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TRANSLATED BY MEMBERS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

YET SHALL NOT THY TEACHERS BE REMOVED INTO A CORNER ANY MORE, BUT THINK EYES SHALL SEE THY TEACHERS. Isaiah XXX. 20.

OXFORD,
JOHN HENRY PARKER;
J. G. F. AND J. RIVINGTON, LONDON.
MDCCCXLII.
TO THE
MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD
WILLIAM
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IN TOKEN OF
REVERENCE FOR HIS PERSON AND SACRED OFFICE,
AND OF
GRATITUDE FOR HIS EPISCOPAL KINDNESS.
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PFREACE.

Of the life of Tertullian little is known, except what is contained in the brief account of St. Jerome. "Tertullian a presbyter, the first Latin writer after Victor and Apollonius, was a native of the province of Africa and city of Carthage, the son of a proconsular centurion: he was a man of a sharp and vehement temper,

1

flourished under Severus and Antoninus Caracalla, and wrote numerous works, which as they are generally known, I think it unnecessary to particularize. I saw at Concordia in Italy an old man named Paulinus. He said that, when young, he had met at Rome with an aged amanuensis of the blessed Cyprian, who told him that Cyprian never passed a day without reading some portion of Tertullian's works, and used frequently to say, Give me my master, meaning Tertullian. After remaining a presbyter of the Church until he had attained the middle age of life, Tertullian was by the envy and contumelious treatment of the Roman clergy driven to embrace the opinions of Montanus, which he has mentioned in several of his works under the title of the New Prophecy; but he composed, expressly against the Church, the Treatises de Pudicitia, de Persecutione, de Jejunia, de Monogami, and six books de Ecstasy, to which he added a seventh against Apollonius. He is reported to have lived to a very advanced age, and to have composed many other works which are not extant."

1 Catal. Scriptt. Eccles. the words, however, appear to me indicative of intellectual as well as of moral qualities.

2 "acris et vehementis ingenii." Bp. Kaye's translation has been retained; the words, however, appear to me indicative of intellectual as well as of moral qualities.
In addition to these circumstances, it is known from his own writings that he was a convert from heathenism, and that he once despised the Gospel, which he afterwards embraced. As a Heathen, he had taken pleasure in the savage sports of the gladiators, and had fallen into the gross sins of Heathenism, but with these he contrasts his subsequent state, although with a deep consciousness of abiding sinfulness, and of his weakness of faith. Of special infirmities, he takes occasion of writing upon patience, to mention his own impatience. His conversion was probably A.D. 196; his continuance in the Church can thus have been scarcely five years, since in A.D. 201, it seems certain that he was a Montanist. He had then, at all events, reached middle age. His Treatises addressed "to his wife," written while in the Church, imply the likelihood of continued life; the whole tenor of the two books implies that he was living in the ordinary course of married life. Previous to his conversion, he seems to have been engaged in the practice of the law, his accurate acquaintance with which Eusebius has occasion distinctly to specify; on his conversion he abandoned it, and in the interval before his secession, was admitted to the Priesthood. In this short interval, besides the works belonging to it now extant, he "detected, and as it seemed uprooted, the heresy of Praxeas," which had spread to Carthage, and brought Praxeas himself to sign a formal, though, it subsequently appeared, a hypocritical recantation, which was preserved in the Church. In the same period probably he wrote two treatises against Marcion, the first a sketch, the second a fuller work, lost through the treachery of an apostate Catholic. A later author mentions that he had "practised Rhetoric at Carthage for many years, with much distinction," and this is perhaps borne out by the very varied character of his learning. An early work of his is also mentioned by S. Jerome, written as

* Apol. c. 18. p. 41. de Paenit. init. p. 349. Two other passages quoted, de Pagana, p. o. 6. and adv. Marc. iii. 21. only imply Gentile origin.
* Apol. l. c.
* de Paenit. c. 19.
* de Res. Carils, c. 59.
* L. c.
* de Cult. Fem. ii. i. de Paenit. c. 4. and fin.
* de Sept. c. 10. p. 267.
* de Paenit. l. c. p. 327.

It seems clear, from the conclusion of the de Pallio, that it was written on his conversion to Christianity, the Pallium being the dress of Christians. Thus far speaketh the Pallium. But as for me, I now transfer my life to that peace consequent upon the harmony of the de Pallio, personified; it relates to other offices, judicial and military, ("non judicio, non milito," and declares that they which wore it had abandoned public life altogether. ("I have gone aloof from the people. My only business is within myself.") Yet, doubts T. had reference to himself also, and the great prominence given to the law in the description makes it probable that he was previously engaged in it.

* H. E. ii. 2. "Tertullian, a man accurately acquainted with the Roman laws, and in other respects distinguished, and among those in greatest repute at Rome." This is said on occasion of the history of Tiberius' proposal to rank our Lord among the Deities of Rome.

+ de Pallio, c. 5. does not directly prove this; for it is spoken by the Pallium personified; it relates to other offices, judicial and military, ("non judicio, non milito," and declares that they which wore it had abandoned public life altogether. ("I have gone aloof from the people. My only business is within myself.") Yet, doubts T. had reference to himself also, and the great prominence given to the law in the description makes it probable that he was previously engaged in it.

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+ de Pallio, l. c. 5. Jerome above. The way in which in the de An. c. 9 he distinguishes himself from the people, implies plainly that he was a priest. In the de Monog. c. 19. and the de Exh. Cast. c. 7. in which he includes himself among the laity, he must be speaking communicative.

+ adv. Prax. c. 1.
+ adv. Marc. i. 1.
+ Trithemius Abbass. de Script. Ecc.
+ Especially in the Apology and the de Corona. Yet in the de Idol. c. 4. p. 324. he speaks of the weakness of his memory.

+ adv. Nov. i. 7. "Here would be the place to descant on the strains of marriage, and to give full play to the language of Rhetoricians in their commonplace. Certainly Tertullian also, when yet young, disported in this subject," and Ep. 29. ad Ussubic. p. 29.

+ Would you know from how many troubles the unmarried is free, by how many the wife beset, you may read "Tertullian to a philosophic friend." Barconius, A. 197. §. 14. supposes that Tertullian was already a Christian, since S. Jerome in this very Epistle and elsewhere discusses from reading Heathen writings. But this seems almost too large an inference, knowing, as we do, nothing of the circumstances of his conversion. Tertullian speaks of his own adult, but heathen, sins. (see
an exercise after the manner of Rhetoricians. The greater part of his life was spent at Carthage, for although he mentions incidentally his having been at Rome, the chief allusions in his writings are Carthaginian; the small sect which bore his name, lingered on, until St. Augustine’s time, in Carthage.

Of his mental qualities, the Ancient Church seems to have been much impressed with his acuteness, energy, learning, and eloquence; what we have left, are apparently but a small portion of the great number of works which he composed; and these indicate no ordinary fertility of mind, in that he so little repeats himself, or recurs to favourite thoughts, as is so frequently the case even with the great St. Augustine. His character of mind is thus vividly described by Vincentius: “As Origen among the Greeks, so is Tertullian among the Latins to be accounted for the first of all our writers. For who was more learned than he? Who in divinity or humanity more practised? for by a certain wonderful capacity of mind, he attained to, and understood, all philosophy, all the sects of philosophers, all their founders and supporters, all their systems, all sorts of histories and studies. And for his wit, was he not so excellent, so grave, so forcible, that he almost undertook the overthrow of nothing, which either by quickness of wit or weight of reason he crushed not? Further, who is able to express the praises which either by quickness of wit or weight of reason he deserved that we should also say of him and his writings, ‘If a prophet shall rise up in the midst of thee,’ and straight after, ‘thou shalt not hear the words of that prophet.’ Why so? ‘Because (quoth he) your Lord God doth tempt you, whether you love Him or no.’”

It is then the more strange, though the more solemn warning, that such an one, so gifted, so honoured, should not only have fallen into heresy, but into one, which would seem to have such little temptation; that he, who had seen his way clearly amid so much error, should have fallen, where there was so little apparently to attract, so much to repel. For it came not in a state of relaxed discipline, as in these latter days, when one might readily suppose that a mind ardent as Tertullian’s might be led by the appearance of holiness, amid the degeneracy of the Church; he had not to advocate fasting when neglected or discredited; and the restoration of discipline, when sins the most grievous passed unnoticed. Tertullian himself even insists upon the slight difference between the Montanist fasts and those of the Church; he does not even complain that the Sabbath and Lord’s Days being excepted, abstaining too from things which we do not reject but derelict only.”
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Church discomfited their optional use, but that she objected to their being imposed of necessity; the picture which he himself gives of the penitence publicly imposed, and the nature of the offerings which were visited by excommunication, certainly imply no relaxation of discipline; nor does it appear clearly that the Montanists followed out their own principles, so as to exclude all guilty of mortal sin from reconciliation with the Church. The only cases which he presses are sins of the flesh. Again, how few comparatively the cases of second marriages at all times, and then the widowed state which the Montanists would enforce was held in honour by the Church. Yet this slight increase in fasting, the prohibition of second marriages, the extension of a discipline already strict, and the denial of the right to flee in persecution, were the only outward temptations to forsake the Church. On the other hand, they for whom he forsook it, had early the reputation of "making a gain of godliness," systematically levying money on their followers, under the character of Oblations, and that even on the poor, the orphans, and the widows, and of other acts of luxury, pomp, avarice, dissipation. Tertullian himself also joined them in communicating, reconciliation with the Church.

* ib. c. 19. "Ye answer that these things are to be done by choice, not by command." 
* de Pudic. c. 19. 21. He declares them unpardonable as being "sins unto death." (1 John 5, 16.) "You have no choice left, but either to deny that adultery and fornication are mortal sins, or to confess that they are irreparable; for which it is not even permitted to pray." He does not however specify other mortal sin.
* Apollinaris, who wrote about A. 211, ap. Eus. v. 18, says, "But who is this upstart teacher [Montanus]? His deeds and teaching show one. . . . It was he who appointed people to levy money, who under the name of offerings devised the new way of getting tribes, who supplies salaries to those that preach his doctrines, that by glutony the teaching of that doctrine may gain support." "If they maintain that their prophets have not received presents, let them acknowledge this, that if convicted of having received them, they are no prophets; and then we will bring proofs innumerable that they have received them. And since all the fruits of a prophet must needs be put to the test, tell me, does a prophet dye his hair? does a prophet blacken his eyebrows? is a prophet fond of dress? does a prophet play with tables and dice? does a prophet lead on usury? let them confess whether these things are lawful or not: and that they have taken place with them I will prove," And of Priscilla and Maximilla. "We show then that these very first prophecies from the time that they were filled with the Spirit, left their husbands. . . . . . . . . .. . "Thouest thou not that all Scripture forbids a prophet to receive gifts or money? When then I see that a prophetess has received both gold and silver and costly apparel, how shall I do else than reject her?"

"He discharged from him all the idle pretence of Phrygia, and formed conventicles of Tertullianists. But in doctrine he changed nothing." Præst. 
"Ourselves, after that time, the recognition and maintaining of the Paraclete separated from the Carnal." adv. Præst. c. 1. 
S. Aug. de Häres. 
S. Aug. de Härr, "passing over to the Cataphrygian whom he had before overthrown." This seems to be an allusion to the adv. omn. Härr; possibly, however, (as Tillemon perhaps means to suggest, art. 9.) it only signifies that he "overthrew" them by teaching the truths opposed to their errors, the unlawfulness of second marriage, (ad Ux. ii. 1. 3. de Pat. c. 13.) of flight in persecution, (ad Ux. i. 3. de Pat. c. 6.) of the Church's right to remit all mortal sin, (de Pern. c. 7.) See the de Preser. and notice below, p. 434, 5.

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for a while only, and then rejected the authority of the founders of the sect, notwithstanding that he seems to have put forward, to himself, the external authority of the spiritual gifts claimed by the Montanists, not the substance of their doctrine, as the ground of his secession, and so long regarded the revelations they claimed, as the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Yet, we know not on what ground, retaining those points of discipline, which had probably originally recommended themselves to him, he separated from the Montanists, and formed a small local communion of his own. If also, as seems probable, the Adversus omnes hereses be his, he had himself been alive to the blasphemies circulated among some sections of them; and we have external testimony, that he at the first wrote against them. His strong perception also of the validity of the "rule of faith," or, as is now said, "Catholic truth," as a definite substantial body of truth not to be departed from; his own well-recognised maxim that what was prior was Apostolic, that innovations branded themselves, as being such; his strong recognition of the Church, as the depository of Apostolic tradition;—would have seemed strong safeguards against his falling into error, and declaring against the Church.

In the absence of fuller information, the source of that strange and lamentable fall can only be conjectured. Something there may have been in Montanism, at the outset, more attractive than it now seems, when laid bare. Heresy, like all other sin, is attractive in the present, revolting when past, and the mask turned. Something there must have been in the picture, the false recognition and maintaining of the Paraclete, the separation from the Carnal, to make them keep the name of the Church, and retain the external authority of the spiritual gifts claimed by the Montanists, in opposition to their own doctrines, which were the only outward temptations to forsake the Church. Yet this slight increase in fasting, the prohibition of second marriages, the extension of a discipline already strict, and the denial of the right to flee in persecution, were the only outward temptations to forsake the Church. On the other hand, they for whom he forsook it, had early the reputation of "making a gain of godliness," systematically levying money on their followers, under the character of Oblations, and that even on the poor, the orphans, and the widows, and of other acts of luxury, pomp, avarice, dissipation. Tertullian himself also joined them in communicating, reconciliation with the Church. 

