem mihi videtur, Mariæ sororis Matris Domini, cuius Joannes in libro suo meminit, filius S. Hieron. in Catalogo. Sicut in sepulchro ubi positum est corpus Domini, nec antea nec postea mortuus jacuit: sic uterus Mariæ nec antea nec postea quicquam mortale suscepit. S. Aug. in Joh. Tract. 28.

Notwithstanding therefore all these pretensions, there can be nothing found to raise the least suspicion of any interruption of the ever-blessed *Mary's* perpetual Virginity, For as she was a Virgin when she conceived, and after

minem, genuit. Paul. Warnes. de Gest. Longobard. l. 6. c. 14. So speaketh he of the same Synod: and 'tis true, for the seventh Canon of the same runneth thus, Εἰ τις κατ' ἀναφορὰν ἢ κατὰ χριστιανικὰς Θεοτόκον λέγει τὴν ἁγίαν, ἐνδοξον, ἀειπαρθένον Μαρίας... ἀλλὰ μὴ κυρίας ἢ κατ' ἀλήθειαν Θεοτόκον αὐτὴν ὁμολογεῖ... ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. Otherwise in this Council was but confirmed what had been determined and settled long before: and therefore Photius says thereof, Αὕτη ἡ Σύνοδος Νεστορίους πάλιν τὸ μωροῦ παροξύνοντα δόγμα εἰς τὸ πανήλικες ἐξεθέρισε, that it utterly cut off the Heresie of Nestorius which then began to grow up again. Now part of the Heresie of Nestorius was the denial of this Θεοτόκος, and the whole was nothing else but the ground of that denial. And therefore being he was condemned for denying of it, that Title must be acknowledged Authentick which he denied from the time of the Council of Ephesus; in which those Fathers, saith Photius expressly. τὴν πανάρχαιον καὶ ἀειπαρθένον (Χεῖρ) μήτρα κυρίας καὶ ἀληθῶς καλεῖσθαι καὶ ἀνδοξημεῖσθαι Θεοτόκον παρὰ δ' ἐδώκασι. Epist. 1. And that it was so then is manifest, because by the denial of this the Nestorian Heresie was first discovered, not in Nestorius himself, but in his Presbyter Anastasius, who first in a Sermon magisterially delivered, Θεοτόκον τὴν Μαρίαν καλεῖται μηδείς, Soc. Eccl. Hist. l. 7. c. 31. and Liberat. Breviar. c. 4. as also Euagrius and Nicephorus. Upon which words arising a Tumult Nestorius took his Presbyter's part, teaching the same Doctrine constantly in the Church καὶ πανταχῶς τὴν λέξιν τῆς Θεοτόκος ἐμβάλλον. And hereupon the Tumult grew so great, that a general Council for that reason was called by Theodosius Jun. τὴν Νεστορίους τὴν ἁγίαν Μαρίαν ἐπὶ Θεοτόκον ἀρνησάμενος, as Justinian testifieth, Ep. ad V. Synodum. In which, when all things seemed clearly to be carried against Nestorius and his faction, he hoped to have reconciled all by this feigned acknowledgment, Λεγέτω καὶ Θεοτόκος ἡ Μαρία, καὶ παυσάτω τὰ λυπηρὰ. Soc. l. 7. c. 34. Liber. Brev. c. 6. It is plain then that the Council of Ephesus, which condemned Nestorius, confirmed this Title Θεοτόκος. I say confirmed it; for 'tis evident that it was before used in the Church, by the Tumult which arose at the first denial of it by Anastasius; and so confirmed it as received before, because they approved the Epistles of S. Cyril, who proved it by the usage of those Fathers which preceded him. Whereby the way it is observable, that while S. Cyril produceth nine several Fathers for the use of this Word, and both before and after he produceth them, affirmeth that they all did use it, there are but three of them who expressly mention it, Athanasius, Antiochus and Ammon, Epist. ad Reginas. And it is something to be admired that he should so name the other six, and recite those places out of them which had it not, when there were before him so many beside them that used it. As Gregory Nazianzen, Εἰ τις ἐπὶ Θεοτόκον τὴν Μαρίαν ὑπολαμβάνει, χωρὶς ἐστὶ τῆς δευτέρας. Epist. ad Cledonium: and in his first Oration de Filio, speaking of the difference of his generation from that of others, πῶς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σοῖς ἔγνω Θεοτόκον παρθένον, and S. Basil asserteth, μὴ καταδέχεσθαι ἡμῶν λογιζώμενοι τὴν ἀκοὴν, ὅτι ποτὲ ἐπαύσατο ἐπὶ παρθένου ἢ Θεοτόκος. Hom. de nat. Christi. And that in the time of S. Basil and S. Gregory this term was usual, appeareth by the Objection of Julian, who derided the Christians for thinking God could be born of a woman; Θεοτόκον ἢ ὑμεῖς ἐπαύσατε Μαρίαν καλεῖντες. S. Cyr. tom. 6. Before both these Eusebius speaketh of Helena, who built a Church at Bethlehem; Ἡ βασιλις ἡ δευσεβεσάτη τῆς Θεοτόκος τὴν κύνησιν μνήμασι θαυμαστοῖς κατεκόσμη. de vita Const. l. 3. And before Eusebius, Alexander Bishop of Alexandria; ἀπαρχὴ γέγονεν ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, σῶμα φορέσας ἀληθῶς, καὶ ἐδοκίμασε, ἐκ τῆς Θεοτόκος Μαρίας. Ep. ad Alex. apud Theod. l. 1. c. 4. Before him Dionysius Alex. calls our Saviour ἢ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου καὶ Θεοτόκος Μαρίας. Epist. ad Paulum Samosat. And speaking of the words of Isaiah, a Virgin shall conceive, Δείκνυσιν ὅτι ἡ Θεοτόκος τινὰ σκέλαβεν, ἢ παρθένος διπλοῦσι. Resp. ad Quest. 5. And in the Answer to the same question, πνεύματι ἐγίνω ἢ δεῖξαι, καὶ σκέπεται τῇ δυνάμει τῆς ὑψίστης ἢ ἀείμνητος σκηνῆς τῆς Θεοῦ, Μαρία ἢ Θεοτόκος, καὶ παρθένος. And again, ἐπισημαίνει λέγει καὶ περὶ τῆς γεννηθέντος ἐκ τῆς Θεοτόκος. In the answer to the 7th Question, διὰ τὸ φάγειν εἰς Αἴγυπτον τὸν Ἰωσήφ ἅμα τῇ Θεοτόκῳ Μαρίᾳ ἐν ἀγκάλαις φερέσθαι τὴν κατὰ φύσιν ἡμῶν, and so often. Nay yet before him Origen did not only use, but expound at large the meaning of that title Θεοτόκος, in his first Tome on the Epistle to the Romans; as Socrat. and Liberat. testifie. Well therefore did Antiochus Bishop of Antioch urge the ancient Fathers against Nestorius calling it πρῶτον ὄνομα καὶ τελεμενικὸν πολλοῖς τῶν Πατέρων. and again, πολλοῖς τῶν πατέρων καὶ σωτηρῆν, καὶ ῥηθῆν. Ἔστο γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα, says he, ἐδείξαι τῶν Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν διδασκάλων παρήντηται. οἱ τε γὰρ χριστιανοὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ὀπίσημοι, οἱ τε μὴ χριστιανοὶ ἐκ ἐπελάβοντο τῶν χριστιανῶν. Concil. Ephes. p. 1. c. 25. || Although Θεοτόκος may be extended to signifie as much as the Mother of God, because τίκτειν doth sometimes denote as much as γεννᾶν, and therefore it hath been translated Dei Genitrix, as well as Deipara; yet those ancient Greeks which called the Virgin Θεοτόκος, did not call her μητέρα τῆς Θεοῦ. But the Latins translating Θεοτόκος, Dei genitrix, and the Greeks translating Dei genitrix Θεῶ μήτηρ, they both at last called her plainly the Mother of God. The first which the Greeks observed to stile her so was Leo the Great, as was observed by Ephraim Patriarch of Theopolis; whose words have been very much mistaken by two learned men, Dionysius Petavius and Leo Allatius, who have produced them to prove that he thought Leo Magnus was the first man which ever used the word Θεοτόκος. A strange error this must needs appear in so great a Person as a Patriarch, and that of the Greek Church; and indeed not imaginable; considering how well he was versed in those controversies, and how he compared the words of Leo with those of the ancient Greek Fathers, and particularly of S. Cyril, His words are these in his Epistle ad Zenobium, Πρῶτος ἐν ἁγίαις Λέων ἰδικῶς ἔειπεν αὐταῖς λέξασιν, ὡς μήτηρ Θεοῦ ἢ ἁγία Θεοτόκος, τῶν πατέρων διαπερυσίους ῥήμασι μὴ τῶν φαρμάκων. That is Leo was the first who in plain terms called the Θεοτόκος, that is Mary the Mother of God, whereas the Fathers before him spake, not the same in express words. Petavius and Allatius have clearly mistaken the Proposition, making the Subject the Predicate, and the Predicate the Subject, as if he had first called the Mother of God Θεοτόκος, whereas he is said first to call the Θεοτόκος Mother of God, as appeareth by the Article added to the Subject, not to the Predicate. But if that be not sufficient, his meaning will appear by another passage to the same purpose, in his Epistle ad Syncreticum; Ὅτι μητέρα Θεοῦ πρῶτον μὲν ἡ Ἐλισάβετ ἀνέπει, ἐν οἷς λέγει, Καὶ πόθεν μοι τῆτος, ἵνα ἡ μήτηρ τῆς Κυρίας μὴ ἔλθῃ πρὸς με; σαφέστερον ἢ τῶν ἄλλων μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν λέξιν πρῶτος ὁ ὁσιος Λέων ὁ Πάπας προήνεγκε. Therefore as he took the Lord and God to be synonymous; so he thought Elizabeth first stiled Mary the Mother of God, because she called her the mother of her Lord; and after Elizabeth, Leo was the first who plainly stiled her so, that is, the Mother of God. And that we may be yet farther assured of his mind, he produceth the words of Leo the Pope in his Epistle to Leo the Emperour: Ἀναθεματίζετο Νεστορίους, ὁ τὴν μακαρίαν καὶ Θεοτόκον Μαρίαν ἐκ τῆς Θεοῦ, ἀνθρώπου ἢ μόνον, πισεύων ἐπὶ μητέρα. The sentence which he translates is this, Anathematizetur ergo Nestorius, qui beatam Virginem Mariam non Dei, sed hominis tantummodo, credidit genitricem. Epist. 97. c. 1. Where plainly genitrix Dei is translated μήτηρ Θεοῦ, and Θεοτόκος is added by Ephraim out of custom in the Subject, being otherwise not at all in Leo's words. It is therefore certain that first in the Greek Church they termed the blessed Virgin Θεοτόκος, and the Latins from them Dei genitrix, and mater Dei, and the Greeks from them again μήτηρ Θεοῦ, upon the authority of Leo, not taking notice of other Latins who stiled her so before him.

The necessity of believing our Saviour thus to be born of the Virgin Mary, will appear both in respect of her who was the Mother, and of him who was the Son.

In respect of her it was therefore necessary, that we might perpetually preserve an esteem of her person proportionable to so high a dignity. It was her

own predication, *From henceforth all generations shall call me blessed*; but the obligation is ours, to call her, to esteem her so. ² If *Elizabeth* cried out with so loud a voice, *Blessed art thou among women*, when *Christ* was but newly conceived in her womb; what expressions of Honour and Admiration can we think sufficient now that *Christ* is in Heaven, and that *Mother* with him? *Far be it from any Christian to derogate from that special privilege granted her, which is incommunicable to any other. We cannot bear too reverend a regard unto the *Mother of our Lord*, so long as we give her not that worship which is due unto the Lord himself. Let us keep the language of the Primitive Church: || Let her be honoured and esteemed, let him be worshipped and adored.

¹ Luke 1. 48
Non æquanda est mulieribus cunctis, quæ genuit majestatem. *Author. lib. de singular. Clericorum.*

² Hellsabet & Zacharias nos docere possunt quanto inferiores sunt B. Mariæ matri Domini sanctitate, quæ conscia

in se habitantis Dei liberè proclamat, *Ecce ergo ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generationes.* S. Hier. adv. Pelag. l. 1. * Absit ut quisquam S. Mariam divinæ gratiæ privilegiis ut speciali gloriâ fraudare conetur. || Η Μαρία ἐν τιμῇ, ὁ Κύριος ἐν προσκυνοῦσιν. Ἐν τιμῇ ἔσω Μαρία, ὁ ὁ Παῖς, καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα προσκυνῶντα. Τὴν Μαρίαν μηδὲν προσκυνῶντα. Epiph. Hæres. 79. Εἰ καλίστη ἡ Μαρία, καὶ ἁγία, καὶ τιμημένη, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη τὸ προσκυνῶντα. Ib. Ἡμεῖς ὁ ἁγίου ὁ ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἐν ἀρετῇ διαπρέψαντας ὡς ἀνθρώπου ἀείψου γενεαίρου. μόνον ὁ τὸν ἁγίου ὁ ἀνθρώπου προσκυνῶντα θεὸν καὶ πατέρα, καὶ τὸν ἐνέμεν γε λόγον, καὶ τὸ παράγιον πνεῦμα. Theod. Therapeut. 2. pag. 302.

In respect of him it was necessary, first, that we might be assured he was made, or begotten of a woman, and consequently that he had from her the true nature of man. For he took not on him the nature of Angels, and therefore saved none of them, who, for want of a Redeemer, are reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day. And man once fallen had been, as deservedly, so irrevocably, condemned to the same condition, but that he took upon him the seed of Abraham. For being we are partakers of flesh and blood, we could expect no Redemption but by him who likewise took part of the same. We could look for no Redeemer, but such a one who by consanguinity was our || Brother. And being there is but one Mediatour between God and man, the Man *Christ Jesus*, we cannot be assured that he was the *Christ*, or is our *Jesus*, except we be first assured that he was a Man. Thus our Redeemer, the Man *Christ Jesus*, was born of a woman, that he might *redeem both men and women; that both Sexes might rely upon him, who was of the one, and from the other.

Heb. 2. 16.

Heb. 2. 14.

|| Under that notion did the ancient Jews expect him, as appeareth by the Targum, Cantic. 8. 1.

בְּהוֹמֵי
זִבְנָה
אֶתְגַּלְגַּל
סְלֵכָה
מִשִּׁיתָה
לְבָנֵי שָׂדָה
דִּישְׂדָא
וְיִמְרוּן
לְדָהּ בְּנֵי
שָׂדָה
אֵיתָה
תְּהָה
עֲמָה
לְאָה

When the Messias shall reveal himself, the sons of Israel shall say unto him, Thou shalt be unto us a Brother.

Secondly it was necessary we should believe our Saviour conceived and born of such a woman as was a most pure and immaculate Virgin. For as it behoved him in all things to be made like unto us; so in that great similitude a dissimilitude was as necessary, that he should be ³ without sin. Our Passover is slain, and behold the Lamb that taketh away the sins of the World; but the Lamb of the Passover must be without blemish. Whereas then we draw something of corruption and contamination by our feminal traduction from the first *Adam*; our Saviour hath received the same nature without any culpable inclination, because born of a Virgin without any feminal traduction. Our High-Priest is separate from sinners not only in the actions of his life, but in the production of his nature. For as || *Levi* was in the loins of *Abraham*, and paid tithes in him, and yet *Christ*, though the Son of *Abraham*, did not pay tithes in him, but receive them in

* Hominis liberatio in utroque sexu debuit apparere. Ergo, quia virum oportebat suscipere, qui sexus honorabilior est, conveniens erat ut foeminei sexus liberatio hinc appareret, quod ille vir de foemina natus est, S. August. Quest. l. 83. Nolite vos ipsos contemnere, viri, filius Dei virum suscepit: nolite vos ipsas contemnere, foeminae, filius Dei natus ex foemina est. Idem de agone Christi. ³ Heb. 4. 15. Non eum in peccatis mater ejus in utero aluit, quem Virgo concepit, Virgo peperit. S. Augustin. Tract. 4. in Joh. Ergo ecce Agnus Dei. Non habeat iste traducem de Adam; carnem tantum sumit de Adam, peccatum non assumpsit. Ibid. Verbum caro factum in similitudine carnis peccata omnia nostra suscepit, nullum reatus vitium ferens ex traduce pravaricationis exortum. Johan. 4. Epist. ad Constantinum. || Levi in lumbis Abrahamæ

Abraham fuit secundum concupiscentiam carnalem, Christus autem secundum solam substantiam corporalem. Cum enim sit in femine & visibilibus corpulentia & invisibilis ratio, utrumque cucurrit ex Abraham, vel etiam ex ipso Adam, usque ad corpus Mariæ, qui & ipsum eo modo conceptum & exortum est: Christus autem visibilem carnis substantiam de carne Virginis sumpsit; ratio vero conceptionis ejus non à femine virili, sed longè aliter ac desuper venit. S. Aug. de Gen. ad lit. l. 10. c. 19.

Melchizedeck: so though we being in the loins of *Adam* may be all said to sin in him; yet *Christ*, who descended from the same *Adam* according to the flesh, was not partaker of that sin, but an expiation for it. For he which is contained in the seminal virtue of his Parent is some way under his natural power, and therefore may be in some manner concerned in his actions: but he who is only from him by his natural substance, according to a passive or obediencial power, and so receiveth not his propagation from him, cannot be so included in him as to be obliged by his actions, or obnoxious to his demerits.

Thirdly, it was necessary that we should believe *Christ* born of that person, that Virgin *Mary* which was espoused unto *Joseph*, that thereby we might be assured that he was of the family of *David*. For whatsoever promises were made of the *Messias* were appropriated unto him. As the seed of the woman was first contracted to the seed of *Abraham*, so the seed of *Abraham* was next appropriated to the Son of *David*. He was to be called the son of the Highest, and the Lord God was to give unto him the throne of his father *David*. When *Jesus* asked the Pharisees, What think ye of *Christ*? whose son is he? they said unto him, The son of *David*. When *Herod* demanded of the chief Priests and Scribes where *Christ* should be born; they said unto him, In *Bethlehem of Judæa*, because that was the city of *David*, whither *Joseph* went up with *Mary* his espoused wife, because he was of the house and lineage of *David*. After *John* the Baptist, the forerunner of *Christ*, was born, *Zacharias* blessed the Lord God of *Israel*, who had raised up an horn of salvation for us in the House of his servant *David*. The woman of *Canaan*, the blind men sitting by the way, and those other blind that followed him, cried out, Have mercy on us, O Lord, thou son of *David*. The very children, out of whose mouths God perfected praise, were crying in the Temple, and saying, Hosannah to the son of *David*. And when the blind and dumb both spake and saw, all the people were amazed, and said, is not this the son of *David*? Thus by the publick and concurrent testimonies of all the Jews, the promised *Messias* was to come of the house and lineage of *David*; || for God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins according to the flesh he would raise up *Christ* to sit upon his throne. It was therefore necessary we should believe that our Saviour was made of the seed of *David* according to the flesh: of which we are assured, because he was born of that Virgin *Mary* who descended from him, and was espoused unto *Joseph*, who descended from the same, that thereby his Genealogy might be known.

The consideration of all which will at last lead us to a clear explication of this latter branch of the Article, whereby every Christian may inform himself what he is bound to profess, and being informed, fully express what is the object of his Faith in this particular, when he saith, I believe in *Jesus Christ* which was born of the Virgin *Mary*. For hereby he is conceived to intend thus much: I assent unto this as a most certain and infallible Truth, That there was a certain woman, known by the name of *Mary*, espoused unto *Joseph of Nazareth*, which before and after her Espousals was a pure and unspotted Virgin, and being and continuing in the same Virginity, did, by the immediate operation of the Holy Ghost, conceive within her Womb the only-begotten son of God, and, after the natural time of other women brought him forth as her first born Son, continuing still a most pure and immaculate

Luke 1. 32.

Matth. 22. 42.

Matth. 2. 4, 5.

Luke 2. 4.

Luke 1. 69.

Matth. 15. 22.
and 20. 30.
and 9. 27.

Matth. 21. 15.

Matth. 12. 23.

|| Acts 2. 30.
Atqui hinc
magis Christi
sum intelligere
debebis ex
David deputatum
carnali genere,
ob Mariæ Virginis
censum. De hoc
enim promisso
juratur in Psalmo
ad David, Ex
fructu ventris
tui collocabo
super thronum
tuum. Tertul.
l. 3. adv. Marcionem,
c. 20.
* Rom. 1. 3.

maculate Virgin; whereby the Saviour of the World was born of a Woman under the Law, without the least pretence of any original corruption, that he might deliver us from the guilt of sin; born of that Virgin which was of the House and lineage of *David*, that he might sit upon his throne, and rule for evermore. And in this latitude I profess to believe in *Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary.*

ARTICLE IV.

one week.

Suffered under Pontius Pilate, Was crucified,
Dead, and buried.

THis Article hath also received some accession in the Particular expressions of *Christ's* Humiliation. For the first word of it, now generally speaking of his Passion, in the most ancient Creeds was no way distinguished from his Crucifixion; for as we say, *suffered and crucified, they only, *Crucified under Pontius Pilate*: nor was his Crucifixion distinguished from his Death, but where we read, *crucified, dead, and buried, they only, crucified and buried.* Because the chief of his Sufferings were on the Cross, and he gave up the Ghost there; therefore his whole Passion and his Death were comprehended in his Crucifixion.

*Crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato, & sepultus. Ruffin. in Symb. Cassianus de incarn. Domini. Credimus in eum qui sub Pontio Pilato cru-

cifixus est & sepultus. S. August. de Fide & Symb. & de Trinitat. l. 1. c. 14. Caput nostrum Christus est, crucifixum & sepultum, resuscitatum ascendit in cœlum. Idem in Psal. 132. Qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est & sepultus, Max. Taurin. Chrysol. Euseb. Gallic. Τὸν ὄντι Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα, ταφέντα. Qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est & sepultus. MSS. Armach. And beside these, a witness without exception, Leo the Great; Unigenitum Filium Dei crucifixum & sepultum omnes etiam in Symbolo confitemur. Epist. 10. cap. 5. Afterwards the Passion was expressed: Passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus & sepultus. Etherius Uxam. And the Death: Passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus, & sepultus. Auther. lib. de Symb. ad Catechum. Not but both these were expressed before in the Rule of Faith by Tertullian, but without particular mention of the Crucifixion. Adv. Prax. c. 2. hunc passum, hunc mortuum, & sepultum: as Optatus, Passus, mortuus, & sepultus resurrexit. lib. 1. Passus, sepultus, & tertia die resurrexit. Capitul. Caroli 82. And generally the Ancients did understand determinately his crucifying by that more comprehensive name of his Suffering. For as Marcellus and S. Cyril have σταυρωθέντα & ταφέντα, Eusebius and the Nicene Council to the same purpose have παθόντα only in their Creeds. As Clem. Alex. Pedag. l. 3. c. 3. τὸν εἰς Θεὸν πίσιν, τὸν εἰς παθόντα ὁμολογίαν. Which was farther enlarged afterwards by the Council of Constantinople into σταυρωθέντα, & παθόντα, & ταφέντα.

But again, being he suffered not only on the Cross; being it was possible he might have been affixed to that curled Tree, and yet not have died; therefore the Church thought fit to add the rest of his sufferings, as antecedent, and his death, as consequent to his Crucifixion.

To begin then with his Passion in general. In those words, *He suffered under Pontius Pilate*, we are to consider part as Substantial, part as Circumstantial. The substance of this part of the Article consisteth in our Saviour's Passion, *He suffered*: the Circumstance of Time is added, declared by the present Governour, *under Pontius Pilate.*

Now for the explication of our Saviour's *Passion* as distinct from those particulars which follow in the Article, more I conceive cannot be required than that we shew, *Who* it was that suffered, *How* he suffered, *What* it was he suffered.

First, If we would clearly understand him that suffered in his full relation to his *Passion*, we must consider him both in his Office, and his Person; as *Jesus Christ*, and as the only begotten Son of God. In respect of his Office, we believe that he which was the *Christ* did suffer; and so we make profession to be saved by Faith in a suffering *Messias*. Of which that we may give a just account, First, we must prove that the promised *Messias* was to suffer:
for

This Prediction is so clear, ever since the *Serpent* was to *bruise the heel* of the *Woman's seed*, that the *Jews*, who were resolved to expect a *Messias* which should be only glorious, have been enforced to invent another, which should suffer. And then they answer us with a distinction of their own invention; That a *Messias* was to redeem us, and a *Messias* was to suffer for us: but the same *Messias* was not both to redeem us and to suffer for us. For they say that there are || two several persons promised under the name of the *Messias*; one of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, the other of the Tribe of *Judah*; one the son of *Joseph*, the other the son of *David*; the one to precede, fight, and suffer death, the other to follow, conquer, reign, and never to die. If then our Saviour were a *Christ*, we must confess he was a suffering *Messias*, and consequently, according to their doctrine, not a Saviour. For if he were the Son of *David*, then, say they, he was never to die; or if he ever died, he was not that *Messias* which was promised to sit upon the throne of *David*. And while we confess our Saviour died, and withal assert his descent from the house of *David*, we do, in their opinion, involve our selves in a Contradiction.

|| So indeed the Jews expect a double *Messias*, one משיח בן יוסף *Messias the son of Joseph*, the other משיח בן דוד *Messias the son of David*. So the Targum expressly upon Canticles 4. 5. תרין פריקים דעתירין

Two are thy deliverers which shall deliver thee, *Messias the Son of David*, and *Messias the Son of Ephraim*: and in the same manner, Chap. 7. 3. This that Paraphrast, nothing so ancient as the rest, is conceived to have taken out of the Talmud in Massecheth Succa, where cap. 5. is inscribed יהוה יר, God saith to *Messias the son of David*. שאל מה אתה מבקש Ask what thou wilt, (according to the second Psalm) and I will give it thee. כיון שרואה למשיח בן יוסף שנהרג but life. Thus from the Talmud and the latter Targum the Rabbins have generally taught a double *Messias*, one the Son of *David* the other of *Joseph*. As Solomon Jarchi, Isa. 24. 18. Zach. 12. 10: Aben Ezra. Zach. 9. 9. Malach. 3. 1. Kimchi, Zach. 12. 10. whom the later Jews constantly follow. And this Marcion the Heretick seems to have learned of the Jews, and to have taught with some alteration in favour of his own opinion. Constituit Marcion alium esse Christum, qui Tiberianis temporibus à Deo quondam ignoto revelatus sit in salutem omnium gentium; alium, qui à Deo creatore in restitutionem Judaici status sit destinatus quandoque venturus. Tertul. adver. Marcion. l. 4. c. 6.

But this Distinction of a double *Messias* is far from prevailing over our belief: first, because it is in it self false, and therefore of no validity against us; secondly, because it was first invented to counterfeit the truth, and so very advantageous to us.

That it is in it self false, will appear, because the Scriptures never mention any *Messias* of the Tribe of *Ephraim*; neither was there ever any promise of that nature made to any of the Sons or off-spring of *Joseph*. Besides, as we acknowledge but one Mediator between God and man, so the Scriptures never mention any *Messias* but one. Under whatsoever title he is represented to us, there can be no pretence for a double person. Whether the *seed of the woman*, or the *seed of Abraham*, whether *Shiloh*, or the *Son of David*, still one person promised: and the stile of the ancient *Jews* before our Saviour was, not they, but he || which is to come. The question which was asked him, when he professed himself to be *Christ*, was, whether it was he which *was to come*, or whether they were to look for another; not that they could look for him and for another also. The objection then was, that *Elias* was not yet come, and therefore they expected no *Messias* till *Elias* came. Nor can the difference of the *Messias's* condition be any true reason of imagining a double person, because in the same place the Prophets, speaking of the same person, indifferently represent him in either condition. Being then, by the confession of all the *Jews*, one *Messias* was to be the son of *David*, whom *Elias* was to precede; being by the tenure of the Scriptures there was never promise made of more *Christs* than one, and never the least mention of the Tribe of *Ephraim* with any such relation; it followeth that that distinction is in it self false.

|| ο ερχόμενος vos.

Zach. 9. 9. Isa. 9. 6.

Again, that the same Distinction, framed and contrived against us, must needs

needs be in any different person's judgment advantageous to us, will appear because the very invention of a double person is a plain confession of a two-fold condition; and the different relations; which they prove not, are a convincing argument for the distinct œconomies, which they deny not. Why should they pretend to expect one to die, and another to triumph, but that the true *Messias* was both to triumph and to die, to be humbled and to be exalted, to put on the rags of our infirmity before the robe of Majesty and immortality? Why should they tell us of one Mediator to be conquered, and the other to be victorious, but that the Serpent was to bruise the heel of the Seed of the Woman, and the same Seed to bruise his head; Thus even while they endeavour to elude, they confirm our Faith; and as if they were still under the cloud, their error is but as a shadow to give a lustre to our truth. And so our first Assertion remaineth firm, the *Messias* was to suffer.

Secondly, that *Jesus*, whom we believe to be *Christ*, did *suffer*, we shall not need to prove, because it is freely confessed by all his enemies. The Gentiles acknowledged it, the *Jews* triumphed at it. And we may well take that for granted, which is so far from being denied, that it is objected, If hunger and thirst, if revilings and contempt, if sorrows and agonies, if stripes and buffetings, if condemnation and crucifixion, be Sufferings, *Jesus* suffered. If the infirmities of our nature, if the weight of our sins, if the malice of man, if the machinations of Satan, if the hand of God could make him suffer, our Saviour suffered. If the Annals of times, if the writings of his Apostles, if the death of his Martyrs, if the confession of the Gentiles, if the scoffs of the *Jews*, be testimonies, *Jesus* suffered. Nor was there ever any which thought he did not really and truly suffer, but || such as withal rationally pretended he was not really and truly man.

|| Those which were called by the Greeks Δοκίται and Φαντασμάται, who taught that Christ was man only putative, and came into the world only in phantasmate, and consequently that he did only putative pati. These were called Δοκίται not from their Author, but from their Opinion, that Christ did all things only εν δοκίσει, in appearance, not reality. As Clemens Alexandrinus, Τῶν αἰρέσεων αἱ μὲν ἀπὸ δογμάτων ἰδιαζόντων προσαγορεύονται ὡς ἢ τῶν Δοκίται. Strom. l. 7. viz. οἱ δοκίσει χειρὸν πεφανερῶσαι ὑπέλαβον. Id. l. 6. Neque in Phantasia, id est, absque corpore, sicut Valentinus asserit, neque de thesi, putative imaginatum, sed verum corpus. Gennad. de Eccl. Dog. cap. 2. Where for de thesi, I suppose we should read δοκίσει. The Original of this train of Hereticks is to be fetched from Simon Magus, whose assertion was, Christum nec venisse, nec à Judæis quicquam perulisse. S. Aug. de Hæres. VVherefore making himself the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, he affirmed, se in Filii persona putative apparuisse, and so that he suffered as the Son amongst the *Jews*; ἀλήθεια μὴ πεπονθέναι ἢ ἀλλὰ δοκίσει μόνον. Damasc. de Hæres. Now what Simon Magus said of himself, when he made himself the Son, that those who followed affirmed of Christ. As Saturninus, who taught Christum in substantia non fuisse, & phantasmate tantum quasi passum fuisse. Tertul. de Præsc. adv. Hæret. cap. 46. Vide Epiph. mutilum, Hæres. 23. c. 1. And Basilides, who delivered, ἔγὼ ἢ Χειρὸν παντασίαν ἐν πᾶσι φάινεσθαι, μὴ ἔθ' ἢ ἀνθρώπων, μηδὲ σάρκα εἰληφέναι... ἐχὶ Ἰησοῦν φάσκων πεπονθέναι, ἀλλὰ Σίμωνος τὸν Κυρηνάου. Epiph. Hæres. 24. c. 3. A Judæis non credunt Christum crucifixum, sed Simonem Cyrenensem, qui angariatus sustulit crucem ejus. S. Aug. Hæres. 4. Thus the Valentinians, particularly Marcus, the Father of the Marcasian Hereticks: Marcus etiam nescio quis Hæresim condidit, negans resurrectionem carnis, & Christum non verè, sed putative, passum asseverans. S. Aug. Hæres. 14. Thus Cerdon: Christum in substantia carnis negat, in phantasmate solo fuisse pronunciat, nec omnino passum, sed quasi passum. Tertul. Præsc. c. 51. Christum ipsum natum ex foemina, neque habuisse carnem, nec verè mortuum vel quicquam passum, sed simulasse passionem. S. Aug. Hæres. 21. And the Maniches, who taught Christum non fuisse in carne vera, sed simulatam speciem carnis ludificandis humanis sensibus præbuisse; ubi non solum mortem, verum etiam resurrectionem, mentiretur. Idem Hæres. 46. VVhom therefore Vincentius Lirinensis calls Phantasiæ prædicatores, cap. 20.

Thirdly, to come yet nearer to the particular acknowledgment of this truth, we shall farther shew that the promised *Messias* was not only engaged to suffer for us, but by a certain and express agreement betwixt him and the Father, the measure and manner of his Sufferings were determined, in order to the Redemption it self which was thereby to be wrought; and what was so resolved, was before his coming in the flesh revealed to the Prophets, and written by them, in order to the reception of the *Messias*, and the acceptation of the benefits to be procured by his Sufferings.

That what the *Messias* was to undergo for us was predetermined and decreed, appeareth by the timely acknowledgment of the Church unto the Father: Of a truth, against thy holy child *Jesus*, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod

Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the people of Israel, were gathered together; For to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done. For as when the two Goats were presented before the Lord, that Goat was to be offered for a Sin-offering upon which the lot of the Lord should fall; and that lot of the Lord was lift up on high in the hand of the High-Priest, and then laid upon the head of the Goat which was to die: so the *hand* of God is said to have *determined* what should be done unto our Saviour, whose Passion was typified by that Sin-offering. And well may we say that the *hand* of God as well as his *counsel determined* his Passion, because he was *delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God.*

And this determination of God's Counsel was thus made upon a Covenant or Agreement between the Father and the Son, in which it was concluded by them both what he should suffer, what he should receive. For beside the Covenant made by God with man, confirmed by the blood of Christ, we must consider and acknowledge another Covenant from eternity made by the Father with the Son: which partly is expressed, *If he shall make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days;* partly by the Apostle, *Then said I, Loe, I come, (in the volume of the book it is written of me) to do thy will, O God.* In the Condition of *making his soul an offering for sin*, we see propounded whatsoever he suffered; in the acceptance, *Loe, I come to do thy will, O God*, we see undertaken whatsoever was propounded. The determination therefore of our Saviour's Passion was made by Covenant of the Father who sent, and the Son who suffered.

And as the Sufferings of the *Messias* were thus agreed on by consent, and determined by the counsel of God; so they were revealed by the Spirit of God unto the Prophets, and by them delivered unto the Church; they were involved in the Types, and acted in the Sacrifices. Whether therefore we consider the Prophecies spoken by God in the mouths of men, they clearly relate unto his Sufferings by proper prediction; or whether we look upon the Ceremonial performances, they exhibit the same by an active representation. *S. Paul's* Apology was clear, that he *said none other things but those which the Prophets and Moses did say should come, That Christ should suffer.* The Prophets *said* in exprefs terms that the *Messias*, whom they foretold, should suffer: *Moses said* so in those Ceremonies which were instituted by his Ministry. When he caused the Passover to be slain, he *said* that *Shiloh* was the Lamb slain before the foundations of the world. When he set the brazen Serpent up in the wilderness, he *said*, the Son of man should be lifted up upon the Cross. When he commanded all the Sacrifices for sin, he *said*, without effusion of Blood there was no Remission, and therefore the Son of God must die for the sins of men. When he appointed *Aaron* to go into the Holy of holies on the day of Atonement, he *said*, *Christ*, our High-Priest should never enter through the veil into the highest Heavens to make expiation for us, but by his own Blood. If then we look upon the fountain, the eternal Counsel of the will of God, if we look upon the Revelation of that counsel, either in exprefs Predictions or Ceremonial Representations; we shall clearly see the truth of our third Assertion, That the Sufferings of the Promised *Messias*, were predetermined and foretold.

Now all these sufferings which were thus agreed, determined and revealed as belonging to the true *Messias*, were undergone by that *Jesus of Nazareth* whom we believe to be the true *Christ*. Never was there any suffering Type which he out-went not, never Prediction of any Passion which he fulfilled not, never any expression of grief and sorrow which he felt not. When the appointed time of his death approached, he said to his Apostles, *Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and all things that are written by the Prophets concerning*

Luke 22. 22.
κατὰ τὸ ὡρισ-
μένον

Luke 24. 25,
26.

Acts 3. 22.

the Son of man shall be accomplished. When he delivered them the blessed Sacrament, the commemoration of his Death, he said, *Truly the Son of man goeth as it was determined.* After his Resurrection, he chastised the dulnets of his Disciples, who were so overwhelmed with his Passion, that they could not look back upon the antecedent Predictions; saying unto them, *O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the Prophets have spoken! Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory? After his Ascension, S. Peter made this profession before the Jews, who had those Prophecies, and saw his Sufferings; Those things which God before had shewed by the mouth of all his Prophets, that Christ should suffer, he hath so fulfilled.* Whatsoever therefore was determined by the Counsel of God, whatsoever was revealed by the Prophets concerning the Sufferings of the *Messias*, was all fulfilled by that *Jesus* whom we believe to be, and Worship as the *Christ*. Which is the fourth and last assertion propounded to express our Saviour's Passion in relation to his Office.

Having considered him that *suffered* in his Office, we are next to consider him in his Person. And being in all this Article there is no person expressly named or described, we must look back upon the former, till we find his description and his name. The Article immediately preceding leaves us in the same suspension; but for our satisfaction refers us to the former, where we find him named *Jesus*, and described *the only begotten Son of God*.

¶ This is that inseparabilis connexio in the Creed, which Cassianus urgeth so much against Nestorius, De Incarn. l. 6.

1 Cor. 2. 8.

Acts 20. 28.

Dominum passum Symboli tenet auctoritas, & Apostolus tradidit, dicens, Si enim cognovissent, nunquam Dominum gloriæ crucifixissent. Vigil. advers. Eutychem. l. 2.