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been, since even a Bishop of Rome was on the point of acknowledging the prophecies of Montanus, Prisca, and Maximilla, even when they had been condemned by his predecessors, and by the Asiatic Churches; and actually restored communion with them. They seem also in a very short time to have found adherents in the parts of the world the most distant, and some even among those ready to endure martyrdom. It may be that at first they did not declare against the Church, and seemed only reformers within her. The very rule of Tertullian may also have been, in some degree, the means of ensnaring him, both by leading him to a false security, and, in its application, fixing his mind exclusively on greater deviations from the Faith. For, if one may so judge of one so highly endowed, Tertullian’s mind seems remarkable rather for its great acuteness, power, condensed strength, energy, than for its comprehensiveness. His characteristic seems to be the vivid and strong perception and exhibition of single truths or principles. These be exhausts, bares them of every thing extrinsic to them, and then casts them forth the sharper and the more penetrating. They seem to flash on his mind like lightning, and to go forth with its rapidity and clearness. As in the well-known description, “he flashed, he thundered, he shook Greece.” But single powers of mind, the more vividly they are possessed and developed, the more, generally, do they impair the even balance of the whole. Men’s very excellences, lest they forget their humility and “be as gods,” are often purchased at the expense of other endowments. It is with God Alone to possess all things perfectly. Thus we see how strength of memory and learning are mostly bought by forfeiture of originality or even judgment; inventiveness by want of precision; imaginativeness by absence of accuracy in reasoning; clearness by want of depth; what lies deep struggles to the surface, yet cannot reach it; contemplativeness and practical wisdom are severed; and so on. In this way the very intensity with which Tertullian’s mind grasped single truths may have the rather hindered him from seeing their bearings upon other truth. While gazing intently upon one object, a person cannot for the time see others which surround it, or, at most, is only indistinctly conscious of their presence. On each occasion Tertullian seems to be wholly taken up with, and immersed in, the one truth which he is contemplating; and to see other things as they bear upon it, rather than its bearings upon others. It seems for the time the centre, around which his thoughts are revolving. This habit was perhaps augmented by his previous profession. To this habit of mind perhaps belong his frequent argumenta ad hominem; they stop the mouth of an adversary, and with this he seems for the time content; whether he has maintained his position or silenced an adversary seems to him indifferent. One seems to see the habits of a mind, accustomed to bend all its energies to make out its case,—not, of course now, as in Heathenism and on secular subjects, irrespectively of truth or falsehood,—yet, even the more, because fully persuaded of the truth of what it advocates, seizing whatever will fortify its position, without fully considering whether it may not thereby be disdaming some other post, and pressing into its service what really does not belong thither. On different occasions, he seems to look on the same truth upon opposite sides, and each time

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It is perhaps out of reverence that he thus contents himself with retracting the charge of worshipping the Cross, (Apol. c. 16.) or the Sun because they prayed towards the East, (ib.)

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exclusively, so that from the different point of view, its form
seems not only different, but inconsistent and contradictory.
He seems at no pains to guard or qualify his statements
either to his own mind or that of others; rather he exhibits
them unqualified, as being more effective. As an instance of
this sort, it has been noticed in the body of the work, how he
represents the end of the world, on different occasions, as
the object exclusively of hope or fear, so that persons must
needs pray for it or against it, long for its coming or its
delay.'

One form in which this habit of mind shewed itself was his
very mode of employing his wonted test of heresy—the "rule of
faith." The "rule of faith" or body of Apostolic teaching
committed to the Church, and concentrated in the Creeds,
is as a whole inviolable, either by the Church or by in-
dividuals. What has been "delivered once for all" must in
its minutest details remain to the end. What is really
Apostolical, admits neither of increase nor diminution, with­
out blame. Other things may be true so that they contradict
it not, but they cannot form part of it, nor may be ranked
with it, because they did not originally belong to it; and
what did once belong to it, must, of course, to the end remain
a part of it. The doctrine of the Millennium may be true, but
cannot be part of that body of truth, because it was not so
at the first; the Roman doctrine of Purgatory cannot be
true, because it is at variance with the Apostolical tradition
of Paradise and a state of rest for those departed in the faith
and fear of Christ; the value of almsdeeds or fasting, how­
ever of late disparaged, must continue a part of
the Creator, God the
truth, because it was such. But Tertullian's view of
the "rule of faith" seems to have been narrowed by his
exclusive consideration of those, to refute whose errors he
applied it. These were such as violated it in very gross
cases, denying the Creator of the world or the resurrection
of the flesh. Against these he urged vividly the extent of
their departure from the Apostolic rule, as using the Scriptures
Apol. c. 31. p. 27, note u.

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of God, but denying the God Whose they were; pre-
supposing that, until themselves taught, Christians had not
known, Who that Christ was, Whose Name they bore.
But in this way, he seems to have habituated himself to
regard Apostolic tradition as identical with the "rule of
faith" or the Creed, so that what did not contradict this,
might, although held by the whole Church, be contradicted
or corrected. This he lays down after the summary of the
Apostles' Creed, which he gives as a Montanist. "This
law of faith remaining, all other matters of faith and con­
versation admit of the novelty of correction, the grace of
God namely working and advancing, unto the end. For
what a thing were it, that whereas the devil ever worketh
and daily addeth to the inventions of iniquity, the work of
God should either have ceased, or failed to advance!" and,
again, he represents the Montanists as aggrieved, because
blamed for new doctrines which did not touch on these
points. "These raise disputes against the Paraclete; for this
are the new prophecies rejected, not because Montanus and
Priscilla and Maximilla preach another God, or annul Christ
Jesus, or overthrow any rule of faith or hope, but because
they teach to fast oftener than to marry;" and, elsewhere, he
distinctly lays down that no change in discipline can be
heretical, except it flow from heresy in doctrine. "They
reprobate the discipline of single-marriage as a heresy.
Nor are they reduced to deny the Paraclete so much on any
ground, as that they think He is the Framr of a new
discipline, and that most burdensome to them"—and then

1 de Præser. c. 29.
2 de Virg. vol. c. 1. see more below
in Notice on "Prescription against
Heretics," p. 434.
3 de Jef. c. 1. add c. 11. "Un¬
doubtedly heresy and false-prophesy
will among us, who are all ministers
[antients] of One God, the Creator, and
of His Christ; he judged such by dif­
fering as to the Godhead, and therefore I
maintain this position unconcerned,
leaving them to choose their own point
of attack. Thou sayest, carnal one,
'it is the spirit of the devil.' How
then does it command duties to our
God, to be offered to none but our
God? Either maintain that the devil
takes part with our God, or be Satan
accounted the Paraclete."* 4 de Monog. c. 2. see further p. 434.
and init. where he distinguishes the 1)
Catholics, 2) Montanists, 3) heretics.
"The heretics take away, the Carnal
heap up marriages.—But among us,
whom the recognising of spiritual gifts
rightly causes to be termed 'spir­i­
tual.'"
having put the question quoted already, he objects to himself, "In this way of arguing," sayest thou, 'any thing however novel and burdensome may be ascribed to the Paraclete, although it be from the opposing spirit.' Not so. For the opposing spirit would discover himself from the difference of teaching, first adulterating the rule of faith, and then adulterating the order of discipline, because that must first be corrupted, which precedes in order, i. e. faith as going before discipline. A person must first be a heretic as to God, and then as to the institute of God." There may be truth in this observation of Tertullian, so far that, (could it be traced,) practical heresy always implies doctrinal; but his theory implies yet further, that unless the doctrinal heresy can be shewn, the received tradition as to Apostolic practice may not only be modified by the Church on grounds of expediency, but may on private revelation be corrected as erroneous. Single-marriage was, according to the Montanists, not only an ordinance which might be imposed by the Church, restricting Christian liberty, but a point of faith; so that second-marriage was not only a less excellent way, but was adultery; a change analogous to that in the Council of Trent, which not only imposed the necessity of private confession, but declared it to be de fide, that all mortal sins, even of thought, must be confessed.

In this way, Tertullian facilitated his fall; but its primary source, from within as from without, appears to have been the failing, over which he himself mourns, impatience. St. Jerome hints at this in the external circumstances, when he says*, that he "was by the envy and contumelious treatment of the Roman Clergy driven to embrace the opinions of Montanus." Internally, he seems to have been irritated at the refusal of the Church to recognise the spiritual claims of the Montanists, and what he deemed the manifestation of the Paraclete. He seems to have regarded it as a rejection of the Spirit, and to have thought himself compelled to remain outwardly separated from the body which so rejected it. Yet he may have persuaded himself that, the faith remaining entire, though visibly divided, they remained invisibly one Church, even as the several portions of the Church, whose communion is interrupted, Eastern, Western, our own, now do,—only that in the case of Tertullian, it was not merely a misunderstanding between Churches, each having the Apostolic constitution and succession, but the formation of a sect de novo, opposed to the Church. This at least seems the most natural meaning of a passage written by him as a Montanist, when, speaking of the agreement of the Eastern and Western Churches, he includes himself in the Western*. He may also in part have been carried away by his sympathies with an individual, Proclus, whose continuity and eloquence he admired*. But the difference of his tone in and out of the Church, the remarkable expressions of deep self-abasement on many occasions, while within it, the arrogant and self-confident language after his secession, the calm and subdued tone, prevalent in the former, the irritated and impatient temper, visible in the latter period, seem to imply some moral fault, which his secession carried out into

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*S. Augustine seems to refer to this changed tone where he says, (de Bon. vid. c. 4. § 6.) "The Catophragian and Novatian heresies, which Tertullian also filled out with aspersion, not with wisdom's breath, cutting off, as unlawful, with contumelious words, second marriages, which the Apostle, with calm judgment, concedes to be wholly lawful."
again, in another way, to observe how nearly Tertullian, on other doctrine, was betrayed into heresy, while defending the truth; how, contending against the heretic Praxens, he so expressed himself, as to fall into suspicion of heresy, even on the doctrine of the Trinity, though indeed sound; proving against Plato, that the soul has a beginning, he narrowly escaped materialism, and the doctrine of transmigration of the soul; arguing against those who denied Baptism, he so wrote, as to seem to deny original sin.

To the right use of Tertullian, then, more care and judgment are required than for other fathers. His testimony to facts and doctrines, to the rites of the Church, is, of course, always of the highest value. In these respects he is of value even when writing against the Church, whereby some of his statements are elicited. Nor, in other respects, will any question his great instructiveness, whom S. Cyprian entitled his “Master.” Still he requires a mature judgment; and it is on this account, perhaps, that his influence upon the Church has rather been mediated through those whose minds were formed by his writings, than direct. Among these, we may count not S. Cyprian only, but Pacian and S. Jerome, in both of whom the sayings of Tertullian re-appear in a form, which shew how great an influence his writings must have had upon them. The more, however, this mediately influence increased, and his writings moulded other minds within the Church, the more did the apparent necessity for them cease, and the office once assigned them was suspended. The rareness of MSS. of his works, with the single exception of the Apology, (and even these are in no great number,) illustrates what S. Hilary says on his Treatise on Prayer, that it was indeed “excellently to the purpose, but that the subsequent error of the man had taken from the authority even of what he had written well.” And this, not without reason; for the maxims of Tertullian are often so

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4 “Some object to Tertullian, that he said that the soul came by transmission, i. e. that soul was generated of soul as body of bodies.” Præf. de presc. c. 42. bel. p. 477.
5 See on the de Bapt. e. 18. p. 977. n. e. in Matt. cap. 5.
fascinating from their very condensation, as readily to gain admission although involving unperceived consequences. Thus even S. Jerome admits the maxim, that what a man hath received, that he may impart, which, although it may, in cases of necessity, apply to the immediate subject, Holy Baptism, would equally justify presbyterian ordination. In other instances, it is observable how Tertullian, as a Montanist, misapplies the principles which were perhaps just safe in a Catholic sense, as that “Three formed a Church;” again, the maxim of the undeservedness of repentance becomes a ground why it should not be believed to be bestowed. Even on the ground of the evident maxim, that priority was in some sense the test of truth, since what was first in order would be truth, what was added subsequently was the error, he at least lightly hints that the Greek Church was more to be relied upon than the Roman, as being the prior, whereas both were Apostolic.

Since, then, the abuse of Tertullian lies so very near the use, the young especially should be cautioned, how they use or apply his maxims, and that they apply them not according to any private judgment. With this caution, however, it was thought that the energy and fervor of Tertullian might have their office in a relaxed age; and that the more, since our dangers do not lie in the same direction. And with this caution he should be read for edification also, since it were manifestly a perverted use of any Christian writer to read him (as some seem to do) merely as bearing testimony to facts or doctrines, to the disregard of the moral effect which he ought to have upon our own minds.

The Treatises in the present Volume, with the exception of the de Corona, have no traces of Montanism; all the rest were also written probably before Tertullian’s fall, (see Notices to each,) except the “address to Scapula,” which furnishes no occasion for any allusion either way.

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With respect to the execution of the present work, the Editor found reason to adhere for the most part to the text of Rigaltius; the text accordingly, where not otherwise specified, is his. The previous Editions and most existing MSS. have, however, been collated, and where Rigaltius made alterations on mere conjecture, the older text has been restored. It was intended that the present text should rest entirely upon authority. One exception, however, was unavoidable. This relates to the readings, published by Wouwer, under the title, “Emendationes Epidicticae in Tertullianum,” as having been taken from ancient MSS. by F. Ursinus. These Rigaltius much relied upon and adopted into his text, there being no apparent ground to doubt their genuineness. M. Heyse, however, after searching in vain in the Vatican, at the request of the Editor, for the more ancient MSS. which F. Ursinus is said to have used, with a happy ingenuity discovered at last the original, from which Wouwer had printed his Emendationes. From this it appeared that they were never intended for anything else than conjectural emendations, except here and there, where a MS. was quoted. They are then only ingenious conjectures of a good critic, often very probable, at other times mistaken, as applying classical criticism to Tertullian. This was not discovered until the treatise “on Idolatry” (p. 252.) had been printed; in the subsequent treatises, the use of these corrections was relinquished; and certainly in the case of these, as of other conjectures, readings which one should at first be inclined to lay aside as desperate, have seemed to the Editor to have more of the character of Tertullian, than what at first sight seemed very preferable. And this may be satisfactory amid the great dearth of MSS. of Tertullian, that as little can be done for rendering the text easier, so less is probably required than would at first sight appear to be the case.

The object of the Translator has been to transfuse as faithfully as possible the whole and the precise meaning of the original: a task, as all know who are acquainted with
Tertullian, of exceeding difficulty, and in executing which the Translator has often sacrificed his own ideas of English style. Faithfulness and a conciseness which might follow as nearly on the condensed style of Tertullian, as the genius of the two languages would permit, appeared a prior object; and the Editor cannot but hope that the work will thus become a good introduction to the study of the Author in the original, the very austerity and stern conciseness of whose style binds yet more to him those not deterred by its first exterior. With the same view of faithfully representing the original, the quotations from Holy Scripture have been rendered as they stand in Tertullian's version. The Translator has purposely abstained from the use of any previous translation, in order to give his own view of the meaning unbiassed. Of these, the translation of the Apology by the Rev. T. Chevallier might, from its elegance, almost have superseded any other; yet, in exhibiting together the chief works of Tertullian, it did not seem right to omit what has been the most celebrated and the most popular. Of his other Treatises, the book of "prescription against heretics" and "the address to Scapula" alone (the Editor believes) have been hitherto translated into English.

The notes (for which, as for the alterations in the text of Rigaltius, the immediate Editor is alone responsible) have been added more largely, partly, as once before, on account of the copious materials ready to hand in the collections of Pamelius and La Cerda, and, on the Apology, of Havercamp, partly on account of the allusive style of Tertullian, and to strengthen his authority as not making allusions at random; again, partly to defend his statements, partly to guard against their abuse. In so doing, the Editor has freely used the existing materials, only verifying the references, (for aid in which on the Apology the Editor has to express his thanks to the Rev. J. B. Morris, Fellow of Exeter, to whom he is indebted for the Index, and the Rev. T. Morris, Student of Christ Church,) and since it would have been wearisome to note on every occasion the source or sources from which references were derived, these have mostly been omitted.

Thus guarded, it is hoped that the present volume, the first in which any number of the Treatises of Tertullian have been made accessible to English readers, may tend, under God's blessing, to form in them the earlier rather than the later character of that great mind, his sternness against self, and "boldness in rebuking sin," his uncompromising adherence to the lightest admonition of God's law, and ready submission of his will, at whatever cost, so that his very fall was in misdirected submission to an authority without him;

And Cyprian's Master, as in age high-soul'd
Yet choosing as in youth the better part
may act alike as a fire to kindle, a light to guide, and a beacon to warn against what he now, his slough cast away, would most wish to warn, his own errors and the tempers in which they originated. So may the scandal caused by his fall be compensated, and he, with the rest of the holy company, from whom on earth he was disunited, be employed in "preparing" for the coming of his Lord, for Whom he looked so ardently, "by the preaching of repentance" in holy austerity and self-discipline.

E. B. P.

Feast of St. John the Baptist,
1842.

1 Lyra Apostolica, No. 91. = Collect for St. John Baptist's Day.
THE
BOOK OF APOLOGY
AGAINST
THE HEATHEN.

[The Apology was written probably A.D. 198. It was under Severus, because under one of the better Emperors (c. v. p. 13.) before he became a persecutor, (ib. and T. praises him c. 4.) and as the result of old laws, (c. 2—4.) i.e. before A. 202; after the conspiracy of Albinus (c. 35.) A.D. 396, while the remains of the conspirators were being gleaned up, public rejoicings held at Rome, and a largess given, (ib.) as did Severus, upon his victory over Albinus, A. 199. (Herodian, Hist. iii. 8.) upon which he set out on the war against the Parthians (Spartian. in Sever. c. 14.) alluded to, probably, c. 37. (see Mosheim Diaq. de ost. Apol.) Lamper, (Hist. S. Patr. t. vi. c. 1. §. 16.) places it A. 198, imagining the "gleaning" c. 25. to be that of the adherents of Niger. S. Clement Al. mentions "copious streams of the blood of martyrs shed daily," at the same time, before the edict of Severus, (Strom. ii. p. 494.) another proof that the sufferings of the early Christians were not confined to the great persecutions; they were demanded by the populace. Allix infers, from the way in which T. speaks of Rome and the Romans, (c. 9. 21. 36.) that the Apology was not written at Rome; it is addressed to the executive (c. i. 2. 9. 50.) so that Eusebius is probably mistaken in saying it was addressed to the Roman Senate. (H. E. v. 5.) S. Jerome says of it, (Ep. 70. ad Magnum, §. 5.) "What more learned than Tertullian, what more acute? His Apology and his Books against the Gentiles comprises the whole range of secular learning."]

If it be not allowed you, Lords of the Roman empire, sitting above all, to judge, in an open and exalted spot, at the very summit almost of the city, openly to look about you, and publicly to examine what there be of very truth in the cause of the Christians; if in this instance alone your authority be either afraid * or ashamed to make enquiry in public, touching the diligent use of justice; if finally, as hath just now happened, the enmity against this sect, having too much exercised itself in private condemnations, "formeth an obstacle to their defence, let the truth be permitted to reach your ears even by the secret way of silent writings. She asketh no favour for her cause, because she feeleth no John 15, 18. 19.

* On account of the popular eagerness, inf. c. 35. 37. 40. 46. 60. Ep. of Churches of Vienne, Eus. H. E. v. 1. inf. p. 10. n. k.

If commodity, i.e. having exercised severity against their own families, (see c. 3. and perhaps ad Scap. c. 3.) they were the less fitted to be judges.

OTHERS, vid.Orig. c. 3. Heb. 11. Thaeurlcr, l. i. c. 6. v. 34. Ruf. H. E. 13. v. 1. Judicis, i. e. having exercised severity against their own families, (see c. 3. and perhaps ad Scap. c. 3.) they were the less fitted to be judges.

* Comp. ad Scap. 1.
Christianity hated unheard. Implies suspicion of its truth.

APOL. L. 1.

wonder at her condition. She knoweth that she liveth a stranger upon earth, that among aliens she easily findeth foes; but that she hath her birth, her home, her hope, her favour, and her worth in the heavens. One thing meanwhile she earnestly desireth, that she be not condemned unknown. If she be heard, what loss cometh thereby to the laws, supreme within their own dominion? Will not their power boast the more in this, that they will condemn Truth even when she hath been heard? But if they condemn her unheard, besides the ill-repute of injustice, they will merit also the suspicion of a certain consciousness, as being, namely, unwilling to hear that, which when heard, they could not condemn. This therefore we lay before you as the first argument for the injustice of your hatred towards the name of Christians. Which injustice the same plea, namely, ignorance, which seemeth to excuse it, aggraveth and convicteth. For what more unjust than that men should hate that of which they know nothing, even if the thing deserve their hatred? For then doth it deserve, when it be known whether it do deserve. But when knowledge of the desert be wanting, whence is the justice of the hatred maintained? which ought to be approved, not by the event, but by previous conviction! When then men hate for this reason, because they know not, what manner of thing that, which they hate, is, why may it not be of such a sort as that they ought not to hate it? Thus from either point we prove either against them, that they are ignorant.

If no due cause of hatred be found, surely it were best to cease to hate unjustly; but if it be clear that it is deserved, not only is their hatred nothing diminished, but stronger ground is gained for persevering in it, even with the sanction of justice itself. 'But,' saith one, 'it is not therefore at once determined to be good because it converteth many, for how many are remoulded to evil! how many are deserters to this sect? Who denieth it? Nevertheless, that which is really evil not even those, whom it carrieth away, dare to defend as a good. Nature hath cast over every evil either fear or shame. Finally, evil-doers delight in hiding themselves; shun appearing; being accused deny; not even when tortured, appare dieady or always confess; certainly mourn when condemned.'


On the multitude of Christians, see Heathen Testimonies, Tac. xv. 44.
Contradictoriness of heathen treatment of Christians.

the act, the number of acts\(^1\), the place, the manner, the time,\(^1\) sum-
the accessories, the accomplices. In our case there is noth-
nothing like this, although it were equally right that the
fact be extorted, whatsoever charge be falsely thrown out;
how many murdered infants each hath tasted, how many
insects he hath shrouded in darkness\(^2\); what cooks, what
dogs\(^3\), were present. Oh! how great the glory of that
magistrate, if he should hunt out one who hath already
eaten an hundred infants! But we find even enquiry into
our case forbidden: for the second Pliny\(^4\), while governor
of a province, when some Christians had been condemned,
some degraded, being nevertheless troubled by their very
numbers, asked of Trajan, then Emperor, what he should
do for the future, alleging that, excepting their obstinacy in
not sacrificing, he had discovered nothing else touching
their religious mysteries, save meetings before day-break to
sing to Christ as God\(^5\), and to form a common bond of
discipline, forbidding murder, adultery, fraud, perfidy, and
other crimes. Then wrote Trajan back that this sect should
not indeed be enquired after, but, when brought before him,
be must be punished\(^6\). O sentence necessarily confounding
itself! He forbiddeth that they should be enquired after, as
though they were innocent, and commandeth that they
should be punished, as though guilty! He spareth and
rageth, winketh and punisheth! Why, O sentence, dost
thou overreach thyself? If thou condemnest, why dost thou
not also acquit? If thou enquirest not, why dost thou not
also acquit? For tracking robbers through all the provinces,

\(\text{\footnotesize \text{\(^1\) The inventories of these calumnies were the Jews, see Tert. adv. Jud. c. 13. v. fin. and ad Nat. i. 14. quod aliud genus seminarium infundere nocet? Justin. M. Apol. i. 39. Dial. c. Tryph. s. 17. 108. Orig. c. Cels. vi. 27. All the Apologists had to refer to them. Justin. M. Apol. i. 4. § 12. Dial. c. Tryph. s. 10. Theoph. ad Autol. iii. 4. Athenaeus. Legat. s. 2. Orig. c. Cels. 1. c. Minucius F. Octavius cc. 9. 80. add also Euseb. H. E. iv. 7. Salvinus de Provst. iv. v. fin. p. 30. ed. Manut. and for the first, Tatian adv. Grac. s. 25. Orig. i. c. says, that "abord as this calumny was, of old it prevailed with very many; and even now it deceives some, who are by the like turned away from the simplest intercourse even of speech with the Christians." Euseb. l. c. speaks of it, as not lasting long. In the persecution of Lyons and Vienne, slaves were made by torture to confess it as true.}}\)

\(\text{\footnotesize \text{\(^2\) Annum; ad Nat. i. 2. quotiens condemn edemir.}}\)

\(\text{\footnotesize \text{\(^3\) See below, c. 7. 8.}}\)

\(\text{\footnotesize \text{\(^4\) Ep. x. 97.}}\)

\(\text{\footnotesize \text{\(^5\) Ut Deo, the ancient cod. Pudl. Chrisio quasi Deo. Pliny l. c. Most edd. carelessly, "et Deo."}}\)

\(\text{\footnotesize \text{\(^6\) Ap. Phil. Ep. x. 98.}}\)

\(\text{\footnotesize \text{\(^7\) Athenag. Leg. s. 3.}}\)
military stations are allotted. Against men accused of treason, and public enemies, every man is a soldier. The enquiry is extended to the accessories, even to the accessories. The Christian alone may not be enquired after, but may be brought before the court; as though enquiry had any other object than to bring him thither! Ye condemn him therefore when brought before you, whom none would have enquired after, who, I suppose, hath already deserved punishment, not because he is guilty, but because, when not to be enquired after, he was found! So then neither in this do ye act towards us according to the rule of judging malefactors, namely, that to others ye apply tortures, when they deny, to make them confess; to the Christians alone, to make them deny; whereas, if it were a sin, we indeed should deny it, and ye by your tortures would compel us to confess it. Nor could you think that our crimes were therefore not to be enquired of by examinations, because ye were assured by the confession of the name, that they have been committed, seeing that to this day from one who hath confessed himself a murderer, though ye know what murder is, ye nevertheless extort the confession of our name, ye compel us by tortures to go back from our own to confess it. Wherefore it is with the greater perverseness that, when ye presume our guilt from the confession of our name, ye compel us by tortures to go back from our own confession, that by denying the name we may of course equally deny the crimes also, of which ye presumed us guilty from the confession of the name. But, I suppose, ye do not wish us, whom ye deem the worst of men, to die! For thus (doubtless) ye are wont to say to a murderer, 'Deny the fact;' to order the sacrilegious person to be torn with scourges if he persevere in his confession! If ye act not thus towards us as criminals, ye therefore judge us to be most innocent, since, as though we were most innocent, ye will not have us persevere in that confession, which ye know must be condemned by you of necessity, not of right. One crieth out, 'I am a Christian.' He sayeth what he is: thou wouldest hear what he is not. Sitting in authority to draw out the truth, from us alone do ye labour to draw out falsehood. 'I am,' saith he, 'that which thou askest, if I am. Why torture me to unmask it? I confess, and thou torturest me: what wouldest thou do if I denied? Certainly ye do not easily lend credit to others when they deny: us, if we deny, ye forthwith credit. Let this perverseness be cause of suspicion to you that there may be some power lurking in secret, which maketh you its ministers against all rule, against the very nature of judicial trial, against even the laws themselves. For, if I mistake not, the laws command that malefactors be hunted out, not concealed, prescribe that such as confess be condemned, not acquitted. This the acts of your senate, this the mandates of your princes, this the government, whose servants ye are, determineth. Your rule is civil, not despotic. For with tyrants tortures were used for punishment also: with you they are tempered down to the examination alone. Observe therein your own law as necessary up to the time of confession. Now then, if ye pretend that they be anticipated by confession, they will be superfluous; for the penalty due, not be discharged from it. Finally, none desireth to acquit him: it is not lawful to wish it: therefore neither is any compelled to a denial. A Christian, thou deemest a man guilty of every crime, an enemy of the Gods, of the Emperors, of Law, of Morals, of all Nature; and thou compellest to deny that thou mayest acquit, whom thou wilt not be able to acquit, unless he deny. Thou quibbles with the laws. Thou wilt not have him therefore deny himself guilty, that thou mayest make him not guilty, unwilling too as he now is, and not accounted guilty for the past. Whence this perverseness, not to consider this also, that more credit should be given to one that of his own will confesseth, than to one who from compulsion denieth, or that when compelled to deny, he may not deny in earnest,
and being acquitted, may, on the spot, behind the judgment-seat, laugh at your rivalry, a Christian for the second time? Seeing then that in all things ye deal with us otherwise than with other criminals, in striving for this one thing, that we be debared from this name, (for debared we are, if we do what those who are no Christians do,) ye may perceive that it is no crime which is called in question, but a name, which a sort of plan of rival agency persecuteth, aiming first at this, that men may be unwilling to know for certain that, which they know for a certain that they know not. Therefore also they believe of us things which are not proved, and will not have them enquired into, lest those things be proved not to be, which they had rather should be believed to be; so that the name opposed to that rival plan may, by its own confession alone, be condemned, on the presumption, not on the proof, of crimes. Wherefore we are tortured when we confess, and punished when we persevere, and acquitted when we deny, because it is a war about a name. Finally why read ye that man a Christian, or therefore a Christian because wise and whether Titius hath suddenly become a Christian? 'A good man and Lucius wise, and Lucius wise, from 'anointing.' And even when it is by you wrongly pronounced, 'Chreestian,' for not even of the name is there any certain knowledge among you,) it is made from 'sweetness,' or from 'kindness.' Wherefore in innocent men a name, also innocent, is hated. But in truth the sect is hated in the name of its Head. What new thing is it, if any School bring upon its followers a name from its master? Are not Philosophers named from their founders, as Platonists, Epicureans, Pythagoreans? Even from the places of their meetings and stations, as Stoics, Academics? So too Physicists from Erasistratus, and Grammarians from Aristarchus, just to prejudge things unseen by things seen, than to precondemn the seen through the unseen. Others condemn in the very thing, wherein in fact they praise, those whom in time past, before they had this name, they knew as vagabonds, worthless, wicked. In the blindness of their hatred they fall upon commending them. What a woman! how voluptuous! how gay! What a youth! what a rake! what a man of pleasure! They have become Christians. Thus is this name applied to their reformation. Some even barter their own interests for this hatred, being content to suffer injury, so that they have not at home that which they hate. The husband now no longer jealous hath turned out of doors his wife now chaste. The father, patient before, hath disowned his now obedient son. The master, once lenient, hath banished from his sight his now faithful servant. As each is reformed by this name, he offendseth. Virtue is not in such account as hatred of the Christians. Now then if the hatred be of the name, what guilt is there in names? what charge against words? unless it be that any word which is a name have either a barbarous, or an ill-omened, or a scurrilous, or an immodest sound. But the word 'Christian,' as far as its meaning is concerned, is derived from 'anointing.' And even when it is by you wrongly pronounced, 'Chreestian,' (for not even of the name is there any certain knowledge among you,) it is made from 'sweetness,' or from 'kindness.' Wherefore in innocent men a name, also innocent, is hated. But in truth the sect is hated in the name of its Head. What new thing is it, if any School bring upon its followers a name from its master? Are not Philosophers named from their founders, as Platonists, Epicureans, Pythagoreans? Even from the places of their meetings and stations, as Stoics, Academics? So too Physicists from Erasistratus, and Grammarians from Aristarchus,
and even Cooks from Apicius? And yet the profession of a name, handed down together with the institution, from its founder, doth not offend any. Clearly if any hath proved the sect bad, and thus the founder also bad, he will prove the name likewise bad, deserving of hatred from the guilt of the sect and of its founder. And therefore, before hating the name, it were meet, first to judge of the sect from the founder, or of the founder from the sect. But now, all examination and knowledge of either set aside, the name is laid hold of, and a word alone pre-condemneth a sect unknown, and its founder also unknown, because they bear a name, not because convicted.