Now this Son of God we have already shewed to be therefore truly called the *Only-begotten*, because he was from all eternity generated of the essence of the Father, and therefore is, as the eternal Son, so also the eternal God. Wherefore by the || immediate coherence of the Articles, and necessary consequence of the Creed, it plainly appeareth that the eternal Son of God, God of God, very God of very God, *suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried.* For it was no other person which *suffered under Pontius Pilate* than he which was *born of the Virgin Mary*, he which was *born of the Virgin Mary*, was no other person than he which was *conceived by the Holy Ghost*, he which was *conceived by the Holy Ghost* was no other person than our Lord, and that our Lord no other than the *only Son of God*: therefore by the immediate coherence of the Articles it followeth, that *the only Son of God, our Lord, suffered under Pontius Pilate.* That Word which was in the beginning, which then was with God, and was God, in the fulness of time being made flesh, did suffer. For the *Princes of this world crucified the Lord of glory*; and *God purchased his Church with his own blood.* That person which was begotten of the Father before all Worlds, and so was really the *Lord of glory*, and most truly *God*, took upon him the nature of Man, and in that nature, being still the same Person which before he was, did suffer. When our Saviour fasted forty days, there was no other Person hungry than that Son of God which made the World; when he sat down weary by the Well, there was no other person felt that thirst but he which was eternally begotten of the Father, the fountain of the Deity: when he was buffeted and scourged, there was no other person sensible of those pains than that eternal Word which before all worlds was impassible; when he was crucified and died, there was no other person which gave up the Ghost but the Son of him, and so of the same nature with him, *who only hath immortality.* And thus we conclude our first Consideration propounded, *viz.* Who it was which suffered; affirming that, in respect of his Office, it was the *Messias*, in respect of his Person, it was *God the Son*.

But the perfect probation and illustration of this truth requireth first a view of the second Particular propounded, *How, or, In what he suffered.* For while

while we prove the Person suffering to be God, we may seem to deny the passion, of which the Perfection of the Godhead is incapable. The Divine nature is of infinite and eternal happiness, never to be disturbed by the least degree of infelicity, and therefore subject to no sense of misery. Wherefore while we profess that the Son of God did suffer for us, we must so far explain our Assertion, as to deny that the Divine Nature of our Saviour suffered. For being the Divine Nature of the Son is common to the Father and the Spirit, if that had been the subject of his Passion, then must the Father and the Spirit have suffered. Wherefore as we ascribe the Passion to the Son alone, so must we attribute it to that nature which is his alone, that is, the humane. And then neither the Father nor the Spirit will appear to suffer, because neither the Father nor the Spirit, but the Son alone, is Man, and so capable of suffering.

Whereas then the Humanity of *Christ* consisteth of a Soul and Body, these were the proper subject of his Passion; nor could he suffer any thing but in both or either of these two. For as the *Word was made flesh*, though the Word was || never made, (as being in the beginning God) but the flesh, that is, the Humanity, was made, and the Word assuming it became flesh; so saith *S. Peter*. *Christ suffered for us in the flesh*, in that nature of man which he took upon him: and so God the Son did suffer, not in that nature in which he was begotten of the Father before all Worlds, but in that flesh which by his Incarnation he became. For he was ² *put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the Spirit*; suffered in the weakness of his Humanity, but rose by the power of his Divinity. As he was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, in the language of *S. Paul*; so was he *put to death in the flesh*, in the language of *S. Peter*: and as he was declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness; so was he quickened by the spirit. Thus the proper subject and recipient of our Saviour's Passion, which he underwent for us, was that Nature which he took from us.

Far be it therefore from us to think that the Deity, which is immutable, could suffer; which only hath immortality, could die. The conjunction with Humanity could put no imperfection upon the Divinity: nor can that || infinite nature by any external acquisition be any way changed in its intrinsic and essential perfections. * If the bright raies of the Sun are thought to insinuate into the most noisome bodies without any pollution of themselves, how can that spiritual essence contract the least infirmity by any union with Humanity? We must neither harbour so low an estimation of the Divine Nature, as to conceive it capable of any diminution; nor so mean esteem of the essence of the Word, as to imagine it subject to the sufferings of the flesh he took; nor yet so groundless an estimation of the great mystery of the Incarnation, as to make the properties of one nature mix in confusion with the other. These were the wild collections of the || *Arian* and *Apollinarian* Hereticks, whom the Church hath long since silenced by a sound and sober assertion, That all the sufferings of our Mediator were subjected in his humane nature.

|| Ὁ λόγος
σὰρξ ἐγένετο,
ἵνα καὶ ὁ λόγος
αἰεὶ ᾖ λόγος,
καὶ σὰρκα ἐχὼν
ὁ λόγος. ἐν
ᾧ τὸ πάθος
καὶ τὸ θάνατον
ἀνεδέξατο, ἐν
μορφῇ τῆς ἀν-
θρώπινης μέγχι
θάφου καὶ ἀΐσε
ἐπιβάντος.
*S. Athanas. de
Incarn.*
¹ 1 Pet. 4. 1.
² 1 Pet. 3. 18.
Adeo salva est
utriusque pro-
prietas substan-
tiæ, ut & Spi-
ritus res suas
egerit in illo,
id est, virtutes
& opera &
signa, & caro
passiones suas
functæ sit, esu-
riens sub Dia-
bolo, sitiens
sub Samariti-
de, flens La-
zarum, anxius
usque ad mor-
tem, denique
& mortua est.
*Tertul. advers.
Prax. c. 27.
Clement. Alex:
Pedag. l. 1. c.
5. 91. c.*

|| Τὸ γὰρ φύσει ἀφθαρτον καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον ἀεὶ τοιοῦτον εἶναι, ἢ σωμαλλοιόμενον τῇ ταπεινῇ φύσει, ὅταν ἐν ἐμείνῃ κατ' ὀικο-
νομίαν γεννηταί. *Greg. Nyssen Epist.* * Ὡς ἐδ' ἠλιακῆ φωτὸς πάθειν τι ἀκτίνες τὰ πάντα πληρῆσαι, καὶ σωματῶν
τετρῶν καὶ ἑκαθαρῶν ἐραπίόμενα· πολὺ πλέον ἢ ἀσώματῳ τῆ θεῆ δύναμις ἔτ' ἀν πάθει τιμὴ εἶσιν, ἐδ' ἀν βλα-
βῆν σώματος ἀσώματῳ ἐπαφωρῶν. *Euseb. Demon. Evang. l. 4. c. 13.* || *This danger is the rather to be unfolded, because
it is not generally understood. The Heresie of Arius, as it was condemned by the Council of Nice, is known to all. But that he
made the nature of the Word to suffer in the flesh, is not so frequently or plainly delivered. This Phœbadius (the first of the Latin
Church who wrote against the Arians) chargeth them with. Duplicem hunc statum, non conjunctum, sed confusum, vultis
videri; ut etiam unius vestrum, id est Epistola Porami, quæ ad Orientem & Occidentem transmissa est, qua asserit, carne
& spiritu Christi coagulatis per sanguinem Mariæ, & in unum corpus redactis, passibilem Deum factum. Hoc ideo, ne
quis illum ex eo crederet, quem impassibilem satis constat. *Lib. adv. Arianos, c. 7.* And again: Non ergo est spiritus caro,
nec caro spiritus, quod isti volunt egregii Doctores, ut factus sit scilicet Dominus & Deus noster ex hac substantiarum permix-
tione passibilis. Ideo autem passibilem volunt dici, ne ex impassibili credatur. *Cap. 8. Μάτην ἐν Ἀρειανοὶ φανιάζονται.*
Cάρκα*

σάρκα μόνον ὑποτιθέμενοι ἀνειληφῆναι τὸν Σωτῆρα, τὴν ὃν τῆ πάθος νόσον ὅτι τὴν ἀπαθείαν δεύτην ἀναπέριτες ἀσεβῶς. S. Athan. lib. de Incarn. Of this S. Hilary is to be understood: Sed eorum omnis hic sensus, ut opinentur metum mortis in Dei Filium incidisse, qui asserunt non de aternitate prolatum, neque de infinitate paternæ substantiæ existisse, sed ex nullo illum qui omnia creavit effectum; ut assumptus ex nihilo sit, & coeptus ex opere, & confirmatus ex tempore. Et ideo in eo doloris anxietas, ideo spiritus passio cum corporis passione. Can. 31. in Matth. Where clearly he argues against the Arians. The right understanding whereof is the only true way to reconcile those harsh sayings of his, which so troubled the Masters of the Sentences, and the whole Schools ever since.

And now the only difficulty will consist in this, how we can reconcile the Person suffering with the Subject of his Passion; how we can say that God did suffer, when we profess the Godhead suffered not. But this seeming difficulty will admit an easie solution, if we consider the intimate conjunction of the Divine and humane nature, and their union in the Person of the Son. For || hereby those Attributes which properly belong unto the one, are given to the other; and that upon good reason. For being the same individual person is, by the conjunction of the nature of God and the nature of man, really and truly both God and Man; it necessarily followeth, that it is true to say, *God is man*, and as true, *A man is God*: because in this particular he which is man is God, and he which is God is man. Again, being by reason of the Incarnation it is proper to say, *God is man*, it followeth, unavoidably, that whatsoever necessarily belongeth to the humane nature, may be spoken of God; otherwise there would be a man to whom the nature of man did not belong, which were a contradiction. And being by vertue of the same Incarnation it is also proper to say, *A man is God*, by the same necessity of consequence we must acknowledge, that all the essential Attributes of the Divine nature may truly be spoken of that man; otherwise there would be one truly and properly God to whom the nature of God did not belong, which is a clear repugnancy. Again, if the properties of the Divine nature may be truly attributed to that man which is God, then may those actions which flow from those properties be attributed to the same. And being the properties of the humane nature may be also attributed to the eternal Son of God, those actions or passions which did proceed from those properties may be attributed to the same Son of God, or God the Son. Wherefore as God the Son is truly man, and as man truly passible and mortal; so God the Son did truly suffer, and did truly die. And this is the only true * Communication of Properties.

Not that the essential Properties of one nature are really communicated to the other Nature, as if the Divinity of Christ were passible and mortal, or his Humanity of original Omnipotence and Omnipresence; but because the same God the Son was also the son of man, he was at the same time both mortal and eternal: mortal as the son of man, in respect of his Humanity; eternal, as the Son of God, in respect of his Divinity. The Sufferings therefore of the *Messias* were the Sufferings of God the Son: not that they were the Sufferings of his Deity, as of which that was incapable; but the Sufferings of his Humanity, as unto which that was inclinable. For although the humane nature was conjoynd to the Divine, yet it suffered as much as if it had been alone; and the Divine as little suffered as if it had not been conjoynd: because each kept their respective Properties distinct, without the least confusion in their most intimate conjunction. From whence at last the Person suffering is reconciled to the Subject of his Passion: For God the Son, being not only God, but also man, suffered, though not in his Deity, by reason of which he is truly God, yet in his Humanity, by which he who is truly God, is as truly Man. And thus we conclude our two first Disquisitions: Who it was that suffered; in respect of his Office, the *Messias*, in respect of his Person, God the Son: How it was he suffered; not in his Deity, which

|| Per indissolubilem unitatem Verbi & carnis omnia quæ carnis sunt ascribuntur & Verbo, quomodo & quæ Verbi sunt prædicantur in carne. Orig. in Ep. ad Rom. Διὰ τὴν ἀκεσίῃ ἐνίτ. τ. ἔτε προσληφθεῖς σαρκὸς καὶ τῆς προσλαβουμένης θεότητος, ἀντιμεθίσταται τὰ ὀνόματα ὡς καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τὸ εἶναι, καὶ τὸ θεῖον τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, καὶ ἡ νομαζέσθαι. Greg. Nyss. Ep. ad Theoph. Χρὶς ἄριστος εἶναι ὡς ἡ ἕνωσις κοινὰ ποιεῖ τὰ ὀνόματα. Theodor. Dial. 3. * Called by the Schools ordinarily Communicatio idiomatum, by the ancient Greek Divines Ἀντιθέσις, and sometimes Ἀντιμετάθεσις.

is impassible, but in his Humanity, which he assumed, cloathed with our infirmities.

Our next enquiry is, What this God the Son did suffer as the Son of man; not in the latitude of all his sufferings, but so far as they are comprehended in this Article, which first prescindeth all the antecedent part by the expression of time *under Pontius Pilate*, who was not Governour of *Judæa* long before our Saviour's Baptism; and then takes off his concluding Passion, by adding his Crucifixion and his Death. Looking then upon the sufferings of our Saviour in the time of his preaching the Gospel, and especially before his Death, we shall best understand them by considering them in relation to the subject or recipient of them. And being we have already shewed his Passion was wholly subjected in his humane nature, being that nature consisteth of two parts, the Soul and Body; it will be necessary to declare what he suffered in the Body, what in the Soul.

For the first, As we believe the Son of God took upon him the nature of Man, of which the Body is a part; so we acknowledge that he took a true and real Body, so as to become flesh of our flesh, bone of our bone. This Body of Christ, really and truly humane, was also frail and mortal, as being accompanied with all those natural properties which necessarily flow from the condition of a frail and mortal Body: and though now the same body, exalted above the highest Heavens, by vertue of its glorification be put beyond all possibility of Passion; yet in the time of his Humiliation it was cloathed with no such glorious perfection; but as it was subject unto, so it felt, weariness, hunger and thirst. Nor was it only liable to those internal weakneses and natural infirmities, but to all outward injuries and violent impressions. As all our corporal pain consists in that sense which ariseth from the solution of that continuity which is connatural to the parts of our body; so no parts of his sacred body were injuriously violated by any outward impression, but he was truly and fully sensible of the pain arising from that violation. Deep was that sense and grievous was that pain which those Scourges produced, *when the plowers ploughed upon his back and made long their furrows*: the dilaceration of those nervous parts created a most sharp and dolorous sensation. The coronary Thorns did not only express the scorn of the imposers by that figure into which they were contrived, but did also pierce his tender and sacred Temples to a multiplicity of pains, by their numerous acuminations. That spear directed by an impertinent malice which opened his side, though it brought forth water and blood, caused no dolorous sensation, because the Body was then dead: but the Nails which pierced his hands and feet made another kind of impression, while it was yet alive and highly sensible. Thus did the body of the Son of man truly *suffer* the bitterness of corporal pains and torments inflicted by violent external impressions.

As our Saviour took upon him both parts of the nature of man, so he *suffered* in them both, that he might be a Saviour of the whole. In what sense the Soul is capable of suffering, in that he was subject to animal Passion. Evil apprehended to come tormented his Soul with Fear, which was as truly in him in respect of what he was to suffer, as Hope in reference to the recompence of a reward to come after and for his Sufferings. Evil apprehended as present tormented the same with Sadness, Sorrow and Anguish of mind. So that he was truly represented to us by the Prophet, as *a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief*; and the proper subject of that Grief he hath fully expressed who alone felt it, saying unto his Disciples, *My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death*.

Qui suscepit animam, suscepit animæ passionem. S. Ambrosius. de Vide I. 2. c. 3.

Isa. 53. 3.

Matth. 26. 38.

We

lips or eyes; the innumerable pores of all his Body must give a passage to more lively representations of the bitter anguish of his Soul: and therefore while he *prayed more earnestly*, in that agony *his sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground*. As the Psalmist had before declared; *I am poured out like water, and all my bones are out of joynt: my heart is like wax, it is melted in the midst of my bowels*. The heart of our Saviour was as it were melted with fear and astonishment, and all the parts of his Body at the same time inflamed with anguish and agony; well then might that melting produce a sweat, and that inflamed and rarified blood force a passage through the numerous pores.

Psal. 22: 14.

And as the Evangelists expressions, so the Occasion of the Grief will manifest the height and bitterness thereof. For God *laid on his own Son the iniquities of us all*; and as we are obliged to be sorry for our particular sins, so was he grieved for the sins of us all. If then we consider the perfection and latitude of his Knowledge; he understood all the sins of men for which he suffered, all the evil and the guilt, all the offence against the Majesty, and ingratitude against the Goodness of God, which was contained in all those sins. If we look upon his absolute Conformity to the will of God; he was inflamed with most ardent Love, he was most zealous of his Glory, and most studious to preserve that Right which was so highly violated by those sins. If we look upon his Relation to the sons of men; he loved them all far more than any did themselves, he knew those sins were of themselves sufficient to bring eternal destruction on their Souls and Bodies, he considered them whom he so much loved as lying under the wrath of God whom he so truly worshipped. If we reflect upon those Graces which were without measure diffused through his Soul, and caused him with the greatest habitual detestation to abhor all sin. If we consider all these circumstances, we cannot wonder at that Grief and Sorrow. For if the true Contrition of one single sinner, bleeding under the sting of the Law only for his own iniquities, all which notwithstanding he knoweth not, cannot be performed without great bitterness of sorrow and remorse; what bounds can we set unto that grief, what measures to that Anguish, which proceedeth from a full apprehension of all the transgressions of so many millions of sinners?

Add unto all these present apprehensions, the immediate hand of God pressing upon him all this load, laying on his shoulders at once an heap of all the Sorrows which can happen unto any of the Saints of God; that he, being *touched with the feeling of our infirmities*, might become *a merciful High-priest, able and willing to succour them that are tempted*. Thus may we behold and see if there be any sorrow like unto that sorrow which was done unto him, wherewith the Lord afflicted him in the day of his fierce anger. And from hence we may and must conclude, that the Saviour of man, as he took the whole Nature of man, so he suffered in whatsoever he took: in his Body, by internal Infirmities and external Injuries; in his Soul, by Fears and Sorrows, by unknown and inexpressible Anguishes. Which shews us fully (if it can be shewn) the third Particular propounded, What our Saviour suffered.

Heb. 2: 17. 18.
4. 15.
Lam. 1. 12.

That our Saviour did thus *suffer*, is most necessary to believe. First, that thereby we may be assured of the verity of his Humane Nature. For if he were not Man, then could not Man be redeemed by him; and if that nature in which he appeared were not truly humane, then could he not be truly Man. But we may be well assured that he took on him our nature, when we see him subject unto our infirmities. We know the Godhead is of infinite perfection, and therefore is exalted far above all possibility of molestation.

When

When therefore we see our Saviour truly suffer, we know his Divine Essence suffered not, and thence acknowledge the addition of his Humane Nature, as the proper subject of his Passion. And from hence we may infallibly conclude, Surely that Mediator between God and Man was truly Man, as we are men, who when he fasted was an hungry, when he travelled was thirsty and weary as we are, who being grieved wept, being in an agony sweat, being scourged bled, and being crucified died.

Secondly, it was necessary Christ should suffer for the Redemption of lapsed men, and their reconciliation unto God; which was not otherwise to be performed than by a plenary satisfaction to his will. He therefore was by all his sufferings made an Expiation, Atonement and Propitiation for all our sins. For Salvation is impossible unto sinners without Remission of sin; and Remission in the decree of God impossible without effusion of blood. Our Redemption therefore could not be wrought but by the blood of the Redeemer, but by a Lamb slain, but by a suffering Saviour.

Thirdly, it behoved Christ to suffer, that he might purchase thereby eternal Happiness in the Heavens both for himself the Head, and for the members of his Body. *He drunk of the brook in the way, therefore hath he lift up his head. Ought not Christ to suffer, and so to enter into his own glory? And doth he not by the same right by which he entered into it, confer that glory upon us? The recompence of the reward was set before him, and through an intuition of it he cheerfully underwent whatsoever was laid upon him. He must therefore necessarily suffer to obtain that Happiness, who is therefore happy because he suffered.*

Psal. 110. 7.

Luke 24. 26.

Fourthly, it was necessary Christ should suffer, that we might be assured that he is truly affected with a most tender compassion of our afflictions. For this end was he subjected to Misery, that he might become prone unto Mercy: for this purpose was he made a Sacrifice, that he might be a compassionate High-Priest: and therefore was he most unmerciful to himself, that he might be most merciful unto us.

Fifthly, it was necessary the Son of man should suffer, thereby to shew us that we are to suffer, and to teach us how we are to suffer. For *if these things were done to the green tree, what shall be done to the dry? Nay, if God spared not his natural, his eternal, his only-begotten Son; how shall he spare his adopted Sons, who are best known to be children because they are chastised, and appear to be in his paternal affection because they lie under his Fatherly correction? We are therefore Heirs only, because Co-heirs with Christ; and we shall be Kings only because we shall reign together with him. It is a certain and infallible consequence, If Christ be risen, then shall we also rise; and we must look for as strong a coherence in this other, If Christ hath suffered, then must we expect to suffer. And as he taught the Necessity of, so he left us the Direction in, our Sufferings. Great was the example of Job, but far short of absolute perfection: the pattern beyond all exception is alone our Saviour, who hath taught us in all our afflictions the exercise of admirable Humility, perfect Patience, and absolute Submission unto the will of God.*

And now we may perceive the full importance of this part of the Article, and every Christian may thereby understand what he is to believe, and what he is conceived to profess, when he makes this confession of his Faith, *He suffered.* For hereby every one is obliged to intend thus much: I am really persuaded within my self, and do make a sincere profession of this as a most necessary, certain and infallible Truth, That the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father, and of the same Essence with the Father, did for the

Redemption of mankind really and truly suffer; not in his Divinity, which was impassible, but in his Humanity, which in the days of his Humiliation was subject unto our Infirmities: That as he is a perfect Redeemer of the whole man, so he was a complete Sufferer in the whole; in his Body, by such dolorous Infirmities as arise internally from humane frailties, and by such Pains as are inflicted by external injuries; in his Soul, by fearful Apprehensions, by unknown Sorrows, by Anguish unexpressible. And in this latitude and propriety I believe our Saviour suffered.

Under Pontius Pilate.

After the substance of this part of the Article, consisting in our Saviour's Passion, *He suffered*, followeth the circumstance of time, declared by the present Governour, *under Pontius Pilate*. Which, though the name of a stranger to the Commonwealth of *Israel* and the Church of *Christ*, is well preserved to eternal memory in the sacred Articles of our Creed. For as the Son of God by his determinate counsel was sent into the world to die in the fulness of time: so it concerns the Church to be assured of the time in which he died. And because the ancient custom of the world was, to make their Computations by their Governours, and refer their Historical relations to the respective times of their Government: therefore, that we might be properly assured of the Actions of our Saviour which he did, and of his Sufferings, (that is, the Actions which others did to him,) the present Governour is named in that form of speech which is proper to such Historical or Chronological Narrations, when we affirm that he suffered || *under Pontius Pilate*.

|| 'Επί Ποντίου Πιλάτου. Which words are capa-

ble of a double construction. First, as they are used by S. Paul, 1 Tim. 6. 13. Ἰησοῦ, τὸ μαρτυρήσαντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου τὴν κλητὴν δολογίαν, Who before Pontius Pilate witnessed a good confession; that is, standing before him as before a Judge. As of the same person, Mat. 28. 14. Καὶ ἐὰν ἀκούσῃ σὺ το ἐπὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνι, If this come to be tried before the Procurator. Thus Festus propounded it to S. Paul, Acts 25. 9. θέλεις κένεσθαι ἐπὶ ἐμῶ; and S. Paul answered in the same propriety of speech, ἐπὶ τῷ θήματι Καίσαρος ἐξῶς εἶμι. Thus Christ tells his Apostles, Mark 13. 9. ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνων καὶ βασιλέων σαθήσεσθε. And in this sense ἐπὶ is often used by the Greeks. Secondly, ἐπὶ Πιλάτου is under Pilate, that is, in the time of his Government, when and while he was Procurator of Judæa: as ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέων Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα, Luke 3. 2. and ἐπὶ Ἀβιάθου τῷ ἀρχιερέϊ, Mark 2. 26. Which is also according to the custom and language of the Greeks: As, κατακλυσμός ἐπὶ Δόναλιου ἐγένετο. Marm. Arundel. Οὗτοι ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῷ Λαομέδοντι ἐξαναπάντων Τρώων, Plat. Epist. ad Archytam: and ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεύοντι, in this King's reign, is the common phrase of Pausanias. Thus the Athenians among their 9 ἄρχοντες had one who was called Ἐπόνομος, because his name was used for the denotation of that year; and the phrase was usually, ἐπὶ τῷ δέοντι, or ἐπὶ τῷ δέοντι ἀρχοντῷ; as I find it thrice in one place. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ (Ἰσοκράτης) ἐπὶ Λυσιμάχου, Πλάτων ἢ ἐπὶ Ἀρμενίου γέγονε, ἐφ' ᾧ Περικλῆς ἐτετέλεσθη. Laert. in Platone. In the same manner did the Lacedæmonians make their Historical accounts by their Ephori, and the Argivi by the Priestesses of Juno: Ἐπὶ Χρυσίδῳ ἐν Ἀργεὶ τότε πενήτηντα δύο ἡμέρας ἐπὶ ἱεραίδου καὶ Αἰνισίῳ ἐπὶ ἐν Σπάρτῃ, καὶ Πυθοδώρῳ ἐπὶ δύο μῆνας ἀρχοντῷ Ἀθηναίοις. Thucyd. l. 2. And as the Greeks thus referred all actions to the times of these Governours, so did the Jews under the Roman Government to the Procurators of Judæa; as appeareth by Josephus, who mentioning the first of that Office, Coponius, presently relates the Insurrection of Judas Galileus in this manner: ἐπὶ τῷ (Κωπονίῳ) τῷ ἀνδρὶ Γαλιλαίας, Ἰούδας ὄνομα, εἰς Σαύσαριν ἐβήκε καὶ ἐπὶ χαίρει, de Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 12. then names his successor Ambivius, ἐφ' ᾧ Σαλώμῳ Ἰαμνιῶν καταλείπει· after him Rufus, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ καὶ τελέσται Κούρας. Antiq. Jud. l. 18. c. 3. And in the same manner in the Creed, παθόντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, our Saviour suffered under Pontius Pilate; that is, at the time when he was Procurator of Judæa; as Ignatius fully, ἐν καιρῷ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Ποντίου Πιλάτου, Epist. ad Magnesios.

And because he not only suffered under him as the present Governour, but also was arraigned and condemned by him as a Judge; therefore it will be necessary for the illustration of the manner, and confirmation of the truth, of our Saviour's Sufferings, to declare what hath been left and derived to our knowledge both concerning his Person and his Office.

For the first, we find him described by two names; nor is any other name of his extant, although, according to the || general custom of the Romans, || Pausanias

speaking of the

Romans, Τέτα ὅποτε ἢ ὀλίγιστα, καὶ ἔτι πλεονα ὀνόματα ἐκάστω σίθενται. And although Diomedes and Plutarch have observed, that even among the Romans there were some διώνυμα, yet the prænomen was never omitted, as Priscian affirmed, Ex illo tempore consuetudo tenuit, ut nemo Romanus sit absque prænominē. lib. 2.

* Pontius and Pilatus were his Nomen and Cognomen, in the same manner as Julius and Cæsar are describ'd by Suetonius : Non Cæfare & Bibulo, sed Julio & Cæfare, Coss. actum scriberent, his eundem præponentes, nomine atque cognomine. lib. 1. cap. 20. Thus without a Prænomen or Agnomen, he is only known to us by his Nomen properly called, and his Cognomen. The nature of which two is thus described by the Ancients : Nomen proprium est gentilitium, id est, quod originem genti & familiæ declarat, ut Pontius, Cornelius; Cognomen est quod uniuscujusque proprium, & nominibus gentium subiungitur, ut Cato, Scipio. Diomedes de Oratone l. 1. Nomen quod Familiæ originem declarat, ut Cornelius; Cognomen, quod nomini subiungitur, ut Scipio. Charisius, l. 2. The first of these Dionysius calls τὸ συγγενικὸν καὶ πατρωνυμικὸν ἢ Πλάτωνος οἰκίας ἢ γένους κοινὸν, and κοινὸν δὲ τὸ συγγενικὸν. the second he calls προσηγορικὸν ἢ ὀνόματι. Thus Pontius was his Nomen gentis or gentilitium, and Pilatus his Cognomen. As therefore Pontius Aquila, Pontius Cominius, Pontius Herennius, Pontius Paulinus, &c. so also Pontius Pilatus. Wherefore in vain have some of the Ancients endeavoured to give an Etymology of these names, as they do of Greek and Hebrew names in the Scripture, and think thereby to express the nature or actions of them that bare the names. As Isidorus Hispal. Orig. l. 7. c. 10. Pontius, Declinans concilium, utique Judæorum : accepta enim aquâ lavit manus suas, dicens, Innocens ego sum à sanguine hujus justii. And Eutychius Patriarch of Alexandria deduced Pontius from an Island called Ponra, near to Rome. And S. Jerome, Quod significat nomen Pilati, i. e. Malleatoris, i. e. qui domat ferreas gentes, ad Matt. 15. Pilatus, Os malleatoris; quia dum Christum ore suo & justificat & condemnat, more malleatoris utrinque ferit, Isid. ib. Pontius, declinans concilium; Pilatus, Os malleatoris, S. Jer. de nom. Hebraicis, in Luca & rursus in Actis. Where he lets us understand that these Etymologies were made from the Hebrew language; and makes an excuse, because the letter P is here taken for the Hebrew פ, to which the Latin F more properly answers. Sed sciendum est quod apud Hebræos P littera non habetur, nec ulum nomen est quod hoc elementum sonet : abusive igitur accipienda, quasi per F litteram scripta sint. Thus did they vainly strive to find an Hebrew Original, and that such an one as should represent the conditions of Pilate; when these two names are nothing else but the Roman Nomen and Cognomen of that Person.

He was by birth a Roman, by degree of the Equestrian Order, sent by Tiberius the Emperour to be a Governour of Judæa. For about threescore years before our Saviour's birth the Jews by Pompey the Great were made tributary to the Romans. And although during the life of Hircanus the High Priest, the reign of Herod and his Son Archelaus, the Roman State suffered the Jews to be ruled by their own Laws and Governours; yet when Archelaus was banished by Augustus, they received their Governours from the Roman Emperour, being made a part of the Province of Syria, belonging to his care. In the life of Augustus there was a Succession of three, Coponius, Ambivius, and Rufus. At the beginning of the reign of Tiberius they were governed by Valerius Gracchus, and at his departure by Pontius Pilate.

|| Τῆς Ἀρχελαῦ ἑθναρχίας μετὰ πείσεως εἰς ἑταρχίαν. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 13. Τῆς ἢ Ἀρχελαῦ χῶρας ὑποτελῆς προσηγορικῆς τῆς Σύρων. in Antiq. Jud. l. 17. c. 15. Παλιῶ ἢ Κυρήνῃ εἰς Ἰουδαίαν προσηγορικῆς Συρίας γινόμενον. ibid. l. 18. c. 1.

The Office which this Pilate bare was the Procuratorship of Judæa, as is most evident out of the History both of the Romans, from whom he received his authority, and of the Jews, over whom he exercised his dominion. But what was the Office of a Procurator in those times, though necessary for our present purpose, is not so easie to determine, because it was but newly introduced into the Roman Government. For before the Dominion of that City was changed from a Commonwealth into an Empire, there was no such publick Office in any of the Provinces, and particularly in Judæa none till after the Banishment of Archelaus, some years after our Saviour's birth. When Augustus divided the Provinces of the Empire into two parts, one of which he kept for his own care, and left the other to the inspection of the Senate, he sent, together with the President of each Province, as the Governour in chief of the Province, a Procurator, whose Office was, to take an account of all the Tribute, and whatsoever was due to the Emperour, and to order and dispose of the same for his advantage. Neither was there at the first institution of this Office any other act belonging properly to their Jurisdiction, but

* Tacitus speaking of the Christians, Author nominis ejus Christus, qui Tiberio imperante per Procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus est. Annal. l. 15. And Tertullian, most skilful of their Laws and Customs, speaks thus of our Saviour; postremo oblatum Pontio Pilato, Syriam tunc ex parte Romana procuranti, Apologet. cap. 21. Whom S. Cyprian follows : Hunc Magistri eorum. ... Pontio Pilato, qui tunc ex parte Romana Syriam procurabat, tradiderunt, advers. Demetr. Thus also Josephus for the Jews : Πρωτοβέτης ἢ εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ὀπίτροπος ἢ ὑπὸ Τιβέριου Πιλάτου, de Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 14. And Philo, Πιλάτου ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάρχων ὀπίτροπος ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμονδόντων Ποντίου Πιλάτου ἢ Ἰουδαίας, de legat. ad Caium. And therefore those words of S. Luke, c. 3. 1. ἡγεμονδόντος Ποντίου Πιλάτου ἢ Ἰουδαίας, are

were properly translated by the old Interpreter, procurante Pontio Pilato Judæam. Thus Lucius Dexter ad annum Christi 28. Pontius Pilatus procurator Judææ à Tiberio mittitur in Judæam. And Justin Martyr *meſi* properly; Τὸν αὐρωθέντα ὄντι Πόντιο Πιλάτῳ, τὸν ἡγουμένον ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ ὄντι χεῖνοις Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ὄντι ἑρῶτα. Apol. 2. And again, speaking to the Emperours, by whom the Procurators were sent; Καὶ Πιλάτος τὸ ὑμῶν παρ' Ἰουδαίους γενόμενος ὄντι ἑρῶτα. And again, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἑρῶτα Ἰουδαίᾳ χεῖνοις τὸ αὐρωθέντος ὄντι Ποντίου, τὸ γενόμενος ὄντι ἑρῶτα τ' Ἰουδαίας. *Lial. cum Tryph.* As also Eusebius, Δαδ' ἐκὰτ' ἑταυτῶν τῆς Τιβερίου βασιλείας, ὄντι ἑρῶτος τ' Ἰουδαίας ὑπὸ Τιβερίου καθιστάται Πιλάτος. *Hist. l. 1. c. 10.* And S. Jerom's translation of his *Chronicon*; Pilatus procurator Judææ à Tiberio mittitur. Thus it appears that Pilate of the Equestrian Order was properly Procurator, as that Office was ordinarily given to men of that Order, as Tacitus testifies: Cn. Julius Agricola utrumque avum procuratorem Cæsarum habuit, quæ equestris nobilitas est, in *vit. Jul. Agr.* Which is to be understood concerning the Imperial Provinces: for into those which were of the Provinces of the people, the Procurators sent by Cæsar were of the Liberti. For the Emperor sent into all the Provinces his Procurators, but with this difference, as Dio observes; εἰς πάντα ὀμείας τὰ ἔθνη, τὰ τε αὐτῶ καὶ τὰ τῶ δέμου, τὸς μὲ ἐκ τῶν ἰππέων, τὸς δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων, πέμπει. *Hist. l. 53.* || The Roman Procurator is ordinarily in Greek Authors expressed by their ἑπίτροπος, as the Gloss. Latin. Græc. Procurator, ἑπίτροπος. But yet they are not of the same latitude in their use; ἑπίτροπος comprehending the notion of Tutor, as well as Procurator. *Helych. ἑπίτροπος, ὁ περὶ τῶν γονεῶν, καὶ ὄλων τῆς οὐσίας, καὶ ὀρφανῶν. Gloss. Vet. ἑπίτροπος, Procurator, tutor.* ἑπίτροπος therefore was used by the Greeks in both notions, whereof Procurator of the Latins is but one. And in the language of the Romans he is a Procurator which undertakes to manage the business of another man. Procurator si negotium suscipit, saith *Asconius in Divin.* and *Sex Pompeius*, Procurator absentis nomine actor fit; he to whom the care of another man's estate or affairs was committed. *Gloss. Vet. ἑπίτροπος, commissum, ὁ ἑπιβουλεύων, procurator.* In correspondence to these Procurators of the affairs and estates of private persons, there were made such as did take care in every Province of the Imperial Revenue: who, in respect of the Person whom they served, were called Procuratores Cæsaris, or Augustales; in respect of the Countries where they served, were termed Procuratores Provinciales. Their Office is best described by *Dion. Hist. l. 53.* Τὸς ὄντι δ' τ' ἑρῶτα τὰς τε κοινὰς προσοδίας ἐπιλέγοντες, καὶ προσελαγμένα σφίσιν ἀναλίσκοντες, ὄνομαζόμενοι. We call, says he, these ἑπιτροπῶτες, that is Procuratores, which receive the publick Revenues, and dispose of them according to the commands received from the Emperour. For they acted in his name, and what was done by them was accounted as done by the Emperour himself. Quæ acta gesta sunt à Procuratore Cæsaris, sic ab eo comprobari ac si à Cæsare gesta essent, *Ulpian. l. 1. ff. As we read in Tacitus of the Emperour Claudius; Sæpius audita vox Principis, parem vim rerum habendam à Procuratoribus suis judicatarum, ac si ipse statuisset. Annal. l. 12.* And in *Suetonius*: Ut rata essent quæ Procuratores sui in judicando statuerent à Senatu precario exegit. The proper Office therefore of the Provincial Procurator was, to Receive the Imperial Revenue, and dispose of it as the Emperour commanded, and to all intents and purposes to do such things as were necessary thereunto, with such authority as if the Emperour himself had done them.

such a care and disposal of the Imperial Revenue: which they exercised as inferior and subordinate to the President, always supreme Provincial Officer.