IV. And so, having as it were premised these things, that I might set a mark upon the injustice of the public hatred against us, I will now take my stand on the ground of our innocence, and not only refute the charges which are brought against us, but even retort them upon the very men who bring them; that in this also all may know that those things exist not in Christians which they are not ignorant do exist in themselves; and at the same time may blush in accusing—I will not say the best, themselves being the worst, but—those who are now, on their own shewing, their compers. We will answer touching all the things severally, which we are said to commit in secret, which are openly discovered against us, in which we are accounted wicked, in which foolish, in which to be condemned, in which to be laughed at. But since, when the truth of our cause meeteth you at every turn, the authority of the laws is at last set up against it, so that it either is said that nothing must be reconsidered after the laws have decided, or the necessity of obedience is unwillingly preferred to truth, I will first contend with you about the laws as with the guardians of the laws. And first, when ye harshly determine, saying, 'It is not lawful that ye should exist,' and prescribe this law without any gentler reconsideration, ye avow violence, and an unjust despotism from within your strong hold, if ye therefore say it is unlawful because ye will have it, not because it ought to be, unlawful. But if, because it ought not to be, therefore ye will not have it lawful, doubtless that ought not to be lawful, which is ill done, and surely it is, even hereby, already determined that what is well done is lawful. If I shall find that to be good, which your law hath forbidden, is it not by this previous determination, disabled from forbidding me that, which if it were evil, it would justly forbid? If your law hath erred, it was devised, methinks, by men; so for it hath not dropped down from the sky. Do we wonder

Other laws repealed; only not those against Christians. 11

revelation, ye avow violence, and an unjust despotism from within your strong hold, if ye therefore say it is unlawful because ye will have it, not because it ought to be, unlawful. But if, because it ought not to be, therefore ye will not have it lawful, doubtless that ought not to be lawful, which is ill done, and surely it is, even hereby, already determined that what is well done is lawful. If I shall find that to be good, which your law hath forbidden, is it not by this previous determination, disabled from forbidding me that, which if it were evil, it would justly forbid? If your law hath erred, it was devised, methinks, by men; so for it hath not dropped down from the sky. Do we wonder
rather have the effusion than the effusion of a man's blood. How many laws still lurk behind needing to be purified! It is not length of years, nor the worth of their founders, which commendeth them, but equity alone; and therefore when they are acknowledged to be unjust, they are justly condemned, although condemning. Why call we them unjust? yea, if they punish a name, we call them foolish also; but if doings, why in our case do they punish doings, on the score of a name alone, which we believe they maintain must be proved by the act, not by the name? "I am guilty of incest,"—why do they not examine me? "of child-murder,"—why do they not extort the proof? "I commit some act against the gods, against the Caesars,"—why am I not heard, who 1 have whereby to clear myself? No law forbidden that to be thoroughly sifted, which it forbidden to be done; for neither doth a judge punish justly, unless he know that an act, which is not lawful, hath been committed; nor doth a citizen obey the law honestly, not knowing what sort of thing it be which he punisheth. No law ought to satisfy itself merely of its own justice, but those also from whom it expecteth obedience. But the law is suspicious, if it will not have itself proved, and reprobate, if unapproved it domineereth.

V. To treat somewhat of the origin of the kind of laws, there was an ancient decree, that no god should be consecrated by the Emperor2, unless approved by the Senate. Witness Marcus Æmilius in the case of his own god Alburnus3. This also maketh for our cause, that with you deity is measured according to the judgment of man4. A god, unless he please man, shall not be a god. Man will now be obliged to be propitious to a god. Tiberius therefore, in whose time the name of Christ entered into the world, laid before the Senate, with his own vote to begin with, things announced to him from Palestine in Syria, which had there manifested the truth of the Divinity of that Person5. The Senate, because they had not themselves approved it, rejected it6. Cesar held by his sentence, threatening peril to the accusers of the Christians. Consult your Annals: there ye will find that Nero was the first to wreck the fury of the sword of the Caesars upon this sect, now springing up especially at Rome. But in such a first founder of our condemnation we even glory. For whoever knoweth him, can understand that nothing save some great good was condemned by Nero. Domitian too, who was somewhat of a Nero* in cruelty, had tried it, but forasmuch as he was also a human being, he speedily stopped the undertaking, even restoring those whom he had banished. Such have ever been our persecutors; unjust, impious, infamous, whom even yourselves have been wont to condemn, by whom whosoever were condemned ye have been wont to restore. But out of so many princes thenceforward to him of the present day, who had any savour of religion and humanity, shew us any destroyer of the Christians. But we on the other hand have one to shew who protected them, if the letters of that most august Emperor Marcus Aurelius be enquired of, wherein he testifieth of that drought in Germany removed by the shower obtained by the prayers of the Christians who chanced to serve in his army7. As he did not

1 Justin. M. (Apol. i. 35. and 48.) also mentions incidentally that Pllato sent an official account (Aota) of His Death and miracles; (as was usual to transmit accounts of all important events, so that the omission had been very improbable) nor does there seem any ground to question this statement, which rests on Tertullian's authority; for the supposed improbability that the Senate would venture to reject the proposal of Tiberius is met by the fact that they did so on different occasions, without displeasing Tiberius. (Suet. Tib. c. 31.) This account, and those of Lampridius (a heathen) as to other Emperors, who intended to associate the Lord with the heathen gods, mutually confirm each other, though the dishonour was, by God's providence, averted.


3 See again adv. Marc. i. 18.

4 Bp. Pearson (Lect. iv. in Actt. n. 14.) explains it, 4 because he (T.) had not approved of it in his own case, 4 as referring to Tiberius' refusal of divine honours. (Suet. Tib. c. 26.) He is followed by Tillemon, H. E. art. S. Pierre, c. 19. and Lardner. It seems safer, however, to adhere to the sense given by Euseb. (H. E. ii. 2.) S. Chrysostom, (in 2 Cor. Hom. 26.) P. Croesus, (vii. 4.) and otherwise there had been no ground for the mention of the 4 ancient law 4 just above.


6 T. calls him 4 Subnero, 4 de Pallio c. 4.

7 Euseb. H. E. iii. 20.

8 See ad Scorp. c. 4. The greatness and unexpectedness of the deliverance

APOL. openly take off the penalty from the men of that sect, so in another way he openly made away with it by adding a sentence, and that a more horrid one, against the accusers also. What sort of laws then be those which only the impious, the unjust, the infamous, the cruel, the foolish, the insane, execute against us? which Trajan in part foiled by forbidding that the Christians should be enquired after; which no Adrian, though a clear searcher into all things curious, no Vespasian, though the vanquisher of the Jews, no Pius, no Verus, hath pressed against us? Surely the worst of men, it might be thought, ought to be more readily rooted out by the best, as being their antagonists, than by their own fellows.

VI. Now I would have these most religious guardians and avengers of the laws and institutions of their fathers answer touching their own fealty, and their respect and reverence towards the decrees of their ancestors, whether they have fallen off from none, whether they have deviated in none, whether they have not annulled such as are necessary, and in proportion as they are the best fitted, to good discipline. Whither have gone those laws which checked extravagance and ambition? which enacted that an hundred assés, and no more, should be allowed for a supper; and that not more than one owl, and that not a fatted one, should be introduced? which expelled from the Senate a Patrician on grave proof of ambition, because he possessed ten pounds of silver? which forthwith pulled down the theatres as they rose for the corruption of morals? which suffered not the badges of dignities and honourable birth to be assumed without cause or without a penalty? For I see centenarian supplers, which must now be so named from an hundred sesterces, and silver mines wrought out into dishes, (it were a small matter if only for Senators, and not for freed men, or those who are even now having the whip broken upon them.) I see too that it is not enough that theatres should be single or uncovered. For it was for the games forsooth that the Lacedæmonians first invented their odious cloak, that immodest pleasure might not be chilled even in the winter. I see too no distinction left in dress between matrons and harlots. Touching women indeed, even those rules of their forefathers have dropped, which supported modesty and sobriety, when no woman knew ought of gold, save on the one finger on which her husband had placed the pledge of the nuptial ring; when women were so entirely kept, that her own friends starved a matron to death for unsealing the stores of a wine

# Romans respected not laws opposed to their corruptions.

And that on the great festivals only Lex Fannia, 11 years before the third Punic war, ("lex centenaria") renewed in the Lex Lusitana. (A. Gell. ii. 34. Macrobr. Sat. ii. 12.)

Lex Fannia, Plin. x. 90. (all 71.)

i.e. wrought silver, A. U. C. 458. The Census was Fabianus Lusitanus; the expelled, Corn. Rufinus, had been Dictator and twice Consul. (V. A. M. i. ii. 9 d. 4.) Five pounds only were allowed, Plin. xxxiii. 50.

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See De Spectac. c. 10.

£8072 18s. 4d. Essop spent as much on a single dish. Tert. de Pall. c. 5. See other instances ib. and in Adam's Rom. Ant. art. Money.

Drebillana, a slave of Claudius, de Pall. c. 5. Plin. xxxiii. 50.

Tiberius first used it to this end, Dio. livi. 12.

De Cult. Fem. ii. 12; de Pallio, c. 4. "Varied and florid garments were used for their trade, rich women for their luxury." Artemid. ii. 3.

See Plin. xxxiii. 4. De Idol. c. 16.
Romans changed in every thing, even in religion.

is that happiness in marriages, favoured doubtless by good morals, through which, during nearly six hundred years from the founding of the city, no one family wrote a writing of divorcement? In the women, now, owing to their gold, no limb is light; owing to their wine, no kiss is free: and for divorce, it is now even the object of a wish, as though it were the proper fruit of matrimony. As touching even your gods themselves, the decrees, which your gods themselves, the decrees, which your ancestors, ye retain and guard those things which ye ought not, while ye guard not those which ye have rescinded. Father Bacchus, with his mysteries, the customs of your ancestors, ye seem most faithfully to restore by popular tumult, but forbidden by Gabinius chiefly. A. U. C. 690. (Tert. ib.) Arnobius, ib. 60. mentions both. Afterwards M. Emil. Paulus himself broke down the walls of the temple, Val. Max. i. 3. fin. The worship was vix agrega admissum, Macrobi. i. 7. in the triumvirate by Augustus, Dio. xiv. 15. Lucan. vii. 83. but even afterwards only without the city, Dio. iii. 2. and a mile from it, liv. 6. The worship appears to have been that of the populace. (Tert. l. c. Val. Max. i. c.)

Christians, so beset with enemies, must have been detected. 17

ought. Besides that very thing, which being handed down from your fathers ye seem most faithfully to observe, in which ye mark out the Christians as specially guilty of transgression,—I mean diligence in worshipping the gods, wherein antiquity hath mostly erred,—although ye have rebuilt the altars of the now Roman Serapis, although ye offer your frantic orgies to the now Italian Bacchus, I will show in the proper place to have been just as much despised and neglected and destroyed by you, contrary to the authority of your ancestors. For I shall now make answer to the evil report touching secret crimes, that I may clear my way to such as are more open.

VII. We are said to be the most accursed of men, as touching a sacrament of child-murder, and thereon a feast, and incest after the feast, where the dogs that overturn the candles, our panders forsooth, procure darkness and an absence of all shame besides, for impious lusts. Yet said to be is ever the word, and ye take no care to expose that which we have been so long said to be. Wherefore either expose it, if ye believe it, or be unwilling to believe it, seeing ye have not exposed it. Through your own connivance it is ruled against you, that that hath no existence which even yourselves dare not expose. Far other is the thing which ye impose on your executioner against the Christians, not that they should confess what they do, but deny what they are. This religion dateth, as we have already set forth, from Tiberius. Truth set out with being herself hated; as soon as she appeared, she is an enemy. As many as are strangers to it, so many are its foes: and the Jews indeed apro-
Proverbial falsehood of report.

Apol. I. 7. when he hath discovered them, or hath taken a bribe to do
so, while hating the men themselves? If we be always
concealed, when was that, which we commit, divulged?
Yea, by whom could it be divulged? By the criminals
themselves forsooth! Nay, verily: since the fidelity of
secrecy is, by the very rule of all mysteries, due to them. The Samothracian and Eleusinian are kept secret; how
much more such as, being divulged, will in the mean time
provocate even the vengeance of man, while that of God
is kept in store! If themselves then be not their own
betrayers, it followeth that strangers must be. And whence
have strangers the knowledge, when even holy mysteries
ever exclude the profane, and beware of witnesses? unless it
be that unholy men have the less fear! The nature of fame
is known to all. It is your own saying,

"Fame is an ill, than which more speedy none." (Viro.)