Now Judæa being made part of a Province of Syria, and consequently under the care of the President of that Province, according to this institution, a particular Procurator was assigned unto it for the disposing of the Emperour's Revenue. And because the Nation of the Jews were always suspected of a rebellious disposition against the Roman State, and the President of Syria, who had the power of the Sword, was forced to attend upon the other parts of his Province; therefore the Procurator of Judæa was furnished with power of life and death, and so administered all the power of the President, which was, as to the Jews, supreme. Which is very observable, as an eminent act of the Providence of God, by which the full power of Judicature in Judæa was left in the hands of the Resident Procurator.

|| This appeareth by Coponius, the first proper Procurator of Judæa, who was brought in by

Quirinus Præ-

ses of Syria, when he came to dispose of the Goods of Archelaus, and to reduce Judæa into the form of a Province, and adjoyn it to Syria. Of this Coponius Josephus writeth after this manner, Καπώνιος τὸ αὐτῶ (Κυρῶν ἰώ) σωματὰ πέμπεται, τὰ γυμνασίου τῶν ἰππέων ἡγουσμένος Ἰουδαίων τῆ ὄντι πᾶσιν ἐξουσία. that being of the Equestrian order, he was sent with Quirinus to govern the Jews with the supreme power. *Antiq. l. 18. c. 1.* And yet more expressly as to the time, occasion, and extent of his power: Τὸς δ' Ἀρχελαῶς χῶρας εἰς ἐπαρχίαν ἀπελευθέρων, ὄντι ἑρῶτος τῆς ἰππικῆς παρὰ Ῥωμαίους τὰ ἑρῶτα, Καπώνιος, πέμπεται, μέχρι τῶς πτείνειν λαβὼν παρὰ τῶ Καίσαρος ἐξουσίαν. *Id. de Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 11.* When those parts which were under the command of Archelaus were reduced into a Province, Coponius was sent thither by the Emperour, and furnished with power of life and death. For although in the Proconsular Provinces the Procurator of the Emperour had no power but on those things which belonged to the Exchequer; yet in those Provinces which were properly præsidiales the Procurator was often loco Præsidis. From whence in the ancient Inscriptions we read of the same person, Procurator & Præses Alpium, Procurator & Præses provinciarum per Orientem, Procurator & Præses provinciæ Sardinia. It was often therefore so, that the Procurator did Præsidis partibus fungi: as *Ulpian. l. 8. de officio Proconsulis*; In provinciam enim Præsidium provinciarum, nec aliter Procuratori Cæsaris, hæc cognitio injungitur, quam Præsidis partibus in provincia fungatur. And this is very necessary to be observed, because a Procurator barely such, not armed with the power of the Præses provinciæ, had not the power of the Sword. As Antoninus to Valerius; Procurator meus, qui vice Præsidis non fungebatur, exilii tibi poenam non potuit irrogare. *l. 9. Cod. de poenis.* And to *Heliodorus*; Procurator meus, qui vice Præsidis provinciæ non fungitur, sicut exigere poenam desertæ accusationis non potest, ira judicare ut ea inferatur sententiâ suâ non potest, *l. 3. C. Ubi causa.* This was plain in the case of *Lucilius Capito*, Procurator of Asia minor, who was called in question for exceeding his power, and deserted therein by *Tiberius*. Procurator Asia Lucilius Capito, accusante provincia, causam dixit magna cum adseveratione Principis, non se jus nisi in servitiâ & pecunias familiares dedisse. Quod si vim Prætoris usurpasset, manibusq; militum usus foret, spreta in eò mandata sua, audirent socios. *Tacit. Annal.* And *Dio* upon the said example observes in general, that the Procurators had no such power. Οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν τότε τοῖς τὰ αὐτοκρατορικὰ γήματα διοικῶσι πλεον ἐδὲν ποιῆν, ἢ τὰς νενομισμένας προσοδίας ἐπιλέγειν, καὶ περὶ τῶν διαφορῶν ἕρ τε τῆ ἀγορᾶ καὶ καὶ τῶ νόμου ἐξῆς τοῖς ἰδιώταις διαζέειν. But altho the ordinary Procurators had no other power but to dispose of the Revenue, and determine private Causes; yet he which was vice Præsidis had the power of the Præses; and such a Procurator was Pontius Pilate in Judæa, as the others who preceded him also were.

Mark 14. 64.
John 18. 30,
31.

† I say therefore the Jews answered that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death, because that power was taken out of their hands. For although S. Augustine think they thought it not lawful in respect of the Passover, Intel-

ligendum est eos dixisse, non sibi licere interficere quemquam, propter diei festi sanctitatem, quem celebrare jam cœperant, Tradit. 14. in Joan. and S. Cyril be of the same opinion; yet others of the Ancients deliver the true cause why they applied themselves to Pilate, to be their want of power; as Ammonius most expressly, Τίν' ἕνεκεν αὐτὸν ἐκ ἀνεῖλον, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸν Πιλάτον ἤγαγον; μάλιστα μὲν τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας ὑπετέμνετο, λοιπὸν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαῖς ἢ πραγμάτων κειμένων· and upon those words in S. John, ὡς ἐμπροσθέντος τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἦσαν γὰρ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαῖς· εἶπον τῷτο. So Theophylact, Ἄγασιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον, ἐ γὰρ εἶχον αὐτοὶ ἐξουσίαν ἀνελεῖν, ὡς τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπὸ Ῥωμαῖς κειμένων· and before him S. Chrysostome.

Matt. 27. 18.
Luke 23. 14,
22.

Matt. 27. 19.
John 19. 7, 8.

* So Philo testifies of him: ὡς γὰρ ἔφυσιν ἀκραιψύνης, καὶ μετὰ τὸ αὐθρόδους ἀμέλιτος. de Legat. ad Caium. And again: Οἷα ἐν ἐγκότῳ ἔχων καὶ βαρύμηνις ἀνθρώπος.

For by this means it came to pass that Christ, who by the determinate counsel of God was to die, and by the prediction of the Prophets was to suffer in a manner not prescribed by the Law of *Moses*, should be delivered up to a foreign power, and to suffer death after the customs of that Nation to whose power he was delivered. The malice of the obstinate *Jews* was high to accuse and prosecute him, but the power of the *Jews* was not so high as judicially to condemn him. For although the chief Priests and the Elders and the Scribes *condemned him guilty of death*; yet they could not condemn him to die, or pronounce the sentence of death upon him, *but delivered him up unto pilate*: and when he refusing said unto them, *Take ye him, and judge him according to your law*; they immediately returned, *It is not lawful for us to put any man to death*. The power of life and death was not in any Court of the *Jews*, but in the *Roman* Governour alone as supreme; and † therefore they answered him, it was *not lawful*: not in respect of the Law of *Moses*, which gave them both sufficient power and absolute command to punish divers offenders with death; but in relation to the *Roman* Empire, which had taken all that dominion from them. Forty years before the destruction of *Jerusalem* the *Jews* themselves acknowledge that they lost their power; which is sufficient to shew that they had it not when our Saviour suffered: and it is as true that they lost it twenty years before, at the regulation of *Archelaus*, and the coming of *Coponius* the Procurator, with full power of life and death. Wherefore our Saviour was delivered unto *Pilate* as the supreme Judge over the Nation of the *Jews*, that he might pronounce the sentence of death upon him.

But how this Judge could be perswaded to an act of so much injustice and impiety is not yet easie to be seen. The numerous controversies of the Religion of the *Jews* did not concern the *Roman* Governours, nor were they moved with the frequent quarrels arising from the different Sects. *Pilate* knew well it was for *envy* that the chief Priests *delivered him*; and when he had examined him, he found no fault touching those things whereof they accused him. Three times did he challenge the Nation of the *Jews*, *Why? what evil hath he done?* three times did he make that clear profession, *I have found no cause of death in him*. His own *Wife* admonished in a dream, sent unto him, saying, *Have thou nothing to do with that just man*; and when he heard that he made himself the *Son of God*, he was more afraid: and yet notwithstanding these apprehensions and professions, he condemned and crucified him.

Here we must look upon the nature and disposition of *Pilate*, which inclined and betrayed him to so foul an Act. He was a man of an * high, rough, untractable and irreconcilable spirit, as he is described by the *Jews*, and appeareth from the beginning of his Government, when he brought the Bucklers stamp with the pictures of *Cæsar* into *Jerusalem*, (which was an abomination to the *Jews*,) and could neither be moved by the blood of many, nor perswaded by the most humble applications and submissive entreaties of the whole Nation, to remove them, till he received a sharp reprehension and severe command from the Emperour *Tiberius*. After that he seized on the *Corban*, that sacred Treasury, and spent it upon an Aquæduct: nor could all their religious and importunate petitions divert his intentions, but his reso-

lution

lution went through their blood to bring in water. When the *Galileans* came up to *Jerusalem* to worship God at his own Temple, *he mingled their blood with their sacrifices.* Add to this untractable and irreconcilable spirit, by which he had so often exasperated the *Jews*, an avaricious and rapacious disposition, which prompted him as much to please them; and we may easily perceive what moved him to condemn that person to death whom he declared innocent. The Evangelist telleth us that *Pilate, willing to content the people, released Barabbas unto them, and delivered Jesus to be crucified.* They accused him at *Rome* for all the insolencies and rapines which he had committed, and by this Act he thought to pacifie them.

Luke 13. 1.

Mark 15. 15.

¹ For that which is observed by Philo upon the dedication of the

S Shields at the first entrance into his Government, must needs be much more true at this time of our Saviour's Passion, when he had committed so many more insolencies, viz. that he feared the Jews should complain of him to Tiberius. Το τελευταίον το μάλισα αὐτὸν ἐξετέλεχεν, καταδείξοντα μὴ τὸ ἄντι πρὸς βλάσφημοι καὶ τῆς ἀλλης αὐτῆς ὁπποῦτος ἐξελέγξωσι τὰς ὕβρεις, τὰς ἀρπαγὰς, τοὺς αἰκίας, τὰς ἐπηρεάς, τὸς ἀκρίτους καὶ ἐπαλλήλους φόβους, καὶ ἀνικύτων καὶ ἀργαλεωτάτων ὀμότητα διεξελθόντες. de Legat. ad Caium.

It was thus necessary to express the Person under whom our Saviour suffered, First, that we might for ever be assured of the time in which he suffered. The enemies of Christianity began first to unsettle the time of his Passion, that thereby they might at last deny the Passion it self; and the rest of their Falshood was detected by the discovery of their false Chronology. Some fixed it to the seventh year of the Reign of *Tiberius*, whereas it is certain *Pontius Pilate* was not then Procurator in *Judea*, and as certain that our Saviour was baptized eight years after, ⁵ *in the fiftcenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar.* Some of the *Jews*, lest the destruction of *Jerusalem* might seem to follow upon, and for our Saviour's Crucifixion, have removed it near threescore years more backward yet, ⁶ placing his death in the beginning of *Herod's* reign, who was not born till toward the death of the same King. Others have removed it farther yet near ⁷ twenty years, and so vainly tell us how he died under *Aristobulus*, above fifty years before his birth in *Bethlehem.* This they do teach their Profelytes, to this end, that they may not believe so much as the least historical part of the blessed Evangelists. As therefore they deny the time of our Saviour's Passion, in design to destroy his Doctrine; so, that we might establish the substance of the Gospel depending on his death, it was necessary we should retain a perfect remembrance of the time in which he died. Nor need we be ashamed that the Christian Religion, which we profess, should have so known an *Epocha*, and so late an Original. Christ came not into the world in the beginning of it, but *in the fulness of time.*

² Cautissime qui Symbolum tradiderunt, etiam tempus quo hæc sub Pontio Pilato gesta sunt designarunt, ne ex aliqua parte velut vaga & incerta gestorum traditio vacillaret. *Ruffinus in Expos. Symb.* Credimus itaque in eum qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est & sepultus. Addendum enim erat Judicis nomen propter temporum cognitionem. *S. Aug. de Fide & Symb.* Pilatus Judex erat in illo tempore ab Imperatore positus in Judæa, sub quo Domi-

nus passus est; cujus mentio ad temporis significationem, non ad personæ illius pertinet dignitatem. *Serm. 131. de Tempore.* Irenæus, speaking of S. Paul, Evangelizabat Filium Dei Christum Jesum, qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est. *l. 5. c. 12.* And to make the more certain character of time, Ignatius added to the name of Pilate that of Herod: Ἀληθῶς ὅτι Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ Ἡεράδου τετάρτου καὶ Ἡεροδωιδίου ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐν σαρκί. *Epist. ad Smyrn.* ³ So Eusebius detected some of those which lived not long before him: Οὐκ ἔν σαφῶς ἀπελίλεγται τὸ πλάσμα τῆς καὶ τῆς Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ὑπομνήματα χθὲς καὶ πρῶτον διαδεδοκότων, ἐν οἷς πρῶτος αὐτὸς ὁ ἴ παρρησιώσεως χεῖν τῆς πεπλακότων ἀπελέγχει τὸ ψεῦδος; *Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 9.* ⁴ Ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης δ' ἐν ὑπαταίᾳ Τιβερίου, ἡ γέγονεν ἔτους ἐβδόμου τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, τὰ ἀεὶ τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῖς πάθος πολυμήντα περὶ εἶχει, καθ' ὃν δ' ἀκρυτα χεῖνον μὲν δ' ὁπποῦτος αὐτῆ Ἰεδίου Πιλάτος. *Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 1. c. 10.* ⁵ Luke 3. 1. ⁶ Divers of the *Jews* place the passion of Christ in the year of their account 3724. which is 69 years before our common account of the year in which he truly suffered. This invention of their own, grounded upon no foundation, and backed with not so much as the least probability, they deliver as a Tradition amongst them, continued in this Rhythm,

בשנת ג' אלפים תש"ב חנצרו נלכו
ובשנת תקל"ב בעצ נצלב

i. e. In the year 3724 he of Nazareth was taken,
And in the year 532 he was crucified on a tree.

Not that they thought him taken in one year, and crucified in another; but those two unequal numbers signifie the same year, the lesser number being a period of years which seven times numbred equalleth the greater. So that their meaning is, that after seven periods consisting

consisting of 532 years, in the year of the world 3724, Jesus of Nazareth was crucified. 7 Others of the Jews pretend another account, viz. that Jesus was born in the year 3691, which was the fourth of Jannæus, and crucified in the year 3707. which was the third of Aristobulus; making him the disciple of R. Josuah the Son of Perachiah; according to that usual Phrase of theirs. כרבי יהושע בן פרחיה שדקפו לישי בשת ירידי. Vide Sepher Juchasin.

8 Nota quod in Pilato & uxore eius, iustum Dominum conscientibus, Gentilis populitestimonium est. S. Hier. in Mat. 27 9 That Pontius Pilate wrote unto Tiberius of

Secondly, it was thought necessary to include the name of Pilate in our Creed, as of one who gave a most powerful external 8 testimony to the certainty of our Saviour's death, and the innocency of his life. He did not only profess, to the condemnation of the Jews, that he found nothing worthy of death in Christ; but left the same written to the Gentiles of the Roman Empire. Two ways he is related to have given most ample testimony to the truth: 9 first by an Express written to Tiberius, and by him presented to the Senate; 10 secondly, by Records written in Tables of all things of moment which were acted in his Government.

the death and resurrection of our Saviour, is testified by Tertullian, who was best acquainted with the Roman History: Ea omnia super Christo Pilatus, & ipse jam pro sua conscientia Christianus, Cæsari tum Tiberio nunciavit. Apolog. c. 21. And again: Tiberius ergo, cujus tempore nomen Christianum in seculum introiit, annunciatum sibi ex Syria Palæstina, quæ veritatem illius (Christi) divinitatis revelarat, detulit ad Senatum cum prærogativa suffragii sui. cap. 5. This is related by Eusebius out of Tertullian in his Ecclesiastical History, l. 2. c. 2. and referred to the two and twentieth year of Tiberius in his Chron. Pilato de Christianorum dogmate ad Tiberium referente, Tiberius retulit ad Senatum, ut inter cætera sacra reciperetur. The authority of this Express is grounded on the great reputation of Tertullian, (as is observed also by the Author of the Chronicon Alexandrinum, who concludes the relation with these words, ὡς ἰσορεῖ Τερτυλλιανὸς ὁ Ρωμῶος,) and the general custom by which all the Governours of the Provinces did give an account unto the Emperour of all such passages as were most remarkable: παλαιὸν κερκεζινοῦτος ἔθελε τοῖς τοῦ ἔθνους ἀρχαῖσι, τὰ παρὰ σοῖσι καινοτομῆματα τῶ τὴν βασιλείου ἀρχῆν ὀπικρατοῦσι σημαίνειν, ὅς μὴδὲν αὐτῶ διαδιδράτκοι τοῦ γινουμένων. Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 2. c. 2. 10 The ancient Romans were desirous to preserve the memory of all remarkable Passages which happened in the City: and this was done either in their Acta Senatûs, or Acta diurna populi; which were diligently made, and carefully kept at Rome. In the same manner the Governours in the Provinces took care that all things worthy of remark should be written in Publick Tables, and preserved as the Acta in their Government. And agreeably to this custom Pontius Pilate kept the Memoirs of the Jewish Affairs, which were therefore called Acta Pilati, in which an account was given of our blessed Saviour; and the Primitive Christians did appeal unto them in their disputes with the Gentiles, as to a most undoubted testimony: Justin Martyr urged them even unto the Roman Emperours: Καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι γέγονε, δύναθε μαθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ὅτι Ποντίου Πιλάτου ἡγουμένων Ἀκτων. And again: Ὅτι ἡ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν, ἐκ τοῦ ὅτι Ποντίου Πιλάτου ἡγουμένων Ἀκτων μαθεῖν δύναθε. Apol. 2. And in the differences between the Christians, they were cited by both parties. As the Tessařdecatitæ alledged them for their custom of the observance of Easter, as Epiphanius testifieth of them: Ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀκτων δὴθεν Πιλάτου ἀρχῆτι τὴν ἀκρίβειαν εὐρηκέναι, ἐν οἷς ἐμφέρεται, τῆ πρὸ ὀκτώ καλανδῶν Ἀπειλίον ἢ Σωτῆρα προσονόμασαι. And Epiphanius urgeth the same Acta against them, but according to other Copies: Ἐπι τῆ εὐεργῶν ἀντίγραφα ἐκ τοῦ (lege Ἀκτων) Πιλάτου, ἐν οἷς σημαίνει, πρὸ δεκαπέντε καλανδῶν Ἀπειλίον τὸ πάθος γεγενῆσθαι. Hæres. 50. Though the Author of the 8 Homily in Pascha, under the name of S. Chrysostome, agreeth in this reading with the Tessařdecatitæ: ὁ μὲν χρόνος καὶ ἂν ἔπαθεν ὁ Σωτῆρ ἐκ ἡγνότητι τὰ τῶ ἐπισημῆματα τὰ ὑπὸ Πιλάτου παραχθέντα καὶ τὴν προδεσμῖαν παρέχει τῶ Πάσχα ἰσορεῖται γένεσθαι τῆ πρὸ ὀκτώ καλανδῶν Ἀπειλίον ἔπαθεν ὁ Σωτῆρ. Tom. 5. p. 942. These were also mentioned in the Acta S. Tarachi, Probi & Andronicæ, cap. 9. Præses dixit, Inique, non scis, quem invocas, Christum, hominem quidem fuisse factum, sub custodia Pontli Pilati & punitum, cujus exstant Acta Passionis? These Acta in the time of Maximinus were adulterated, and filled with many blasphemies against our Saviour; as appears by Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. l. 5. c. 9. ἐκέν παρῶς ἀπελήλεγκται τὸ πλάσμα τοῦ χριστοῦ τῶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ὑπομνήματα χθῆς καὶ πρὸς τὴν διαδεδωκότων; & l. 9. c. 5. Πλεοσύννοι δὴτα Πιλάτου καὶ τῶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ὑπομνήματα πάσης ἐμπλεα καὶ τῶ Χριστοῦ βλασφημίας γνώμη τῶ μεζονος ὅτι πᾶσαν διαπέμπονται τῶ ὑπὸ αὐτὸν ἀρχῆν.

Thirdly, it behoved us to take notice of the Roman Governour in the expression of our Saviour's Passion, that thereby we might understand how it came to pass that Christ should suffer according to the Scriptures. The Prophets had foretold his death, but after such a manner as was not to be performed by the Jews, according to whose Law and Custom no man amongst them ever so died. Being then so great a Prophet could not die but in Jerusalem, being the death he was to suffer was not agreeable to the Laws and Customs of the Jews; it was necessary a Roman Governour should condemn him, that so the counsel of the will of God might be fulfilled, by the malice of the one, and the customs of the other.

And now the advantage of this Circumstance is discovered, every one may express the importance of it in this manner. I am fully perswaded of this truth, as beyond all possibility of contradiction, that in the fulness of time God sent his Son, and that the eternal Son of God so sent by him did suffer for the sins of men, after the fifteenth year of Tiberius the Roman Emperour, and before his death, in the time of Pontius Pilate the Cesarean Procurator

rator of *Judaea*; who, to please the Nation of the *Jews*, did condemn him whom he pronounced innocent, and delivered him, according to the custom of that Empire, and in order to the fulfilling of the Prophecies, to die a painful and shameful death upon the Cross. And thus I believe in Christ that *suffered under Pontius Pilate*.

Was Crucified.

From the general consideration of our Saviour's Passion, we proceed to the most remarkable particular, his Crucifixion, standing between his Passion, which it concludeth, and his death, which it introduceth. For the explication whereof it will be necessary, first, to prove that the promised *Messias* was to be crucified, that he which was designed to die for our sins was to suffer upon the Cross; secondly, to shew that our *Jesus*, whom we worship, was certainly and truly Crucified, and did suffer whatsoever was foretold upon the Cross; thirdly, to discover what is the nature of Crucifixion, what peculiarities of suffering are contained in dying on the Cross.

That the *Messias* was to be crucified, appeareth both by Types which did apparently foreshew it, and by Prophecies which did plainly foretel it. For though all those Representations and Predictions which the forward || zeal of some ancient Fathers gathered out of the Law and the Prophets cannot be said to signifie so much; yet in many Types was the Crucifixion of Christ represented, and by some Prophecies foretold. This was the true and unremovable *stumbling-block to the Jews*; nor could they ever be brought to confess the *Messias* should * die that death upon a Tree to which the Curse of the Law belonged: and yet we need no other Oracles than such as are committed to those *Jews* to prove that Christ was so to suffer.

|| The ancient Fathers following the steps of the Apostles to prove all the particulars of our Saviour's death out of the Old Testament, have made use of those Types and prophecies which

*did really and truly foreshew it; but together with them, partly out of their own conceptions, partly out of too much credit in translations, have urged those places which the Jews may most easily evade, and we can produce but with small or no pretence. As for the extending of the hands of Moses, they conceive it to be a perfect Type; and Barnabas tells us, the Spirit commanded Moses that he should make the similitude of a Cross; λέγει κ' εἰς καρτέραν Μωσῆ τὸ πνεῦμα, ἵνα ποιήσῃ τύπον σταυροῦ κ' τὸ μέλλον ὁ παρθεύει. but the Text assures us no more than that Moses held up his hand, which might be without any similitude of a Cross. And when both were lifted up by Aaron and Hur, the representation is not certain. And yet after Barnabas, Justin tells us that Moses represented the Cross, τὰς χεῖρας ἐκάλειρος ἐπέτειλάσας. and Tertullian calls it habitum Crucis. In the same manner with the strange Indian Statue, which is described by Bardisanes as ἀνδρείας ἐσῶς ἰσθῶς. ἔχων τὰς χεῖρας ἠπλωμένας ἐν τύπῳ σταυροῦ. Porphyry de Styge. With less probability did they gather both the name of Jesus, and the Cross of Christ, from the 318 servants of Abraham. Ἰῶτα δ' ἕκα, ἦτα ὀκτώ, ἔχεις Ἰησοῦν. ἔτι ἡ σταυρὸς ἐν τῷ Γ ἐμελλεν ἔχειν ἡ χεῖρα, λέγει γὰρ τὸ τετρακοσίον, δηλοῦν ἡ Ἰησοῦν ἐν τοῖς δυοῖν γεγύμασι, κ' ἐν ἐνὶ ἡ σταυρῶν. Epist. Barn. c. 7. As if I H stood for Jesus, and T for the Cross. And yet Clemens Alex. follows him: Φασὶν ἂν εἶναι τὸ κ' Κριστακὲ σημεῖον τύπον κ' τὸ γῆμα τετρακοσίον ἐν σταυροῦ. τὸ ἡ Ἰῶτα κ' τὸ ἦτα τῶν α. σημαίνειν τὸ σωτήριον. Stromat. l. 6. As also S. Ambrose; Nam & Abraham 318 duxit ad bellum, & ex innumeris trophæa hostibus reportavit, signoque Dominicæ crucis & nominis, &c. Procl. ad l. 1. de Fide. Eos adsciscit quos dignos numero fidelium judicavit, qui in Domini nostri Jesu Christi Passione crederent. Trecentos enim T Græca litera significat; decem & octo autem summum I H exprimit nomen. Id. de Abrab. l. 1. c. 3. And S. Augustine of another 300: Quorum numerus, quia trecenti erant, signum insinuat Crucis, propter literam T Græcam, quia iste numerus significatur. And Clemens Alexandrinus again of the 300 cubits in the Ark: Εἰσὶ ἡ αἰ τὸς τετρακοσίον πῆχαις σύμβολον τὸ Κριστακὲ σημεῖον λέγουσι. Strom. l. 6. Sed sicut ille non multitudine nec vir ut legionum, sed jam tum in Sacramento Crucis, cujus figura per literam Græcam T numero trecentorum exprimitur, adversarios principes debellavit; cujus mysterii virtute trecentis in longum texta cubitis superavit Arca diluvium, ut nunc Ecclesia hoc seculum supernavigat. S. Paulinus Epist. 2. As unlikely a Type did they make Jacob's Ladder. Ego puto Crucem Salvatoris illam esse scalam quam Jacob vidit. Hieron. Scala usque ad cœlum attingens Crucis figuram habuit; Dominus innixus scælæ, Christus crucifixus ostenditur. Aug. These, and many others, by the Writers of the succeeding Ages were produced out of the Old Testament as types of the Cross, and may in some sense be applied to it being otherwise proved, but prove it not. * Trypho the Jew, in the Dialogue with Justin Martyr, when he had confessed many of the Christian Doctrines, would by no means be brought to this, Εἰ ἡ κ' ἀτίμας ἕτως σταυρωθῆαι ἡ Χριστῶν, (Iubaud. ἔδει) σταυρωθῆαι. ὁπποκατάρατος γὰρ ὁ σταυρωθῆαι ἐν τῷ νόμῳ λέγεται ἔδωκε πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ ἀμὲν δουλεύσας ἔχω. And afterwards, granting his Passion, urgeth him to prove his Crucifixion; Ἡμεῖς γὰρ εἰς ἐννοίαν ἐλθεῖν δουλεύμεθα. So Tertullian describes the Jews, negantes passionem Crucis in Christum prædicatam, & argumentantes insuper non esse credendum ut ad id genus mortis exposuerit Deus Filium suum, quod ipse dixit, Maledictus omnis homo qui pependit in ligno. Adv. Judæos c. 10.*

A clearer Type can scarce be conceived of the Saviour of the world, in whom all the Nations of the earth were to be blessed, than *Isaac* was: nor can

can God the Father, who gave his only-begotten Son, be better expressed than by that Patriarch in his readines to sacrifice his Son, *his only son Isaac, whom he loved.* Now when that grand Act of Obedience was to be performed, we find *Isaac* walking to the mountain of *Moriah* with the wood on his shoulders, and saying, *Here is the wood, but where is the sacrifice?* while in the command of God, and the intention and resolution of *Abraham*, *Isaac* is the Sacrifice, who bears the wood. And the *Christ*, who was to be the most perfect Sacrifice, the person in whom all Nations were perfectly to be blessed, could die no other death in which the wood was to be carried; and being to die upon the Cross, was, by the formal * custom used in that kind of death, certainly to carry it. Therefore *Isaac* || bearing the wood did signifie *Christ* bearing the Cross.

* This Custom is very considerable as to the explication of this

Type; and is to be therefore confirmed by the testimonies of the Ancients, which are most express. Βασάλειν τινα ἢ δαμόνον χθονίων κατέργω ἢ ἰδόντι σαυρὸν αὐτῷ σημαίνει ἔοικε γὰρ ὁ σαυρὸς θανάτω, καὶ ὁ μέλλων περὶ στήθεσσι πρῶτον αὐτὸν βασάλειν. Artemid. l. 2. c. 41. Τῷ ἢ σώματι ἢ κολαζουμένων ἕκαστος ἢ κατέργων ἐπιφέρει ἢ αὐτῷ σαυρὸν. Plutarch. De his qui ferro puniuntur. So these not long after our Saviour's death: and much before it, *Plautus* in *Carbonaria*, Patibulum ferat per urbem, deinde affigatur cruci. || This is not only the observation of the Christians, but the Jews themselves have referred this Type unto that Custom. For upon Gen. 22. 6. And Abraham took the wood of the burnt-offering, and laid it upon Isaac his Son, the lesser *Berehith* hath this note כוה שטוען על ירכו בכתב as a man carries his Cross upon his shoulders.

Numb. 21. 9.

When the fiery Serpents bit the *Israelites*, and much people died, *Moses*, by the command of God, made a serpent of Brass, and put it upon a pole: and it came to pass that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the serpent of brass, he lived. Now if there were no expresser Promise of the *Messias* than the seed of the woman which should bruise the serpent's head; if he were to perform that Promise by the virtue of his Death; if no Death could be so perfectly represented by the hanging on the pole as that of Crucifixion: then was that manifestly foretold which *Christ* himself informed *Nicodemus*, As *Moses* lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the son of man be lifted up.

John 3. 14. The common phrase by which that death was expressed. In cruce tolli: Paul 1. 5. Sentent. Tit. 22, 23 & 25. As in the Chaldee קיפון, by origination elevatio, by use is particularly Crucifixio. Justin Martyr shows how the manner of the

The Paschal Lamb did plainly typifie that Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world; and the preparing of it did not only represent the Cross, but the Command or Ordinance of the Passover did foretel as much. For while 'tis said, ye shall not break a bone thereof, it was thereby intimated, that the Saviour of the world should suffer that death to which the breaking of the bones belonged, (and that, according to the constant Custom, was the punishment of Crucifixion;) but only in that death should by the providence of God be so particularly preserved, as that not one bone of his should be touched. And thus the Crucifixion of the *Messias* in several Types was represented.

roasting of the Paschal Lamb did represent the affixing of a man unto the Cross, and thereby was a Type of *Christ*. Τὸ κελῶδεν πρῶτον ἐπινοῦν ὅλον γίνεσθαι, τὸ πάθος τὸ σαυρὸς δι' ἃ πάθειν ἕμελλεν ὁ Χριστὸς σύμβολον ἡ τὸ γὰρ ὀπίωχμον πρῶτον, χαυματιζόμενον ὁμοίως τῷ χήματι τὸ σαυρὸς ὀπταται. Εἰς γὰρ ὀρθιος ὀβελίσκος διαπερνᾶται ἀπὸ ἢ καταὰ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν μέχει ἢ κεφαλῆς καὶ εἰς πάλιν καὶ τὸ μετάρθενον, ὃ προσαρτῶνται καὶ αἱ χεῖρες τὸ πρῶτον. Dial. cum Tryphone. To which *Arnoldus Carnorensis* alludeth: In veru Crucis boni-odoris affatio excoquat carnallium sensuum cruditatem De caena Domini, commonly attributed to *S. Cyprian*. Nor is this roasting of the Lamb any far-fetch'd figure of the Cross; for other roasting hath been thought a proper resemblance of it: where the body of the thing roasted hath limbs, as a Lamb, there it bears the similitude of a proper Cross, with an erect and transverse beam; where the roasted Body is only of length and uniform, as a Fish there the resemblance is of a straight and simple *sauros*. As it is represented by *Hesychius*: Σκόλοψιν ὡς ὀπίησιν τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν κατέργων ἀεὶ σκολόπιζον ὀπίησιν: ἔξυλον δὲ τὸ ῥάχως καὶ τὸ νότυ, καθάπερ τὸς ὀπίησιν ἰχθῦς ὅτι ὀβελίσκων. 3 Exod. 12. 46. + Although indeed it must be confessed, that the *Crurifragium* and the *Crucifixion* were two several punishments, and that they ordinarily made the Cross a lingring death: yet because the Law of *Moses* did not suffer the body of a man to hang upon a tree in the night, therefore the Romans so far to comply with the Jews, did break the bones of those whom they crucified in *Judæa* constantly, whereas in other Countries they did it but occasionally.

Nor was it only thus prefigured and involved in these Typical Resemblances, but also clearly spoken by the Prophets in their particular and express Predictions. Nor shall we need the accession of any lost or additional Pro-

Math. 26. 2.

John 19. 15.

Luc. 23. 24.

That the Souldiers did execute the Sentence of Death given by the Roman Magistrates in their Provinces, and not only in the Camp, is evident out of the Historians of that Nation.

* Mat. 27. 31.

* Sciendum est Romanis Pilatum legibus ministrasse, quibus iancitum est, ut qui crucifigatur prius verberetur. S.

Matth. 27. 27.

To which Lu-

cian alludes in his own condemnation: Έμοι μὲ ἀνεσκολοπίδης δοξαῖ αὐτῶν, νῆ Δία, μαστιγωθήσα γε πῶτερον. Lucian in Piscatore. Multi occisi, multi capti, alii verberati crucibus affixi. Liv. l. 34. And l. 28. Ad palum deligatus, lacerato virgis tergo, cervicem cruci Romanæ subijciam. So Curtius reports of Alexander, Omnes verberibus affectos sub ipsis radicibus Petrae crucibus iussit affigi, These were the Jews themselves used, who caused our Saviour to be scourged and crucified: μαστιγώμενος, ἡ ἀπελευθερωθήσεται τὸ θάνατον πῶσαν οὐκίαν, ἀνεσκούρωτο. Joseph. excid. l. 5. c. 32. ^b Matth. 27. 26. ^c John 19. 17. || This was observed both by the Jews and Romans that their capital punishments were inflicted without their Cities. And that particularly was observed in the punishment of Crucifixion. Plautus;

Credo ego isthuclo, extemp tibi

Esse eundum actutum extra urbem dispeffis manibus,

Patibulum cum habebis.

Tully, Cum Mamertini more atque instituto suo crucem fixissent post urbem in via Pompeia. * Thieves and Robbers were usually by the Romans punished with this death. Thus Cæsar used his Pirates, τὰς ληστὰς ἀπαντας ἀνεσκούρωσε. Plut. in Vit. Imperator Provinciae iussit Latrones crucibus affigi. Petron. Sat. Latronem istum, mitorum pignorum meorum peremptorem, cruci affigatis. Apuleius de Aur. Asin. l. 3. Latrocinium fecit aliquis, quid ergo meruit? ut suspendatur. Sen. Epist. 7. Where suspendi is as much as crucifigi, and is so to be understood in all Latin Authors which wrote before the days of Constantine. Famulos latrones, in his locis ubi grassati sunt, furcâ figendos compluribus placuit. Callist. l. 38. de panis. Where furca figendos is put for crucifigendos, being so altered by Tribonianus, who, because Constantine had taken away the punishment, took also the Name out of the Law. ^d John 20. 25, 27. || This was the peculiar Heresie of Basilides, a man so ancient, that he boasted to follow Glaucias as his Master, who was the Disciple of S. Peter. And Iræneus hath declared this particularity of his: Quapropter neque passum eum: & Simonem quendam Cyrenæum angariatum portasse crucem ejus pro eo; & hunc secundum ignorantiam & errorem crucifixum, transfiguratum ab eo, uti putaretur ipse esse Jesus; & ipsum autem Jesum Simonis accepisse formam, & stantem irrifisse eos. Adv. Har. l. 1. c. 23. And Tertullian, of the same Basilides: Hunc (Christum) passum à Judæis non esse, sed vice ipsius Simonem crucifixum esse: unde nec in eum credendum esse qui sit crucifixus, ne quis coniteatur in Simonem credidisse. De Præsc. adv. Har. c. 46. From these is the same delivered by Ipphanus, Har. 24. and by S. August. Har. 4.

It was therefore sufficiently adumbrated by Types, and promulgated by Prophecies, that the promised *Messias* was to be *crucified*. And it is as certain that our *Jesus*, the *Christ* whom we worship, and from whence we receive that Honour to be named *Christians*, was really and truly *crucified*. It was first the wicked Design of *Judas*, who betrayed him to that Death: it was the malicious Cry of the obdurate *Jews*: *Crucifie him, crucifie him*. He was actually *condemned* and *delivered* to that Death by *Pilate*, who gave sentence that it should be as they required: he was given into the Hands of the Souldiers, the Instruments commonly used in inflicting that Punishment, who ^a led him away to crucifie him. He under-went those previous Pains which customarily antecede that Suffering, as ^{*} Flagellation, and bearing of the *Cross*: for ^b *Pilate*, when he had scourged *Jesus*, delivered him to be crucified; ^c and he bearing his *Cross* went forth into *Golgotha*. They carried him forth out of the City, as by custom in that kind of Death they were wont to do; and there between two Malefactors, ^{*} usually by the *Romans* condemned to that Punishment, they crucified him. And that he was truly fastned to the *Cross*, appears by the satisfaction given to doubting *Thomas*, who said, ^d *Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, I will not believe*: and our Saviour said unto him, *Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands*: whereby he satisfied the Apostle, that he was the *Christ*, and us, that the *Christ* was truly crucified; against that fond || Heresie, which made *Simon* the *Cyrenian* not only bear the *Cross*, but endure *Crucifixion*, for our *Saviour*. We therefore infer this second Conclusion from the undoubted Testimonies of his Followers, and unfeigned Confessions of his Enemies, That our *Jesus* was certainly and truly crucified, and did really undergo those Sufferings, which were pre-typified and foretold, upon the *Cross*.

Being thus fully assured that the *Messias* was to be, and that our *Christ* was truly crucified; it thirdly concerns us to understand what was the nature of *Crucifixion*, what the Particularities of suffering which he endured on the *Cross*. Nor is this now so easily understood as once it was. For being a *Roman* Punishment, it was continued in that Empire while it remained *Heathen*: but when the Emperours themselves received *Christianity*, and the towering Eagles resigned the Flags unto the *Cross*, this Punishment was:

was || forbidden by the supreme Authority, out of a due respect and pious honour to the death of Christ. From whence it came to pass, that since it hath been disused universally for so many hundred years, it hath not been so rightly conceived as it was before, when the general practice of the world did so frequently represent it to the Christians eyes. Indeed if the word which is used to denote that punishment did sufficiently represent or express it, it were enough to say that Christ was crucified: but being the most usual or * original word doth not of it self declare the Figure of the Tree, or Manner of the Suffering; it will be necessary to represent it by such expressions as we find partly in the Evangelical relations, partly in such representations as are left us in those Authours whose eyes were daily witnesses of such Executions.

|| This is observed by S. Austin, Serm. 18 de Verbis Dom. Quia ipse honoratus erat fideles tuos in fine hujus seculi, prius honoravit crucem in seculo, ut terrarum principes credentes in eum prohiberent aliquem no-

centium crucifigi. And Tract. 36. in Job. speaking of this particular punishment; Modo in pœnis reorum non est apud Romanos: ubi enim Domini crux honorata est, putatum est quod & reus honoraretur si crucifigeretur. Whence appears, first that in the days of S. Austin. Crucifixion was disused: secondly, that it was prohibited by the secular Princes. But when it was first prohibited, or by whom, he sheweth not. It is therefore to be observed, that it was first forbidden by the first Christian Emperour, Constantine the Great. Sozomenus gives this relation; Ἀμέλει τοι πρῶτον νομοσυνέλιον Ῥωμαίοις τὸ τῆς σταυρῆς τιμωρίαν νόμον ἀπαλῆσαι & χρηστῶς ἡ δίκασθῆναι, l. 1. c. 8. * The Original word in the New Testament, for the tree on which our Saviour suffered is σταυρός, and the action or crucifixion σταύρωσις, the active σταύρω, and the passive σταυρῶμαι. Now σταυρός, from which the rest mentioned are manifestly derived, hath of it self originally no other signification than of a stake. As we find it first used by Homer. Ὀδυσ. ξ'.

Σταυρὸς δ' ἐκτὸς ἔλασσε διαμπερὲς ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,
Πυκνὸς καὶ θαμέας, τὸ μέλαν δρυὸς ἀμοικεῖστας. And Ἰλ. ω'.
Ἄμφι δ' οἱ μετὰλλω ἀλλῶ πείνησαν ἀνακτῆ
Σταυρῶσιν πυκνοῖσι

These are the same which Homer elsewhere calls σκόλοπις and the ancient Grammarians render each by other. As Eustachius; Σταυρῶσι, ὄρθρα καὶ ἀπὸ ξυμμετρῶν ξύλα· οἱ δ' αὖτε καὶ σκόλοπις λέγονται, ἀφ' ὧν τὸ ἀνασκολοπιζέσθαι, καὶ ἀνασταυρῆσθαι: so he, expounding σταυρός. And in the same manner expounding σκόλοπις λέγονται ἢ οἱ περὶ τοὺς σκόλοπις καὶ σταυρῶσι· ἐκ τῆς τῆς τῶν ἀνασκολοπιζέσθαι, καὶ ἀνασταυρῆσθαι. As when Homer describes the Phœacian walls, τείχεα μακρὰ, Ἰφίλα, σκολοπέσσιν ἀρηκτά, he gives this exposition: Σκόλοπις ἢ καὶ νῦν ξύλα ὄρθρα, οἱ καὶ σταυροί. In the same manner Hesychius; Σταυρῶσι, οἱ καταπιπτόντες σκόλοπις, χάρακις. And Σκόλοπις, ὄρθρα, (l. ὄρθρα) καὶ ὄρθρα ξύλα σταυρῶσι χάρακις. and again, Χάραξι, φεγγυμοῖς, ὄρθρα ξύλοις οἱ δ' ἀλάμοις, οἱ δ' ἀλάμοις, οἱ δ' ἀλάμοις. Besides they all agree in the same Etymology, ἀπὸ τῆς ἰσαδῆς, and therefore always take it for a straight standing stake, pale, or palisadoe. Thus κελέουλος in Antiphon are briefly rendred ὁ δὲ ξύλα· but more expressly thus by Etymologus, Κελεύουλος, κυρίως οἱ ἰσόποδες, καταχρηστικῶς ἢ καὶ τὰ καταπιπτόντα ξύλα, αἱ καὶ σταυρὸς καλεῖται. This is the undoubted signification of σταυρός, in vain denied by Salmasius, who will have it first to signifie the same with furca, and then with crux; first the figure of T, and then of Γ. Whereas all antiquity renders it no other than as a straight and sharp stake. In which signification it came at first to denote this punishment, the most simple and prime σταύρωσις or ἀνασκολοπίσις being upon a single piece of wood, a defixus & erectus stipes. And the Greeks which wrote the Roman history used the word σταυρός as well for their palus, as their crux. As when Antony beheaded Antiochus the King of the Jews, Dion thus begins to describe his execution: Ἀντίοχον ἰμασιζῶσα σταυρῶ πρὸς δέσιν, not that he crucified him, as Baronius mistakes; but that he put him to another death after the Roman custom, as those died in Livy, l. 28. Deligati ad palum, virgisque cæli, & securi percussi. So that σταυρῶ πρὸς δέσιν, is, ad palum deligare. Thus were the heads of men said ἀνασταυρῶσθαι, as of Niger and Albinus in Dio and Herodian; which cannot be meant but of a single palus: and we read in Ctesias how Amytis put Inarus to death, ἀνασταυρῶσα μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν σταυρῶσι not that he crucified him upon three crosses, but pierced his body with three stakes fastned in the ground, and sharpened at the upper end. As appears by the like Persian punishment inflicted by Parysatis on Melabates, delivered by Plutarch in Artaxerxe: πρὸς τὰ σταυρῶσι ἐκείνοι (ζῶντα, καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα πλάγιον διὰ τριῶν σταυρῶν ἀναπέσει, τὸ δὲ δέμα χεῖρας διαπαπλεῖσθαι. which the Latine Translator renders, in tres sustolli cruces, (a thing impossible;) whereas it was to be transversely fastned to three stakes piercing the body lying, and thrust down upon them; which in the Excerpta of Ctesias is delivered only in the word ἀνασταυρῶσθαι. σταυρός therefore is no more originally than σκόλοπος, a single stake, or an erect piece of wood, upon which many suffered who were said ἀνασταυρῶσθαι and ἀνασκολοπιζέσθαι. And when other transverse or prominent parts were added in a perfect cross, it retained still the original name, not only of σταυρός, but also of σκόλοπος as, ὠφείλεν εἰς ἐπίδειξιν δεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς σκόλοπος γὰρ ἐκείνου ἀφανῆς ἡμεῖσαι, &c. τὸν δὲ τῆς σκόλοπος αὐτῆς φωνῆν ὅτι ἀπέπνευ. Celsus apud Orig. l. 2. Thus in that long, or rather too long, verse written by Audax to S. Augustine, Epist. 139. Expectat quos plena fides Christi de stipite pendens.

The form then of the Cross on which our Saviour suffered was not a simple, but a compounded, Figure, according to the custom of the Romans, by whose Procurator he was condemned to die. In which there was not only a straight and erected piece of wood fixed in the earth, but also a * transverse Beam fastned unto that towards the top thereof: and beside these two

* That the Figure and parts of a Roman Cross,

such as that was on which our Saviour suffered, may be known, we must begin with the first composition in the frame or structure of it, and that is the conjunction of the two beams, the one erect, the other transverse; the first to which the body was applied, the second to which the hands were fastned. These two, as the chief parts of the Cross, are several ways expressed. First, by the Jews, who had no word in their language particularly to express that punishment (as being not mentioned in the Law or at all in use among them,) and therefore call it by a double name, expressing the conjunction of these beams τῶν. Ἰσθ, stamen & subtegmen, the warp and the woof. The Greeks express the same by the letter Ταῦ, as partly appears by what is already spoken of the number 300, and is yet more evident by the testimony of Lucian, who makes mankind complain of the letter Ταῦ, because Tyrants in imitation of that first made the Cross. Ταῦ γὰρ τέταρτον μέρος τῆς πλάσματος καὶ μιμησάμενος τὸ πλάσμα, ἐπειτα γήμασι πέντε ξύλα πλάσσει, ἀνδρῶν ἀνασκολοπιζέσθαι ἐπ' αὐτῆ. Jud. Vocal. Ipsa est enim litera Græcorum Tau, nostra autem T. species crucis.

crucis. Tertull. adv. Marc. l. 3. c. 22. S. Ferome affirms the same of the Samaritan Tau: but there is no similitude to be found in that which is now in use, or any other Oriental, only in the Coptick Alphabet Salebdi, that is, the cross Di. These two parts of the Cross are otherwise expressed by the Mast and Yard of a Ship. So Justin Martyr: Θαλασσω μὲ γὰρ ἔτέμενε, ἢν μὴ τὸ τοῦ τρέπαιον, ὃ καλεῖται ἰστὸν, ἐν τῇ νηὶ σῶων μόνον. And Tertullian. Antenna navis crucis pars est. And Minutius Felix: Signum sane Crucis naturaliter visimus in navi, cum velis tumentibus vehitur. And Max. Taurin. Cum à nautis scinditur mare, prius arbor erigitur, velum distenditur, ut cruce Domini facta aquarum fluentia rumpantur. Now because the extremities of the antenna are a kind of κέρατα, (as Virgil, that great Master of proprieties, Cornua velatarum obvertimus antennarum;) therefore in Greek κεραία is antenna: and from thence the Greek Fathers applied the words of our Saviour, Matt. 5. 18. Ἰῶτα ἐν ἡμῶν κεραία ἢ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων, ἕως ἂν πάντα ᾄδῃ, to the Cross of Christ; τὸ γὰρ σαυρὲ Ἰῶτα ὅτι τὸ ὄρθον ξύλον, καὶ κεραία τὸ πλάγιον. Because Ἰῶτα is like the straight piece or Mast of the Cross, and κεραία the Yard or transverse part; therefore some of the Ancients interpreted this place of the Cross, says Theophylact on the place. And Gregor. Nyssen. l. 2. de vita Mosis: Ἀλλοιῶς γὰρ παῖς καδορᾶν δυναμῶσις ἐν τῷ νόμῳ μάλιστὰ τὸ χεῖρ ἢ σαυρὸν θεωρεῖται μυστικῶς. Διδόνει πρὸς τὸ Ἐυαγγέλιον, ὅτι ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τὸ Ἰῶτα καὶ ἡ κεραία ἢ παρέρξετο σημαῖνον διὰ τῶν εἰρημῶν ἵπῃν τε ἐν πλάγι, γεγραμῶν, καὶ τῶν κέραιον, δι' ὧν τὸ χεῖμα τὸ σαυρὲ κατὰ γέφυρα. Not that this is the true interpretation of that place; (for κεραία signifies a part of a letter, as in Apollonius Syntax. l. 1. 7. τὸ [α] τῶν κεραιῶν ἀπὸ κέραιον) but by that they testify their apprehension of the figure of a Cross: which is well expressed by Eusebius describing the form of the Cross which appeared to Constantine, ἡ ἑλὸν δὲ χρυσοῦ κατὰ μίσητον κέραιον εἶχεν ἐγκύρσιον σαυρὲ χεῖμασι πεπενημῶν, de Vita Constant. l. 1. c. 31. And this similitude of the Mast and Yard leads to the consideration of that part of the erected Pale which was eminent above the transverse beam. For as the κεραιον was above the κεραία, so the stipes did extend it self above the patibulum. And this is evident by those expressions which make the two beams have four sides, and four extremities, as two lines cutting each other at equal angles needs must have. These Theophanes and Gregory Nyssen call τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς μέσης τέσσαρας περιβολάς. Damascen. τὰ τέσσαρα ἄκρα τῆς σαυρὲ διὰ τῆς μέσης κέντρα κεραιῶν καὶ συσφιζόμενα. Hence Nonnus calls the Cross δέντρον τετραπλόδον. And of these four parts the Fathers interpret the height, and breadth, and length, and depth, mentioned by S. Paul Eph. 3. As Gregory Nyssen: Ἐφεσίοις τῶν πᾶν διακρατῶσα: τε καὶ συνέχευαν δύναμιν τῶν ἡμῶν τῆς σαυρὲ κατὰ γέφυρα... ὡς καὶ βάλῃ καὶ πλάτῃ καὶ μήκῃ ἰσαλονομάζων ἐκάστην κεραιῶν ἢ τῶν χεῖρ τὸ χεῖμα τὸ σαυρὲ θεωρημῶν ἰδίῳις περιουροῦσαν ὀνόμασιν ὡς τὸ μὲν ἀνω μέρῃ ὡς εἰπεῖν, βάλῃ ἢ τὸ χεῖρ τῶν συμβολῶν ὑποκείμενον, τῶν ἑγκύρσιον καὶ ἐκάστην κεραιῶν τῶν τῆς μήκους τε καὶ πλάτους ὀνόμασι διασημαίων. Contra Eunom. Orat. 4. Ὁ ἴδον, Catech. Orat. c. 32. Ὁ ἰν Resur. Orat. 1. And S. Augustine makes the same interpretation: In hoc mysterio figura Crucis ostenditur: which he thus expresseth: Latitudo est in eo ligno quod transversum desuper figitur; ... longitudo in eo quod in ipso ligno usque ad terram conspicuum est; altitudo est in ea ligni parte quæ ab illo quod transversum figitur sursum versus relinquitur, hoc est, ad corpus crucifixi, &c. Epist. 120. Ὁ alibi scæpe. These four parts are severally expressed by the Ancients, and particularly by the figure of a man with his hands stretched forth; which is the most proper similitude, because the Cross was first made adapted to that figure. Quod caput emicat, quod ipsa dirigitur, quod humerorum obliquatio cornuat, si statueris hominem manibus expansis, imaginem Crucis feceris. Tertull. adv. Nat. l. 1. c. 12.

cutting each other transversely at right angles, (so that the erected part extended it self above the transverse) there was also another * piece of wood infixed into, and standing out from, that which was erected and straight up. To that erected piece was his Body, being lifted up, applied, as Moses's serpent to the pole; and to the transverse Beam his Hands were nailed: upon the lower part coming out from the erected piece his sacred Body rested, and his Feet were transfixed and fastned with nails: his Head, being pressed with a Crown of thorns, was applied to that part of the erect which stood above the transverse beam; and above his Head to that was fastned the † Table on which was written, in Hebrew, Greek, and Latine Characters, the Accusation, according to the Roman custom: and the writing was, JESUS OF NAZARETH, THE KING OF THE JEWS.

* Beside the direct and transverse part of the Cross, with their four extremities, which only usually are considered, and represented in the figures, we must find yet another part, and a fifth extremity. Ire-

naeus giving several examples of the number 5, delivers it plainly thus, l. 2. c. 42. Ipse habitus Crucis fines & summitates habet quinq;, duos in longitudine, & unum in medio, ubi requiescit qui clavis affigitur. Beside therefore the four extremities of the direct and transverse beams, there was a fifth ἄκρον in medio, (viz. of the erected palus) on which the crucified body rested, This fifth part of the Cross fastned to the arrectarius stipes was before Irenæus acknowledged and described by Just. Martyr under the notion of the horn of the Rhinoceros, taken to be a figure or type of the Cross. Μονοκέφαλον γὰρ κεραιῶν ἕθενος ἄλλης περιουροῦσαν ἢ χεῖμα ἢ ἔχει ἀντὶ εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀποδείξαι, εἰ μὴ τὰ τύπε ὅς τ' σταυρὸν δεικνυσιν ὄρθιον γὰρ τὸ ἐν ὄρθι ξύλον, ἀφ' ἧς ὅτι τὸ ἀνώτατον μέρῃ εἰς κέραιον ὑπερημῶν, ὅταν τὸ ἄλλο ξύλον περιουροῦσθῃ, καὶ ἐκατέρωθεν ὡς κεραιῶν πρὸς ἐνὶ κεραιῶν παρεξέμενα τὰ ἄκρα φαίνῃ) καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ πηλὺ μόνον ὡς κέραιον καὶ αὐτὸ ἔξέχον ὄν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐποχῆν) οἱ σταυρούμενοι καὶ ἐλάπε) ὡς κέραιον καὶ αὐτὸ ἐν ἄλλοις κέραισι συνεχηματισμῶν καὶ πεπημῶν. Dial. cum Tryphone. Where beside the ὄρθιον ξύλον, or arrectarius stipes, and the ἄλλο ξύλον, or transversarium lignum, there is a third, τὸ ἐν μέσῳ πηλὺ μόνον, fastned in the middle; ἐφ' ᾧ ἐποχῆν) οἱ σταυρούμενοι, says he; ubi requiescit qui clavis affigitur, says Irenæus. So Tertullian, l. 1. adv. Nationes c. 12. Pars Crucis, & quidem major, est omne robur quod directa statione defigitur. Sed nobis tota Crux imputatur, cum antenna scilicet sua, & illo sedilis excessu. Where the excessus is the τὸ ἔξέχον, signifying the nature, as the sedile signifieth the use of the part. Which in another place, in imitation of Justinus, he refers unto the Typical Unicorn: Nam & in antenna navis, quæ crucis pars est, extremitates cornua vocantur: Unicornis autem medio stipite palus. Adv. Marcion. l. 3. c. 18 Ὁ adv. Jud. c. 10. To this sedile in the Cross Macenas seemeth to allude in those words in Seneca; Hanc mihi vel acuta subsidem cruce sustine. And Seneca himself does expound him; Suffigas licet, & acutam fessuro crucem subdas, est tanti vulnus suum premere, & patibulo pendere districtum. Epist. 101 Of this Innocentius the first also speaks Serm. 1. de uno Mart. Fuerunt in Cruce Dominica ligna quatuor; stipes erectus, & lignum transversum, truncus suppositus, & titulus superpositus. This Gregorius Turonensis, after the use of the Cross was long omitted, interpreted of suppedaneum, a piece of wood fastned under the feet of him that suffered, De glo. Mart. c. 6 Clavorum ergo Dominicorum gratia, quod quatuor fuerint, hæc est ratio. Duo sunt affixi in palmis, & duo in plantis; & queritur cur plantæ affixæ sint, quæ in cruce sancta dependere visæ sunt potius quam stare. Sed in stipite erecto foramen factum manifestum est. Pes quoque parvulæ tabellæ in hoc foramen infertus est. Super hanc vero tabulam tanquam stantis hominis sacræ affixæ sunt.

sunt plantæ. † That which was written over the head of our Saviour is called simply by S. Luke ὀπίγραφῆ, by S. Matthew αἰτία, by S. Mark ἡ ὀπίγραφῆ τῆ αἰτίας, and by S. John τίτλῳ, making use of a Latine word, as is observed by Nonnus; Καὶ Πιλάτῳ συντόν ἐπίγραφῆς μίστυρι γέγραμμεν, τὸ περ χαλκοῖσι Λατινῶσι τίτλον ἰωῆ, From all which we may collect, that there was an Inscription written over the head of our Saviour, signifying the Accusation and pretended Crime for which he was condemned to that death. Gloss. Vet. Αἰτία, causa, materia, titulus. As Ovid. Trist. 3. Eleg. 1.

Causa superpositæ scripto testata coronæ; Servatos cives indicat hujus ope :

that is, OB CIVES SERVATOS was ἡ ὀπίγραφῆ τῆ αἰτίας, causâ scripto testata. In the language of Suetonius, Titulus, qui causam pœnæ indicavit. As Ovid. Fast. 6.

Vixit ut occideret damnatus crimine regni : Hunc illi titulum longa senectâ dabat.

This was done according to the Roman custom ; as we read in Dio, l. 54. of the son of Cæpio, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο τὸ περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν διατεταμένον μέσον μὲν γεγραμμάτων, τὸ δὲ αἰτίαν τῆ δασιμίας ἀπὲρ δηλούντων, διαγραφόντων, καὶ μὲν ταῦτα ἀνασυνεράσαντων. This title was written upon a Table, and that Table fastned to the upper part of the Cross. The Syriack, Arabick and Persian Translations render τίτλον expressly a Table. And Hesychius, Τίτλῳ, πύλον ἐπίγραφῆς ἔχον, (not ἔχων as it is printed) not the Inscription it self, but that upon which the Inscription was writton. Thus the Epistle of the French unto the Christians in Asia represents the Inscription of the Martyr Attalus in a Table : ἡρωαχθεῖς κύκλω τὸ ἀμφιδέατρον, πύλον αὐτὸν περὶ τὸν πύλον, ἐν ᾧ ἐπεγράφη ὁ Ῥωμαῖσι, Ὁυτὸς ὄντι Ἀττάλῳ ὁ Χριστιανός. Euseb. l. 5. c. 1 And Sozomen, describing the invention of the Cross by Helena, says there were three several Crosses in the same place : καὶ ἕως ἄλλο ξύλον ἐν μεσῶ λώκωμῳ Ῥήμασι καὶ γεγραμῶσιν Ἑβραϊκοῖς, Ἑλληνικοῖς τε καὶ Ῥωμαῖκοῖς. This Nicephorus calls λώκωμῳ σανίδα, which is the proper interpretation of λώκωμῳ. Suidas, Λώκωμῳ, τίτλῳ (Etymol. πύλαξ) γύψῳ ἀλιπεμυθῶ περὶ γεγραμῶ πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων ὀπιτήδειῳ. Hesych. Σανὶς, δύρα, λώκωμῳ, (as Julius Pollux joins σανὶς and λώκωμῳ together,) ἐν ᾧ αἱ γεγραμῶ Ἀθήνησιν ἐγεγράφοντο περὶ τὸς κακέργους πύλαι ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῦρα, leg. σαυρῆ His meaning is, that such a λώκωμῳ as contained the accusation or crime of malefactors was placed upon the Cross on which they suffered, and without question he spake this in reference to our Saviour's Cross, because he used in a manner the same words with S. John. τί δέσται ἐπὶ τῶ σαυρῆ, says Hesych. ἔθηκεν ἐπὶ τῶ σαυρῆ, saith S. John. It was therefore a Table of wood whited and fastned to the top of the Cross, on which the Accusation or Crime was written, as it is expressed by Nicephorus : Σανὶς λώκῆ ἢ βασιλέα ἢ Ἰουδαίων γεγραμῶ ὁ Πιλάτῳ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἐπίδει, ἐν εἶδει σήλης βασιλέα ἢ Ἰουδαίων τῆ σαυρωθέντα κηρύττων. Hist. Eccl. l. 8. 29. And thus there were, as Xanthopulus observes, Ὁ σαυρῆς, ἦλοι, καὶ γραφῆς τίτλῳ ἀνω.

Thus by the propriety of the Punishment, and the titular Inscription, we know what Crime was then objected to the immaculate Lamb, and upon what Accusation Pilate did at last proceed to pass the Sentence of death upon him. It was not any opposition to the Law of Moses, not any danger threatened to the Temple, but pretended Sedition and affectation of the Crown objected, which moved Pilate to condemn him. The Jews did thus accuse him; We found this fellow perverting the Nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, saying that he himself is Christ a King. And when Pilate sought to release him, they cried out, saying, If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend: whosoever maketh himself a King speaketh against Cæsar. This moved Pilate to pass sentence upon him, and, because that punishment of the Cross was by the Roman custom used for that crime, to crucifie him.

Luke 23. 2.

John 19. 12.

Two things are most observable in this Cross; the Acerbity, and the Ignominy of the punishment: for of all the Roman ways of Execution it was most painful, and most shameful. First, the exquisite Pains and Torments in that death are manifest, in that the Hands and Feet, which of all the parts of the body are most nervous, and consequently most sensible, were pierced through with Nails; which caused, not a sudden dispatch, but a lingring and tormenting death. Insomuch that the Romans, who most used this punishment, did in their language deduce their expressions of pains and cruciation from the Cross. And the Acerbity of this punishment appears, in that those who were of any merciful disposition would first cause such as were adjudged to the Cross to be slain, and then to be crucified.

|| Auctores feditiois aut tumultus, pro qualitatit dignitate, aut in cruce tolluntur, aut bestis obijciuntur. Paulus l. 5. tit. 22. * Illa morte pejus nihil fuit inter omnia genera mortium. S. Aug. in Joan. Tract.

36. Tully calls it crudelissimum teterrimumq; supplicium; and Ausonius, pœnæ extremum. † Ubi dolores acerrimi excitant, cruciatus vocatur, à cruce nominatus: pendentes enim in ligno crucifixi, clavis ad lignum pedibus manibulq; confixi, producta morte necabantur. Non enim crucifigi hoc erat occidi, sed diu vivebatur in Cruce: non quia longior vita eligebatur, sed quia mors ipsa protendebatur, ne dolor citius finiretur. S. Aug. Tract. in Joan. 36. To this Etymology did Terence allude in those words, & illis crucibus, quæ nos nostramq; adolescentiam habent despiciatui, & quæ nos semper omnibus cruciant modis, || As it was observed of Julius Cæsar: Piratus à quibus captus est, cum in ditionem redigisset, quoniam suffixurum se cruci ante juraverat, jugulari prius jussit, deinde suffigi. Suet. l. 1.

As this Death was most dolorous and full of acerbity, so was it also most infamous and full of Ignominy. The Romans themselves accounted it a servile

¶ *Vulcatius Gallicanus* relateth of *Avidius Cassius*, in the Case of some Centurions which had been prosperous, that in fighting without Orders given *Rapi eos iussit*, & in *crucem tolli*, *servilique supplicio affici*: quod exemplum non exstabat. And *Juvenal* speaks with relation to this custom, *Pone crucem servo*. So *Plautus*

|| servile punishment, and inflicted it upon their Slaves and Fugitives. It was a high crime to put that dishonour upon any Free-man; and the greatest indignity which the most undeserving * *Roman* could possibly suffer in himself, or could be contrived to shew their detestation to such creatures as were below † humane nature. And because when a man is beyond possibility of suffering pain, he may still be subject to ignominy in his fame; when by other exquisite torments some men have tasted the bitterness of death, after that, they have in their || breathless corps by virtue of this punishment suffered a kind of surviving shame. And the exposing the bodies of the dead to the view of the people on the Cross hath been thought a * sufficient ignominy to those which died, and terrour to those which lived to see it. Yea, where the bodies of the dead have been out of the reach of their surviving enemies, they have thought it highly opprobrious to their ghosts, to take their representations preserved in their † Pictures, and affix them to the Cross. Thus may we be made sensible of the two grand aggravations of our Saviour's Sufferings, the bitterness of Pain in the torments of his body, and the indignity of Shame in the interpretation of his enemies.

Plautus; Nisi quidem illa nos volt, qui servi sumus, propter suum amorem omnes crucibus contubernalis dari. And again: Noli minitari; scio crucem futuram mihi sepulchrum. Ibi majores mei siti sunt, pater, avus, proavus, abavus. So in *Terence*, *Pam.* Quid meritis es? *Da.* Crucem: and *Horace*, Si quis eum servum patinam qui tollere iussus, Semelos pitces tepidumque ligurrierit jus, In cruce suffigat. So *Capitolinus* of *Pertinax*, in crucem sublatis talibus servis; and *Herodian* of *Macrinus*, ἄλλοι ὅσοι δεσπόζας κατηγγελλον ἀνεσκολοπίθησαν. This punishment of the Cross did so properly belong to the Slaves, that when Servants and Free men were involved alike in the same crime, they were very careful to make a distinction in their death, according to their condition: Ut quisq; liber aut servus, suæ fortunæ à quoque sumptum supplicium est. *Liv.* l. 3. And then the Servants were always crucified. As *Servius* observes among the *Lacedæmonians*; Servos patibulis suffixerunt, filios strangulavere, nepotes fugaverunt. *Æneid.* 3. Novercæ quidem perpetuum indicitur exilium, servus vero patibulo suffigitur. *Apul. Metam.* l. 10. Thus in the combustion at Rome, upon the death of *Julius Cæsar*; Ἄριστομφοροι ἀγνήθησαν ἔνιοι, καὶ συλλυφθέντες ἔπεροι ἐκρεμάθησαν ὅσοι δεσποπόνητες ἦσαν, οἱ ὃ ἐλάδ' ἔτεροι καὶ τὰ κρημνὶ κατεβίβησαν. *Appian. de Bell. civil.* l. 3. Ea nocte speculatores prehensi servi tres, & unus ex legione vernacula: servi sunt in crucem sublatis, militi cervices abscissæ. *Hirtius l. de Bell. Hispan.* So *Africanus*: Gravius in Romanos quam in Latinos transtugis animadvertit: illos enim, tanquam patriæ fugitivos, crucibus affixit; hos, tanquam perfidos locios, securi percussit. *Valer. Max.* l. 2. This punishment of the Cross was so proper unto Servants, that servile supplicium in the language of the Romans signifies the same: and though in the words of *Vulcatius* before cited they go both together, as also in *Capitolinus*, Nam & in crucem milites tulit, & servilibus suppliciis semper affecit; yet either is sufficient to express Crucifixion: as in *Tacitus*, malam potentiam servili supplicio expiavit, *Hist.* 4. and again, Sumptum de eo supplicium in servilem modum, *Hist.* 2. And therefore when any servants were made free, they were put out of fear, of ever suffering this punishment. An vero servos nostros horum suppliciorum omnium metu dominorum benignitas una vindicta liberavit; vos à verberibus, ab unco, crucis denique terrore, neque res gestæ, neque acta ætas, neque nostri honores vindicabunt? *Cic. Orat. pro Rabir.* * Carnifex, & obductio capitis, & nomen ipsum Crucis absit, non modo à corpore civium Romanorum, sed etiam à cogitatione, oculis, auribus. Harum enim omnium rerum non solum eventus atque perperio, sed etiam conditio, expectatio, mentio denique, indigna cive Romano atque homine libero est. *Cic. Orat. pro Rabir.* Facinus est vincire civem Romanum, scelus verberare, parricidium necare: quid dicam in crucem tollere, crudelissimum teterrimumque supplicium? verbo satis digno tam nefaria res appellari nullo modo potest. *Idem* 5. in *Verrem.* † As when the Capitol was betrayed by the silence of Dogs, but preserved by the noise of Geese, they preserved the memory by a solemn honouring of the one yearly, and dishonouring the other. Eadem de causa supplicia annua canes pendunt, inter ædem Junonis & Summani vivi in furca sambucea arbore fixi. *Plin.* l. 9. c. 4. Πομπωδὴ μέγχι νῦν ἐπὶ μνήμῃ ἦν τότε συμπρωμάτων ἢ πύχῃ, κίων μὲ ἀνεσαυρωμῶσθ, χὴν ὃ μάλᾳ ἐπὶ σ. ωμνῆς πολυτελῆς καὶ φορεῖα καθάρωσθ. *Plutarch, de Fort. Rom.* || As *Orates* the Persian, when he had treacherously and cruelly murdered *Polycrates* the Tyrant of *Samos*, ἀποκτείνας δὲ μιν ἄκ' ἀξίως ἀπηγύησθ ἀνεσαύωσθ. *Herod.* l. 3. So *Antiochus* first cut off the head of *Achæus*, and then fastned his body to a Cross. Ἐδοξε ὡρθῶν μὲ ἀκρωθνεῖσθαι τὴν παλαιπρωρον, καὶ ὃ τῶν τε τῶν κεφαλῶν ἀπτεμῶντας αὐτῆ καὶ κατὰ βίβλῃς εἰς ὄνειον ἀσπῶν, ἀνεσαυρῶσθαι τὸ σῶμα * This was the design of *Tarquinius Priscus*, when the extremity of labour which he laid upon his subjects made many lay violent hands upon themselves; Passum conscita nece Quiritibus tædium fugientibus, novum & incogitatum antea posteaque remedium invenit ille Rex, ut omnium ita defunctorum figeret crucibus corpora, spectanda civibus simul, & feris volucribusque laceranda. *Plin.* l. 36. 15. who makes this handsom observation of it: Quamobrem pudor Romani nominis proprius, qui sæpe res perditas servavit in præliis, tunc quoque subvenit: sed illo tempore imposuit, tum erubescens cum puderet vivos, tanquam puditorum esset extinctos. † Thus they used *Celsus*, one of the 30 Tyrants of Rome, as *Trebellius Pollio* testifieth: Novo injuriæ genere imago in crucem sublata, perlultante vulgo, quasi patibulo ipse *Celsus* videretur affixus.

It is necessary we should thus profess Faith in *Christ Crucified*, as that punishment which he chose to undergo, as that way which he was pleased to die. First, because by this kind of death we may be assured that he hath taken upon himself, and consequently from us, the malediction of the Law. For we were all under the Curse; because it is expressly written, *Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the Law*

Deut. 27. 26.
Gal. 3. 10.

Law

our crucified Saviour, *blotted out the hand-writing of Ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to his Cross.*

Thirdly, hereby we are to testify the Power of the Death of Christ working in us after the manner of crucifixion. For we are to be a *planted in the likeness of his death*; and that we may be so, we must acknowledge, and cause it to appear, that *our old man was crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed*: we must confess, that *they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts*, and they which have not are not his. We must not *glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ*: nor can we properly glory in that, except *by it the world be crucified unto us, and we unto the world.*

|| Ἐνόησα γὰρ ὑμᾶς κατ' ἑπομένους ἐν ἀκινήτῳ πνεύματι, ὡς ἄνθρωποι καὶ δουλωμένους ἐν τοῖς σαυροῦ τῶν κρεῖσσιν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ σαρκί τε καὶ πνεύματι. Ign. Epist. ad Smyr.

S. Augustine speaking of the Church; Mundatur ut non habeat maculam, extenditur ut non habeat rugam: Ubi eam extendit fullo nisi in ligno? Videmus quotidie à fullonibus tunicas quodammodo crucifigi. Crucifiguntur ut rugam non habeant. Psalm. 132. Ἀναφερόμενοι εἰς τὰ ὕψη διὰ τῆς μηχανῆς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃ ὄντι σαυροῦς, ἁγνίῳ ἁλώμενοι τῷ πνεύματι: πῶς ἀγίῳ. Ign. Epist. ad Eph. ^a Rom. 6. 5, 6. ^b Gal. 5. 24. ^c Gal. 6. 14.

* Mori voluit pro nobis, parum dicimus; crucifigi dignatus est; ut que ad mortem Crucis obediens factus, elegit extremum & pessimum genus mortis, qui omnem fuerat ablaturus mortem: de morte pessima occidit omnem mortem. S. Aug. Tract. 36. in Joan.

Fourthly, by the Acerbity of this Passion we are taught to meditate on that bitter Cup which our Saviour drank: and while we think on those Nails which pierced his hands and feet, and never left that torturing activity till by their dolorous Impressions they forced a most painful Death, to acknowledge the bitterness of his Sufferings for us, and to assure our selves that by the worst of Deaths he hath overcome all kinds of Death; and with patience and chearfulness to endure whatsoever he shall think fit to lay upon us, who with all readiness and desire suffered far more for us.

Phil. 2. 7, 8. * Humilitatis enim magister est Christus, qui humiliavit seipsum, factus obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis. S. Aug. in Jo. Tract. 51. ^a Heb. 12. 2. ^b Heb. 6. 6. * Jos. de Bell. Jud. 6. c. 28. Προσήλυν δ' οἱ στρατιῶται δι' ὄργην καὶ μῖσθον τὰς ἀλόνας ἄλλον ἄλλῳ ἁγνίῳ πρὸς χλδύω καὶ διὰ τὸ πλεῖστον χάραιε ἐνελείπετο τῆς σαυροῦς, καὶ σαυροὶ τοῖς σώμασιν.

Fifthly, by the Ignominy of this Punishment, and universal Infamy of that Death, we are taught how far our Saviour descended for us, that while we were Slaves and in Bondage unto Sin, he might redeem us by a servile Death: for *He made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant; and so He humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross*: teaching us the glorious Doctrine of *Humility and Patience* in the most vile and abject condition which can befall us in this World; and encouraging us to imitate him, *Who for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame*; and withal deterring us from that fearful sin of falling from him, lest we should *crucifie unto our selves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame*, and so become worse than the Jews themselves who crucified the Lord of life without the Walls of Jerusalem, and for that unparalleled sin were delivered into the hands of the Romans, into whose hands they delivered him, and at the same Walls in such multitudes were crucified, *till there wanted room for Crosses, and Crosses for their Bodies.*

Lastly, by the publick visibility of this Death, we are assured that our Saviour was truly dead, and that all his Enemies were fully satisfied. He was crucified in the sight of all the Jews, who were made publick Witnesses that he gave up the ghost. There were many Traditions among the Heathen, of persons supposed for some time to be dead, to descend into Hell, and afterwards to live again; but the death of these persons was never publickly seen or certainly known. It is easie for a man that liveth to say that he hath been dead; and, if he be of great Authority, it is not difficult to perswade some credulous

dulous persons to believe it. But that which would make his present life truly miraculous must be the reality and certainty of his former death. The feigned Histories of *Pythagoras* and *Zamolxis*, of *Theseus* and *Hercules*, of *Orpheus* and *Protesilaus*, made no certain mention of their deaths, and therefore were ridiculous in the assertion of their resurrection from death. * *Christ*, as he appeared to certain witnesses after his Resurrection, so he died before his enemies visibly on the Cross, and gave up the Ghost conspicuously in the sight of the world.