Why "Fame an ill?" because "speedy?" because a tell-
tale? or because mostly false? who, not even at the very
time when she beareth any thing true, is without the vice of
falsehood, detracting, adding, changing from the truth! What,
when her condition is such, that she endureth only while she
lieth, and liveth only so long as she proveth not her words?
for when she hath proved them, she ceaseth to be; and, as
having discharged her office of talebearer, delivereth up
a fact. And thenceforward the fact is laid hold of, the fact
is named, and no one saith, (for instance,) they say that
this happened at Rome, or 'The report is that he hath
obtained the province,' but, 'He hath obtained the province,'
and 'This happened at Rome.' Fame, a name for uncer-
ainty, hath no place when a thing is certain. But would
any, but an incon siderate man, believe Fame? since a wise
man believeth not that which is uncertain. All may judge
that, over whatever extent it be spread, with whatever
assurance framed, it must needs have at some time sprung
from some one author, and thence creep into the channels of
tongues and ears. And a fault in the first little seed doth so
darken the rest of the tale, that none enquireth whether that

VIII. That I may appeal to the authority of Nature herself
against those who presume that such things are to be
believed, lo! we set before you the reward of these crimes.
They promise eternal life. Believe it for the moment: for
I ask this, whether even thou, who dost believe it, thinkest
it worth while to attain to it by such a conscience? Come
plunge thy knife into an infant, the foe of none, the accused
of none, the child of all. Or, if this be the office of another,
only stand by this human being, dying before it hath lived;
wait for the young soul's flight; catch the scarce-matured
blood; soak thy bread in it; freely feed upon it. Meanwhile
as thou sittest at the meal, calculate the places where thy
mother, where thy sister is; note them diligently, so that
when the darkness caused by the dogs shall fall upon thee,
thou mayest not perish; for thou wilt incur pollution if thou
commit not incest. Thus initiated and sealed thou livest for
ever. I desire thee to answer whether Eternity be worth
such a price; or if not, therefore it ought not to be believed
so to be. Even if thou shouldest believe it, I say that thou
wouldest not do it; even if thou wouldest, I say that thou
couldst not. And why should others be able, if ye are not
able? Why should ye not be able, if others are able? We,

first tongue have not sown a falsehood, which often happen-
eth either from the spirit of rivalry, or the wanton
humour of suspicion, or that taste for falsehood which in
some is not new, but inborn. But it is well that "time
revealeth all things," which even your own proverbs and
sayings testify, according to the general law of nature which
hath so ordained that nothing long remaineth hidden, even
that which fame hath not spread abroad. With good
cause then hath Fame been so long the only witness of the
crimes of the Christians. This informer ye produce
against us, who even to this time hath not been able to
prove that which she once threw out, and in so long a
period hath strengthened into an opinion.

Internal evidence of falsehood of charges.

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wouldest not do it; even if thou wouldest, I say that thou
couldst not. And why should others be able, if ye are not
able? Why should ye not be able, if others are able? We,
sacrificed to Saturn's, even to the days of a proconsul under Tiberius, who on the very trees of their temple which shaded their crimes, as on consecrated crosses, hung up, alive, to public view the priests themselves; witness the soldiery of my own country who executed that very office for that proconsul. But even now this consecrated crime is continued in secret. It is not the Christians only who defy you; nor is any crime rooted out for ever, nor doth any god change his character. Since Saturn did not spare his own sons, doubtless he persisted in not sparing those of others, whom indeed their own parents offered of themselves, and willingly paid their vow, and fondled the infants, lest they should be slain weeping. And yet murder by a parent differeth much from manslaying. Among the Gauls a riper age was sacrificed to Mercury. I leave to their own theatres the fables of Tauri. Lo! in that most religious city of the pious descendants of Æneas there is a certain Jupiter, whom, in his own games, they drench with human blood. But, say ye, the blood of one condemned to the beasts: and therefore, I suppose, not so bad as that of a man. Is it not therefore worse, because the blood of a bad man? Still in any case it is shed by manslaying. O Christian Jupiter! and the only son of his father—through cruelty! But since as touching child murder it mattereth not whether it be done from Religion or of mere wanton will, though in the case of murder by a parent there is a difference, I will appeal to the people. Of these who stand around and pant for Christian blood, of your own

IX. To refute these charges the more, I will shew that that is done by you, partly in public and partly in secret, through which perchance ye have come to believe them of us also. In the bosom of Africa, infants were publicly

2 See details in Minut. F. p. 87.
Heathen admit their tasting human blood;

APOL. 1. 5.

selves, magistrates most just and most severe against us, how
many will ye that I smite in their consciences, as slayers of
the children born unto them? If indeed there be a difference
too as to the manner of death, surely it is with greater
cruelly that ye force out their breath in the water, or expose
them to cold and hunger and dogs. For even those of
riper age would desire to die by the sword. But to us,
manslaying having once been forbidden, it is not lawful
to undo even what is conceived in the womb, while the
blood is as yet undetermined to form a man. Prevention of
birth is a precipitation of murder: nor doth it matter
whether one take away a life when formed, or drive it away
while forming. He also is a man, who is about to be one.
Every fruit already existeth in its seed. Touching the
eating of blood, and such like tragic dishes, read whether it
be not somewhere related, (it is in Herodotus; I think,) that
certain nations have ordained for the making of a treaty the
shredding of blood from their arms, and the drinking it the one
from the other. Under Catiline there also was some drinking
of the same sort. They say too that among some tribes of the
Scythians everyone that dieth is eaten by his relations
of the same sort. They say too that among some tribes of the
p. 289.

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The older Editions read alioquin

from the man, whom he hath covered with blood, in struggling
with him, wiped it off. That stag hath lain in the
blood of a gladiator. The paunches of the very bears are
in request, reeking yet with undigested human entrails.

...
Heathen defilemen—extent of Christian purity.

Now consider what an opening there is to involuntary sin for the commission of incest. The promiscuousness of your debauchery supplying the materials. In the first place ye expose your children to be taken up by the compassion of any passing stranger, or resign them to be adopted by nobler parents. Of a stock thus alienated, it must needs be that the memory is sometimes lost; and when once a mistake shall have chanced upon them, thenceforward it will go on transmitting the incest, the generation creeping on with the crime. Then, secondly, in whatever place ye be, at home, abroad, across the seas, last is your companion, whose promiscuous sallies may any where easily make children for men unawares, so that the stock thus scattered, as it were, out of some portion at least of the seed, doth through the intercourse of man meet with its own reflected images, and knoweth them not for mixtures of incestuous blood. Us a most careful and most faithful chastity hath fenced from such a consequence; and in proportion as we are safe from adulteries, and from all transgression after marriage, so are we also from the chance of incest. Some men, much more secure, beat off by a pure continency the whole power of such error, little children to their old age. If ye would consider that these things exist among you, ye would perceive forthwith that they exist not among the Christians.

The same eyes would have testified of both. But two sorts of blindness easily unite, so that they who see not things which are, think also that they see things which are not. So I might shew it to be in every case. Now for the open sins.

X. 'You do not,' say ye, 'worship the Gods,' and ye offer not sacrifices for the Emperors.' It followeth that we sacrifice not for others for the same reason for which we do not even for ourselves, simply from not worshiping the gods. It is for sacrilege, therefore, and treason that we are arraigned.

This is the chief point in the case: nay it is the whole, and certainly worthy of being considered, if neither presumption nor injustice are to judge it, the one despairing to find, the other rejecting, truth. We cease to worship your gods from the time we discover that they are no gods. This therefore ye ought to require, that we prove that they be no gods, and therefore not to be worshipped, because then only ought they to have been worshipped, if they had been gods. Then also ought the Christians to be punished, if it were proved that those are gods, whom they worshipped not, because they thought them not to be so. 'But to us,' ye say, 'they are gods.'

We challenge this, and appeal from yourselves to your conscience. Let that judge us: let that condemn us, if it shall be able to deny that all these gods of yours were men. If she too herself would go about to deny it, she shall be convicted out of her own documents of Antiquity, from whence she hath learned to know them, which bear witness, to this day, both to the cities in which they were born, and to the countries wherein, having wrought any thing, they have left traces of themselves, nay even those in which they are proved to have been buried. Nor shall I run through all separately, so many as they are and so great, new, old, barbarian, Grecian, Roman, foreign, taken in war, adopted, peculiar, common, male, female, of the country, of the town, of the fleet, of the army. It is idle to go over their very titles. Let me sum up all in brief: and not that ye may learn, but be reminded of them; for certainly ye act as though ye had forgotten them. Before Saturn there is, according to you, no god.


Saturn, the parent of heathen gods, a man.

Apol. 1. 10.

the date of all Deity, though better or better known than himself. Whatever therefore shall be proved of the origin, the same will also follow of the line. Touching Saturn, therefore, as far as books teach, neither Diodorus the Greek, nor Thallius, nor Cassius Severus, nor Cornelius Nepos, nor any of that class of writers on antiquities, have pronounced him to be ought else than a man. If we measure by the evidence of facts, I no where find any more trust-worthy than in Italy itself, wherein Saturn, after many travels, and after his entertainment in Attica, settled, being received by Janus or Janes as the Sali will have it. The mountain, which he had dwelt in, was called Saturnus: the city which he had planted, is even to this day Saturnia: finally, the whole of Italy, after being called Ennotria, was surnamed Saturnia. From him first came your tablets, and coin stamped with an image, and hence he presided over the treasury. But if Saturn be a man, surely he is born of a man, and, because of a man, surely not of Heaven and Earth. But it easily came to pass that one, whose parents were unknown, should be called the son of those, of whom we may all be thought to be sons. For who may not call Heaven and Earth his father and mother, in the way of reverence and respect, or according to the custom of men, whereby persons thought to be should be called the son of those, of whom we may all be.

For what is it that makes you say that Heaven and Earth's birth is uncertain, "sons of Earth." I say nothing of men being as yet in so rude a condition, that they might be easily came because of a man, surely not of Heaven and Earth. But it easily came to pass that one, whose parents were unknown, should be called the son of those, of whom we may all be thought to be sons. For who may not call Heaven and Earth his father and mother, in the way of reverence and respect, or according to the custom of men, whereby persons thought to be should be called the son of those, of whom we may all be.

Principles of heathen, against their being made gods. 27

moved by the appearance, as though divine, of any strange man, when even polished as they are at this day, men consecrate as gods those whom a few days before they acknowledged by a public mourning to be dead. Enough now, little as it is, of Saturn. I shall shew that Jupiter also was as well a man as born of a man; and so, in order, that the whole swarm of his descendants were as mortal as they were like the seed whence they sprung.

XI. And since, as ye dare not deny these to have been men, so ye have determined to affirm that they became gods after their death, let us treat of the causes which have worked out this effect. In the first place indeed ye must needs allow that there is some superior God, and some dispenser of Deity, who hath made gods out of men. For neither could they have assumed to themselves that Deity which they had not, nor could any object it to them which had it not, save one who in his own proper right possessed it. But if there were no one to make them gods, in vain do ye presume that they were made gods, when ye refuse them a maker. Surely if they could have made themselves, they would never have been men, to wit as possessing in themselves the power of belonging to an higher state of being. Therefore if there be one who maketh gods, I return to examine the reasons for making gods out of men, and I find none, unless it be that that great God lacked their services and aid in divine functions. First it is unworthy of Him that He should need the aid of any man, and that a dead one, seeing that He, who was about to lack the aid of a dead man, might more worthily have made some god from the first. But I do not even see any room for such aid: for all this body of the universe, whether, according to Pythagoras, without beginning and without a maker, or, according to Plato, having a beginning and a maker, in any case being once for all, in the very act of its conception, disposed, and furnished, in ipse concep-tione, and ordered, was found with a government of perfect reason. That could not be imperfect, which perfected all things.

* Siculus, i. 1.
* It should be Cassius Hemina, a writer of Italian history from the earliest times to his own, A. U. C. 609. Voss. de Hist. Lat. i. 21. He is quoted by Lact. i. c. Minut. F. 1. c. Pliny, viii. 10. xxxv. 30. mentions Cassius Severus, a celebrated orator, (under Augustus, Suet. Aug. 66.) but does not say (as Pam. states) that he took much from him.
Nothing awaited Saturn and the race of Saturn. Men must be fools, if they be not assured that from the beginning rain hath fallen from heaven, and stars have beamed, and light hath shot forth, and thunders have roared, and Jupiter himself hath feared those bolts which ye place in his hands; that all fruit likewise sprang abundantly from the earth before Bacchus, and Ceres, and Minerva, yea before that first man whosoever he was; because nothing provided, for the maintenance and support of man, could have been introduced after man. Finally they are said to have discovered these necessaries of life, not to have made them: but that which is discovered, was, and that which was, will not be accounted his who discovered, but his who made it: for it was, before it was discovered. Further, if Bacchus be therefore a god, because he first made known the vine, Lucullus, who first introduced cherries generally into Italy, hath been hardly dealt with, because, being the pointer out, he was not thereupon deified as the author of a new fruit. Wherefore if the universe hath existed from the beginning, both ordered and dispensed by fixed laws for the exercise of its functions, there lacketh a cause in this particular for admitting man to the Godhead, because the posts and powers which ye have assigned to them, have existed just as much from the beginning as they would have, even if ye had not created these gods. But ye betake yourselves to another reason, and answer that the conferring Deity upon them was a means of rewarding their merits, and hence ye grant, I suppose, that this god-making God is excellent in justice, one who would not hastily, nor unworthily, nor lavishly, dispense so great a reward. I would therefore recount their merits, whether they be such as should raise them to heaven, and not rather sink them down into "the nethermost hell," which, when ye choose, ye affirm to be the prisonhouse of eternal punishments. For thither are the wicked wont to be thrust, and such as are unchaste towards their parents, and their sisters, and the debauchers of wives, and the ravishers of virgins, and the corrupters of boys, and they who are of angry passions, and they who kill, and they who steal, and they who deceive, and whosoever are like some

god of yours, not one of whom will ye be able to prove free from crime or vice, unless ye shall deny that he was a man. But as ye cannot deny that they were men, ye have, besides, these marks which do not either allow it to be believed that they were afterwards made gods. For if ye sit in judgment for the punishment of such men, if all who among you are honest refuse the intercourse, the conversation, the company, of the evil and the base, and if that God hath admitted their compeers to a fellowship in his own majesty, why then condemn ye those whose fellows ye worship? Your justice is a stigma upon heaven. Make all your worst criminals gods, that ye may please your gods. The deifying of their fellows is an honour to them. But to omit farther discussion of this their unworthiness, grant that they be honest, and pure, and good. Still how many better men have ye left in the shades below! in wisdom a Socrates, in justice an Aristides, in warlike arts a Themistocles, in greatness of soul an Alexander, in good fortune a Polykrates, in wealth a Crassus, in eloquence a Demosthenes! Which of these gods of yours was more grave and wise than Cato? more just and warlike than Scipio? Which more great of soul than Pompey? more fortunate than Sylla? more wealthy than Crassus? more eloquent than Tully? How much more worthy would he have waited for these to be adopted as gods, foreknowing, as he must, the better men! He was hasty I trow, and shut up heaven once for all, and now blusheth doubtless to see better men grumbling in the shades below.

XII. I say no more now of these, as knowing that, when I have shewn what they are, I shall by the very force of truth shew what they are not. As touching your gods therefore, I see names only, the statues of certain dead men of olden time, and I hear fables, and in their fables I read their mysteries. But as touching the images themselves I find nothing else than materials akin to vessels and instruments of common use, or from these same vessels and instruments, as though changing their destiny by their consecration, the wantonness of art transforming them, and that too most insultingly, and in the work itself sacrilegiously: so that in very truth it may be a
Process of image-making disgrace to image-worship.

Apol. 1, 12. — consolation to us in our punishments, especially since we are punished on account of these very gods, that they themselves also suffer the same things in order that they may be made. Ye put the Christians upon crosses and stakes*. What image doth not the clay first form, moulded upon a cross and a stake? It is on the gibbet that the body of your god is first consecrated! Ye tear the sides of the Christians with claws*: but upon your gods hatchets, and planes, and files, are more stoutly laid over all their limbs. We lay down our necks: until lead and glue and pegs have been used, your gods are headless. We are driven to the beasts, those to the wild beasts, Eus. Aff. 11ot, suffereth nothing from any, because it is not rather than did not the image doth not the clay first form, moulded upon a cross and first consecrated! Ye put the Christians upon crosses and stakes and sacrilegious, and irreligious, towards those who are punished are deified and your" gods. 'But clearly ye worship, some one, some another, of course ye offend those whom ye worship not*. The preference of one cannot go on without the slight of another, because there is no choice without rejection. Ye despise them at once those whom ye reject; whom ye fear not, by rejecting, to offend. For as we have before shortly hinted, the case of each god depended upon the judgment of the Senate. He was not a god, whom man, after consultation, had refused, and, by refusing, had condemned. Your household gods, whom ye call Lares, ye deal with according to your household rights, by pledging, selling, changing them, sometimes from a Saturn into a chamber vessel, sometimes from a Minerva into a pan, as each hath become worn and battered by being long worshipped, as each man hath found his household need the more sacred god. Your public gods ye equall profane by public right, whom ye have in the register as a source of revenue. Thus the capitol, thus the herb-market is bid for*. Under the same proclamation of the crier, under the same spear, in the same catalogue of the questor, Deity is consigned and hired. But in truth lands charged with a tribute are of less value: men assessed for a poll-tax are less noble. For these are the marks of villenage. But the gods who pay the highest tribute are the most holy; yea, rather, they who are the most holy pay the highest tribute. Their majesty is made a source of gain: Religion goeth about the taverns begging*. Ye exact payment for a footing in the temple, for access to the sacred rite. Ye may not know the gods for nothing: they have their price. What do ye at all to honour them, which ye do not bestow on your dead men also?

3 Cyprian, de Laps. c. 10. Anot. de Laud. Mart. init. Prudent. in Roman. Mart. 451. They are still preserved at Rome.
4 The tutelary goddess of Carthage.
Heathen neglected, their poets degraded, their gods. 33
gods be not more noble, yet they will account it a slight on your part that that hath been allowed to others also, which they alone had from the earliest ages preengaged.

XIV. I am unwilling 1 to recount also your sacred rites. I 1 Nolo say not what your behaviour is in sacrificing, when ye offer up all your dying, and rotting, and scabbled animals; when from those that are fat and sound ye cut off all the superfluous parts, the heads and the hoofs, which, even in your own houses, ye would have set aside for your slaves and your dogs; when of the tithe due to Hercules ye lay not even one third part upon his altar. I will rather praise your 2 Tau-

1. Out of which libations to the dead were poured. The sameness of the rites among that the gods also were but dead men.

2. Arca Larentia, the nurse of Romulus, Ex. iii. 1. Lucius Masaeus sqq. [Macrobr. Sat. i. 10. A. Cell. vi. 7.

3. Justin M. Apol. i. c. 26. gives the inscription "SAUCTUS Deo," which however is doubtful. Sanctorius is thought to be a corrupt reading derived from the abbreviation "SAUCTUS." 118

4. In a second inscription it is used as an epithet "Santo Sancto Senno Devo," which comes nearer to the use in Justin, see Comm. in Ovid. i. c. ed. Burmann. Tillemont, on the other hand, thinks it is a corromption of the name of Simon Magus (or of Simon Sano, who says on the authority of S. Irenaeus, i. 29. [23, 4.] Epiph. xxi. 9, that Simon's statue was in the form of Jupiter, while that of Semo represented Hercules. But these fathers are not here speaking of the Roman statue, but of that which his followers had and worshipped, of which S. Irenaeus speaks positively of the Roman, as a report. (ib. § 1.)

5. The deposed Antiopus, by the Emp. Adrian, see Orig. c. Cels. iii. 36. Trogus sqq. Euseb. H. E. vi. 3. Specta-
tian in Adrian. An ancient inscription calls him "enthroned" ("entronemus") with the Egyptian gods.

1.1. T. 68 sqq.
2. 1. E. 385 sqq. Rig. omits this sentence, "quod illum suum Eanem, ne interineretur ab eodem Diomede, rapere vellet." 118
3. 1. E. 385 sqq.
5. 1. III. 43 sqq. The instances are found together in Justin Cohort. init. see also Athenag. c. 21. 20. Clem. Al. Strom. i. 21. t. i. p. 383. ed. Pott.
6. 1. III. 314 sqq.
9. 1. E. 385 sqq.

...
Heathen gods alike degraded by their philosophers, comedians

APOL. 1.15.

Towards his craftsman! These things ought neither to be neglected if true, nor inventor if false, amongst the most religious of all people. Not even the tragic and comic writers spare them; or forbear to cite in their prologues the distresses and the frailties of the family of some one of the gods. Of the philosophers I say nothing, content with Socrates, who, in mockery of the gods, swore by an oak, and a goat, and a dog. But (say ye) Socrates was on that account condemned, because he disparaged the gods. Verily, of old time, indeed at all times, truth is hated. Nevertheless when, in repenting of their sentence, the Athenians both punished afterwards the accusers of Socrates, and set up a golden statue of him in a temple, the reversal of his condemnation bore testimony in behalf of Socrates. But Diogenes too has some jest upon Hercules: and the Roman Cynic Varro introduceth three hundred Joves, or perhaps I should say Jupiters, without heads.

XV. The rest of your licentious wits work even for your amusement through dishonour of the gods. Consider the pretty trifles of the Lentuli and Hostili, whether in those jokes and tricks ye are laughing at the buffoons, or at your own gods; 'The adulterer Anubis,' 'The male Luna,' 'Diana scourged,' and 'The will of the deceased Jupiter' read aloud, and 'The three starred Herculeses' turned to ridicule. But the writings also of the stage shew up all their baseness. The Sun mourneth for his son cast down towards his craftsman! These things ought neither to be neglected if true, nor inventor if false, amongst the most religious of all people. Not even the tragic and comic writers spare them; or forbear to cite in their prologues the distresses and the frailties of the family of some one of the gods. Of the philosophers I say nothing, content with Socrates, who, in mockery of the gods, swore by an oak, and a goat, and a dog. But (say ye) Socrates was on that account condemned, because he disparaged the gods. Verily, of old time, indeed at all times, truth is hated. Nevertheless when, in repenting of their sentence, the Athenians both punished afterwards the accusers of Socrates, and set up a golden statue of him in a temple, the reversal of his condemnation bore testimony in behalf of Socrates. But Diogenes too has some jest upon Hercules: and the Roman Cynic Varro introduceth three hundred Joves, or perhaps I should say Jupiters, without heads.

The world is filled with works of men's hands, or that Pantheists must think these to be gods or parts of God. add. Lact. iii. 20. P. Petit Misc. Obs. iv. 7. remarks that the "dog" only is mentioned by Plato, and infers that Socrates meant symbolically his "genius" as a "guardian."

1 Theop. ad Autol. i. 2. Philostr. de vit. Apoll. vi. 9. Lucian in Icarome- nipp. (Cap. Hec.) mention "a dog, goose, (犍ikos ad ~kntes) by a sort of alliteration probably; and plane." Schol. on Aristoph. "a goose, dog, ram, and the like." It seems to have been a sort of protest against perjury and swearing by the gods at all: so the Schol. i. c. Porph. de Abstin. iii. Suidae; saying that it was in imitation of Rhadamanthus. S. Augustine de Vera Rel. c. 2. interprets as Tert., that Socrates meant to imply that they were better gods, than the works of men's hands, or that Pantheists must think these to be gods or parts of God. add. Lact. iii. 20. P. Petit Misc. Obs. iv. 7. remarks that the "dog" only is mentioned by Plato, and infers that Socrates meant symbolically his "genius" as a "guardian."

2 Probably "brazen;" "scream" for "scream."

The Cynics continually jested on Hercules, whose followers they professed to be in their coarseness. Lucian in Icaromnipp. (Cap. Hec.) mention "a dog, goose, (κινικός αἴτων) by a sort of alliteration probably; and plane." Schol. on Aristoph. "a goose, dog, ram, and the like." It seems to have been a sort of protest against perjury and swearing by the gods at all: so the Schol. i. c. Porph. de Abstin. iii. Suidae; saying that it was in imitation of Rhadamanthus. S. Augustine de Vera Rel. c. 2. interprets as Tert., that Socrates meant to imply that they were better gods, than the works of men's hands, or that Pantheists must think these to be gods or parts of God. add. Lact. iii. 20. P. Petit Misc. Obs. iv. 7. remarks that the "dog" only is mentioned by Plato, and infers that Socrates meant symbolically his "genius" as a "guardian."

The gladiators, who had escaped with their lives in the morning, were made to fight at noon, without defensive armour. Seneca (Ep. 7.) calls them "mere murders," see Lips. Sat. ii. 14. 15. i.e. the one, to try if any life were left, the other to destroy it.

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Worship of the Cross; retort not admitted by Tertullian. 37
represented, it would be no where more seen than in its own holy place, the rather because the worship, however vain, had no fear of strangers to witness it; for it was lawful for the priests alone to approach thither; the very gaze of the rest was forbidden by a veil spread before them. Yet ye will not deny that beasts of burden and whole geldings; with their own Epona, are worshipped by yourselves. On this account perchance we are disapproved, because, midst the worshippers of all beasts and cattle, we are worshippers of asses alone. But he also who thinketh us superstitious respecters of the Cross, will be our fellow worshipper, when prayer is made to any wood. No matter for the fashion, so long as the quality of the material be the same; no matter for the form, so long as it be the very body of a god. And

i.e. the whole animal, not his head only.

"Tert. does not imply that the Christians worshipped the Cross, but the cross, &c. Here, and in the charges, as to the ass's head, and the índóreí, in all which there was no foundation in fact, he answers by mere irony; where there was plausible ground for a heathen so to think, as in the worship of the Sun, he says so, and names the ground. The irony too is such, as one would not have used, who paid reverence to the figure of the Cross. Minuc. F. p. 824, imitating the passage, says, "Crosses we neither worship nor wish for," in allusion to the charge of the heathens, p. 86. "so that they worship what they despise," etc. p. 105. "so here are Crosses for you, not to be worshipped, but to be undergone." Julian (ap. Cyril. Al. vi. p. 195.) grounds the same charge with their painting the figure of the Cross, "Ye worship the Cross, painting (ἀπασχολούμενοι) figures thereof on the forehead and before the dooms." (ὑπερεπαθέομεν ὀπίσθεν ἀσώματος.) 2. Cyril states, at great length, that it was a memorial only of the mercies and duties of the Cross; to the same end that they signed themselves with it. (de Cor. c. 3. de Uxor. ii. 50.) Of instances, later than Tertullian's age, of homage to the visible Cross, the following platoe prove nothing. Ambr. de ob. Theod. c. 6. and for the first time raised and placed the Cross of Christ upon the head of kings, that the Cross of Christ might in kings be adored, i.e. that the reverence paid to kings might rather be paid to the Cross over their brow. Id. de Inc. Dom. Sacr. c. 7. § 76. "Do we, when in Christ we venerate the Image of God and the Cross, divide Him into two parts? We adore the visible Cross, but the doctrine; it stands parallel to "His Divinity and His Sheb'" says Euseb. Epist. ad Eustath. (Oppos. p. 9.) "But although they [the Jews] declined that healing, we, the Heathen, who have become worshippers of the Cross (ὁ περιστρεφόμενος τοῦ σταυρού) have received it, as said Isaiah (83, 5)." Jerome in Vita Pauli, Ep. 108. § 9. of her visit to the holy Sepulchre, "Prostrate before the Cross she worshipped, as though she saw the Lord hanging thereon." Not the Cross, but the crucifix, is the object of idolatry. Sedulius (A. 434.) carm. Pasch. iv. § 9. And that no one might be ignorant that the form of the Cross is to be venerated, (speciem Crucis eoe colentum) is not speaking of the material Cross; for he goes on to speak of the Cross formed by the four quarters of the Heavens, and that "Christ rules the world compassed by the Cross." The earliest instance then alleged is that of Pseudo-Lactantius, de Pass. Dom. (the other poem of de Pascha,) found with it, is of the age of Charlemaigne. These are lines in the mouth of the Redeemer, depicted in the Church, and bidding to "bow the knee, and adore with tears the venerable Cross." It is the more Illustrates the previous allusion. See further, Note B at the end of the Apology.
yet how doth the Athenian Minerva differ from the body of the Cross? and the Ceres of Pharsalos, who appeareth in the market, without a figure, made of a rude stake and a shapeless log? Every stock of wood, which is fixed in an upright posture, is a part of a cross; we, if we worship him at all, worship the god whole and entire. We have said that the origin of your gods is derived from figures moulded on a cross. But ye worship victories also, when, in your triumphs, crosses form the inside of the trophies 4. The whole religion of the camp is a worshipping of the standards; a swearing by the standards; a setting up of the standards above all the gods 4. All those rows of images on your standards are the appendages of crosses; those hangings on your standards and banners are the robes of crosses. I commend your care: ye would not consecrate your crosses on your standards and banners are the robes of crosses; those hangings of crosses. I commend your care: ye would not consecrate your crosses naked and unadorned. Others certainly, with greater blan of nature and of truth, believe the sun to be our God. If this be so, we must be ranked with the Persians; though we worship not the sun painted on a piece of linen, because in truth we have himself in his own hemisphere. Lastly, this suspicion ariseth from hence, because it is well known that we pray towards the quarter of the east 4. But most of yourselves too, with an affectation of sometimes worshipping the heavenly bodies also, move your lips towards the rising of the sun. In like manner, if we give up to rejoicing of the day of the sun, for a cause far different from the worship of the sun, we are only next to those, who set apart the day of Saturn 1 for rest and feasting, themselves also defecting from the Jewish custom, of which they are ignorant. But now a new report of our God hath been lately set forth in this city, since a certain wretch, hired to cheat the wild beasts, put forth a picture with some such title as this, "The God of the Christians conceived of an ass." This was a creature with ass's ears, with a hoof on one foot, carrying a book, and wearing a gown. We have smiled both at the name and the figure. But they ought instantly to adore this two-formed god, because they have admitted gods made up of a dog's 5 and a lion's head, and with the horns of a goat 6 and a ram, and formed like goats from the loins, and like serpents from the legs, and with wings on the foot or the back 6 of these things we have said more than enough, lest we should have passed over any rumour unrefuted, as though from a consciousness of its truth. All which charges we have cleared, and now turn to shew you what is our Religion is.