* This is manifestly observed and expressed by *Origen* who returned this answer to the objection made

by the Jew in *Celsus*, of those fabulous returns from the dead: *ἦν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὁμοιωθεὶς τοῖς ἀποβιώσασιν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ καὶ τῷ ἔσθαι ἰσχυροτέρως ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγρηγόρει, τῆς περὶ παραβάλλεσθαι. Ἐκαστος μὲν γὰρ τῶν λεγομένων καὶ τῶν τῶν ἰσχυρῶν βλαπτικῶν ἐν ἐστέρῳ ἐσπυρῶν ὑπεκαλέσθη τὸ ὕψους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πάλιν κείνους ἐπανελθεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καταλέλοιπεν Ἰησοῦς ὅτι σαυροῦσθαι ὅτι πάντων Ἰουδαίων, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν ὅτι σωματικῶς ἐν ὄψει τῶν ἰσχυρῶν ἀνθρώπων, πῶς οἰοῦνται παραπλήσιον πλάσσειν λέγειν αὐτὸν πῶς ἰσχυροτέρως ἦσαν εἰς ἄλλα κατὰ βλαπτικῶν, κακείθεν ἀνεληλυθέναι; ἀλλὰ ὅτι μὴ πιστεύειτε πρὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ἰσχυρίας, τὸ ἐσαυροῦσθαι τὸ Ἰησοῦν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, μάλιστα δὲ τὰ πρὸς τῶν ἰσχυρῶν ἰσχυροτέρως. τὸ εἰς ὅλα κατὰ βλαπτικῶν βλαπτικῶν. ὅτι εἰ καὶ ἰσχυροτέρως ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐτεθνήκει ἀσπίμῳ θανάτῳ, ἔχων ὅτι ἐπὶ ἀποθανόντων ὅτι τὸ ἰσχυρῶν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, εἴτε μὲν τὸ ἀληθῶς ἢ ἀναστὰς ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἄλλοις ἔχον ὅτι τὸ ἰσχυροτέρως πρὸς τῶν ἰσχυρῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἰσχυροτέρως μὴ πῶς ἐν πρὸς ἄλλοις ἀπὸ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἰσχυροτέρως πρὸς τῶν ἰσχυρῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἰσχυροτέρως ὅτι τὸ ἰσχυρῶν ἰσχυροτέρως, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἔχη λέγειν ὅτι ἐκάν ὑπεξέστη τὸ ὕψους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἐδόξεν ὅτι τῶν ἰσχυρῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἰσχυροτέρως, ὅτι ἐβελήθη πάλιν ἐπιφανεῖς ἐτεθνήκεισθε τῶν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν. *Adv. Celsum* l. 2.*

And now we have made this discovery of the true manner and nature of the cross on which our Saviour suffered, every one may understand what it is he professeth when he declareth his faith, and saith, I believe in *Christ crucified*. For thereby he is understood and obliged to speak thus much: I am really persuaded, and fully satisfied, that the only-begotten and eternal son of God, *Christ Jesus*, that he might cancel the hand-writing which was against us, and take off the curse which was due unto us, did take upon him the form of a servant, and in that form did willingly and cheerfully submit himself unto the false accusation of the *Jews*, and unjust sentence of *Pilate*, by which he was condemned, according to the *Roman* custom, to the Cross; and upon that did suffer servile punishment of the greatest acerbity, enduring the pain, and of the greatest ignominy, despising the shame. And thus I believe in *Christ crucified*.

D E A D.

Though Crucifixion of it self involveth not in it certain Death, and the which is fastned to a Cross is so leisurely to die, as that he being taken from the same may live; though when the insulting *Jews* in a malicious derision called to our Saviour to *save himself*, and *come down from the Cross*; he might have come down from thence, and in saving himself have never saved us: yet it is certain that he felt the extremity of that punishment, and fulfilled the utmost intention of Crucifixion: so that, as we acknowledge him *crucified*, we believe him *dead*.

For the Illustration of which part of the Article, it will be necessary, First, to shew that the *Messias* was to die; that no Sufferings, howsoever shameful and painful, were sufficiently satisfactory to the determination and predictions Divine, without a full dissolution and proper death: Secondly, to prove that our *Jesus*, whom we believe to be the true *Messias*, did not only suffer Torments intolerable and inexpressible in this life, but upon and by the same did finish this life by a true and proper Death: Thirdly, to declare in what the nature and condition of the Death of a person so totally singular did properly and peculiarly consist. And more than this cannot be necessary to shew we believe that *Christ was dead*.

First then, we must consider what *S. Paul* delivered to the *Corinthians* first *1 Cor. 15. 2.*
E e of

of all, and what also he received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; that the *Messias* was the *Lamb slain before the foundations of the world*, and that his death was severally represented and fore told. For though the sacrificing *Isaac* hath been acknowledged an express and lively Type of the promised *Messias*; though, after he was bound and laid upon the wood, he was preserved from the fire, and rescued from the religious cruelty of his Father's knife; though *Abraham* be said to have offered up his only-begotten Son, when *Isaac* died not; though by all this it might seem foretold that the true and great promised seed, the Christ, should be made a sacrifice for sin, should be fastened to the Cross, and offered up to the Father, but not suffer death: yet being without effusion of blood there is no remission, without death no sacrifice for sin; being the saving of *Isaac* alive doth not deny the death of the Antitype, but rather suppose and assert it, as presignifying his Resurrection from the dead, from whence *Abraham* received him in a figure; we may safely affirm the ancient and legal Types did represent a Christ which was to die. It was an essential part of the Paschal Law, that the Lamb should be slain: and in the Sacrifices for sin, which presignified a Saviour to sanctify the people with his own blood, the bodies of the beasts were burnt without the camp, and their blood brought into the sanctuary.

Nor did the Types only require, but the Prophecies also foretell, his Death. For he was brought, saith *Isaiab*, as a *Lamb to the slaughter*: he was cut off out of the land of the living, saith the same Prophet; and made his soul an offering for sin. Which are so plain and evident predictions, that the * Jews shew not the least appearance of probability in their evasions.

* That this place of *Isaiab* must be under-

stood of the *Messias*, I have already proved against the Jews out of the Text, and their own Traditions. Their objection particularly to these words is, that the land of the living is the land of Canaan. S. Solomon *Jarchi*, כהארץ חיים היא ארץ ישראל, From the land of the living, that is, the land of Israel. and *D. Kimchi* endeavors to prove that exposition out of *David*, כי ננוח מארץ חיים כאשר גלה מארץ שנקראת ארץ חיים כמו אהלה לפניה בארץ החיים: as if the land of the living must be the land of Canaan, because *David* professeth he will walk before the Lord in the land of the living; whereas there is no more in that phrase than that he will serve God while he liveth. As *Psal.* 27. 13. I had fainted unless I had believed to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living; and *Isa.* 38. 11. I said, I shall not see the Lord, even the Lord in the land of the living; which is sufficiently interpreted by the words which follow. I shall behold man no more with the inhabitants of the world. The land of the living then was not particularly the land of Canaan: nor can they persuade us that it could not refer to Christ, because he was never removed out of that land: but to be cut off out of the land of the living is, certainly, to be taken away from them which live upon the earth, that is, to die.

Being then the obstinate Jews themselves acknowledge one *Messias* was to die, and that a violent death; being we have already proved there is but one *Messias* foretold by the Prophets, and shewed by those places which they will not acknowledge that he was to be slain: it followeth by their unwilling confessions and our plain probations, that the promised *Messias* was ordained to die: which is our first Assertion.

Secondly, we affirm, correspondently to these Types and Prophecies, that Christ our Pasover is slain, that he whom we believe to be the true and only *Messias* did really and truly die. Which affirmation we may with confidence maintain, as being secure of any even the least denial. *Jesus* of *Nazareth* upon his Crucifixion was so surely, so certainly dead, that they which wished, they which thirsted for his blood, they which obtained, which effected, which extorted his death, even they believed it, even they were satisfied with it: the chief Priests, the Scribes and the Pharisees, the Publicans and sinners, all were satisfied; the Sadducees most of all, who hugged their old opinion, and loved their error the Letter, because they thought him sure for ever rising up. But if they had denied or doubted of it, the very stones would cry out and confirm it. Why did the Sun put on mourning? why were the graves opened, but for a Funeral? Why did the Earth quake? why were the rocks rent? why did the frame of Nature shake, but because the

So Tertullian: Opus autem mortis in medio est, discretio corporis animæq; *De Anim. c. 51.* Si mors non aliud determinatur quam disjunctio corporis animæq;, contrarium morti vita non aliud definietur quam conjunctio corporis animæq; *ib. c. 27.* This description of Death is far more philosophical than the notion of Aristotle, who makes it to consist in the corruption of natural heat; (*Ἡνεργον πύρω ἀμα τό, τε ζῆν ὑπάρχειν καὶ ἢ τὸ δευτεῖ φυσικῆ σωτηρίαν, καὶ τὸν κατὰ φύσιν δα ἀπὸ τῆς τῆν τέτυ φθορῆν.* in *Parv. Natur.* in as much as the Soul is not that natural heat, and the corruption of the heat followeth upon the separation of the Soul

Nor is this only our conception, or a doubtful truth; but we are as much assured of the propriety of his death, as of the death it self. For that the unspotted Soul of our Jesus was really and actually separated from his Body, that his Flesh was bereft of natural life by the secession of that Soul, appeareth by his own resignation, *Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit;* and by the Evangelists expression, *and having said thus, he gave up the ghost.* When he was to die, he resigned his Soul; when he gave it up, he died; || when it was delivered out of the body, then was the body dead: and so the eternal Son of God upon the Cross did properly and truly die.

Luke 23. 46.

* This is expressed three ways, all signifying the separation of his Soul from his

body. S. Mark and S. Luke *ἤνεκεν*, which is of the same force with *ἤνεκεν*. But because *ἐκλύθειν* doth not always signify an absolute expiration, but sometimes a lipothymie only: as Helychius, *Ἐκλύθειν, λειποθυμῆσαι* so Hippocrates useth it, *Ἐπὶ τῷ ὄνυκτι (καρδί) ὅστις ἢ ἐκλύθειν δὲ π ὠρελῆται, l. 1. de Morbis;* and again, *Ἐκλύθειν ἢ διὰ τὸ αἷμα* ἢ *μετάστασιν ἕσπινος γινόμενῳ* lest therefore we should take *ἤνεκεν* in such an imperfect sense, S. Matthew hath it *ἔδωκε τὸ πνεῦμα,* and S. John, *παρέδωκε τὸ πνεῦμα.* Which is a full expression of the secession of the Soul from the body, and consequently of death, which is in the language of Secundus, *πνέμα ἀπόστασις.* || These three points or distinctions of time I have therefore noted that I might occur to any objection which possibly might arise out of the ancient Philosophical subtilty, which Aulus Gellius reports to be agitated at the Table of Taurus. The Question was propounded thus, *Quæsitum est, quando moriens moreretur, cum jam in morte esset, an tum etiam cum in vita foret.* Where Taurus admonisheth the rest, that this was no light question; for, says he, *gravissimi Philosophorum super hac re serio quæsierunt; & alii moriendi verbum atque momentum manente adhuc vitâ dici atque fieri putaverunt; alii nihil in illo tempore vitæ reliquerunt, totumq; illud quod mori dicitur morti vendicarent.* The ancients Philosophers were divided; some saying a man died in the time of his life, others in the time of his death. But Plato observed a contradiction in both; for a man can neither be said to die while he is alive, nor when he is dead: & idcirco peperit ipse aliud quoddam novum in confinio tempus, quod verbis propriis atque integris τὴν ἐξαιφνης φύσιν appellavit: which he thus describes in his Parmenides; *Τὸ γὰρ ἐξαιφνης πικρόν π ἔοικε σημαίνει, ὡς ἂν ἐπένη μεταβάλλον εἰς ἐξάτηρον.* So A. Gellius l. 6. c. 13. Thus when our Saviour commended his Soul into the hands of the Father, he was yet alive; when the soldier pierced his side, he was already dead: and the instant in which he gave up the ghost was the τὸ ἐξαιφνης when he died.

This reality and propriety of the Death of Christ is yet father illustrated from the cause immediately producing it, which was an external violence and cruciation, sufficient to dissolve that natural disposition of the body which is absolutely necessary to continue the vital union of the Soul: the torments which he endured on the Cross did bring to that state in which life could not longer be naturally conserved, and death, without intervention of supernatural power, must necessarily follow.

For Christ, who took upon him all our Infirmities, Sin only excepted, had in his nature not only a possibility and aptitude, but also a necessity of dying; and as to any extrinsecal violence, able according to the common course of nature to destroy and extinguish in the body such an aptitude as is indispensably required to continue in union with the Soul, he had no natural preservative; nor was it in the power of his Soul to continue its vital conjunction unto his body bereft of a vital disposition.

John 10. 18.

It is true that Christ did voluntarily die, as he said of himself, *No man taketh away my life from me, but I lay it down of my self: I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again.* For it was in his power whether he would come into the power of his enemies; it was in his power to suffer or not to suffer the sentence of Pilate, and the nailing to the Cross; it was in his power to have come down from the Cross, when he was nailed to it: but when by an act of his will he had submitted to that Death, when he had accepted and embraced those Torments to the last, it was not in the power of his Soul to continue any longer Vitality to the Body, whose Vigour was totally exhausted. So not by a necessary compulsion, but voluntary election, he took upon him a necessity of dying.

Mark 15. 44.

'Tis true that Pilate marvelled he was dead so soon, and the two thieves lived

ved longer to have their legs broken, and to die by the accession of another pain : but we read not of such long furrows on their backs as were made on his, nor had they such kind of Agony as he was in the night before. What though *he cried with a loud voice, and gave up the ghost* ? What though *the Centurion, when he saw it, said, Truly this man was the Son of God* ? The miracle was not in the death, but in the voice : the strangeness was not that he should die, but that at the point of death he should cry out so loud : he died not by , but with, a miracle.

Mark 15 37.
39.

Should we imagine Christ to anticipate the time of death, and to substract his Soul from future torments necessary to cause an expiration ; we might rationally say the Jews and Gentiles were guilty of his death, but we could not properly say they slew him : guilty they must be, because they inflicted those torments on which in time death must necessarily follow ; but slay him actually they did not, if his death proceeded from any other cause, and not from the wounds which they inflicted : whereas S. Peter expressly chargeth his enemies , ^a *Him ye have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified and slain* ; and again , ^b *The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew, and hanged on a tree*. Thus was the Lamb properly slain, and the Jews authors of his Death , as well as of his Crucifixion.

^a Act. 2. 23.
^b Acts 5. 30.

In both which places the Original sheweth more expressly, that by their Crucifixion they slew him: in the former thus, διὰ χειρῶν ἀνόμων ἀπέστρωσαν αὐτὸν ἀπέκταναν. In the latter thus, ὃν ὑμεῖς διεχείρασατε κρεμάσαντες ἐπὶ ξύλου.

Wherefore being Christ took upon himself our mortality in the highest sense, as it includeth a necessity of dying ; being he voluntarily submitted himself to that bloody Agony in the garden, to the hands of the Plowers who made long their furrows, and to the nails which fastned him to the Cross ; being these Torments thus inflicted and continued did cause his death, and in this condition *he gave up the ghost* ; it followeth, that the only-begotten Son of God, the true *Messias* promised of old, did die a true and proper death. Which is the second Conclusion in this Explication.

But thirdly, because Christ was not only Man, but also God, and there was not only an union between his Soul and Body while he lived, but also a conjunction of both Natures, and an union in his Person: it will be farther necessary for the understanding of his Death, to shew what Union was dissolved, what continued ; that we may not make that Separation either less or greater than it was.

Whereas then there were two different substantial Unions in Christ, one of the parts of his humane nature each to other, in which his Humanity did consist, and by which he was truly Man ; the other of his Natures Humane and Divine, by which it came to pass that God was Man, and that Man God : first, it is certain, as we have already shewed, that the union of the parts of his humane nature was dissolved on the Cross, and a real separation made between his Soul and Body. As far then as Humanity consists in the essential union of the parts of humane nature, so far the Humanity of Christ upon his death did cease to be, and consequently he ceased to be Man. But secondly, the union of the natures remained still as to the parts, nor was the Soul or Body separated from the Divinity, but still subsisted as they did before, by the subsistence of the second person of the Trinity.

The truth of this Assertion appeareth, first from the Language of this very ^c Creed. For as we proved before, that the only-begotten and eternal Son of God, God of God, very God of very God, was *conceived*, and *born*, and *suffered*, and that the truth of these Propositions relied upon the communion

^c Credimus certe non in solum Deum Patrem, sed & in Jesum Christum f.

lium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum. Modo totum dixi, in Jesum Christum filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum. totum ibi intellige, & verbum, & animam, & carnem. Sed utique confiteris etiam illud quod habet eadem Fides, in eum Christum te credere qui crucifixus est & sepultus. Ergo etiam sepultum Christum esse non negas, & tamen sola caro sepulta est. Si enim erat ibi anima, non erat mortuus; si autem vera morserat, & ejus vera sit resurrectio, sine anima fuerat in sepulchro, & tamen sepultus est Christus. Ergo Christus erat etiam sine anima caro, quia non est sepulta nisi caro. S. Aug. in Job Tract. 48.

of

of Properties, grounded upon the hypostatical union : so while the Creed in the same manner proceedeth speaking of the same person, that he *was buried* and *descended into hell*, it sheweth that neither his body, in respect of which he was buried, nor his Soul, in respect of which he was generally conceived to descend into hell, had lost that union.

Again, as we believe that God redeemed us by his own blood, so also it hath been the constant Language of the Church, that God died for us ; which cannot be true, except the Soul and Body in the instant of separation were united to the Deity.

Indeed, being all the gifts of God are without repentance , nor doth he ever substract his grace from any without their abuse of it, and a sinful demerit in themselves ; we cannot imagine the grace of union should be taken from Christ, who never offended, and that in the highest act of obedience, and the greatest satisfaction to the will of God.

'Tis true, Christ cried upon the Cross with a loud voice, saying, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me ?* * But if that dereliction should signify a solution of the former union of his Natures, the separation had been made not at his death, but in his life. Whereas indeed those words infer no more than that he was bereft of such joys and comforts from the Deity , as should assuage and mitigate the acerbity of his present torments.

* Greg. Nyss. Orat. 1. de Resurr. "Ολον τὸν ἀνθρώπου τὸ θεὸν διὰ τῆς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀσκήσεως εἰς τὴν θείαν εὐσιν μετασκόλλων. ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς κατὰ τὸ πάθος οἰκονομίας ἔπαυσε μὲν τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐγγεθεν ἀνεχώρησεν ἀμεταμέλητα γὰρ τὸ θεὸν τὰ χρείσματα ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑ' ψυχῷ τὸ σῶμα ἢ θείας ἐκείνης διέζωξεν, ἑαυτὴν ὅ ἐν ἀμφοτέροις μέρους ἐδείξε.

It remaineth therefore, that when our Saviour yielded up the ghost, he suffered only an external violence ; and what was subject to such corporal force did yield unto those dolorous impressions. Being then such is the imbecillity and frailty of our nature, that life cannot long subsist in exquisite torments ; the disposition of his Body failed the Soul, and the Soul deserted his Body. But being no power hath any force against Omnipotency , nor could any corporal or finite agent work upon the union made with the Word ; therefore that did still remain entire both to the Soul and to the Body. The Word was once indeed without either Soul or Body ; but after it was made flesh, it was never parted either from the one or from the other.

„ This is the conclusion of S. August. Ex quo Verbum

caro factum est, ut habitaret in nobis, & susceptus est à Verbo homo, id est totus homo, anima & caro, quid fecit passio, quid fecit mors, nisi corpus ab anima separavit ? animam verò à Verbo non separavit. Si enim mortuus est Dominus... sine dubio caro ipsius exspiravit animam, (ad tempus enim exiguum anima deseruit carnem, sed redeunte animà resurrectionem) à Verbo autem animam separatam esse non dico. Latronis animæ dixit, *Hoste mecum eris in Paradiso.* Fidelem latronis animam non deserebat, & deserebat suam ? Absit : sed illius ut Dominus custodi- vat, suam verò inseparabiliter habuit. Si autem dixerimus, quia ipsa se anima posuit, & iterum ipsa se sumpsit, absurdissimus sensus est : non enim quæ à Verbo non erat separata à seipsa potuit separari. *Tract. in Joh. 47.*

This Christ did really and truly die, according to the condition of death, to which the nature of man is subject : but although he was more than man, yet he died no more than man can die: a separation was made between his Soul and Body, but no disunion of them and his Deity. They were dis-joined one from another, but not from him that took them both together ; * rather by virtue of that remaining conjunction they were again united after their separation. And this I conceive sufficient for the third and last part of our explication.

* Ἐπεὶ διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ πύλαξ-μα ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μορφῆς ἢ τῆς θείας φύ-σος ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς τῆς σῶμα ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς διαζώξεως ἔσυνδιασχίξεται τὸ συνδέτω τὸ ἀδιαίρετον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἑμπλαγὴν γίνεται τῇ γὰρ ἐνότητι τῆς θείας φύσεως, τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἴσον ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἕσσης, πάλιν πρὸς ἀλλήλα τὰ δια-σῶτα συνδέεται. Greg. Nyss. Orat. 1. de Resurr. Tam velox incorruptæ carnis vivificatio fuit, ut major ibi esset corporis similitudo quàm mortis ; quoniam Deitas, quæ ab utraque suscepti hominis substantia non recessit, quod

potestate divisit, potestate conjunxit. *Leo Serm. 1. de Resurr.*

The necessity of this part of the Article is evident, in that the Death of Christ is the most intimate and essential part of the Mediatorship, and that which most intrinsically concerns every Office and function of the Mediator, as he was Prophet, Priest, and King.

First, it was necessary, as to the Prophetical Office, that Christ should die, to the end that the truth of all the Doctrine which he delivered might be confirmed by his Death. He was ^a *the true and faithful witness*, ^b *who before Pontius Pilate witnessed a good confession*. ^c *This is he that came by water and blood: and there are three that bare witness in earth, the spirit, the water, and the blood*. He preached unto us a new ^d *and better covenant*, which was established upon *better promises*, and that was to be ratified with his blood; which is therefore called by Christ himself the ^e *blood of the new Testament*, or ^f *everlasting Covenant*: for that Covenant was also a testament; and ^g *where a testament is, there must also of necessity be the death of the testator*. Beside, Christ, as a Prophet, taught us not only by word, but by example; and though every action of his life who came to fulfill the Law, be most worthy of our imitation; yet the most eminent example was in his death, in which he taught us much variety of Christian Vertues. What example was that of Faith in God, ^h *to lay down his life, that he might take it again*; in the bitterness of his torments to ⁱ *commend his spirit into the hands of his Father*; and ^k *for the joy that was set before him, to endure the cross, and despise the shame*? What a pattern of Meekness, Patience, and Humility, for ^l *the Son of man to come not to be ministred unto, but to minister, and give his life a ransom for many*; ^m *to be led like a sheep to the slaughter, and like a lamb dumb before the shearer, not to open his mouth*; to ⁿ *endure the contradictions of sinners against himself*, and to ^o *humble himself unto death, even the death of the cross*? What a precedent of Obedience, for the Son of God *to learn obedience by the things that he suffered*; to be made under the Law, and, though he never broke the Law, to become obedient unto death; to go with cheerfulness to the Cross upon this resolution, *as my Father gave me commandment, even so I do*? What exemplar of Charity, to die for us while we were yet sinners and enemies, when greater love hath no man than this, to lay down his life for his friends; to pray upon the Cross for them that crucified him, and to apologize for such as barbarously slew him, *Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do*? Thus Christ did suffer for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps; that as he suffered for us in the flesh, we should arm our selves likewise with the same mind. For he that hath suffered in the flesh hath ceased from sin: That he no longer should live the rest of his time in the flesh, to the lusts of men, but to the will of God. And so his Death was necessary for the confirmation and completion of his Prophetical Office.

Secondly, it was necessary that Christ should die, and by his death perform the Sacerdotal-Office. For every High-priest taken from among men, is ordained for men in things pertaining to God, that he may offer both gifts and sacrifices for sins. But Christ had no other sacrifice to offer for our sins than himself. For it was not possible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins: and therefore when Sacrifice and offering God would not, then said he, *Loe, I come to do thy will, O God*; then did Christ determine to offer up himself for us. And because the Sacrifices of old were to be slain, and generally without shedding of blood there is no remission; therefore if he will offer sacrifice for sin he must of necessity die, and so make his Soul an offering for sin. If Christ be our Passover, he must be sacrificed for us. We were sold under sin, and he which will redeem us must give his life for our redemption: for we could not be redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, but only with

a Rev. 3. 14.

b 1 Tim. 6. 13.

c 1 Joh. 5. 6, 8.

d Heb. 8. 5.

e Matt. 6. 28.

f Luke 22. 20.

g Heb. 10. 29.

h Heb. 12. 20.

i Heb. 9. 16.

h Joh. 10. 17.

i Luke 23. 46.

k Heb. 12. 2.

l Matt. 20. 28.

m Acts 8. 32.

n Heb. 12. 3.

o Phil. 2. 8.

Heb. 5. 8.

Gal. 4. 4.

Phil. 2. 8.

Joh. 14. 31.

Rom. 5. 8.

John 15. 13.

Luke 23. 34.

1 Pet. 2. 21.

4. 1, 2.

Heb. 5. 1

Heb. 10. 4

V. 8, 9.

Heb. 9. 22.

H. 53. 10.

1 Pet. 1. 18, 19.

with the precious blood of Christ, as of a Lamb without blemish and without spot. We all had sinned, and so offended the Justice of God, and by an act of that Justice the sentence of death passed upon us; it was necessary therefore that Christ our surety should die, to satisfy the justice of God, both for that iniquity, as the propitiation for our sins, and for that penalty as he which was to bear our griefs. God was offended with us, and he must die who was to reconcile him to us. For when we were enemies, saith S. Paul, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son. We were sometimes alienated, and enemies in our mind by our wicked works; yet now hath he reconciled us in the body of his flesh through death. Thus the death of Christ was necessary toward the great act of his Priesthood, as the oblation, propitiation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world: and not only for the act it self, but also for our assurance of the power and efficacy of it, (For if the blood of bulls and goats sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh: How much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge our consciences from dead works?) and of the happiness flowing from it, (for he that spared not his own son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?) Upon this assurance founded on his Death, we have the freedom and boldness to enter into the Holiest by the blood of Jesus, by a new and living way which he hath consecrated for us, through the veil, that is to say, his flesh. Neither was the Death of Christ necessary only in respect of us immediately for whom he died, but in reference to the Priest himself who died, both in regard of the qualification of himself, and consummation of his Office. For in all things it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren: that he might be a merciful and faithful High-priest, and having suffered, being tempted, might be able to succour them that are tempted: so that passing through all the previous torments, and at last through the pains of Death, having suffered all which man can suffer, and much more, he became, as an experimental Priest, most sensible of our infirmities, most compassionate of our miseries, most willing and ready to support us under, and to deliver us out of, our temptations. Thus being qualified by his utmost suffering, he was also fitted to perfect his Offering. For as the High-priest once every year for the atonement of the sins of the people entered into the Holy of Holies not without blood; so Christ being come an High-priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect Tabernacle, not made with hands, by his own blood entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us. And this is the grand necessity of the Death of Christ in respect of his Sacerdotal Office.

Thirdly, there was a necessity that Christ should die in reference to his Regal Office. O King, live for ever, is either the loyal or the flattering vote for temporal Princes; either the expression of our desires, or the suggestion of their own: whereas our Christ never shewed more sovereign power than in his death, never obtained more than by his death. It was not for nothing that Pilate suddenly wrote, and resolutely maintained what he had written, *This is the King of the Jews*. That title on the Cross did signify no less than that his Regal power was active even there: for having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them in it; and through his death destroyed him that had the power of death, that is, the Devil. Nor was his death only necessary for the present execution, but also for the affecution of farther power and dominion, as the means and way to obtain it. The Spirit of Christ in the Prophets of old testified before-hand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow. He shall drink of the brook in the way, saith the Prophet David; therefore shall he lift up his head. He humbled him-

Rom. 5. 10.
Col. 1. 21.

Heb. 9. 13, 14.

Rom. 8. 32.

Heb. 10. 19,
20.

Heb. 2. 17-18.

Heb. 7. 27,
28.

Col. 2. 4.
Heb. 2. 14.

1 Pet. 1. 11.

1 Pet. 1. 7.
Ecc. 2. 8. 9.

him-

himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name. For to this end Christ both died, and rose, and revived, that he might be Lord of the dead and living. Rom. 14. 9.

Thus it is necessary to believe and profess our Faith in *Christ* who died: for by his Blood and the virtue of his Death was our Redemption wrought, as the price which was paid, as by the atonement which was made, as by the full satisfaction which was given, that God might be reconciled to us, who before was offended with us, as by the ratification of the Covenant made between us, and the acquisition of full power to make it good unto us.

After which exposition thus premised, every Christian is conceived to express thus much when he makes profession of Faith in *Christ Jesus* which was dead: I do really and truly assent unto this, as a most intallible and fundamental Truth, that the only-begotten and eternal Son of God, for the working out of our Redemption, did in our nature, which he took upon him, really and truly die, so as by the force and violence of those torments which he felt, his Soul was actually separated from his Body; and although neither his Soul nor Body was separated from his Divinity, yet the Body bereft of his Soul was left without the least vitality, And thus I believe in *Jesus Christ* which was crucified and dead,

And Buried.

When the most precious and immaculate Soul of *Christ* was really separated from his flesh, and that union in which his natural life consisted was dissolved, his sacred Body, as being truly dead, was laid up in the chambers of the Grave: so that as we believe him dead, by the Separation of his Soul, we also believe him buried, by the Sepulture of his Body.

And because there is nothing mysterious or difficult in this part of the Article, it will be sufficiently explicated when we have shewn, first, that the promised *Messias* was to be buried; and, secondly, that our *Jesus* was so buried as the *Messias* was to be.

That the *Messias* was to be buried, could not possibly be denied by those who believed he was to die among the *Jews*; because it was the universal custom of that Nation to bury their dead. We read most frequently of the sepulchres of their Fathers: and though those that were condemned by their supreme power were not buried in their Fathers graves, yet publick sepulchres there were appointed even for them to lie in: and not only they, but all the Instruments which were used in the punishment were buried with them. And yet beside the general consequence of Death among the *Jews*, there was a perfect Type in the person of *Jonas*: for as that Prophet ^a was three days and three nights in the whale's belly; so was the *Messias*, or the Son of man, to be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.

|| It is observed by Tacitus of the *Jews*, in opposition to the Roman Custom, Corpora Condere, quam cremare è more Ægyptio. Hist. l. 5. As of the Ægyptians by others, Θάπτειν ἢ Αἰγυπτίοις ἔστι

πειχόμενοι, Ῥωμαῖοι ἢ καίοντες, Παίονες ἢ εἰς τὰς λίμνας ριπτόντες, Laert. Pyrrh. But the *Jews* received this custom no more from the Ægyptians than from the Persians, whom they may be rather said to follow, because they used not the Ægyptian περὶ τῶν νεκρῶν neither were they more distinguished from the Romans than from the Gracians, who also burned the bodies of the dead. Διελόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἔθνη τῆς περὶ τῶν νεκρῶν, ὁ μὲν Ἕλληνας ἔκαυσεν. ὁ δὲ Πέρσης ἔθαψεν ὁ δὲ Ἰουδαῖος ἔθαψεν ὁ δὲ Σκύθης κατεδίει. περιχόμενοι ἢ ὁ Αἰγυπτίος. Lucian. ἀεὶ πένθεις. Although therefore it be not true, that the *Jews* received their custom of burying their dead from the Ægyptians, because Abraham at the first purchased a burying-place; yet it hath been observed, and is certainly true that their general custom was to inter. Philo, one of their own Writers, Ἀνθρώποις καὶ πᾶσι ἡρώδης οὐκ ἐπίτερον ἢ φύσιν χρεῖον ἀπέπεισε γῆν, ἢ μόνον ζῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποθανόντων, ἢ ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ τὴν πρῶτον ὑποδέχεται ἡ γῆ, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆ βίβου τελευτῶν ἀνάλασιν. l. 1. in Flaccum. ^a Ματθ. 12. 40.

Nor was his burial only represented Typically, but foretold Prophetically both by a suppositive Intimation, and by an exprefs Prediction. The Psalmist intimated and supposed no less, when speaking in the person of the Christ, he said, *My flesh shall rest in hope, for thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy one to see corruption.* That flesh is there supposed only such, that is, a body * dead; and that body resting in the grave, the common habitation of the dead; yet resting there in hope that it should never see corruption, but rise from thence before that time in which bodies in their graves are wont to putrefie. Beside this intimation there is yet a clear expression of the grave of the Messias in that eminent Prediction of Isaiah: *He was cut off out of the land of the living, and he made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death.* For whatsoever the true interpretation of the Prophecy be, (of which we shall speak hereafter) it is certain that he which was to be cut off, was to have a grave: and being we have already shewn that he which was to be cut off was the Messias; it followeth, that by virtue of this Prediction the promised Messias was to be buried.

Psal. 16. 9, 10.

* So the Midrash Tillim anciently expounded it, My flesh shall rest in hope

לאחר מיתה
after death;
adling

ועתה מתי

מד שאת

שלט בו

רמה

והילעתי

that Rabbi

Isaac said, he taught by these words, that the moth and worm should have no power over him. Hence, by the argument of S. Peter, it must be understood not of David, for his flesh saw corruption, nor of any other but the Messias. And although the Rabbins are wont to say, That the worm shall never eat the just, in opposition to the last words of Elay; yet they must confess there is no difference in the grave: and therefore that worm must signifie something else than the corruption of the body. Well therefore are those words paraphrased by Didymus, ἐπ' ἐλπίδι κατεσκήνωσεν ἢ σαῖξ, διὰ τὴν ἐνδείαν ἐσσημειώσεν ἀδυσαν.

^a Isa. 53. 8, 9.

Secondly, that our Jesus, whom we believe to be the true Messias, was thus buried, we shall also prove, although it seem repugnant to the manner of his death. For those which were sentenced by the Romans to die upon the Cross, had not the favour of a sepulchre, but their bodies were exposed to the fowls of the air, and the beasts of the field, or if they escaped their voracity, to the longer injury of the * air and weather. A guard was also usually † set about them, lest any pitying hand should take the body from the cursed tree, and cover it with earth.

† To this custom Horace alludes, Epist. 16. l. 1. Non hominem occidi: non pascas in cruce corvos. and

Juvenal, Vultur, jumento & canibus crucibusq; relictis, Ad foetus properat, partemq; cadaveris affert. So Prudentius, Crux illum tollat in auras, Viventesq; oculos offerat alitibus, αὐτὸν σεφ. Hymn. 4. This punishment did appear in the Mythology of Prometheus; who though he were by some represented simply as δεσμώτης, by others particularly he is described as αἰσχρομαθῶς, especially by Lucian, who delivers him περὶ ἀλγέων, κερμαθῶν, περὶ ἀπαιδουμένων, ἀναστυρέων, αἰσχρομαθῶν. And Tertullian speaking of Pontus from whence Marcian came; Omnia torpent, omnia rigent: nihil illi nisi feritas calet, quæ fabulas scenis dedit, de sacriâciis Taurorum, & amoribus Colchorum, & crucibus Caucasium. Adv. Marc. l. 1. c. 1. He touches the subject of three Tragedies, Medea, Iphigenia in Tauris, and Prometheus Vincetus, or rather Crucifixus. As therefore the Eagle there did feed upon his liver, so were the bodies of crucified persons left to the promiscuous rapacity of carnivorous fowls. So true it was of them what Augustus once said, Cuidam sepulturam petenti respondit, jam illam in volucrum esse potestate, Suet. c. 13. Nor were they only in the power of the fowls of the air, as Prometheus was, whom they durst not hang too low, lest men should succour him ἔτε γὰρ τιπεινὸν καὶ ἀεὶ σέλιον ἐσαυρῶντος ἤν. says Vulcan in Lucian for that reason; but ordinarily they hung so low upon the Cross, that the ravenous beasts might reach them, as Apuleius describes Patibuli cruciatum, cum canes & vultures intima protrahunt viscera. * So the bodies were often left upon the Cross till the Sun and Rain had putrefied and consumed them. As when the daughter of Polycrates did see her father's face in a dream, to be washed by Jupiter, and to be anointed by the Sun when he hung upon the Cross, it was performed. Πολυκράτης ὁ ἀνακερμαθῶς ἐπέλεσε πατρὸς τὴν ὄψιν τὸν θυγατρὸς, ἐλθόντων αὐτῷ τὸν Διὸς ὅπως υἱοῖ, ἐχέειτο ὁ πατὴρ ἀνὰ αἰὲς αἰῶνος ἐν τῷ σώματι ἰκμάδα. Herod. Thalia. Of which Tertul. de Anim. c. 46. Ut cum Polycrati Samio hinc crucem prospicit de Solis unguine & lavacro Jovis. And which is farther thus expressed by Valerius Maximus: Putres ejus artus, & tabido cruore manantia membra, atque illam lavam cui Neptunus anulum manu piscatoris restituerat, situ marcidam, Samos lætis oculis aspexit, l. 6. c. 9. Thus were the bodies of the crucified left: ut in sublimi putrescerent. Quid Cyrenæum Theodorum Philosophum non ignobilem nonne miramur? cui cum Lysimachus Rex crucem minaretur, illis quæsiō, inquit, ista horribilia minitare purpuratis tuis, Theodori quidem nihil interest humine an sublimi putrescat. Cicero l. 1. Tusc. Quæsi. And so they perished, as the Scythians generally did, according to the description of Silius Italicus, l. 3.

At gente in Scythica suffixa cadavera truncis
Lenta dies sepelit, patri liquentia tabo.

Thus, whether by the fowls or beasts, or by the injury of time or weather, the flesh of those which were crucified was consumed: as Artemidorus observed, who concluded from thence, That it was bad for the rich to dream of being crucified: Τὸς δὲ πλουτίους οὐκ ἔστιν ἰσχυρὰ γινώσκειν γὰρ σαυρῆσαι, καὶ τὰς σαῖξας ἀπὸ τῶν οἰσαυρῶντων. Oneirocr. l. 2. c. 58. † As appeareth by that Relation in Petronius Arbitr. Imperator Provincia latrones jussit, crucibus affigi... Proxima autem nocte, cum miles qui cruce affigebatur, ne quis ad sepulturam corpora detraheret, &c. And when that soldier was absent, Itaq; cruciari unius parentes, ut viderant lavacrum custodiam, detrayere nocte pendentem, supremoq; mandaverunt officio. Where we see the soldier set for a guard, and the end of that custodia, (which the Greek Lexicographers do not well confine to the σέβασμα τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ ὄψεως ἀπὸ τῶν σαυρῶντων)

keep the body of him which was crucified from being buried by his friends. Thus when Cleomenes was dead, his body was fastned to a Cross (another example of the ignominy of his punishment) by the command of Ptolemy; 'Ο ὃ Πτολεμαῖος, ὡς ἔγνω ταῦτα προσέταξε, τὸ ἔσῳμα τῆ Κλεομήδους κρεμάσαι καὶ αβυσσώσαι. Where κρεμάσαι is again to be observed as taken for ἀνασυρῶσαι for not long after in the same Authour it follows, 'Ολίγαις ὃ ὕστερον ἡμέραις, αἱ τὸ σῳμα τῆ Κλεομήδους ἀνασυρῶντων περιφύλακτοντες εἶδον εὐμεγέθη δρόμοντα τῆ κεφαλῆ ἀειπεπλεγμένον, καὶ ἀποκρύπτοντα τὸ πρόσωπον, ὡς μὴ δὲν ὄρνεον ἐπιπλεῖσαι κοφάρον. Where we see a guard set to keep him from burial, and the voracious fowls ready to seize on him, had they not been kept off by a serpent involving his head. Thus were soldiers, upon the crucifixion of any person, set as a guard, τὸν ἀνασυρῶμενον περιφύλακτοντες, or περιῆντες, & crucem asservantes, viz. ne quis ad sepulturam corpus detraheret.

Under that custom of the Roman Law was now the body of our Saviour on the Cross, and the guard was set; there was the Centurion and they that were with him, watching Jesus. The Centurion returned as soon as Christ was dead, and gave testimony unto Pilate of his death: but the watch continueth still. How then can the ancient Predictions be fulfilled? how can this Jonas be conveyed into the belly of the whale? where shall he make his grave with the wicked, or with the rich, in his death of crucifixion? By the providence of him who did foretell it, it shall be fulfilled. They which petitioned that he might be crucified shall intercede that he may be interred. For the custom of the Jews required, that whosoever suffered by the sentence of their Law should be buried, and that the same day he suffered. Particularly they could not but remember the express words of Moses, ^b If a man have committed a sin worthy of death, and he be put to death, and thou hang him on a tree; His body shall not remain all night upon the tree, but thou shalt in any wise bury him that day. Upon this general custom and particular Law, especially considering the sanctity of the day approaching, ^c the Jews, that the bodies should not remain upon the Cross on the Sabbath day, besought Pilate that their legs might be broken, and that they might be taken away. And this is the first step to the Burial of our Saviour.

|| מצות ||
עשה
לקבור
את כל
דברוי בית
דין ביום
ההוא
Maimon.
Tract. Sanhed.
cap. 15.
So Josephus.
Τοσαύτω Ἰσ-
δαιὼν πρὸς
τὰς παρὰς
πρόνοιαν ποί-

^a Μαθ. 27. 24. ^b Deut. 21. 22, 23. ^c John 19. 31. De Bell. Jud. l. 24. c. 18.

For though by the common rule of the Roman Law, those which were condemned to the Cross were to lose both Soul and Body on the tree; as not being permitted either sepulture or mourning; yet it was in the power of the Magistrate to indulge the leave of burial: and therefore Pilate, who crucified Christ because the Jews desired it, could not possibly deny him burial when they requested it; he which professed to find no fault in him while he lived, could make no pretence for an accession of cruelty after his death.

|| Non solent autem lugeri (ut Neratius ait) hostes, vel perduelliones damnati, nec suspendiosi. nec qui manus sibi intulerunt,

non tadio vitæ, sed mala conscientia. Digest. l. 3. tit. 2. l. Liberatorum. * So Ulpianus, l. 9. de Officio Proconsulis: Corpora eorum qui capite damnantur cognatis ipsorum neganda non sunt; & id se observasse etiam Divus Augustus libro decimo de vita sua scribit. Hodie autem eorum in quos animadvertitur corpora non aliter sepeliuntur quam si fuerit petitum & permissum; & nonnunquam non permittitur, maxime majestatis causa damnatorum. So Paulus l. 1. Sententiarum: Corpora animadversorum quibuslibet petentibus ad sepulturam danda sunt. Obnoxios criminum digno supplicio subjectos sepulturæ tradi non vetamus, Cod. l. 3. tit. 43. l. 11.

Now though the Jews had obtained their request of Pilate, though Christ had been thereby certainly buried; yet had not the prediction been fulfilled, which expressly mentioned the rich in his death. For as he was crucified between two thieves, so had he been buried with them, because by the Jews, there was appointed a publick place of burial for all such as suffered as Malefactors.

Wherefore to rescue the body of our blessed Saviour from the malicious hands of those that caused his Crucifixion, there came a rich man of Arimathea, named Joseph, an honourable counsellour, a good man and a just, who also himself waited for the kingdom of God, being a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear

Math. 27.
Mark. 15.
Luke 23.
John 19.

fear of the Jews : this Joseph came and went in boldly unto Pilate, and besought him that he might take away the body of Jesus. And Pilate gave him leave, and commanded the body to be delivered: he came therefore and took the body of Jesus.

John. 3. 1, 10.
19. 39, 40.

Beside, there came also Nicodemus, which at the first came to Jesus by night, a man of the Pharisees, a ruler of the Jews, a Master of Israel; this Nicodemus came and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound weight. Then took they the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes, with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury.

And thus was the Burial of the Son of God performed, according to the custom of the people of God. For the understanding of which there are three things considerable: first, what was done to the body, to prepare it for the Grave; secondly, how the Sepulchre was prepared to receive the body; thirdly, how the persons were fitted by the interring of our Saviour to fulfil the Prophecy.

Mark 14. 3, 8.

As for fulfilling the custom of the Jews as to the preparation in respect of his body, we find the spices and the linen clothes. When there came a woman having an alabaster box of ointment of spikenard, very precious, and she brake the box and poured it on his head; Christ made this interpretation of that action, she is come before hand to anoint my body to the burying. When Christ was risen,

Mark 16. 1.
Luke 24. 1.

Mary Magdalen and the other Mary brought the spices which they had prepared, that they might come and anoint him. Thus was there an interpreted and an intended unction of our Saviour, but really and actually he was interred with the spices which Nicodemus brought. The custom of wrapping in the clothes we see in Lazarus rising from the grave; for he came forth bound hand and

John 11. 44.
John 20. 6, 7.

foot with grave-clothes, and his face was bound about with a napkin. In the same manner when our Saviour was risen, Simon Peter went into the sepulchre and saw the linen clothes lie, and the napkin that was about his head, not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a place by it self. Thus according to the custom of the Jews, was the body of Christ bound in several linen clothes with an aromatical composition, and so prepared for the sepulchre.

* There are four words in the Gospel expressing the linen

clothes in which the dead were buried, Σινδών, ὀδόνια, κειρία, & σιδάειον. The Σινδών is used by three Evangelists, as what was brought by Joseph. Καὶ ἀρροήσας σινδῶνα, καὶ καθελὼν αὐτὸν ἐπέλιψε τῇ σινδῶνι, Mark. 15. 46. and S. Matthew and S. Luke, ἐπέβληξεν αὐτὸ σινδῶνι. Ὀδόνια is used by S. Luke and S. John, ἔλαβον ἕν τὸ σῶμα Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ἔδησαν αὐτὸ ὀδονίοις. Now both these words shew that the clothes were linen Σινδών, tunica lineæ, Gloss. Φωσώνιον, λιγὸν π, ἡτοι σινδῶνιον, Etym. So Ὀδόνια. λιγὸν ἰμάτια. Helych. This was according to the custom of the Jews, amongst whom there was a kind of Law, That they should use no other Grave-clothes. As therefore the Egyptians in Herodotus, λέπαινες ἢ νεκρὸν κατελίονται πᾶν οὐτὰ τὸ σῶμα σινδῶν & βουάνης, so the Jews. But it is farther to be observed, that S. John saith ἔδησαν αὐτὸ ὀδονίοις, they bound up his body with several clothes, which signifies it was done fasciatim. As Herodotus in another case, σμύρνησι τε ἰώμφοι τε ἔλκεα, καὶ σινδῶν & βουάνης τελαμῶσι κατελίοντες. Whereas then Julius Pollux observes, εἰρηλαί τε πρὸς καὶ τελαμῶν σινδῶνίτις. I conceive these ὀδόνια in S. John were such τελαμῶνες σινδῶνίται, lineæ fasciæ, or institæ, called in the case of Lazarus κειρία for as he is described δεδεμῶθαι κειρίαῖς, so it is said of the body of Christ, ἔδησαν αὐτὸ ὀδονίοις, they bound him with linen bandages or swathes. These are the ἐντάσια δέσμα, as the Grammarians interpret κειρία tanquam κινία so the ancient MS. in the Library at St. James's reads it. δεδεμῶθαι τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὰ πόδας κειρίαῖς. And so Helychius read it, when he made that interpretation. Κειρίαῖς (leg. Κηρίαῖς) ἐπιθανάτια ἐπιτελιγμένα. What anciently κειρία was, will appear by the words of Julius Pollux: Καὶ μὴν πόρσι τῇ κλινῇ ἢ τῷ σκίμπτῳ ἐπιτεταμένον, ὡς φέειν τὰ πλεῖστα, παρτία, παρτία, τένθ, κειρία, the bands or cords by which the beds or couches are fastned, and upon which the bedding lies. In this sense it is to be taken in that known place of Aristophanes, in Avibus,

Σπάρτιω γὰρ ἂν δεῖμιω ἐγὼ τῇ μὴ πόλει,
Οὐδ' ἂν χαμῶνιω πάνυ γε κειρία ἔχων.

Of which Eustathius Iliad. β'. gives us this account: Φησὶ μὴ ἂν δεῖθῆναι παρτία, κειρία ἔχων ἢτοι μὴ δεῖθῆναι παρτία πλέγμαθι, ἂν ἄλλω ἔχοι κειρία, ἢτοι δεσμὸν κλίνης. Hence the Grammarians give that interpretation of κειρία. as Etymologus. Κειρία σημαίνει τὸ χοινίον τὸ δεσμεῖον τῆν κλίνην, viz. in reference to that place of Aristophanes, otherwise it hath no relation to a bed but indifferently signifies any fascia or band. So the Scholiast of Aristophanes; Ἡ δὲ κειρία εἶδος ζωνῆς ἐν χοινίῳ παρεοικὸς ἰμάτιον ἢ δεσμεῖον τὰς κλίνης, not the cord of a bed, but a fascia or girdle like unto it. With such linen fasciæ, swathes, or bandages, was the body of Lazarus involved. Ἐκ ποδὸς ἄρχει κερῖνε Σφιγγόμορον πλεῖστην ὄλον δέμας ἢ γε κειρίαῖς, says Nonnus. And Juvenicus,

Nec mora, connexis manibus pedibusq; repente
Procedit tumulo, vultum cui linea texit,
Et totum gracilis connectit fascia corpus.

Hence Basil Bishop of Seleucia makes Lazarus come out of the grave to live like an Infant in swadling-clothes. *Εκείθεν ἀνεβίβη νεκρὸς τῆς ἡμέρας τὰ πρὸ δακτύλου ἀεικέλιον ὁ σύμβολον καὶ τὸ θάνατον ἀποδοσίμων, τὴν πῶς πάλιν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐπίστα πρὸ κείρας ὡς ἐκ τὰς τεχθεῖς καὶ μὲν πικρὸν φέρων τὰ σπέρματα.* Orat. in Publican. & Pharif. The *κεῖρας* then were *institæ*: as the *Vulgar Latin*; *fasciæ*, as *Juvenus* and the *Syriack Translation*, *ܩܝܢܝܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ*, *vincius fasciis*. Of the same nature I conceive were the *ὀθόνια* mentioned in our Saviour's burial; and so *S. Augustine* does express them in reconciling the rest of the *Evangelists*, who mentioned only *Joseph* and the *findon*, with *S. John*, who addeth *Nicodemus* and the *ὀθόνια*. *Neque hic aliquid repugnet recte intelligentibus. Neq; enim illi qui de Nicodemo tacuerunt, affirmaverunt à solo Joseph Dominum sepultum, quamvis solius commemorationem fecerint; aut quia illi una findone à Joseph involutum dixerunt, propterea prohibuerunt intelligi & alia lintea potuisse afferri à Nicodemo & superaddi: ut veram narraret Johannes quod non uno linteo, sed linteis, involutus sit; quamvis & propter sudarium quod capiti adhibebatur, & institas quibus totum corpus alligatum est, quia omnia de lino erant, etiamsi una findon ibi fuit, verissime dici potuit, ligaverunt eum linteis.* De consensu *Evang.* l. 3. c. 23. These which he calls *institæ* quibus totum corpus alligatum est, were the *ܩܝܢܝܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ*, involucra mortui. Beside these we read in the *History of Lazarus*, *ὁ ὄψις αὐτῶς σιδερίῳ ἀεικέλιον*, *John* 11. 44. and of our Saviour, *καὶ τὸ σιδερίον ὃ ἦν ὅπτι τὸ κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ*. The same is rendered by the *Syriack* *ܩܝܢܝܘܢܐ*, and *Nonnus* makes it a *Syriack* word, *Καὶ λινέω πεπύρασσ καλύμματι κελεύει κέρσιν, Σιδερίον τὸ ὄψις εἶπε Σύρων σῶμα.* Whereas the word is not of a *Syriack*, but *Latin origination*, and from the *Latins* came to the *Greek* and *Eastern People*; *Sudor* and *Sudare*, from thence *Sudarium*. *Vatinius reus*, agente in eum *Calvo*, *sudario candido frontem deterfit.* *Quintil.* *Suetonius* of *Nero*, *Plerumq; prodiit in publicum ligato circa collum sudario.* This was translated into their own Language by the latter *Greeks*, to signify that which before was called *ἡμιτύσιον* and *καψιδρώπιον*, as is observed by *Julius Pollux*; *Τὸ ἡμιτύσιον, ὅτι μὲν καὶ πρὸ Αἰγύπτου, εἶναι ἡ ἀνὰ κτλ τὸ ἐν τῇ μέσῃ Κομφωδία καψιδρώπιον καλύπτει, ὃ νῦν σιδερίον ὀνομάζεται. Ἀριστοφάνης γὰρ ἐν Πλέτω τοιαύτην πρὸς ἡδύα, Ἐπειτα καθεστὲν ἡμιτύσιον λαβὼν, τὰ βλεπόμενα ἀεικέλιον, where τὰ βλεπόμενα ἀεικέλιον, is the same with that in *Quintilian*, *frontem deterfit; ἡμιτύσιον* then was the same with *Sudarium*. So the *Scholias*t upon that place: *ἡμιτύσιον ῥάκῃ ἡμιτύσιον λινέω πρὸς ἐκκευγίον.* This is the proper signification of *Σιδερίον*, viz. a linen cloth used to wipe off sweat; but when it was translated into the *Chaldee* or *Syriack* Language, it received a more general signification, of any cloth, or veil, or covering of linen, for any other use. As *Ruth* 3. 15. *Bring the veil that thou hast upon thee: the Chaldee* rendereth it, *ܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ*, and it held six measures of *Barley*. So when *Moses* is said to put a veil on his face, *Exod.* 34. 33. the *Chaldee* again rendereth it *ܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ*. So the *Rabbins* ordinarily use, *ܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ* the veil or covering of his head: and in that sense it is here taken, not with any relation to the *Etymology*, as *Nonnus* conceived in those words, *Θε μὲν ἔχον ἰδρωτὰ καλυπτόμενοι προσώπων, as if Lazarus had come sweating out of his grave; but the only use, is being bound about the head, and covering the face, which the Epistle of *Martialis* calls *sudarium mortuorum*.**

As for the preparation of the sepulchre to receive the body of our Saviour, the custom of the Jews was also punctually observed in that. *Joseph* of *Arimathea* had prepared a place of burial for himself, and the manner of it is expressed. For in the place where he was crucified, there was a garden, and in the garden a new sepulchre wherein never man was laid, which *Joseph* had hewn out of the rock for his own tomb: there laid they *Jesus*, and rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre. And so *Christ* was buried after the manner of the Jews, in a Vault made by the excavation of the rocky firm part of the earth, and that Vault secured from external injury by a great massy stone rolled to the mouth or door thereof. After which stone was once rolled thither, the whole funeral action was performed, and the Sepulture completed: so that it was not *lawful by the custom of the Jews any more to open the sepulchre, or disturb the interred body.

|| Strabo observes of Jerusalem, that the ground about it, ἐν ὅδῳ ἐξήκοντα σταδίων, was ὑπόπετρας, for nine miles rocky underneath.

It is therefore no wonder that in a garden so near Jerusalem there should be found ground which was petrosâ. It is said therefore of *Joseph*, that *μνημεῖον ἐλατόμισεν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ* of the sepulchre, that ἦν λελατομημένον ἐν πέτρᾳ, and λαξδτόν, which signifie no less than that it was cut out of a rock: and *Nonnus* makes a particular Paraphrase to that purpose of λαξδτόν, only *Ἐὼ ἐν γαίῳ κήπῳ Τύμβῳ ἀδωμήτιο βαθυνομένῳ ἀπὸ πέτρᾳ Γλυπῆς ὄλῳ νεότῳ κήῳ*. Where *βαθυνομένῳ* signifies the excavation of the rock, and *γλυπῆς* the manner by which that excavation was performed by incision or excuspion. But *Salmastius* hath invented another way, making the earth to be digged, and a sepulchre built by art of stone, within it. And this interpretation he endeavors to prove out of the text: first alledging that πέτρα signifies, in the writers of that Age a stone, not a rock; and therefore *λελατομημένον ἐν πέτρᾳ* is ἐν λίμῃ, made of stone: otherwise the Articles would have been added ἐκ τῆς πέτρᾳ, if he meant the rock which was there. But this is soon answered; for in *S. Matthew* the Article is expressly added, *ἐλατόμισεν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ*. *S. Matthew* therefore understood it of that rock which was in the garden: and the rest without question understood the same. Again, he objects that *λατομεῖν* signifies not only *lapides ex lapidina cadere*, but also *polire & quadrare ad ædificandum*; and *λαξδτόν* signifies the last only. Wherefore being it is said not only *λελατομημένον*, which may be understood of building, but also *λαξδτόν*, which can be understood of no other; therefore he concludes that it was a Vault built of square stone within the ground. But there is no necessity of such a precise sense of *λαξδτόν*, which may be extended to any sense of *λατομεῖν*, (as *Origen* indifferently *λατομητόν ἢ λαξδτόν μνημεῖον ἐν πέτρᾳ*) and that, when it speaks of a Jewish custom, must be taken in that sense which is most congruous to their custom, and as they used the word. Now they rendered the word *ܕܝܢܐ* by *λατομεῖν*, as *1 King.* 5. 15. *ܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ* ἐν ὄρει, *Isai.* 51. 1. *ܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ*, ἐμβλέπετε εἰς τὸ σερραὶν πέτρᾳ ἢ ἐλατομήσατε, unde *excisi*. As therefore *Deut.* 6. 11. *λακκῆς λελατομημένῃς ἐς ἐκ ἐξελατομισῆς*, so *Isai.* 22. 16. *Ὅτι ἐλατομισῆς σαυτῶ ὅδε μνημεῖον, καὶ ἔγχευας σαυτῶ ἐν πέτρᾳ σκλήνῃ* in both places *λατομεῖν* is nothing else but *ܕܝܢܐ*, and there *μνημεῖον λελατομημένον* in the language of the Jews is to be taken in the same sense with *λακκῆ λελατομημένῃς*, that is, digged or hewn out of the ground. This is well expressed by *Origen*. *Ἡ παρῆ ἔχει τὸ καθεστῆτα διὰ τὸ συμβολικῶς δηλωμένῳ ἐν τῷ ἀποτεθείῳ αὐτῷ τὸ ἱερόμα ἐν μνημεῖῳ κεινῷ ὑφιστάτῃ ἐκ ἐκ λογάδων λίθων οἰκοδομηθέντι, καὶ τὴν ἐνασιν ἐ φυσικῆν ἔχοντι, ἀλλ' ἐν μιᾷ καὶ δι' ὅλων ἡνωμένην πέτρᾳ λατομητῇ καὶ λαξδτῇ.* l. 2. adv. *Cellum*. And this cutting the sepulchre out of the rock, rather than building of it in the earth, is very material in the opinion of *S. Jerome*, who makes this observation on *Matth.* 27. *In monumento novo, quod excitum fuerat à Petra, conditus est, ne si ex multis lapidibus ædificatum esset, suffossis tumuli fundamentis, ablatu*

hinc diceretur; and gives this interpretation of the Prophet Isaiah, Quod autem in sepulchro ponendus esset, Prophetæ testimonium est, dicentis, Hic habitabit in excisa spelunca petra fortissima, statimque post duos versiculos sequitur, Regem cum gloria videbitis. Another use of the same supposition is made likewise by S. Ambrose: Domini corpus tanquam per Apollolorum doctrinam infertur in vacuum & in novam requiem lapidis excisi; scilicet in pectus duritiæ gentilis quodam doctrina opere excisum Christus infertur, rude scilicet ac novum, & nullo antea ingressu timoris Dei pervium. in Matth. cap. 27. This was the Sepulchre prepared for the body: and when Joseph had laid it there, *κατεκύλισεν λίθον μέγαν* *αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰωσήφ*, he rolled a great stone to the floor, the last part of that solemnity. For this great stone was said to be rolled by the reason of the bigness, as being not portable, (from whence arose the Womens doubt, Mark 16. 3. Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulchre?) and that very properly, for it had its name from that rolling, being called constantly by the Jews, *הגליל אבן גדולה ורחבה שותמים בה פי הקבר* *גלל* volvere. *גלל* from *גלל* Obadiah de Bartenora * This hath been observed by the Jews themselves, *אסור לפתוח קבר אחר שנסתם הגליל* It is prohibited for any man to open the sepulchre after it is shut with the rolled stone.

So they are filled in the Scriptures, Josephus & Nicodemus ἀρχον, and these two powers ruled all them at Jerusalem under the Romans. As appeared when Agrippa prevented a tax: *ἡσ ὁ τὰς πόλεις ἐπέαρχοντες καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς καὶ μεριδῆτες ὁβόγος ἀγρίππου* Joseph. l. 2. c. 29. ^a *Isai 53. 9.* ^b *Mark 15. 44, 45.*

Thirdly, two eminent persons did concur unto the burial of our Saviour, a Ruler and a Counsellor, men of those orders among the Jews as were of greatest authority with the people; Joseph of Arimathea, rich and honourable, and yet inferior to Nicodemus, one of the great Council of the Sanhedrim: these two, though fearful while he lived to acknowledge him, are brought by the hand of Providence to inter him; that so the prediction might be fulfilled which was delivered by Isaiah to this purpose. The counsel of his enemies, the design of the Jews, ^a made his grave with the wicked, that he might be buried with them which were crucified with him: but because he hath done no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth; because he was no way guilty of those crimes for which they justly suffered; that there might be a difference after their death, though there appeared little distinction in it; the counsel of his Father, the design of Heaven put him *with the rich in his death*, and caused a Counsellor and a Ruler of the Jews to bury him.

The necessity of this part of the Article appeareth, first, in that it gives a testimony and assurance of the truth both of Christ's Death preceding, and of his Resurrection following. Men are not put into the earth before they die: Pilate was very inquisitive whether our Saviour ^b had been any while dead, and was fully satisfied by the Centurion, before he would give the body to Joseph to be interred. Men cannot be said to rise who never died; nor can there be a true Resurrection, where there hath not been a true Dissolution. That therefore we might believe Christ truly rose from the dead, we must be first assured that he died: and a greater assurance of his death than this we cannot have, that his body was delivered by his enemies from the Cross, and laid by his Disciples in the grave.

Secondly, a profession to believe that Christ was buried is necessary, to work within us a correspondence and similitude of his burial. For we are ^c buried with him in Baptism, even ^d buried with him by Baptism into death; that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life. That ^e nothing may be done or suffered by our Saviour in these great transactions of the Mediator, but may be acted in our Souls, and represented in our spirits.

Quicquid gestum est in cruce Christi, in sepultura, in resurrectione

tertio die, in ascensione in coelum, & in sede ad dextram Patris, ita gestum est, ut his rebus, non mystice tantum dictis, sed etiam gestis, configuraretur vita Christiana quæ hic geritur. Nam propter ejus crucem dictum est, Qui autem Jesu Christi sunt, carnem suam crucifixerunt cum vitiis & concupiscentiis; propter sepulturam, Consepulti enim sumus cum Christo per baptismum in mortem; propter Resurrectionem, Ut quemadmodum Christus resurrexit a mortuis per gloriam Patris, ita & nos in novitate vite ambulemus; propter ascensionem in coelum, sedemque ad dextram Patris, Si autem Resurrexistis cum Christo, quæ sursum sunt querite, ubi Christus est ad dextram Dei sedens. S. August. Enchirid. ad Laur. And this was before observed by Origen. l. 2. adv. Cell. *Τὰ συμβεβηκέναι ἀναγκραμμένα τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐκ ἐν ψιλῇ τῇ λέξει καὶ τῇ ἰδέει ὅτι πάντων ἔχει θεωρίαν τῆς ἀληθείας. Ἐχασον γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ σύμβολόν τι ἐστὶν παρὰ πῶς συνεπώτερον ἐντυγχάνει τῇ καρπῇ στοδίασθαι. Ὡσαύτ' ἐν τῷ σωρωθῆναι αὐτὸν ἔχει ἡ δηλημένω ἀλήθειαν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ, συνεσωρωμαι, καὶ τῷ συνεσωρωμένω ἐν τῷ, Ἐμοὶ ὅ μὴ γινώσκω καυχᾶσθαι εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ σωρωθῆναι τῷ Κυρίῳ ἢ τῷ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ δι' ἃ ἐμοὶ κόσμος ἔσται καὶ σὺ, καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἡ δόξα αὐτῷ ἀναγκασθῆναι, διὰ τὸ, Ὁ γὰρ ἀπέθανεν ἁμαρτία ἀπέθανεν ἐπάφαξ, καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀπέθανον λέγειν, συμφορᾶσθαι τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ, εἰ γὰρ συναπεθάνομεν, καὶ συζήσομεν ἔτι καὶ ἡ ταφή αὐτοῦ εὐδοκίαν ἔσται τοῦ συμφορᾶσθαι τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ συναποθανόντας καὶ τῷ Παύλῳ λέλεκται τὸ, Συνήλωμεν γὰρ αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ βαπτισθῆναι, καὶ συναίστημεν αὐτῷ.*

Thirdly,

Thirdly, it was most convenient that those pious solemnities should be performed on the body of our Saviour, that his Disciples might for ever learn what honour was fit to be received and given at their Funerals. When *Ananias* died, though for his sin, yet they *wound him up, and carried him out, and buried him*: when *Stephen* was stoned, *devout men carried him to his burial, and made great lamentation over him*: and when *Dorcas* died, they *washed her, and laid her in an upper Chamber*. So careful were the Primitive Christians of the rites of Burial. Before, and at our Saviour's time, the *Greeks* did much, the *Romans* more, use the burning of the bodies of the dead, and reserved only their ashes in their urns: but when Christianity began to encrease, the funeral flames did cease, and after a few || Emperours had received Baptism, there was not a body burnt in all the *Roman* Empire. For the first Christians wholly abstained from consuming of the dead bodies with fire, and followed the example of our Saviour's funeral, * making use of precious ointments for the dead, which they refused while they lived, and spending the spices of *Arabia* in their graves. The description of the persons which interred *Christ*, and the enumeration of their Vertues, and the everlasting commendation of her who brake the box of precious ointment for his burial, have been † thought sufficient grounds and encouragements for the careful and decent sepulture of Christians. For as natural reason will teach us to give some kind of respect unto the bodies of men, though dead, in reference|| to the Souls which formerly inhabited them: so, and much more, the followers of our Saviour while they looked upon our bodies as living *temples of the Holy Ghost*, and bought by *Christ*, to be made one day like unto his glorious body, they thought them no ways to be * neglected after death, but carefully to be laid up in the wardrobe of the Grave, with such due respect as might become the honour of the dead, and comfort of the living. And the decent custom of the Primitive Christians was so acceptable unto God, that by his providence it proved most † effectual in the conversion of the Heathens and propagation of the Gospel.

Acts 5. 6.
Acts 8. 2.
Acts 9. 37.

|| *This appears by Macrobius, who lived in the time of Theodosius junior, and testifies thus much; Licet urendi corpora defunctorum uetus nestro seculo nullus sit, lectio tamen docet, eo tempore quo igni dari honor mortuis habebatur, &c l. 7. c. 7. That this was done by the Christians is certain, because the Heathens anciently did object it to the Christians, Inde videlicet*

& execrantur rogos, & damnant ignium sepulturas. *And the answer given to this objection was, Nec, ut creditis, ullum damnum sepulturæ timemus, sed veterem & meliorem consuetudinem humandi frequentamus. Minut. Felix in Octavio. And Tertull. Et hoc etiam in opinione quorundam est; propterea nec ignibus funerandum ajunt, parcentes superfluo animæ. Alia est autem ratio pietatis istius, non reliquiis animæ adulatrix, sed crudelitatis etiam corporis nomine averfatrix, quod & ipsum homo non utique mereatur pœnali exitu impendi. De anima c. 51. At ego magis ridebo vulgus tunc quoque, cum ipsos defunctos atrocissime exuerit, quos postmodum gulosissime nutrit, iisdem ignibus & promerens & offendens. O pietatem de crudelitate ludentem! sacrificet, an insultet, cum crematis cremat.* Idem de Resur. Carn. c. 1. * *The Heathens objected it to the Primitive Christians; Reservatis unguenta funeribus. Minutius Felix. And Tertullian confesseth it, Thura plane non emimus. Si Arabia queruntur, sciant Sabæi pluris & cariores suas merces Christianis sepeliendis profigari, quam Diis fumigandis. Apol. c. 42. And speaking of spices, lib. de Idololat. Etiam hominibus pigmenta medicinalia, nobis quoque insuper ad solatia sepulturæ ului sunt, So Clem. Alex. Μυελίζονται οί γδ νεκροί. And again, Αί γδ εὐερέμετε χρίσεις τῶν μύρων κηδείας, ἔσμεν βιωσέως ἀποπνέουσι. Pædag. l. 2. c. 8. † Iste Dominus die tertio resurrecturus religiosæ mulieris bonum opus prædicat, prædicandumque commendat, quod unguentum pretiosum super membra ejus effuderit, atque hoc ad eum sepeliendum fecerit. Et laudabiliter commemorantur in Evangelio, qui corpus ejus de cruce acceptum diligenter atque honorifice tegendum sepeliendumque curarunt. Verum istæ autoritates non hoc admonent, quod insit ullus cadaveribus sensus: sed ad Dei providentiam, cui placent etiam talia pietatis officia, corpora quoque mortuorum pertinere significant, propter fidem resurrectionis astruendam. S. August. de Civitate Dei, l. 1. c. 13. || Οὐδὲν ἢ λυπεῖ ἡμᾶς ἔδὲ τὸ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλείτου λεγόμενον, ὅτι Κέλσος παρείληθεν, ὅτι νέκρες εἰσι κοπιῶν ἐκβλήσονται, καὶ ταῖς εἰποι τις ἂν καὶ περὶ τούτου, ὅτι τὰ μὲν κόπρια ἐκβλήσονται ὅτι, οἱ δ' εἰς ἀνδράπων νέκρες, διὰ τὴν ἐνοικήσαν ψυχὴν καὶ μάλιστα εἰάν ἢ ἀσειότερα, ἐκ ἐκβλήσονται. Κατὰ γὰρ τοῦ ἀσειότερου τῶν νόμων, καὶ τῆς ἀνδρομῆς; ὡς πρὸς τὰ ποιῶντα πρὸς ταῖς ἀξίαις ἵνα μὴ ὑβρίζωμεν τῇ δυνάμει τὴν ἐνοικήσαν ψυχὴν ἀπορρίπτειν, μετὰ τὸ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτὴν τὸ σῶμα, ὡς καὶ τὰ τῶν κτλιῶν σώματα. Orig. adv. Celsum l. 5. Odys. d'.*

Νεμεσώμαι γὰρ ἔδὲν
Κλαίειν ὅς κε δάνησι βροτῶν καὶ πότμον ὀπίσσω.
Τῆτό νυ καὶ γέρας οἶον οἰζυροῖσι βροτοῖσι
Κείραδαί τε κόμην, βαλῆεν τ' ἀπὸ δάκρυ παρειαῶν.

* *Nec ideo tamen contemnenda & abjicienda sunt corpora defunctorum, maximèque justorum atque fidelium, quibus tanquam organis & vasis ad omnia bona opera Sanctus usus est Spiritus. Si enim paterna vestis & annulus, ac si quid hujusmodi tanto charius est posteris, quanto erga parentes major existit affectus; nullo modo ipsa spernenda sunt corpora, quæ utiq; multo familiarius atq; conjunctius quam quælibet indumenta gestamus. Hæc enim non ad ornamentum vel adju-*
torium

torium quod adhibetur extrinsecus, sed ad ipsam naturam hominis, pertinent. S. Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 1. c. 13. Τοῦτο παρ' ἑσῆς ὁ ἱερεὺς χρεῖται, ἀποτίθεισιν ἐν οἴκῳ πρὶν τὸ σῶμα μεθ' ἑτέρων ὁμοταγῶν ἱερέων σωματίων. Εἰ γὰρ ἐν ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι τὴν θεοφιλήν ζωὴν ἡ κεκοιμημένῳ ἐβίω, τίμιον ἔσται μὴ τὴν ὁσίαν ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ συναθλήσαν αὐτῇ σῶμα καὶ τὸν ἱερέα ἱδρῶτας, ἕνθεν ἡ θεία δικαιοσύνη καὶ τὴν σφαιρῆν σῶμα! αὐτῇ δωρεῖται τὰς ἀμοιβαίας ἀήξεσ, ὡς ὁμοπορδ' τῶ καὶ ζυμμετόχῳ τῆς δόξης ἢ τῆς ἐναντίας ζωῆς. Dionys. Eccl. Hierarch. c. 7. Propter patrem militiam Christi deseram, cui sepulturam Christi causa non debeo, quam etiam omnibus ejus causa debeo? S. Hieron. Epist. ad Heliodorum. † This was observed by Julian the Apostate, who, writing to an Idolatrous High-Priest, puts him in mind of those things by which he thought the Christians gained upon the world, and recommends them to the practice of the Heathen Priests. Of these he reckons three; the gravity of their carriage, their kindness to strangers, and their care for the Burial of the dead. Τί ἐν ἡμεῖς διόμεθα ταῦτα ἀρχαῖα καὶ ἀπεβλέπομεν ὁ μάλιστα τὴν ἀθεότητα (so he calls Christianity, because they rejected all the Heathen Gods) συνυψύσσει, ἢ ἀεὶ τὴν ἕνευ φιλασθεωπία, καὶ ἀεὶ τὰς τιφὰς ἢ νεκρῶν περιμήθεια, καὶ ἡ πεπλοσμήνη σεμνότης καὶ τὸ βίον; ὡς ἐκαστὸν οἴομαι χρῆναι παρ' ἡμῶν ἀληθῶς ὁλιτιδ' ἑσθ. Epist. 49. ad Arfacium. And as Julian observed the care of Burial as a great encouragement to the Heathens to turn Christians, so Gregory Nazianzen did observe the same to the great dishonour of the Apostate, comparing his Funeral with his Predecessors. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ (that is Constantius) παραπέμπειαι πανδήμοις εὐφημίας τε καὶ πομπῆς, καὶ τέτοις ἢ τοῖς ἡμετέροις σεμνοῖς ἰδαῖς πανύχοις καὶ δαδύχοις, αἷς Χριστιανοὶ πρῶν μέλεισιν ἀσέβῃ νεμίζομεν καὶ γίνεται πανήγυρις μετὰ πάθους ἢ ἐκκομιδῆν τῆς σῶμα! αὐτοῦ. But as for Julian, μίμοι γελοίων ἦρον αὐτὸν, καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς σκλυῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιμπάετο ἕως ἡ Ταρσέων αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεται πόλις ἔνθα ἢ οἱ τέμενον ἀπαιμον, καὶ πύλον ἑσθ' ἀγῆσθ' καὶ ἀπόπτυσθ', καὶ ἐδὲ θεατῆς ἐυσέβων ὄψεσ. Stelitent. 2.

Thus I believe the only-begotten and eternal Son of God, for the confirmation of the truth of his death already past, and the verity of his resurrection from the dead suddenly to follow, had his body, according to the custom of the Jews, prepared for a funeral, bound up with linen clothes, and laid in spices; and after that accustomed preparation, deposited in a Sepulchre hewn out of a rock, in which never man was laid before, and by rolling of a stone unto the door thereof, entombed there. Thus I believe that Christ was buried.

ARTICLE V.

He descended into Hell : the third day he rose again from the dead.

THE former part of this Article, of the *Descent into Hell*, hath not been so^a anciently in the *Creed*, or so universally, as the rest. The first place we find it used in was the Church of *Aquileia*; and the time we are sure it was used in the *Creed* of that Church was less than 400 years after *Christ*. After that it came into the^b *Roman Creed*, and^c others, and hath been acknowledged as a part of the *Apostles Creed* ever since.