XVII. That which we worship is the One God, Who through the Word by Which He commanded, the Power by Which He was able 7, hath framed out of nothing this whole material mass with all its furniture of elements, bodies, and spirits, to the honour of His Majesty; whence also the Greeks have applied to the universe the name Kéros. He is invisible though seen, was a creature with ass's ears, with a hoof on one foot, carrying a book, and wearing a gown. We have smiled both at the name and the figure. But they ought instantly to adore this two-formed god, because they have admitted gods made up of a dog's and a lion's head, and with the horns of a goat and a ram, and formed like goats from the loins, and like serpents from the legs, and with wings on the foot or the back of these things we have said more than enough, lest we should have passed over any rumour unrefuted, as though from a consciousness of its truth. All which charges we have cleared, and now turn to shew you what our Religion is.

1 The seventh day of the month, sacred to Saturn, as the seventh planet, was regarded as an illomened day for business, and so spent in idleness and dissipation. Little reason had they then to reproach the Christians. On the seventh day among the Heathen, see at great length, Selden de Jur. Nat. et Gent. l. iii. c. 15 sqq.

2 An apostate Jew, ad Nat. l. 14. The Empura, or mid-day Hecate, had one ass's feet. Philostr. de Apollon. ap. Hav.


7 Of the gods and emperors. They were ass, goat, ass and silver.

8 The banner was of silk and gold. Christians prayed to the East, as the heralds and the Sun of righteousness, (S. Clem. Al. Strom. vii. 2. p. 856. Damaico. iv. 13.) whence also in Baptism they were to turn to the East to confess Christ, (S. Jer. in Am. vi. 14. Ambros. de illa qui initiavit u. 2.) and their Churches were toward the East (Tert. c. Valent. c. 3. Const. Ap. ii. 37. so that other positions were rare exceptions, Soph. v. 22. Pausin. Ep. 12. ad Severa) as the place of our last Paradise; (Cyril Jerusalem. Lect. xix. 6. p. 251. ed. Oxon. S. Basili. de Sp. S. c. 27. Const. Ap. ii. 37. Greg. Nyss. Hom. de Or. Dom. t. i. p. 785. Quint. ad Aetien. g. 37. Damasc. l. e.) as the more eminent part of the world, (Paulinus ap. Justin. M. q. 118.) It is announced as an Apostolic tradition by S. Basil. l. 12. ad Severa. Quint. ad Orthodox. ap. Justin. M. q. 118.) It is announced as an Apostolic tradition by S. Basil. l. 12. ad Severa. Quint. ad Orthodox. l. c. Origen (Hom. 5. in Num.) instances it as a rite in universal practice, but the ground of which was not clear and obvious to most.
incomprehensible though present through His grace, inconceivable though conceived by the sense of man. Therefore He is true; and such is His greatness. Now that which can ordinarily be seen, which can be comprehended, which can be conceived, is less than the eyes by which it is scanned, and the hands by which it is profaned, and the senses by which it is discovered: but that which is immeasurable is known to itself alone. This is it which causeth God to be conceived of, while He admitted not of being conceived: thus the force of His greatness presenteth Him to men, as both known and unknown. And this is the sum of their offending, who will not acknowledge Him of Whom they cannot be ignorant. Will ye that we prove Him to be, from His own works, so many and such as they are, by which we are maintained, by which we are supported, by which we are delighted, by which also we are made afraid? Will ye that we prove it by the witness of the soul itself, to which also we are made afraid? Will ye that we prove Him to be, from His own works, so many and such as they are, by which we are maintained, by which we are supported, by which we are delighted, by which also we are made afraid? Will ye that we prove it by the witness of the soul itself, to which also we are made afraid? Will ye that we prove it by the witness of the soul itself, to which also we are made afraid? Will ye that we prove it by the witness of the soul itself, to which also we are made afraid? Will ye that we prove it by the witness of the soul itself, to which also we are made afraid?
of these things, demanded of the Jews also their books, writings peculiar to themselves and in their own vulgar tongue, which they alone possessed. For the prophets were of that people, and had ever addressed themselves to that people as to the people and family of God, according to the grace given to their forefathers. They who are now Jews were formerly Hebrews: therefore are their writings Hebrew, and their language. But that the understanding of them might not be lacking, this also was granted to Ptolemy by the Jews, by allowing him seventy-two interpreters, whom Menedemus also the philosopher, the assessor of a Providence, looked up to for the agreement of their opinion. This moreover hath Aristeas affirmed unto you, and so hath he left a public record of it in the Greek language. At this day the collections of Ptolemy are shewn in the temple of Serapis with the very Hebrew writings. But the Jews also read them openly; a taxed licence. All have access to them every sabbath day. Whoso heareth shall find God: whoso moreover desireth to understand shall be compelled also to believe.

XIX. Extreme antiquity then in the first place claimeth an authority for these documents. Even with yourselves there is a sort of sacredness in a claim to credit from antiquity. And so all the substances, and all the materials, antiquities, arrangements, veins of each of your ancient writings, most nations moreover, and famous cities, hoary histories and monuments, finally even the forms of letters, those witnesses and guardians of things,—methinks I still understand it. The anachronism and guardians of things,—methinks I still understand it. The anachronism

1 Menedemus was a disciple of Plato.
2 The context in Josephus (Ant. xii. 2. 12.) and Aristeas (p. xxiii. ap. Hody et canas memorum) plainly shews that the reference is to the skill of the LXX in answering the questions proposed to them, not to the story of the exact arrangement, veins of each of your ancient writings, most nations moreover, and famous cities, hoary histories and monuments, finally even the forms of letters, those witnesses and guardians of things,—methinks I still understand it. The anachronism

3 Theoph. ad Autol.
4 Clem. Al. Strom. i. 21. p. 139.
5 Tertullian was not anxious about the facts; his concern was but to arrest attention by shewing the impression which their own writers had of the superior antiquity of Moses.
7 He wrote an Assyrian history, (Tatian, l. c. o. 36.) and is often quoted by Phil. N. H.
8 Ap. i. 13 sqq.
As the Jews judged Him to be, whence one might the more easily suppose us worshippers of a man. But neither are we ashamed of Christ, seeing that we rejoice to be ranked, and condemned, under His Name, nor do we judge otherwise than they, respecting God. We must needs therefore say a few words concerning Christ as God. The Jews alone had favour with God, because of the excellent righteousness and faith of their first fathers; whence the same God; but even the common people knoweth Christ as one among men, such as the Jews judged Him to be, whence one might the more easily suppose us worshippers of a man. But neither are we ashamed of Christ, seeing that we rejoice to be ranked, and condemned, under His Name, nor do we judge otherwise than they, respecting God. We must needs therefore say a few words concerning Christ as God. The Jews alone had favour with God, because of the excellent righteousness and faith of their first fathers; whence the mightiness of their race and the majesty of their kingdom flourished, and so great was their blessedness, that they were forewarned by words of God whereby they were taught to DESERVE the favour of God, and not to offend. But how greatly they sinned, puffed up, even to doting, with a vain confidence in their fathers, turning their course from the way of the profane, though they themselves should not confess it, the end of them at this day would prove. Scattered abroad, wanderers, banished from their own climate and land, they roam about through the world, with neither man nor God for their king, to whom it is not permitted, even in the right of strangers, to greet their native land so much as with the sole of their foot.

1 De Anima, c. 28. Orig. c. Cels. vi. 10. 2 Justin M. Apol. i. 30; 52. Dial. c. Tryph. c. 7. Theoph. ad Autol. ii. 9.
While holy voices threatened them aforesight with these things, all the same voices ever added this besides, that it should come to pass, in the ends of the world's course, that God would henceforth out of every nation, and people, and country, choose unto Himself worshippers much more faithful than they; to whom He should transfer His grace, and that, more abundantly according to the measure of His greatness, Who is the Author of their religion. Of this grace therefore and religion the Son of God was proclaimed the Dispenser and the Master, the Enlightener and the Guide of the human race, not indeed so born as that He should be ashamed of the name of "Son," or of His descent from His Father; not from the incest of a sister, nor the defilement of a daughter; nor had He for His father a god, the lover of another's wife, with scales, or horns, or feathers, or transformed into gold; for these are the godheads of your Jupiter. But the Son of God hath no mother, no not of pure wedlock: even she, whom He seemeth to have, had not known her husband. But first I will declare His substance, and then the quality of His birth will be understood. We have already set forth, that God formed this universal world by His Word, and His Reason, and His Power. Among your own wise men also it is agreed, that Agyee, that is, 'Word' and 'Reason,' should be accounted the Maker of all things. For Zeno determineth that this Maker, who hath formed all things and ordered them, should also be called Fate, and God, and the Mind of Jupiter, and the Necessity of all things. These titles both Cleanthes confer upon the Spirit which, he affirmeth, pervadeth the universe. And we also ascribe, as its proper substance, to the Word, and the Reason, and the Power also, through Which we have said that God hath formed all things, a Spirit, in Which is the Word when It declareth, and Which is the Reason when It ordereth, and over Which is the Power when It executeth. This, we have learned, was forth-brought from God, and by this Forthbringing, was Begotten, and therefore is called the Son of God, and God, from being "of one substance with" Him; for that God also is a Spirit. Even when a ray is put forth from the sun, it is a part of a whole; but the sun will be in the ray because it is a ray of the sun, and the substance is not divided, but extended. So cometh Spirit of Spirit and "God of God," as "light" is kindled "of light," the parent matter remaineth entire and without loss, although thou shouldest borrow it from many channels of its qualities.

Apo. i. 21.

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48 Relation of the Son to the Father. — He took our flesh of the Virgin.

So likewise that which hath come forth from God is God, and the Son of God, and Both are One. And so this Spirit of Spirit, and God of God, hath become 'the second' in mode not in number, in order not in condition, and hath gone forth, not gone out of the original Source. Therefore this ray of God, as was ever foretold before, entering into a certain virgin, and in her womb endowed with the form of flesh, is born Man joined together with God. The flesh many be kindled, but remaining the same. § 61. "As in fire, we see other fire produced, that not being mingled, whence the kindling was produced, but remaining the same; and that which was kindled from it, itself also manifestly existeth, not mingling from which it was kindled." The same likeness is used by Tatian, § 6. (Bull, ii. 9. 4.) Athanas. Legat. § 24. (of the Holy Ghost), Bull, ii. 4. 9. Hippolytus in Neon, ap. Fabr. t. p. 4. 13. (Bull, ii. 8. 5.) Origen, c. de Primo, t. 4. (see Bull, ii. 9. 14.) Theognostus (ap. Athanas. Ep. 4, ad Serap. § 6. c. 6. (Bull, ii. 10. 7.) Dionysius Alex. Apol. 1. S. ap. Athanas. Ep. de Sent. Dionys. 118. (Grabe, ad Bull, ii. 11. 1.) Responses ad quest. Faus. Sam. t. 1. p. 280. (Bull, iii. 4. 3.) Lact. iv. 29. (Bull. ii. 14. 4.) Carm. adv.Marc. v. 9. ap. Terr., "genitum de unione lumen." (Bull, iii. 10. 19.) Aug. de Trin. vi. init. "Hippol. M. Hom. de Deo trino et uno, "When I speak of 'another,' I speak not of two Gods, but as Light from Light, and water from the sources, or a ray from the Sun." § i. in mode of existence, as The Son, not The Father, but not as to be numerically distinct.

"I. i. in the Order" of Persons, within the Divine Unity, not in any difference of Being. "Three, not in Composition, in the Order; not in Substance, but in Form; not in Power, but in the One Substance and Condition, and One Power because One God, from Whom both those Orders, and Forms, and Properties are acknowledged in the Name of the Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit." Adv. Prax. c. 2.


Homo Deo mixtus; lit. "mingled, commingled with God," comp. de earn. Chr. c. 15. c. Marciun. l. ii. 17. The same word is used by S. Cyril, de Idol. Van. c. 6. (concretus Id. Text. ii. 10.) Zenon. Tran. Tr. 6. § 1. id. 1 Cor. 15. 24. Tr. § 2. S. 2. de Nativ. "there, unimpaircd, what was, He meditated to become what He was not. So then mingled with human flesh, S." Leo, S. 3. de Nativ. c. 1. (where a substitute is uniretur,) "immixtus," S. 4. in Epiph. c. 4. Novatian de Trin. c. 11. Divinization of other nature, it was concreted permixtus; add. c. 20. 21. Vigilius c. Euth. l. i. 1. c. 24. "commixtuist." The translator of S. Irenæus (iii. 19. ed. Mass.) commixtus, (where the original ap. Théodoret. has ἐν ἡ τῶν ἡλίου ὄμοιω συνσυνάρτησις, and (4. 37.) commixtus et conumno Dei et hominis. S. Aug. de Trin. iv. 20. "Verbo Dei quaedam commixtus est homo." Lact. iv. 18. "S. De Deo, (the) commixtus, is him."