^a First, it is to be observed, that the *Descent into Hell* was not in the ancient *CreeDs* or *Rules of Faith*. Some

*tell us that it was not in the Confession of Ignatius, Epist. ad Magnes. But indeed there is no Confession of Faith in that Epistle; for what is read there was thrust in out of Clemens his Constitutions. In like manner, in vain is it objected that it was omitted by Polycarp, Clemens Romanus, and Justin Martyr, because they have not pretended any Rule of Faith or Creed of their times. But that which is material in this Cause, It is not to be found in the Rules of Faith delivered by Irenæus, lib. 1. cap. 2. by Origen. lib. *αὐτὸ ἀρχαῖον*, in Procem. or by Tertullian, adv. Praxeam, cap. 2. de Virg. veland. c. 1. de Præscript. adv. Hæret. cap. 13. It is not expressed in those Creeds which were made by the Councils as larger Explications of the Apostles Creed: not in the Nicene or Constantinopolitane, nor in that of Ephesus, or Chalcedon; nor in those Confessions made at Sardica, Antioch, Seleucia, Sirmium, &c. It is not mentioned in several Confessions of Faith delivered by particular persons: not in that of Eusebius Cæsariensis, presented to the Council of Nice, Theodoret. l. 1. c. 2. not in that of Marcellus Bishop of Ancyra, delivered to Pope Julius, Epiphan. Hæret. 72. not in that of Arius and Euzoius, presented to Constantine, Socrat. l. 1. c. 19. not in that of Acacius Bishop of Cæsarea, delivered in to the Synod of Seltucia, Socrat. l. 2. c. 40. nor in that of Eustathius, Theophilus and Silvanus, sent to Liberius, Socrat. l. 4. c. 12. There is no mention of it in the Creed of S. Basil, Tract. de Fide in Asceticis; in the Creed of Epiphanius, in Ancorato, c. 120. Gelasius, Damasus, Macarius, &c. It is not in the Creed expounded by S. Cyril, (though some have produced that Creed to prove it: it is not in the Creed expounded by S. Augustine de Fide & Symbolo; nor in that De Symbolo ad Catechumenos, attributed to S. Augustine; nor in that which is expounded by Maximus Taurinensis, nor that so often interpreted by Petrus Chrysologus, nor in that of the Church of Antioch., delivered by Cassianus, de Incarn. l. 6. neither is it to be seen in the MSS. Creeds set forth by the learned Archbishop of Armagh. Indeed it is affirmed by Ruffinus, that in his time it was neither in the Roman nor the Oriental Creeds: Sciendum sane est, quod in Ecclesiæ Romanæ Symbolo non habetur additum, descendit ad inferna; sed neq; in Orientis Ecclesiis habetur hic sermo. Ruff. in Exposit. Symboli. It is certain therefore (nor can we disprove it by any acknowledged Evidence of Antiquity) that the Article of the Descent into Hell was not in the Roman or any of the Oriental Creeds. ^b That the Descent into Hell came afterwards into the Roman Creed appeareth, not only because we find it there of late, but because we find it often in the Latin Church many Ages since. As in that produced by Etherius against Elipandus in the year 785, in the 115 Sermon. de Tempore, falsely ascribed to S. Augustine, where it is attributed to S. Thomas the Apostle: In the Exposition of the Creed falsely ascribed to S. Chrysostome. ^c As in the Creed attributed to Athanasius, which though we cannot say was his, yet we know was extant about the year 600. by the Epistle of Isidorus Hispalensis ad Claudium Ducem. It was also inserted into the Creed of the Council of Ariminum, Soc. l. 2. c. 37. and of the fourth Council of Toledo, held in the year 633, and of the sixteenth Council of the same Toledo, held in the year 693.*

Indeed the *Descent into Hell* hath^d always been accepted, but with a various Exposition; and the Church of England at the Reformation as it received the *three Creeds*, in two of which this Article is contained, so did it also make this one of the Articles of Religion, to which all who are admitted to any Benefice, or received into Holy Orders are obliged to subscribe. And at the first reception it was propounded with a certain Explication, and thus delivered in the fourth year of King *Edward* the Sixth, with reference to an express place of Scripture interpreted of this *Descent*:^e *That the body of Christ lay in the Grave until his Resurrection; but his spirit, which he gave up was with the spirits which were detained in Prison, or in Hell, and preached to them, as the place in S. Peter testifieth.* So likewise after the same manner in the *Creed* set forth in Metre after the manner of a Psalm, and still remaining at the end of the Psalms, the same Exposition is delivered in this Staff;

^d Quis nisi infidelis negaverit fuisse apud inferos Christum? S. Aug. Epist. 99.

^e 1 Pet. 3. 19. Nam corpus usq; ad Resurrectionem in sepulchro jacuit, Spiritus ab illo emissus cum spiritibus qui

*And so he died in the flesh,
But quickned in the spirit:
His body then was buried,
As is our use and right.*

in Carcere sive in inferno detinebantur, fuit, illisque prædicavit, ut testatur Petri locus, &c. *Articuli ann. 1552.* Which place was also made use of in the Exposition of the Creed contained in the Catechism set forth by the Authority of King Edward, in the seventh year of his Reign.

His spirit did after this descend
Into the lower parts,
Of them that long in darkness were
The true light of their hearts.

Article 3.
1562.

But in the Synod ten years after; in the days of Queen Elizabeth, the Articles, which continue still in force, deliver the same Descent, but without any the least explication or reference to any particular place of Scripture, in these words; *As Christ died for us and was buried, so also it is to be believed that he went down into Hell.* Wherefore being our Church hath not now imposed that Interpretation of S. Peter's words, which before it intimated; being it hath not delivered that as the only place of Scripture to found the *Descent into Hell* upon; being it hath alledged no other place to ground it, and delivered no other Explication to expound it: we may with the greater liberty pass on to find out the true meaning of this Article, and to give our particular judgment in it, so far as a matter of so much obscurity and variety will permit.

^a Descendit in Inferna, or ad inferna, is the general writing in the ancient MSS. as the learned Archbishop

First then, it is to be observed, that as this Article was first in the *Aquileian Creed*, so it was delivered there not in the express and formal term of *Hell*, but in such a word as may be capable of a greater latitude, *Descendit in inferna*: which words as they were continued in a other *Creeds*, so did they find a double interpretation among the *Greeks*; some translating *inferna Hell*, others the ^b *lower parts*: the first with relation to S. Peter's words of Christ, ^c *Thou shalt not leave my soul in Hell*; the second referring to that of S. Paul, ^d *He descended into the lower parts of the earth.*

testified of those in the Benedictine and Cottonian Libraries; to which I may add those in the Library at Westminster: we see the same likewise in that of Elipandus, *Descendit ad inferna*. Which words are so recited in the Creed delivered in the Catechism set forth by the Authority of Edw. VI. An. Dom. 1553. ^b So the ancient MS. in Bennet Colledge Library, *κατελθόντα εἰς τὰ κατώτατα* and the Confession made at Sirmium, *εἰς τὰ κατωχθόνια κατελθόντα*. Since that it is *Descendit ad inferos*, and *κατελθόντα εἰς ἄδου*, or *Descendit ad inferum*, as Venantius Fortunatus. For *τὰ κατώτατα* is a fit interpretation, if we take *inferna* according to the Vulgar Etymology; as S. Augustine, *Inferi, eo quod infra sint, Latine appellantur, De Gen. ad lit. l. 12. c. 34* or as Nonius Marcellus, *Inferum ab imo dictum, unde inferi, quibus inferius nihil.* Again, *inferna* may well be translated *ἄδου*, if it be taken according to the true Origination, which is from the Greek *ἐνεργει*, with the Æolick digamma, from which Dialect most of the Latine Language came, *Ἐν Φεεσι*, *Inferi*. Now *ἐνεργει*, according to the Greek composition, is nothing else but *ἕνωχθόνια* Etym. *Ἐνεργει, οἱ νεργοί, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ ἔρα καὶ ἄδου, ὁ βῆν, ἐν τῇ γῆ* and *Suid.* *Ἐνεργει, νεργεις, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ ἔ. α. καὶ ἄδου.* *Ἐεγ* is anciently the earth, from whence *ἔεργε, χαμάρις*, to the earth: *ἐνεργει* then are in the earth, as they supposed the Manes or Spirits of the dead to be; from whence Homer. *Iliad. ο'. Αἴδης ἐνεργισιν ἀνδρῶν*, of Pluto; and Hesiod. *Τείας Αἴδης ἐνεργισι καταφθιμένους ἀνδρῶν* and in imitation of them Æschylus in *Perfis*, *γῆτι δ' Ἐρμῆ, βασιλεῦ τ' ἐνέργων, Πέμψαι ἐνεργει ψυχὰν εἰς φάθ.* Thus *ἐνεργει* are those which Æschylus elsewhere calls *τῶν γῆς νεργειν* & *τῶν γῆς ἐνεργειν*. And as *ἐνεργει*, the Souls of the dead in the earth, so are *Inferi* in the first acception, that is, Manes. Pomponius Mela, *Augilæ manes tantum Deos putant*; which Pliny delivers thus, *Augilæ inferos tantum colunt*, and Solinus, *Augilæ vero solos colunt inferos Inferi* where then first *ἐνεργει*, the Souls of men in the earth: and as Manes is not only put for the Souls below, but also for the place, as in the Poet;

Manesque profundi, and,
Hæc manes veniat mihi fama sub imos;

so *inferi* is most frequently used for the place under ground where the Souls departed are and the *inferna* must then be those Regions in which they take up their habitations. And so *Descendit ad inferna*, *κατελθόντα εἰς ἄδου*, and *Descendit ad Inferos*, are the same. c Acts 2. 27. d Ephes. 4. 9.

Secondly, I observe that in the *Aquileian Creed*, where this Article was first expressed, there was no mention of Christ's Burial; but the words of their Confession ran thus, ^e *crucified under Pontius Pilate, he descended in inferna.* From whence there is no question but the Observation of *Ruffinus*, who first

^e So are the words cited in Ruffinus, *Crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato, descendit in inferna.* And his Observation upon them is this; *Sciendum sane est, quod in Ecclesia Romanæ Symbolo non habetur additum Descendit ad inferna; sed neque in Orientis Ecclesiis habetur hic sermo: vis tamen verbi eadem videtur esse in eo quod sepultus est. Expos. Symb.* The same may also be observed in the *Athanasian Creed*, which has the *Descent*, but not the *Sepulture*; Who suffered for our Salvation, descended into Hell, rose again the third day from the dead. Nor is this only observable in these two, but also in the *Creed made at Sirmium*, and produced at *Ariminum*, in which the words run thus, *κατελθόντα, καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ἀποθανόντα, καὶ εἰς τὰ κατωχθόνια κατελθόντα.* Where though the *Descent* be expressed, and the *Burial* be

be not mentioned; it is most certain, those men which made it (Hereticks indeed but not in this) did not understand his Burial by that Descent; and that appears by addition of the following words, εἰς τὰ κατωχθόνια κατεβόηται. καὶ τὸ βῆσαι ἀνομιώσαντα, ὃν πύλωσι ἀδελθόντες ἔφειξαν. For he did not dispose and order things below by his Body in the Grave: nor could the Keepers of the Gates of Hell be affrighted with any sight of his Corps lying in the Sepulchre.

expounded it, was most true, that though the Roman and Oriental Creeds had not their words, yet they had the sense of them in the word *buried*. It appeareth therefore that the first intention of putting these words in the *Creed* was only to express the Burial of our Saviour, or the descent of his Body into the Grave. But although they were first put in the *Aquileian Creed*, to signify the Burial of *Christ*, and those which had only the Burial in their *Creed* did confess as much as those which without the Burial did express the *Descent*; yet since the *Roman Creed* hath added the *Descent* unto the *Burial*, and expressed that *Descent* by words signifying more properly *Hell*, it cannot be imagined that the *Creed* as now it stands, should signify only the Burial of *Christ* by his Descent into *Hell*. But rather, being the ancient Church did certainly believe that *Christ* did some other way descend beside his Burial; being though he interpreted those words of the Burial only, yet in the relation of what was done at our Saviour's Death, he makes mention of his Descent into Hell, beside, and * distinct from his Sepulture; being those who in after-Ages added it to the Burial, did actually believe that the Soul of *Christ* descended: it followeth that, for the Exposition of the *Creed*, it is most necessary to declare in what that Descent consisteth.

* For having produced many places of Scripture to prove the Circumstances of our Saviour's death,

and having cited those particularly which did belong unto his Burial, he passes farther to his Descent, in these words; Sed & quod in infernum descendit, evidenter prænuntiatur in Psalmis, ubi dicit, Et in pulverem mortis deluxisti me; & iterum, Quæ utilitas in sanguine meo dum descendo in corruptionem? & iterum, Descendisti in limum profundi, & non est substantia. Sed & Matthæus dicit, Tu es qui venturæ est, an alium expectamus? Unde & Petrus dixit, Quia Christus mortificatus carne vivificatus autem spiritu. In ipso, ait, & eis qui in carcere inclusi erant in diebus Noe: in quo etiam quid operis egerit in inferno declaratur. Sed & ipse Dominus per Prophetam dicit tanquam de futuro, Quia non derelinques animam meam in inferno, nec dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem: quod rursus propheticè nihilominus ostendit impletum, cum dicit, Domine, eduxisti ab inferno animam meam, salvasti me à descendantibus in lacum. Whence it appeareth, that though Rufinus thought that the sense of descendit ad interna was expressed in sepultus est; yet he did distinguish the Doctrine of *Christ's* Descent into Hell from that of his Burial.

Thirdly, I observe again, that whatsoever is delivered in the *Creed*, we therefore believe because it is contained in the Scriptures, and consequently must so believe it as it is contained there; whence all this Exposition of the whole is nothing else but an illustration and proof of every particular part of the *Creed* by such Scriptures as deliver the same, according to the true interpretation of them and the general consent of the Church of God. Now these words as they lie in the *Creed*, *He descended into Hell*, are no-where formally and expressly delivered in the Scriptures; nor can we find any one place in which the Holy Ghost hath said in express and plain terms that *Christ* as he died and was buried, so he descended into Hell. Wherefore being these words of the *Creed* are not formally expressed in the Scripture, our inquiry must be in what Scriptures they are contained virtually; that is, where the Holy Ghost doth deliver the same Doctrine, in what words soever, which is contained, and to be understood in this expression, *He descended into Hell*.

Now several places of Scripture have been produced by the Ancients as delivering this truth, of which some without question prove it not: but three there are which have been always thought of greatest validity to confirm this Article. First, that of *S. Paul* to the *Ephesians* seems to come very near the words themselves, and to express the same almost || in terms: * Now

|| For the first expression which we find

in Rufinus, Descendit in inferna, comes most near to this quotation; especially if we take the ancient Greek Translation of it: κατεβόηται εἰς τὰ κατωχθόνια. For if we consider that κατωχθόνια may well have the signification of the Superlative, especially being the LXX. hath so translated Psalm 63. 9. ἐπιελθόντων εἰς τὰ κατωχθόνια τῆς γῆς and Psalm 139. 15. καὶ ἡ ψυχή μου ἐστὶς με ἐν τοῖς κατωχθόνιοις τῆς γῆς, what can be nearer than these two, κατεβόηται εἰς τὰ κατωχθόνια, and κατεβόηται εἰς τὰ κατωχθόνια μέρη τῆς γῆς; * Eph. 4. 9.

*This appeareth by their quotation of this place to prove, or express, the Descent into Hell; as Irenæus does l. 5. c. 26. Origen. Hom. 35. in Matt. Athanasius, Epist. ad Epictetum, Iulianus, in Psal. 67. S. Jerome upon the place, Interiora autem terræ infernus accipitur, ad quem Dominus nosse Salvatorque descendit. So also the Commentary attributed to S. Ambrose, and S. Hilary, Si itaque hæc omnia Christus unus est, neque alius est Christus mortuus, alius sepultus,

aut alius descendens ad inferna, & alius ascendens in coelos, secundum illud Apostoli, Ascendit autem quid est, &c. De Trinit. l. 10. a John 3. 13. b John 8. 23. c Psalm 139. 15. d Psal. 63. 9. e Job 1. 21.

that he ascended, what is it but that he descended first into the lower parts of the earth? This many of the ancient * Fathers understood of the Descent into Hell, as placed in the lowest parts of the earth: and this exposition must be confessed so probable, that there can be no Argument to disprove it. Those lower parts of the earth may signifie Hell, and Christ's descending thither may be, that his Soul went to that place when his Body was carried to the Grave. But that it was actually so, or that the Apostle intended so much in those words, the place it self will not manifest. For we cannot be assured that the descent of Christ, which S. Paul speaks of, was performed after his death; or if it were, we cannot be assured that the lower parts of the earth did signifie Hell, or the place where the Souls of men were tormented after the separation from their Bodies. For as it is written, a No man ascendeth up to heaven, but he that descended from heaven; so this may signifie so much, and no more, In that he ascended, what is it but that he descended first? And for the lower parts of the earth, they may possibly signifie no more than the place beneath: as when our Saviour said, b Ye are from beneath, I am from above; ye are of this world, I am not of this world: or as God spake by the Prophet, I will shew wonders in heaven above, and signs in the earth beneath. Nay, they may well refer to his Incarnation, according to that of David, c My substance was not hid from thee when I was made in secret, and curiously wrought in the lower parts of the earth; or to his Burial, according to that of the Prophet, d Those that seek my soul to destroy it, shall go into the lower parts of the earth: and these two References have a great similitude according to that of Job, e Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither.

f As Hermes, l. 3. Simil. 9. Irenæus, l. 4. c. 45. Clem. Alexand. Strom. l. 6. Orig. Hom. 35. in Mat. S. Athanas. l. de Incarn. & Epist. ad Epictetum, Epiph. Hæres. 77. S. Cyril. de recta fide ad Theolo-

gum, l. 12. in Johan. Orat. Pasch. & alibi sæpius. Author. Comment. Ambros. ascript ad Rom. 10. Ruff. in Explic. Symb. g For in his Answer to Euodius, Epist. 99. he thus begins; Quæstio quam mihi proposuisti ex Epistola Apostoli Petri solet nos aut te latere non arbitror, vehementissime cominovere, quomodo illa verba accipienda sint tanquam de inferis dicta. Replico ergo tibi eandem quæstionem, ut, sive ipse potueris, sive aliquem qui possit inveneris, auferas de illa atque nimias dubitationem meam. Then setting down in order all the difficulties which occurred at that time in that Exposition of the Descent into Hell, he concludes with an Exposition of another nature: Considera tamen, ne forte totum illud quod de conculsis in carcere spiritibus qui in diebus Noë non crediderant Petrus Apostolus dicit, omnino ad inferos non pertinere, sed ad illa potius tempora quorum formam ad hæc tempora transtulit:

put to death in the flesh, but quickned by the spirit, by which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison. Now that Spirit by which Christ was quickned is ^f that by which he was raised from the dead, that is the power of his Divinity; as *S. Paul* expresseth it & *Though he was crucified through weakness, yet he liveth by the power of God*: in respect of which he preached to those which were disobedient in the days of *Noah*, as we have ^h already shewn.

^f Quid est enim quod vivificatus est spiritu, nisi quod eadem caro quâ solâ fuerat morti-

ficatus, vivificante spiritu resurrexit? Nam quod fuerat animâ mortificatus Jesus, hoc est, eo spiritu qui hominis est, quis audeat dicere? cum mors animæ non sit nisi peccatum, à quo ille omnino immunis fuit cum pro nobis carne mortificaretur. *S. Aug. Epist. 99. Et alibi.* Certe anima Christi non solum immortalis secundum cæterarum naturam, sed etiam nullo mortificata peccatum vel damnatione punita est; quibus duabus causis mors animæ intelligi potest, & ideo non secundum ipsam dici potuit Christus *vivificatus spiritu*. In ea re quippe vivificatus est in qua fuerat mortificatus. Ergo de carne dictum est: ipsa enim revixit anima redeunte, quia ipsa erat mortua anima recedente. *Mortificatus ergo carne dictus est: quia secundum solam carnem mortuus est: vivificatus autem spiritu, quia illo spiritu operante in quo ad quos (leg. eos) veniebat & prædicabat, etiam ipsa caro vivificatâ surrexit, in qua modo ad homines venit.* g 2 Cor. 13. h Pag. 112.

The third; but principal, Text is that of *David*, applied by *S. Peter*. For *David* speaketh concerning him, *I foresaw the Lord always before my face; for he is on my right hand, that I should not be moved. Therefore did my heart rejoyce, and my tongue was glad: moreover also my flesh shall rest in hope. Because thou wilt not leave my Soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine holy One to see corruption.* Thus the Apostle repeated the words of the *Psalmist*, and then applied them: *He being a Prophet, and seeing this before, spake of the resurrection of Christ, that his Soul was not left in Hell, neither his flesh did see corruption.* Now from this place the Article is clearly and infallibly deduced thus: If the Soul of Christ were not left in Hell at his Resurrection, then his Soul was in Hell before his Resurrection: But it was not there before his Death; therefore upon or after his Death, and before his Resurrection, the Soul of Christ descended into Hell; and consequently the Creed doth truly deliver that Christ, being crucified, was dead, buried, and descended into Hell. For as his flesh did not see corruption by vertue of that promise and propheticall expression, and yet it was in the Grave, the place of corruption, where it rested in hope until his Resurrection: so his Soul, which was not left in Hell, by vertue of the like Promise or Prediction, was in that Hell, where it was not left, until the time that it was to be united to the Body for the performing of the Resurrection. We must therefore confess from hence that the Soul of Christ was in Hell; and no Christian can deny it, saith *S. Augustine*,ⁱ it is so clearly delivered in this Prophecy of the *Psalmist* and Application of the Apostle.

ⁱ Dominum quidem carne mortificatum venisse in in-

fernum satis constat. Neque enim contradici potest vel prophetiæ quæ dixit, *Quoniam non derelinques animam meam in Inferno,* (quod ne aliter quisquam sapere auderet, in Actibus Apostolorum idem Petrus exponit) vel ejusdem Petri illis verbis quibus eum asserit *soluisse Inferni dolores, in quibus impossibile erat eum teneri.* Quis ergo nisi infidelis negaverit fuisse apud inferos Christum? *Epist. 99.*

The only Question then remains, not of the truth of the Proposition, but the sense and meaning of it. It is most certain that *Christ descended into Hell*: and as infallibly true as any other Article of the Creed: but what that *Hell*, was, and how *he descended* thither, being once questioned, is not easily determined. Different Opinions there have been of old, and of late more different still, which I shall here examine after that manner which our subject will admit. Our present design is an Exposition of the Creed as now it stands, and our endeavour is to expound it according to the Scriptures in which it is contained. I must therefore look for such an Explication as may consist with the other parts of the Creed, and may withal be conformable unto that Scripture upon which the truth of the Article doth rely: And consequently, whatsoever Interpretation is either not true in it self, or not consistent with the body of the Creed, or not conformable to the Doctrine of the Apostle

Apostle in this particular, the Expositor of that Creed by the Doctrine of the Apostle must reject.

* Cùm Articulus sit, Christum ad Inferos descendisse, & non possit intelligi ratione Divinitatis, secundum quam est ubique; nec ratione corporis secundum quod fuit in sepulchro; restat quod intelligatur ratione animæ: quo supposito, videndum est qualiter anima Christi descendit ad infernum, Durand. lib. 3. dist. 22. q. 3.

First then, we shall consider the Opinion of *Durandus*, who, as often, so in this, is singular. He supposeth this Descent to belong * unto the Soul, and the name of *Hell* to signifie the place where the Souls of dead men were in custody: but he maketh a Metaphor in the word *descended*, as not signifying any local motion, nor inferring any real presence of the Soul of Christ in the place where the Souls of dead men were; but only including a virtual motion, and inferring an efficacious presence, by which Descent the effects of the Death of Christ were wrought upon the Souls in Hell: and because the Merits of Christ's Death did principally depend upon the act of his Soul, therefore the effect of his Death is attributed to his Soul as the principal Agent; and consequently Christ is truly said at the instant of his Death to *descend into Hell*, because his Death was immediately efficacious upon the Souls detained there. This is the Opinion of *Durandus*, so far as it is distinct from others.

But although a virtual influence of the Death of Christ may be well admitted in reference to the Souls of the dead, yet this Opinion cannot be accepted as the Exposition of this Article; being neither the Creed can be thought to speak a language of so great Scholastick subtilty, nor the place of *David* expounded by *S. Peter*, can possibly admit any such Explication. For what can be the sense of those words, *thou shalt not leave my soul in Hell*, if his being in Hell was only virtually acting there? If the efficacy of his Death were his Descent, then is he descended still, because the effect of his Death still remaineth. The Opinion therefore of *Durandus*, making the Descent into Hell to be nothing but the efficacy of the Death of Christ upon the Souls detained there, is to be rejected, as not expositive of the Creed's confession, nor consistent with the Scripture's expression.

Catech. Instit. l. 2. c. 16. Sect. 10. Si Christus ad inferos descendisse dicitur, nihil mirum est, cum eam mortem pertulerit quæ sceleribus ab irato Deo infligitur: *which he expresseth presently in another phrase*, cum diros in anima cruciatus damnati ac perditionis pertulerit.

The next Opinion, later than that of *Durandus*, is, that the || Descent into Hell is the suffering of the torments of Hell; that the Soul of *Christ* did really and truly suffer all those pains which are due unto the damned; that whatsoever is threatned by the Law unto them which depart this life in their sins and under the wrath of God, was fully undertaken and born by *Christ*; that he died a true and natural death, the death of *Gehenna*, and this dying the death of *Gehenna* was the *descending into hell*; that those which are now saved by vertue of his death, should otherwise have endured the same torments in Hell which now the damned do, and shall endure, but that he, being their surety, did himself suffer the same for them, even all the torments which we should have felt, and the damned shall.

This Interpretation is either taken in the strict sense of the words, or in a latitude of expression; but in neither to be admitted as the exposition of this Article. Not if it be taken in a strict, rigorous, proper and formal sense; for in that acception it is not true. It must not, it cannot, be admitted that *Christ* did suffer all those torments which the damned suffer; and therefore it is not, it cannot, be true, that by suffering them he descended into Hell. There is a Worm that never dieth, which could not lodge within his Breast; that is, a remorse of Conscience, seated in the Soul, for what that Soul hath done: but such a remorse of Conscience could not be in *Christ*, who though

Quid igitur? Christus perlonam suam secundum humanitatem poenam gehennalem nobis debitam passus est, animam principaliter, corpore secundario, utroque casualiter ad merendum, ad nos suo ipsius merito liberandos. *Parkerus de Descensu*, l. 3. Sect. 48. Et statim Sect. 49. Descendisse namque Servatorem, modo supra memorato, ad Haden mortis gehennalis, innumeris patet argumentis.

he took upon himself the sins of those which otherwise had been damned, yet that act of his was a most vertuous, charitable, and most glorious act, highly conformable to the will of God, and consequently could not be the object of remorse. The grief and horreur in the Soul of *Christ*, which we have expressed in the Explication of his Sufferings antecedent to his Crucifixion, had reference to the sins and punishment of men, to the justice and wrath of God; but clearly of a nature different from the sting of Conscience in the Souls condemned to eternal Flames. Again, an essential part of the Torments of Hell is a present and constant sense of the everlasting Displeasure of God, and an impossibility of obtaining favour, and avoiding pain; an absolute and compleat despair of any better condition, or the least relaxation: But *Christ*, we know, had never any such resentment, who looked upon the reward which was set before him, even upon the Cross; and offered up himself a sweet-smelling Sacrifice; which could never be efficacious, except offered in Faith. If we should imagine any damned Soul to have received an express promise of God, that after 10000 years he would release him from those Torments, and make him everlastingly happy, and to have a true Faith in that Promise, and a firm hope of receiving eternal life; we could not say that man was in the same condition with the rest of the damned, or that he felt all that Hell which they were sensible of, or all that pain which was due unto his sins: because hope and confidence and relying upon God would not only mitigate all other pains, but wholly take away the bitter anguish of Despair. *Christ* then, who knew the beginning, continuance, and conclusion of his Sufferings, who understood the determinate minute of his own Death and Resurrection, who had made a Covenant with his Father for all the degrees of his Passion, and was fully assured that he could suffer no more than he had freely and deliberately undertaken, and should continue no longer in his Passion than he had himself determined, he who by those torments was assured to overcome all the powers of Hell, cannot possibly be said to have been in the same condition with the damned, and strictly and properly to have endured the pains of Hell.

Again, if we take the Torments of Hell in a Metaphorical sense, for those Terrours and Horrors of Soul which our Saviour felt, which may therefore be called infernal Torments, because they are of greater extremity than any other tortures of this life, and because they were accompanied with a sense of the wrath of God against the unrighteousness of men; yet this cannot be an Interpretation of the Descent into Hell, as it is an Article of the *Creed*, and as that Article is grounded upon the Scriptures. For all those pains which our Saviour felt (whether, as they pretend, properly infernal, or metaphorically such) were antecedent to his Death; part of them in the Garden, part on the *Cross*; but all before he commended his Spirit into the hands of his Father, and gave up the ghost. Whereas it is sufficiently evident that the Descent into Hell, as it now stands in the *Creed*, signifieth something commenced after his Death, contra-distinguished to his Burial; and, as it is considered in the Apostle's explication, is clearly to be understood of that which immediately preceded his Resurrection; and that also grounded upon a confidence totally repugnant to infernal pains. For it is thus particularly expressed: *I foresaw the Lord always before my face; for he is on my right hand, that I should not be moved. Therefore did my heart rejoyce, and my tongue was glad; moreover also my flesh shall rest in hope: because thou wilt not leave my soul in hell.* Where the faith, hope, confidence, and assurance of *Christ* is shewn, and his *flesh*, though laid in the Grave, the place of corruption, is said to *rest in hope*, for this very reason, because God would not *leave his soul in hell*. I conclude there.

Psal. 116. 5, 10.

therefore, that the Descent into Hell is not the enduring the torments of Hell: because, if strictly taken, it is not true; if Metaphorically taken, though it be true, yet it is not pertinent.

The third Opinion, which is also very late, at least in the manner of explication, is, that in those words, *Thou shalt not leave my Soul in Hell*, the Soul of Christ is taken for his body, and Hell for the grave; and consequently, in the Creed, *He descended into hell*, is no more than this, that Christ in his body was laid into the grave. This Explication ordinarily is rejected, by denying that the Soul is ever taken for the body, or Hell for the grave; but in vain: for it must be acknowledged that some times the Scriptures are rightly so, and cannot otherwise be, understood. First, the same word in the

^a The Hebrew word is נפש and the Greek ψυχή, נפש ויוצא נפשו וְיָצָא נַפְשׁוֹ וְיָצָא נַפְשׁוֹ וְיָצָא נַפְשׁוֹ ἐκ ἐγκαταλείψαι τὴν ψυχὴν μὲν εἰς ἄδην, Psal. 16. 10. But both נפש and ψυχή are used for the body of a dead man, Num. 6. 6. and it is so translated; for Moses speaking there of a Nazarite, gives this Law, All the days that he sepa-

and we translate the soul, is elsewhere used for the body of a dead man, and translated so. And when we read in Moses of a prohibition given to the High-priest or the Nazarite, of going to or coming near a dead body, and of the pollution by the dead; the dead body in the Hebrew and the Greek is nothing else but that which elsewhere signifieth the Soul. And Mr. Ainsworth, who translated the Pentateuch nearer the letter than the sense, hath so delivered it in compliance with the original phrase; and may be well interpreted thus by our Translation, ^b *Ye shall not make in your flesh any cutting for a soul*, that is, *for the dead*: ^c *For a soul he shall not defile himself among his people*, that is, *There shall none be defiled for the dead among his people*: ^d *He that toucheth any thing that is unclean by a soul*, that is, *by the Dead*: ^e *Every one defiled by a soul*, that is, *by the dead*: ^f *He shall not come at a dead soul*, that is, *He shall come at no dead body*. Thus Ainsworth's Translation sheweth, that in all these places the Original word is that which usually signifieth the Soul; and our Translation teacheth us, that though in other places it signifieth the Soul, yet in these it must be taken for the body, and that body bereft of the Soul.

rateth himself unto the Lord he shall come at no dead body, in the Original נפש מרו לא יבנה, and in the LXX. ὅτι πῖσση ψυχῆς τετελευτηῖα ἐκ εἰσελεύσεσθαι. In the same manner the Law for the High-priest, Lev. 21. 11. Neither shall he go in to any dead body נפש מרו לא יבנה, וְיָצָא נַפְשׁוֹ וְיָצָא נַפְשׁוֹ וְיָצָא נַפְשׁוֹ ἐκ εἰσοῦ εἰσεύσθαι. And the general Law, Lev. 22. 4. And whoso toucheth any thing that is unclean by the dead, וְיָצָא נַפְשׁוֹ וְיָצָא נַפְשׁוֹ וְיָצָא נַפְשׁוֹ, ἢ ὁ ἀπὸ θύτου πῖσσης ἀκαθάρσιος ψυχῆς: Which is farther cleared by that of Num. 19. 11. He that toucheth the dead body of any man, Qui tetigerit cadaver hominis; and v. 13. Whosoever toucheth the dead body of any man that is dead, Omnis qui tetigerit humanæ animæ morticinum. Therefore the נפש and ψυχή in Lev. 22. 4. do signifie the cadaver or morticinum; as also Num. 5. 2. Whosoever is defiled by the dead, נפש למנוט, πάντα ἀκαθάρσθαι ὅτι ψυχῆς, pollutum super mortuo. And נפש למנוט, ἀκαθάρσθαι ὅτι ψυχῆς, Hag. 2. 13. is rightly translated, one that is unclean by a dead body. Thus several times נפש and ψυχή are taken for the body of a dead man; that body which polluted a man under the law by the touch thereof. And Maimonides hath observed, that there is no pollution from the body till the Soul be departed. Therefore נפש and ψυχή did signifie the body after the separation of the Soul. And this was anciently observed by S. Augustine, that the Soul may be taken for the body only. Animæ nomine corpus solum posse significari modo quodam locutionis ostenditur, quo significatur per id quod continetur illud quod continet; sicut ait quidam, Una coronant, cum coronarentur vasa vinaria; vinum enim continetur, & vas continet. Sicut ergo appellamus Ecclesiam Basilicam quâ continetur populus, qui vere appellatur Ecclesia, ut nomine Ecclesiæ, id est, populi qui continentur, significemus locum qui continet: ita quod animæ corporibus continentur, intelligi corpora filiorum per nominatas animas possunt. Sic enim melius accipitur etiam illud, quod Lex inquinari dicit eum qui intraverit super animam mortuam, hoc est, super defuncti cadaver; ut nomine animæ mortuæ mortuum corpus intelligatur, quod animam continebat, quia & absente populo, id est Ecclesia, locus tamen ille nihilominus Ecclesia nuncupatur. Epi. 7. 157. ad Optatum, de Animarum Origine. b Levit. 19. 21. c Lev. 21. 1. d Lev. 22. 4. e Num. 5. 2. f Num. 6. 6.

^g The Heb word is נפש, the Greek ἄδης. נפש ויוצא נפשו וְיָצָא נַפְשׁוֹ וְיָצָא נַפְשׁוֹ וְיָצָא נַפְשׁוֹ ἐκ ἐγκαταλείψαι τὴν ψυχὴν μὲν εἰς ἄδην, Gen. 37. 35. where Jacob, thinking that his Son Joseph had been dead, breaks out into this sad expression

Secondly, the ^g word which the Psalmist used in Hebrew, and the Apostle in Greek, and is translated Hell, doth certainly in some other places signifie no more than the Grave, and is translated so. As where Mr. Ainsworth followeth the word, ^h *For I will go down unto my Son mourning to hell*; our Translation aiming at the sense, rendreth it, *For I will go down into the grave unto my son mourning*. So again he, ⁱ *Ye shall bring down my gray hairs with sorrow unto hell*, that is, *to the grave*. And in this sense we say, ^k *The Lord killeth, and maketh alive; he bringeth down to the grave, and bringeth up*.

in the Psalms also by the ancient MS. at S. James's.) And these generally run together, and sometimes signifie no more than the grave; as Gen. 37. 35. where Jacob, thinking that his Son Joseph had been dead, breaks out into this sad expression

וְיָרַדְתִּי אִלְיָהֶם וְיָרַדְתִּי אִלְיָהֶם, Ὅτι καταβήσομαι πρὸς τὸ ὕδωρ με πνέων εἰς ἄδου, which we translate, For I will go down into the grave unto my son mourning, upon the authority of the ancient Targums. For although that of the Onkelos keep the Original word וְיָרַדְתִּי; yet the Jerusalem Targum and that of Jonathan render it יְרַדְתִּי אִלְיָהֶם, in domum sepulchri; and the Persian Targum, to the same purpose, בגור; as also the Arabick Translation, Inno descendam ad pulverem mœstus de filio meo, So Gen. 42. 38. יְהוֹרְרוּ אִתִּי שְׂבִיבוֹתַי בְּיָנִי שְׂאֵלֵי־דָרָה, καὶ κατὰ ζετέ με πρὸς γῆρας ἐν λήθης εἰς ἄδου which we translate, Then shall ye bring down my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave: where the Jerusalem Targum and that of Jonathan have it again לְבִי קְבוּרָתִי; and the Persian again בגור in sepulchrum: the Arabick, יְרַדְתִּי אִלְיָהֶם ad pulverem, or ad terram, And it is observed by the Jewish Commentators, that those Christians are mistaken who interpret those words spoken by Jacob, I will go down into Sheol, of Hell, declaring that Sheol there is nothing else but the grave. ^a Gen. 37. 35. 42. 38. ^b 1 Sam. 2. 6.

Now being the *Soul* is sometimes taken for the body deserted by the Soul, and *Hell* is also sometimes taken for the Grave, the receptacle of the Body dead; therefore it is conceived that the Prophet did intend these significations in those words, *Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell*; and consequently, the Article grounded on that Scripture must import no more than this, *Christ* in respect of his body bereft of his Soul, which was recommended into, and deposited in the hands of his Father, *descended into the grave*.

This Exposition hath that great advantage, that he which first mentioned this Descent in the Creed, did interpret it of the Burial; and where this Article was expressed, there that of the Burial was omitted. But notwithstanding those advantages, there is no certainty of this interpretation: First, because he * which did so first interpret it, at the same time, and in the tenure of that expression, did acknowledge a descent of the Soul of *Christ* into Hell; and those other || Creeds which did likewise omit the Burial, and express the Descent, did shew, that by that Descent they understood not that of the Body, but of the Soul. Secondly, because they which put these words into the *Roman Creed*, in which the Burial was expressed before, must certainly understand a Descent distinct from that; and therefore though it might perhaps be thought a probable interpretation of the words of *David*, especially taken as belonging to *David*, yet it cannot pretend to an exposition of the Creed, as now it stands.

* Ruffinus, who first mentioned this Article, did interpret it of the grave, as we have already observed; but yet he did believe a Descent distinct from that, in the Exposition of the Creed:

Sed & quod

in infernum descendit, evidenter pronunciat in Psalmis, &c. and then citing that of S. Peter, Unde & Petrus dixit, Quia Christus mortificatus carne, vivificatus autem spiritu, in ipso, ait, & eis qui in carcere inclusi erant in diebus Noe; in quo etiam quid operis egerit in inferno declaratur, as we before more largely cited the same place. || I shew'd before, that in the Creed made at *Simium* there was the Descent mentioned, and the Burial omitted, and yet that Descent was so expressed that it could not be taken for the Burial: besides now I add, That it was made by the Arians, who in few years before had given in other Creed, in which both the Burial and the Descent were mentioned; as that of *Nice* in *Thracia*, Ἐπιδανόντα, καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια κατελθόντα, ὃν αὐτὸς ὁ ἄδης ἐτίμαξεν. *Theodoret. Hist. l. 2. c. 21.* and not long after gave in another at *Constantinople* to the same purpose, εὐσεβῶδες τα, καὶ ἐπιδανόντα, καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια διελθόντα, ἐν πνα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἄδης ἐπίμαξεν, *Socrat. lib. 2. c. 4.*

The next Opinion is, That the Soul may well be understood either for the nobler part of Man distinguished from the Body; or else for the person of Man consisting of both Soul and Body, as it often is; or for the living Soul as it is distinguished from the immortal spirit: but then the term *Hell* shall signify no place, neither of the man, nor of the body, nor of the Soul; but only the state or condition of men in death, during the separation of the Soul from the Body. So that the Prophecy shall run thus, *Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell*, that is, Thou shalt not suffer me to remain in the common state of the dead, to be long deprived of my natural life, to continue without exercise, or power of exercising, my vital faculty; And then the Creed will have this sense, that *Christ* was crucified, dead and buried, and descended into *Hell*; that is, he went unto the dead, and remained for a time in the state of death, as other dead men do.

But this interpretation supposeth that which can never appear, that *Hades* signifieth not Death it self, nor the place where Souls departed are, but the state and condition of the dead, or their permansion in death; which is a

H h Notion

Notion wholly new, and consequently cannot interpret that which representeth something known and believed of old, according to the notions and conceptions of those times. And that this Notion is wholly new, will appear, because not any of the ancient Fathers is produced to avow it, nor any of the Heathen Authors which are produced do affirm it: Nay, it is evident that the *Greeks* did always by *Hades* understand a place into which the Souls of men were carried and conveyed, distinct and separate from that place in which we live; and that their different Opinions shew, placing it, some in the Earth, some under it, some in one unknown place of it, some in another. But especially *Hades*, in the judgment of the ancient *Greeks*, cannot consist in this notion of the state of death, and the permanfion in that condition, because there were many which they believed to be dead, and to continue in the state of death, which yet they believed not to be in *Hades*; as those who died before their time, and those whose bodies were unburied. Thus likewise the ancient Fathers differed much concerning the place of the *Infernus*; but never any doubted but that it signified some * place or other: and if they had conceived any such notion as the state of death, and the permanfion of the dead in that state, they needed not to have fallen into doubts or questions; the Patriarchs and the Prophets being as certainly in the state of death, and remaining so, as *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, are, or any person which is certainly condemned to everlasting flames. Though therefore it be certainly true that *Christ* did truly and properly die, as other men are wont to do, and that after expiration he was in the state or condition of the dead, in deadlihood, as some have learned to speak; yet the Creed had spoken as much as this before, when it delivered that he *was dead*. And although 'tis true that he might have died, and in the next minute of time revived, and consequently his death not (precisely taken) signifie any permanfion or duration in the state of death, and therefore it might be added, *he descended into Hell* to signifie farther a permanfion or duration in that condition: yet if *Hell* to signifie nothing else but the state of the dead, as this opinion doth suppose, then to *descend into Hell* is no more than to be dead; and so notwithstanding any duration implied in that expression, *Christ* might have ascended the next minute after he descended thither, as well as he might be imagined to revive the next minute after he died. Being then to *descend into Hell*, according to this interpretation, is no more than to be dead; being no man ever doubted but that person was dead who died; being it was before delivered in the Creed that *Christ* died, or, as we render it, *was dead*: we cannot imagine but they which did add this part of the Article to the Creed, did intend something more than this, and therefore we cannot admit this Notion as a full or proper Exposition.

The Opinion of the ancient Greeks in this case is excellently expressed by Tertullian, who shews three kinds of men to be thought not to descend ad inferos when they die; the first Insepulti, the second Aho-vi. the third Bixothanati. Creditum est, insepultos non ante ad inferos redigi quam iusta pereceperint. De Anim. c. 56. Aiunt & immatura morte preventas eouique vagari isthic, donec reli-quatio compleatur ætatis qua cum pervixissent si non intempe-stive obiissent. Ibid. Proinde extorres inferum habebuntur, quas

vi ereptas arbitrantur, præcipue per atrocitates suppliciorum; crucis dico & securis, & gladii, & feræ. Ib. The Souls then of those whose bodies were unburied were thought to be kept out of Hades till their Funerals were performed, and the Souls of them who died an untimely or a violent death, were kept from the place until the time of their natural death should come. This he further expresses in the terms of the Magicians, whose Art was conversant about Souls departed. Aut optimum est hic retinere secundum ahoros, (i. e. *Æōzes*) aut pessimum, secundum Bixothanatos, (*βιαιωθανάτες*) ut ipsis jam vocabulis utar, quibus auct. ix opinionum istarum Magica sonat, Hostanes, & Typhon, & Dardanus, & Damageron & Nectabis, & Bernice. Publica jam literatura est quæ animas etiam iusta ætate sopitas, etiam proba morte disjunctas, etiam prompta laminatione disjunctas, evocaturam se ab inferum incolatu pollicetur, cap. 57. Of that of the Insepulti, he produceth the example of Patroclus: Secundum Homericum Patroclum funus in fornibus de Achille flagitantem, quod non alias adire portas inferum posset, arcentibus eum longe animabus sepulcorum. The place he intended is that, Iliad. ʒ.

Θάπτειμε, ὅππῃ τάχιστα πύλας αἰδαο ἀρήσω.
Τὴν δὲ με εἰργασίην ψυχῆ, εἰδωλα χαμόντων.
Οὐδὲ μὲ πως μίσγασθαι ἕωρ πῶσα μοιο ἔωσιν.

In the same manner he describes Elpenor, Odyss. λʹ.

Πρώτη ἡ ψυχὴ Ἑλπινόρου ἦλθεν ἑταίρου,
Οὐ γὰρ πῶ ἐτέθαπτο ὑπὸ χερσὶν εὐρυοδείης.

where it is the observation of Eustathius, "Οτι δόξα ὡς τῆς Ἑλληνιστικῆς ἀδάπτου ψυχῆς μὴ ἀναμύνηται ἢ λειπίς. And the same Eustathius observes an extraordinary accurateness in that Question of Penelope concerning Ulysses, upon that same ground, Odys. δ'.

Εἶπα ἐπὶ ζώῃ, καὶ ὄρα φάσκει ἠελίοιο
Ἥ ἐπὶ τεθνήκει, καὶ εἰν εἶδω δόμοισι.

Τὸ δὲ, αὐτὸ ὄρα φάσκει ἠλίω, δὲ ὄρα δόμοισι ἐννοίας κείται. ὡς δυνατὸν ὄν ζῆν μὴ, μὴ βλέπειν δέ. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὸ, εἰν εἶδω δόμοισι, πρὸς ἀκρίβειαν λόγου ἐρμηνεύεται. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῆς ἐξῆς Δημοδοκίδου Ἑλληνικῶν μύθων, ἔπας τεθνήκει καὶ ἐν ἀδελφί-
νεται, εἰ μὴ καὶ πῦρ, ἢ δόδοι, καὶ καὶ ὁ Εὐριπίδου ἐμφαίνει Πολύδωρον. ὡς τὸ, ἢ ἦδη τεθνήκει, καὶ εἰν εἶδω δόμοισι ἀντι-
στῆ, ἢ ἦδη τεθνήκει, καὶ τεθνήκει. It is here very observable that, according to the opinion of the Greeks, to be dead is one thing, and to be in Hades is another: and that every one which died was not in Hades, ἔπας τεθνήκει καὶ ἐν ἀδελφί-
νεται, as Eustathius speaks. Legimus præterea in Sexto insepultorum animas vagas esse, Serv. in Æneid. 3. The place which he intended I suppose is this,

Hæc omnis, quam cernis, inops inhumataq; turba est;
Portitor ille Charon; hi quos vehit unda sepulti,
Nec ripas datur horrendas nec rauca fluentia
Transportare prius quam sedibus ossa quierunt.
Centum errant annos volitantq; hæc littora circum.

thus he is to be understood in the description of the Funeral of Polydorus, Æneid. 3. Ergo instauramus Polydoro funus, & ingens apperitur tumulo tellus, animamque sepulchro condimus. Not that anima does there signify the body, as some have observed; but that the Soul of Polydorus was then in rest when his body had received funeral rites, as Servius, legimus præterea in Sexto insepultorum animas vagas esse, & hinc constat non legitime sepultum fuisse. Rite ergo reddita legitima sepultura, redit ad quietem sepulchri, saith Servius; or rather, in the sense of Virgil, ad quietem interni, according to the petition of Palinurus, Sedibus ut faltem placidis in morte quiescam. And that the Soul of Polydorus was so wandering about the place where his body lay unburied, appeareth out of Euripides in Hecuba, where he speaketh thus, Νῦν ἄρα μνηστῆρος εἰλῆς Ἐκδῆος εἶσω, σῶμα ἑρμῶσας ἐμῶν, Τελαιῶν ἦδη φέρει ἀπαρῆρτον. And in the Troades of the same Poet this εἶλη, or erratio vagabunda insepultorum, is acknowledged by the Chorus in these words, ὦ φίλτα, ὦ πόσει μοι, Σὺ μὲν φθίμερον ἀλαινεις Ἀδαμῶν, ἀνυδρῶν. And when their bodies were buried, then their Souls passed into Hades, to the rest. So was it with Polydorus, and that Man mentioned in the History of the Philosopher Athenodorus, whose umbra or phasma walked after his death. Inveniuntur ossa inferta catenis & implicata, quæ corpus ævo terraq; putrefactum nuda & exesa reliquerat vinculis: collecta publice sepeliuntur; domus postea rite conditis manibus caruit. Plin. l. 7. Epist. 27. This was the case of the Insepulti. And for that of the Biothanati, it is remarkable that Dido threatneth Æneas,

sequar atris ignibus absens,
Et cum frigida mors animâ seduxerit artus,
Omnibus umbra locis adero.

upon which place Servius observes, Dicunt Phyci Biothanatorum animas non recipi in originem suam, nisi vagantes legitimum tempus fati compleverint; quod Poetæ ad sepulturam transferunt, ut, Centum errant annos. Hoc ergo nunc dicit Dido, Occisura me ante diem sum; vaganti mihi dabis pœnas: Nam te persequar, & adero quam diu reravero semper. Ἄδης δὲ τότε ἡμῖν αἰεθῆς, ἡγεῖν ἀφανῆς καὶ ἀγνώστου, ὁ τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἐκδημῶσας δεχόμενος. Andreas Cæsar. in Apocal.

There is yet left another Interpretation grounded upon the general opinion of the Church of Christ in all Ages, and upon a probable exposition of the Prophecy of the Psalmist, taking the Soul in the most proper sense, for the spirit or rational part of Christ; that part of man which according to our Saviour's doctrine, the Jews could not kill; and looking upon Hell as a place distinct from this part of the world where we live, and distinguished from those Heavens whither Christ ascended, into which place the Souls of men were conveyed after or upon their death; and therefore thus expounding the words of the Psalmist in the person of Christ; Thou shalt not suffer that Soul of mine which shall be forced from my body by the violence of pain upon the Cross, but resigned into thy hands, when it shall go into that place below where the Souls of men departed are detained: I say, thou shalt not suffer that Soul to continue there as theirs have done; but shalt bring it shortly from thence, and re-unite it to my body.

For the better understanding of this Exposition, there are several things to be observed, both in respect to the matter of it, and in reference to the authority of the Fathers. First therefore, this must be laid down as a certain and necessary truth, that the Soul of man, when he dieth, dieth not, but returneth unto him that gave it, to be disposed of at his will and pleasure; according to the ground of our Saviour's counsel, Fear not them which kill the body, but cannot kill the soul. That better part of us therefore in and after death doth exist and live, either by virtue of its spiritual and immortal nature, as we believe; or at least the will of God, and his power upholding and pre-
serving

erving it from dissolution, as many of the Fathers thought. This Soul thus existing after death, and separated from the body, though of a nature spiritual, is really and truly in some place; if not by way of circumscription, as proper bodies are, yet by way of determination and indistancy, so that it is true to say, this is really and truly present here, and not elsewhere.

Again, the Soul of man, which, while he lived, gave life to the body, and was the fountain of all vital actions, in that separate existence after death, must not be conceived to sleep, or be bereft and stript of all vital operations, but still to exercise the powers of understanding and of willing, and to be subject to the affections of joy and sorrow. Upon which is grounded the different estate and condition of the Souls of men during that time of separation; some of them by the mercy of God being placed in peace and rest, in joy and happiness, others by the justice of the same God left to sorrow, pains and misery.

As there was this different state and condition before our Saviour's death, according to the different kinds of men in this life, the wicked and the just; the elect and reprobate: so there were two societies of Souls after death; one of them which were happy in the presence of God, the other of those which were left in their sins and tormented for them. Thus we conceive the righteous *Abel*, the first man placed in this happiness, and the Souls of them that departed in the same Faith to be gathered to him. Whosoever it was of the sons of *Adam* which first died in his sins was put into a place of torment; and the Souls of all those which departed after with the wrath of God upon them were gathered into his sad society.

Now as the Souls at the hour of death are really separated from the Bodies; so the place where they are in rest or misery after death, is certainly distinct from the place in which they lived. They continue not where they were at that instant when the Body was left without life; they do not go together with the Body to the grave; but as the sepulchre is appointed for our flesh, so there is another receptacle, or habitation and mansion for our spirits. From whence it followeth, that in death the Soul doth certainly pass by a real motion from that place, in which it did inform the Body, and is translated to that place, and unto that society, which God of his mercy or justice hath allotted to it. And not at present to enquire into the difference and distance of those several habitations, (but for methods sake to involve them all as yet under the notion of the Infernal parts, or the Mansions below) it will appear to have been the general judgment of the Church that the Soul of *Christ* contradistinguished from his Body, that better and more noble part of his Humanity, his rational and intellectual Soul, after a true and proper separation from his flesh, was really and truly carried into those parts below where the Souls of men before departed were detained; and that by such a real translation of his Soul, he was truly said to have descended into Hell.

Many have been the Interpretations of the opinion of the Fathers made of late; and their differences are made to appear so great, as if they agreed in nothing which concerns this Point: whereas there is nothing which they agree in more than this which I have already affirmed, the real descent of the Soul of *Christ* unto the habitation of the Souls departed. The persons to whom, and end for which he descended, they differ in; but as to a local descent into the infernal parts, they all agree. Who where then in those parts, they could not certainly define; but whosoever were there, that *Christ* by the presence of his Soul was with them, they all determined.

That this was the general Opinion of the Church, will appear, not only
by

by the testimonies of those || ancient Writers which lived successively, and wrote in several Ages, and delivered this exposition in such express terms as are not capable of any other interpretation ; but also because it was generally used as an Argument against the *Apollinarian* Heresie : than which nothing can shew more the general opinion of the Catholics and the Hereticks, and that not only of the present, but of the precedent Ages. For it had been little less than ridiculous to have produced that for an argument to prove a point in Controversie which had not been clearer than that which was controverted, and had not been some way acknowledged as a truth by both. Now the error of *Apollinarius* was, That *Christ* had no proper intellectual or rational Soul, but that the Word was to him in the place of a Soul: and the * Argument produced by the Fathers for the conviction of this error was, that *Christ* descended into Hell; which the *Apollinarians* could not deny ; and that this descent was not made by his Divinity, or by his Body, but by the motion, and presence of his Soul, and consequently that he had a Soul distinct both from his Flesh and from the Word. Whereas if it could have then been answered by the Hereticks, as now it is by many, that his descent into Hell had no relation to his Soul, but to his body only, which descended to the grave ; or that it was not a real, but only virtual, descent, by which his death extended to the destruction of the powers of Hell ; or that his Soul was not his intellectual Spirit or immortal Soul, but his living Soul, which descended into Hell, that is, continued in the state of death : I say, if any of these senses could have been affixed to this Article, the *Apollinarians* answer might have been found, and the Catholics Argument of no validity. But being those Hereticks did all acknowledge this Article: being the Catholic Fathers did urge the same to prove the real distinction of the Soul of *Christ* both from his Divinity and from his Body, because his Body was really in the grave when his Soul was really present with the Souls below : it followeth that it was the general Doctrine of the Church, that *Christ* did descend into Hell by a local motion of his Soul, separated from his body, to the places below where the Souls of men departed were.

|| *As Iræneus*
L. 5. c. 26. Cum enim Dominus in medio umbræ mortis abierit ubi animæ mortuorum erant, post deinde corporaliter resurrexit, manifestum est, quia & discipulorum ejus, propter quos & hæc operatus est Dominus, animæ abibant in invisibilem locum definitum eis à Deo, &c.
Clemens Alexandrinus was so clearly of that opinion, that he thought the Soul of *Christ* preached Salvation to the Souls in Hell. Strom. lib. 6. And *Tertullian* proves that the Inferi are a Cavity in the earth where the Souls of dead men are, because the Soul of *Christ* went thither.

De Anima, cap. 55. Quod si *Christus* Deus, quia & homo mortuus secundum Scripturas, & sepultus secundum eandem hic quoque legi satisfecit, forma humanæ mortis apud Inferos functus, nec ante ascendit in sublimiora cœlorum quam descendit in interiora terrarum, ut illic Patriarchas & Prophetas compotes sui faceret ; habes & regionem Inferum subterraneam credere, & illos cubito pellere qui satis superbe non putent antras fidelium inferis dignas. *Γυμνῆ, σώματος ἁλοῦ μὲν ἔσθ' ἡ ψυχῆ ἢ γυμναῖς σωμάτων ὁμίλει ψυχῆς.* Orig. contra Celsum, lib. 2. Ipsa anima, etsi fuit in abyssu, jam non est, quia scriptum est, Non derelinques animam meam in inferno, S. *Ambros.* de incarn. cap. 5. Si ergo secundum hominem quem Verbum Deus suscepit putamus dictum esse, *Hodie mecum eris in Paradiso*, non ex his verbis in cœlo existimandus est esse Paradisus. Neque enim ipso die in cœlo futurus erat homo *Christus* *Jesus*, sed in inferno secundum animam, in sepulchro autem secundum carnem. Et de carne quidem, quod eo die in sepulchro sit posita, manifestum est Evangelium. Quod vero illa anima in infernum descenderet, Apostolica doctrina prædicat. Quandoquidem B. *Petrus* ad hanc rem testimonium de Psalmis adhibet, *Quoniam non derelinques animam meam in inferno, neque dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem.* Illud de anima dictum est, quia ibi non est derelicta, unde tam cito remeavit ; illud de corpore, quod in sepulchro corrumpi celeri resurrectione non potuit. S. *August.* Epist. 57. ad *Dardanum.* Καταβὰς μὲχρι καὶ χθονὸς Ἐπίδημιον ἔραμέρισ, Κατίβας δ' ὑπὸ τρίταρα, Ψυχῶν ὄδι μνεῖα θάνατον νήρω ἔδνεα. Φεῖξεν σε γέρον τότε Αἰδαὶ ὁ παλαιός. Καὶ λαοβόρον κῶον Ἀνεκείατο βουλῆ, Synes. Hymn. 9. Ψυχὴ ἢ ἡ δαία πλὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν λαχῆσα συνδουλώ τε καὶ ἐρωσιν καταπεροίτηκε μὲ εἰς ἄδου, θεοπροπέει ἢ δυνάμει καὶ ἔξοσῆ χρωμένη καὶ τοῖς ἐμείσι πνύμασι καταφαίνετο. *Cyrl.* Alex. Dial. de Incarn. Ο' μὲ τάφον αὐτῆ σώμα μόνον ὑπεδέξατο, ψυχῶν ἢ μὲν ἡ δ' ἄδου. *Anast.* apud *Euthy.* *Panopl.* Postquam igitur exaltatus est, id est, à Judæis in cruce suspensus, & spiritum reddidit, unita suæ Divinitati Anima ad interorum profunda descendit. *Autor.* Serm. de tempore. Corpore in sepulchro seposito, Divinitas cum anima hominis ad inferna descendens vocavit de locis suis animas sanctorum. *Gaudentius Brix.* Tract. 10. In hoc Divinitas *Christi* virtutem suæ impassibilitatis ostendit, quæ ubique, semper & ineffabiliter præsens, & secundum carnem suam in inferno sine doloribus fuit, & secundum animam suam in sepulchro sine corruptione jacuit ; quia nec carni suæ defuit, cum animam suam in inferno dolere non sineret ; nec animam suam in inferno deseruit, cum in sepulchro carnem suam à corruptione servaret. *Fulgent.* ad *Transmund.* l. 3. c. 31. * *What the Apollinarian Heresie was is certainly known : they denied that Christ had an humane Soul, affirming the Word was to him in the place of a Soul.* Apollinaristas Apollinarius instituit qui de anima *Christi* à Catholicis dissenserunt, dicentes, sicut Ariani, Deum *Christum* carnem sine anima suscepisse. In quæstione testimoniis Evangelicis victi, mentem, qua rationalis est anima hominis, non fuisse in anima *Christi*, sed pro hac ipsum Verbum in ea fuisse, dixerunt. S. *Aug.* de Heres. Against this Heresie the Catholics argued from the Descent into Hell, as that which was acknowledged by them all, even by the Arians, (with whom the Apollinarians in this agreed) as we have shewn before by three several Creeds of theirs in which they expressed this Descent. This is the Argument of *Athanasius* in his fourth Dialogue de Trinitate,

*common receptacle of the Souls of all men, both the just and unjust, thought the Soul of Christ descended unto those which departed in the true faith and fear of God, the Souls of the Patriarchs and the Prophets, and the people of God.

* Some of the Ancient Fathers did believe that the word Hell in the Scriptures had the

same signification which it hath among the Greeks, as comprehending all the Souls both of the wicked and the just; and so they took Infernus in the same latitude. As therefore the ancient Greeks did assign one Hell for all which died, Πάντες ὁμῶς θνήσκουσιν αἰδώς δέχονται and Εἰς κοινὸν ἄδην πάντες ἤξουσιν βροτοί. As they made within that one Hell two several receptacles, one for the good and virtuous, the other for the wicked and unjust; (according to that of Diphilus, Καὶ ἡ γὰρ ἄδην δύο τεύχεα κομίζονται, Μίαν δικαίων, κατέραν ἀσεβῶν ὁδόν and that of Plato, Οὗτοι ἢ δὴ ἐπειδὴν τελευτήσωσι, δικαιοσύνην ἐν τῷ λαμπρῷ ἐν τῇ τρίτῳ, ἢ ἢς φέρετον τὰ ὁδοῦ, ἢ μὲν εἰς μακάρων νήσους, ἢ ἢ εἰς τάρταρον and that of Virgil.

Hic locus est partes ubi se via findit in ambas:
Dextera quæ Ditis magni sub moenia tendit;
Hac iter Elysium nobis: at læva malorum
Exercet pœnas, & ad impia Tartara mittit.)

As they did send the best of men to Hell, there to be happy, and taught rewards to be received there as well as punishment: (ἀγεται ἢ ὑπὸ τῆ μελικῆ Πινδάρου ταυτὶ αἰετῆ εὐσεβῶν ἐν ἄδῃ, Τοῖσι λάμπη μὲν μέγας ἀελίος τῶν ἐνθάδε νοκτῶν κατω, φοινικοεσθία τε λυμῆδες εἰσι περὶ αἴσιον ὠκῆν, &c. Plut. de consolat. ad Apollon. Ὡ τρισόλβιοι Κεῖνοι φεσῶν, εἰ ταῦ πε διερχθέντες τέλη Μολῶσ' ἐς ἄδ' πείσθ' ἢ μόνοις ἐκεῖ Ζῆν ὄστ' τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις πένθ' ἐκεῖ κακὰ Sophocles.) So did the Jews also before and after our Saviour's time. For Josephus says the Soul of Samuel was brought up ἐξ ἄδ' and delivers the opinion of the Pharisees after this manner, Antiq. Jud. l. 18. c. 2. Ἀθανάσιον τε ἰσθὺν πῖσις αὐταῖς, εἰ καὶ ὑπὸ χθονὸς δικαιοσύνης τε καὶ πῖας οἷς ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας ἐπιήδωσις ἐν τῷ εἴω γέρονε and of the Sadduces after this manner; Ψυχῆς τε ἢ διαμονῆς καὶ τὰς κατ' ἄδ' πῖας καὶ πῖας ἀναίεσι. Therefore the Jews which thought the Souls immortal did believe that the just were rewarded as well as the unjust punished ὑπὸ χθονὸς, or κατ' ἄδ'. And so did also most of the ancient Fathers of the Church. There was an ancient Book written de Universi natura which some attributed to Justin Martyr, some to Irenæus others to Origen, or to Calus a Presbyter of the Roman Church in the time of Victor and Zephyrinus, a Fragment of which is set forth by David Hoefchelius in his Annotations upon Photius, delivering the state of Hell at large. Περὶ ἢ ἄδ', ἐν ᾗ συνέχονται ψυχὰι δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων, ἀναγκάων εἰπεῖν. Here then were the just and unjust in Hades, but not in the same place: Οἱ ἢ δίκαιοι ἐν τῷ ἄδῃ ἡμῶ μὲν συνέχονται, ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ ἢ οἱ ἀδικοι. Μία γὰρ εἰς τῶτο τὸ χωρίον κατὰ τὸν, &c. There was but one passage into the Hades, saith he; but when that gate was passed, the Just went on the right hand to a place of happiness (Ἰσπερ ἢ ὄνομα κικλήσκοντο κόλπον Ἀβραάμ.) and the Unjust on the left to a place of misery. Οὗτ' ὁ αἰετῆ ἄδ' ἄδ' ἐν ᾗ ψυχὰι πῖλων κατέχονται ἀρετῆ καὶ ἢ ὁ Θεὸς ὄρισε. Tertullian wrote a Treatise de Paradiso, now not extant, in which he expressed thus much: Habes etiam de Paradiso à nobis libellum, quo constituimus omnem animam apud Inferos sequestari in diem Domini. De Anima cap. 55. S. Jerome on the third chapter of Ecclesiastes: Ante adventum Christi omnia ad Inferos pariter ducebantur: Unde & Jacob ad inferos pariter descendurum se dicit; & Job pius & impius in Inferno queritur retentari: & Evangelium, Chaos magnum interpositum apud Inferos; & Abraham cum Lazaro, & divitem in suppliciis, esse testatur. And in his 25. Epistle Perfacilis ad ista responsio est; Luxurie Jacob filium, quem putabat occisum, ad quem & ipse erat ad inferos descendurus, dicens, Descendam ad Filium meum lugens in infernum: quia necdum Paradisi januam Christus effregerat, necdum flammeam illam romphæam & vertiginem præsentium Cherubin sanguis ejus extinxerat. Unde & Abraham, licet in loco refrigerii, tamen apud inferos cum Lazaro fuisse scribitur. And again, Nequeo satis Scripturæ laudare mysteria, & divinum sensum in verbis licet simplicibus admirari: quod, Moyses plangitur; & Jesus Nave, vir sanctus, sepultus fertur, & tamen fletus esse non scribitur. Nempe illud, quod in Moyse, id est, in lege veteri, sub peccato Adam omnes tenebantur elogio, & ad inferos descendentes consequenter lacrymæ prosequiebantur.... In Jesu vero, id est, in Evangelio, per quem Paradisus est apertus, mortem gaudia prosequuntur. Τὸ πρότερον ἢ δὴ ἀναίετ' εἰς ἢ ἄδ' κατὰ τὸν ἢ ὁ δὴ ἀναίετ' πρὸς ἢ Χριστὸν παρεπέμπε. S. Chryl. Panagy. ad Sanctas Mart. And in his Treatise proving that Christ is God, he makes this exposition of Isaiah 45. 2. Πύλας χαλκῆς συνδράσω, καὶ μοχλῆς σιδηρῆς συνείλω καὶ ἀνείξω θύρας σιδηρῆς, ἀποκρυφῆς, ἀφανίσω ἀναείξω σοι ἢ ἄδ' ἔγω καλῶν. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἄδ' ἦν, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς ἐκέρπει ἀγίας καὶ σκεδὴ πῖας, ἢ Ἀβραάμ, ἢ Ἰσαάκ, ἢ Ἰακώβ' διὸ καὶ θουαυρῆς ἐμάλεσε. This doctrine was maintained by all those who believed that the Soul of Samuel was raised by the Witch of Endor: for though he were so great a Prophet, yet they thought that he was in Hades; and not only so, but under the power of Satan. Thus Justin Martyr in his Dialogue with Trypho: Φαίνεται ἢ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς αἱ ψυχὰι τῶν, ἢ πῖας δικαίων καὶ πρὸς τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς σατανῆς ἐπιπῶν τῶν δυνάμεων, ὅποια δὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐγγραφῇ ἐκείνῃ ἢ ἢ ἢ πρὸς τῶν ὁμολογεῖται. Who was followed in this by Origen, Anastasius, Antiochens, and others.

But others there were who thought Hades or Infernus was never taken in the Scriptures for any place of happiness; and therefore they did not conceive the Souls of the Patriarchs or the Prophets did pass into any such infernal place; and consequently, that the Descent into Hell was not his going to the Prophets or the Patriarchs, which were not there. For as, if it had been only said that Christ had gone unto the bosome of Abraham, or to Paradise, no man would have ever believed that he had descended into Hell; so being it is only written, Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell, it seems incongruous to think that he went then unto the Patriarchs, who were not there.

|| S. Augustine began to doubt of that general reason ordinarily given of Christ's descent into Hell, to bring the Patriarchs and Prophets thence, upon this ground, that he thought the word Infernus was never

taken in the Scriptures with a good sense; Quamquam illud me nondum invenisse confiteor, inferos appellatos ubi iustorum animæ acquiescunt, De Genesi ad literam, l. 12. c. 33. Proinde, ut dixi, nondum inveni, & adhuc quaero; nec mihi occurrit Inferos alicubi in bono posuisse Scripturam, duntaxat Canonicam. Ibid. Non facile alicubi Scripturarum Inferorum nomen positum invenitur in bono, Epist. 57. Praesertim qui ne ipsos quidem Inferos usquam Scripturarum locis in bono appel-

atos potui reperire. Quod si nusquam in divinis autoritatibus legitur, non utique sinus ille Abrahæ, id est, secreta-
eujusdam quietis habitatio, aliqua pars inferorum fuisse credenda est. Quanquam in his ipsis tanti Magistri verbis,
ubi ait dixisse Abraam. *Intervos & nos chaos magnum firmatum est*, satis, ut opinor, appareat non esse quanda n partem
& quasi membrum Inferorum tantæ illius felicitatis sinum. *Epist. 99.*

Now this being the diversity of Opinions anciently in respect of the per-
sons unto whose Souls the Soul of *Christ* descended at his death, the dif-
ference of the end or efficacy of that Descent is next to be observed. Of
those which did believe the name of *Hades* to belong unto that general place
which comprehended all the Souls of men, (as well those which died in the
favour of God, as those which departed in their sins) * some of them
thought that *Christ* descended to that place of *Hades*, where the Souls of
all the faithful, from the death of the righteous *Abel* to the death of *Christ*,
were detained, and there dissolving all the power by which they were de-
tained below, translated them into a far more glorious place, and elevated
them in a condition far more happy in the Heavens above.

* This is the O-
pinion gene-
rally received
in the Schools,
and delivered
as the sense of
the Church of
God in all
Ages: but

though it were not so general as the School-men would persuade us, yet it is certain that many of the Fathers did so understand it.
O' μ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῇ ἐν αἰδῆ ψυχῶν παρήει, ἐν μακρῶν αἰώνων πλὴ ἀριζίν αὐτῆ ἀεὶ μνησθῶν. Euseb. de Demost.
*Evang. l. 10. Κατῆλθεν εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια, ἵνα κἀκεῖθεν λύσῃται τοὺς δίκαιους. Cyril. Catech. 4. Ἡμελλε γὰρ ἡ ζωὴς
πλεῖστον τὰ πάντα τὰ κτὶ μυστήριον τῆς πάθους, καὶ σὺν τῇ ψυχῇ κατελθεῖν εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια, ὅτι τὸ ἐργασίαι τὸ
ἐκεῖ τῶν προκεκοιμημένων σωτηρίαν, φημὶ τῶν ἀγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν. Translatus erat Enoch, raptus Elias; sed non est ser-
vus supra Dominum. Nullus enim ascendit in cœlum, nisi qui descendit de cœlo. Nam & Moysen, licet corpus ejus
non apparuerit in terris, nusquam tamen in gloria cœlesti legimus, nisi postquam Dominus suæ resurrectionis pignore
vincula solvit Inferni, & piorum animas elevavit. *S. Ambros. l. 4. de Fide ad Gratianum.* Qui in eo loco detinebantur
sancti vinculorum solutionem in Christi adventu sperabant. Nemo enim ab Inferni sedibus liberatur nisi per Christi
gratiam. Eò igitur post mortem Christus descendit. Ut Angelus in caminum Babylonis ad tres pueros liberandos
descendit, ita Christus ad fornacem descendit Inferni, in quo clausæ justorum animæ tenebantur. Postquam eò descen-
dit, Inferorum claustra perfodit, diripuit, vastavit, spoliavit, vincetas inde animas liberando. *S. Hier. in Ecclesiasten.**

Others of them understood no such translation of place, or alteration of
condition there, conceiving that the Souls of all men are || detained below
still, and shall not enter into Heaven until the general Resurrection. They
made no such distinction at the death of *Christ*, as if those which believed in
a Saviour to come should be kept out from Heaven till he came, and those
which now believe in the same Saviour already come should be admitted
thither immediately upon their expiration.

|| Just. Martyr.
in his Dialogue
with Trypho
first begins:
Ἀλλὰ μ' εἰδὲ
ἐποτρύνειν
φημὶ πάντας
τὰς ψυχὰς
ἐγὼ (ἐρμαιον

γὰρ ἢν ὡς ἀλυτῶς τοῖς κακοῖς) ἀλλὰ τί; τὰς μὲν εὐσεβῶν ἐν κρείττονι ποι χάρῳ μένειν, τὰς ὃ ἀδίκους καὶ πονηροῖς ἐν
χείρῳ, ὃ τὸ κείρας ἐμδεχομένης χρόνον τότε. *After him Irenæus, l. 5. 26.* Cum Dominus in medio umbra mortis
abierit ubi animæ mortuorum erant, post deinde corporaliter resurrexit, & post resurrectionem assumptus est; mani-
festum est quia & discipulorum ejus, propter quos & hæc operatus est Dominus, animæ abibunt in invisibilem locum
definitum eis à Deo, & ibi usque ad resurrectionem commorabuntur, sustinentes resurrectionem; post recipientes
corpora & perfecte resurgentes, hoc est, corporaliter, quemadmodum & Dominus resurrexit, sic venient in conspectum
Dei. Nemo enim est discipulus super magistrum; perfectus autem omnis erit sicut magister ejus. Quomodo ergo Ma-
gister noster non statim evolans abiit, sed sustinens definitum à Patre resurrectionis suæ tempus, (quod & per Jonam
manifestum est) post triduum resurgens assumptus est; sic & nos sustinere debemus definitum à Deo resurrectionis
nostræ tempus prænunciatum à Prophetis, & sic resurgentes assumi, quotquot Dominus hoc dignos habuerit. *Tertul-
lian followeth Irenæus in this particular: Habes & regionem Inferum subterraneam credere & illos cubito pellere qui sa-
tis superbe non putent animas fidelium Inferis dignas, servi super Dominum & discipuli super magistrum, aspersioni
si forte in Abrahæ sinu expectandæ resurrectionis solatium carpere. De Anima c. 55.* Nulli patet cœlum terrâ adhuc
salvâ, ne dixerim clausâ. Cum transactione enim mundi referabuntur regna cœlorum. *Ib.* Eam itaque regionem si-
num dico Abrahæ, etsi non cœlestem sublimiorem tamen Inferis, interim refrigerium præbituram animabus justorum,
donec consummatio rerum resurrectionem omnium plenitudine mercedis expungat. *Adv. Marci. l. 4. c. 34.* Omnes er-
go animæ penes Inferos? inquis. Velis & nolis, & supplicia jam illic & refrigeria habes, pauperem & divitem. Cur
eam non putes animam & puniri & foveri in Inferis, interim sub expectatione utriusque judicii in quadam usurpa-
tione & candida eius? *De Anima cap. 48.* *S. Hilary in his Commentary upon these words of the Psalm. Dominus custodiet &
introitum tuum & exitum tuum ex hoc & usque in seculum:* Non enim temporis hujus & seculi est ista custodia, non ad-
uri sole atque luna, & ab omni malo conservari; sed futuri boni expectatio est, cum exeuntes de corpore ad introi-
tum illum regni cœlestis per custodiam Domini fideles omnes reservabuntur, in sinu scilicet interim Abrahæ collocati,
quo adire impios interjectum Chaos inhibet, quousque introeundi rursus in regnum cœlorum tempus adveniat. Custodit
ergo Dominus exitum, dum de corpore exeuntes secreti ab impiis interjecto Chao quiescunt. Custodit & introitum
dum nos in æternum illud & beatum regnum introducit. *And at the end of the second Psalm, Judicii enim dies vel beatitu-
dinis retributio est æterna, vel poenæ: tempus vero mortis habet unumquemque suis legibus, dum ad judicium unum-
quemque aut Abraham reservat aut poena. Thus Gregory Nyssen still leaves the Patriarchs in Abraham's bosom, in expectation
of admittance into Heaven: Καὶ γὰρ οἱ πατὴρ Ἰσραὴλ πατριάρχαι τῶ μ' εἰδὲν τὰ ἀγαθὰ πλὴ ὀπιθυμίαν ἔχον, καὶ
κα ἀπίστον ὅτι ἠγῶντες τὴν ἐπεκρίνεν πατερίδα καθώς φησιν ὁ Ἀπόστολος· ἀλλὰ ὁμῶς ἐν τῶ ἐλπίζον ἐπὶ τὴν χάριν εἰσι-
τῶ Θεοῦ κρείττον τι παρὲν ἡμῶν περιελαμένον, καὶ τὴν τῶ Παύλου φωνὴν, ἵνα μὴ, φησὶ, χωρὶς ἡμῶν τελειωθῶν
De Hominis Opificio, cap. 22. These therefore which conceived that the Souls of the Godly now after Christ's ascension*