For seeing that two advents of Him are declared, the first, which hath been already fulfilled in the lowliness of the Divine Nature then shewn forth, through not understanding the first, they have regarded, as the only one, the second, for which, being more clearly foretold, they now hope. For their sins deserved that they should not understand the former, since they would have believed, had they understood, and would have had, as. 6. 9. obtained salvation, had they believed. They themselves.

Incarc.iii.23.9. from whom, and Ballerini ad Zeno (Opp. p. cli. Disc. c. 3.) §§ 14. 15. these instances are tuck. S. Augustine says, Ep. 197. (9. 3.) § 11. (ib. § 14.) "As in the unity of person, soul is united to body, that man may be; so in unity of person, God is united to man, that so Christ may be. In the one person there is a mingling of soul and body; in the other, a mingling of God; and so that, when any heareth this said, he must abstract himself from that observation of the senses, that two fluids are wont so to be commingled, that neither should retain its character unalterated; (though even so in corporeal substances light is mingled with air, and uninjured.) The person of man then is a mingling of soul and body; the person of Christ a mingling of God and man. For when the Word of God became flesh, (in the lowliness of a soul having a body, it took at once both soul and body.) Leporius de llibello emendat. S. S. Misc. c. Eunom. 1. t. 20. § 9. 17. 14. these instances are taken. shall be thought to have taken place, as in liquids when mingled together, I free you from this fear. For they use this word in other than its proper sense, anxious to express the extreme union of the Nature, which came together. After the heresy of Apollinarius had sprung up, Epist., unitis, was preferred, having been abused by these, as ἐν συνδρομῇ, sociatio, by the Nestorians. In like way, (as has been pointed out to me) S. Ephraem uses the words, θαυμάζω and κύνηκος; the latter of which is the same word as "mingled," as in the former, used in older Syriac of any "junction," came to signify "mingling," whence "Thou unitedst," κυνήγημεν. "I was united," was substi-

Jews overlook humility of the first Advent in glories of the second. 49 stored with the Spirit is nourished, growth to manhood, speaketh, teacheth, worketh, and is Christ. Receive for the moment this tale, (it is like your own,) whilst we shew you whereby Christ is attested. They also among yourselves, who fore-ministered rival tales of this sort for the overthrow of this truth, knew that Christ was to come: the Jews too, (see Bull, 11. 9. 14.) Tr. 6. § 1. ad 1 Cor. 10. 1. § 11. (ib. § 24.) Dionysius Alex. Apol. 1. S. ap. Athanas. Ep. de Sent. Dionys. 118. (Grabe, ad Bull, ii. 11. 1.) Responses ad quest. Faus. Sam. t. 1. p. 280. (Bull, iii. 4. 3.) Lact. iv. 29. (Bull. ii. 14. 4.) Carm. adv. Marc. v. 9. ap. Terr., "genitum de unione lumen." (Bull, iii. 10. 19.) Aug. de Trin. vi. init. "Hippol. M. Hom. de Deo trino et uno, "When I speak of 'another,' I speak not of two Gods, but as Light from Light, and water from the sources, or a ray from the Sun." § i. in mode of existence, as The Son, not The Father, but not as to be numerically distinct.

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Heb. 1. S. ἁγιότατος is not separated, "Theognostus l. c. of the
read that it is so written, that they were punished by the
taking away of their sense and understanding, and of the
use of their eyes and of their ears. Whom therefore they
had presumed from His lowness to be only a man, it
followed that they should from His power account a
magician; when by a word He cast out devils from men,
recovered the sight of the blind, cleansed the lepers,
strengthened anew the sick of the palsy, finally by a word
restored the dead to life, made the very elements obey Him,
stilling the storms and walking on the waters, shewing
Himself to be the Адйос of God, that is, the Word, which
was in the beginning, the First-Begotten, accompanied by
His Power and His Reason, and upheld by His Spirit, the
Same Who by a word both did and had done all things.

But whereas the rulers and chief men of the Jews were
confounded at His doctrine, they were so filled with indig­
nation, chiefly because a great multitude had turned aside
after Him, that at length, they brought Him before Pontius
Pilate, then governor of Syria on behalf of the Romans, and
by the violence of their voices, wrung from him that He
should be delivered up unto them to be crucified. He had
Himself also foretold that they should do this. This were
but a small thing, if the prophets also had not done so
before; and at length being nailed to the cross, He shewed
many special signs to mark that death. Of Himself He
with a word gave up the ghost, preventing the office of the
execution. At the same moment the light of mid-day
was withdrawn, the sun veiling his orb. They thought
it sooth an eclipse, who knew not that this also had been
foretold concerning Christ: when they discovered not its
cause, they denied it; and yet ye have this event, that befel

Miraculous darkness at the Crucifixion recorded by Heathens. 51

the world, related in your own records. Him being taken
down from the cross, and buried in a sepulchre, they caused
moreover to be surrounded with great diligence by a guard
of soldiers, lest, because He had foretold that He should
rise on the third day from the dead, the disciples removing
the body by stealth should deceive them, though suspecting
it. But, lo! on the third day, the earth being suddenly
shaken, and the massive body being rolled away which had
closed the sepulchre, and the watch being scattered through
fear, and no disciples being to be seen, nothing was found in
the sepulchre save the grave clothes only of the buried.
Yet the chief men notwithstanding, whom it concerned to
spread a wicked tale, and to draw back from the faith the
people, their tributaries and dependents, reported that He
was stolen away by the disciples. For neither did He shew Acts, 10.
Himself to all the people, lest the wicked should be
delivered from their error, and that the faith which was
reserved unto no mean reward should cost some difficulty.
But He continued forty days with certain disciples in Galilee,

...
"God to be worshipped in and through Christ," substance of Faith.

Apol. I. 91.

into Heaven in a cloud which covered Him; an account far better than that which your Proculi are wont to affirm of your Romuli. These things concerning Christ did Pilate, himself also already in his conscience a Christian, report to Tiberius the Caesar of that day. But the Caesars also would have believed on Christ, if either Caesars had not been necessary for the age, or if Christians also could have been Caesars.

Moreover the disciples, spread throughout the world, obeyed the commandment of their Divine Master; who, themselves also, having suffered many things from the persecuting Jews, with good will assuredly, in proportion to their confidence in the truth, did finally at Rome, through the cruelty of Nero, sow the seed of Christian blood. But we will shew that the very beings whom ye worship, are sufficient witnesses to you of Christ. It is a great thing if I can employ, in order that ye may believe the Christians, those very beings on whose account ye believe not the Christians. Meanwhile such is the system of our Religion; such an account have we set forth both of our sect and Christians. Meanwhile such is the system of our Religion; those very beings on whose account ye believe not the Christians. Numa Pompilius was a man, who loaded the Romans with infamy, let no one imagine aught besides this, since it is not and in Him that God willeth Himself to be known and in Himself that God propitiated; but Who opened to a gentler culture rude and barbarous men, by confounding them with so great a multitude of gods to be propitiated; but Who opened to a knowledge of the truth the eyes of men already polished, and blinded through their very refinement. See then whether this Divine Nature of Christ be real: if it be such that by the knowledge of it any one be changed unto that which is good, it followeth that any other, which is found to be contrary to it, must be pronounced false; specially that, by all means, which, hiding itself under the names and images of the dead, doth by certain signs, and miracles, and oracles, work out the proof of a divine character.

XXII. And therefore we say that there are certain spiritual substances: nor is the name new. The Philosophers acknowledge daemons, and Socrates himself looked unto the will of a daemon. Why not? since it is said that a daemon clave unto him from childhood, dissuading him:—doubtless—from good. The poets acknowledge daemons; and now the untaught vulgar oft putth them to the use of cursing. For even Satan the chief of this evil race, doth it, as though from a special consciousness of the soul, name in the same word of execution. Moreover Plato denied not that there

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Demons acknowledged by philosophers, poets, human nature. 53

x The Daemon of Socrates dissuaded him only. Plato puts this assertion repeated in Socrates' own mouth, and that in words so similar, that there seems no doubt that they are those of Socrates. "With me this hath been, beginning from a child that a certain voice hath come, which, when it cometh, ever turneth me away from what I may be about to do, but impelleth me never (Sal durehara ma quye.

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‡ Xenophon's account (Mem. i. 1.) said that whereas others were withheld and impelled from action by omens, and Socrates was directed to act or not to act, the daemon fore-signifying, is obviously a less secure account. Tertullian gives it an ironical turn.


† See de Testim. Anim. c. 3.


All Daemon-nature is between God and mortal. Endued with what power? said I. Interpreting and transmitting to the gods the things from men, and to men those from the gods; of the one, the prayers and sacrifices; of the other, the
be angels also. Even the Magi\(^1\) are at hand to bear witness of both names. But how from certain angels corrupted of their own will a more corrupt race of daemons proceeded, condemned by God together with the authors of their race, and with that prince of whom we have spoken, is made known in order in the Holy Scriptures\(^2\). It will suffice at this time to explain the nature of their work. Their work is the overthrow of man. Thus hath spiritual wickedness begun to act from the first for the destruction of man. Wherefore they inflict upon the body both sicknesses and many severe accidents, and on the soul, perforce, sudden and strange extravagances. Their own wondrous services are sufficient at this time to explain the nature of their work. Their swiftness is believed to be divinity, for whatever is done anywhere they know as easily as they report it. Their swiftness is believed to be divinity, by which it commendeth men, that they may procure for themselves as their own, the food of sweet savour and of blood offered to statues and images; and what food is more cared for by them, than to turn aside man from the thoughts of the true Divinity by the delusions of a false divination? touching which very delusions I will shew how they work. Every spirit is winged: in this both angels and daemons agree: therefore in a moment they are every where: the whole world is one spot to them: whatever is done any where they know as easily as they report it. Their swiftness is believed to be divinity, because their substance is unknown. So also they would sometimes be thought the authors of those things which they report; and manifestly of evil things they sometimes are so, but of good never. The counsels also of God they both snatched, at the times when the Prophets were proclaiming them; and now also they cull in the readings which echo them. And so taking from hence also certain of the allotted courses of the future, they ape the power, while they steal the oracles, of God. But in the oracles, with what

\(^1\) mira added

\(^2\) Cyrp. i. c. Arnob. i. p. 85. Lact. ii. 15. Minuc. p. 245.

\(^3\) Gen. 6. 2. It is so interpreted also by Justin M. Apol. i. 21. ii. 6. S. Ireneaus, adv. Haer. iv. 30. 4. v. 29. 2. Athenag. c. 24. (followed by Methodius De Resurr. p. 307. ed. Paris from Photius.) Clem. Al. Ped. iii. 2. fin. Strom. iii. 7. p. 193. v. 1. p. 295. S. Cyrpian. de Hab. Virg. c. 9. de Patiuentia. i. 11. Lact. ii. 15. Euseb. Prov. Ev. v. 4. Ambr. de Noe. c. 4. §. 8. 9. de Virginitat. i. 8. §. 55. Apol. David. c. 1. §. 4. in Ps. 118. v. 21. v. 24. 6. Pers. S. §. 65. S. Cyr. C. 2. 7. c. 13. 8. 9. de Hab. Muh. c. 3. de Vel. Virg. c. 7. c. Marc. v. 18. It occurs also in the Clement. Hom. 8. c. 13—15. and in Philo de Gigant. t. 1. p. 202. ed. Miiller. S. Iren. de Haer. c. 34. 3. in the book of Enoch, Gr. Spicil. i. 347. and the Test. xi. Patr. ib. 150. 213. Origen c. Cels. v. 55. mentions the spiritual interpretation which he adopts, as derived by one before him, and so contrary to the received opinion. (see S. Cyrpian. xi. 12. p. 291. n. ed. Ox.) S. August. also, who received Gen. i. 1. qu. 2.) speaks doubtingly as on a point "difficult to be decided, maintains what is now in his ordinary view, de Civ. D. xv. 23. (rejecting however in both places abstract arguments;) and S. Ambrose seems so to take it in Ps. 118. 25. Serm. 4. §. 8. S. Cyril Alex. c. Julian. i. in. init. and adv. Anthropol. c. 17. Theodoret (Qu. 47. in Gen.) S. Chrysostome (Hom. 23. in Gen.) and S. Ephraem (Serm. 19. adv. Haer. Opp. Syr. 2. p. 478. add. ad loc. c. 1. where he gives that now received,) speak strongly against the other. S. Jerome (Quastus. in Gen. ad loc.) seems to leave it doubtful, "Deos intelligens Sanctos sive Angelos," "Et angulis—et sanctorum libera nos venenat eadem," "Deus intelligens Sanctos sive Angelos." The context would lead the one way, that those who called on God were called "the sons of God:" on the other hand ἡς σόν παῖς is a title given to the Angels, rev. i. 1. 2. 3. 18. 7. no where in the O. T. to man.


\(^6\) Plato, Sympos. i. c. "Through this (the Daemon-agency) doth the whole of divining art hold its course; and the skill of the priests, and of those engaged about the sacrifices and initiations and incantations, and the whole of divination, and sorcery. But God doth not mingle with man, but through this is all intercourse of the gods with men, whether waking or sleeping."

\(^7\) Athanas. vit. Ant. §. 31. 32. Justin. Apol. i. 54. 64. Dial. §. 70. 72. S. Cyril. Jer. xvi. 11. speaks of Satan's spreading abroad semblances of the truth, to prevent the truth itself from being received.
Chicanery of demons.

Apol. I. 23.

Cunningly they shape their double meanings to events, witness the Crassus 1, witness the Pyrrhus 2. But it was in the manner in which I have before spoken of, that the Pythonic god sent back the message that a tortoise was being stewed with the flesh of a sheep 3. They had been in a moment in Lydia. By dwelling in the air, and by being near the stars, and by dealing with the clouds, they are able to know the threatenings of the skies, so that they promise also the rains, which they already feel. They are sorcerers 4 also about the cures of sicknesses; for they first infect the disease, and then prescribe remedies wonderfully new or of a contrary nature, after which they cease to afflict, and so are believed to have cured 5. Why then should I speak at large touching the other subtleties or even the powers of spiritual delusion: the apparitions of Castor and Pollux 6, and the water carried in a sieve 7, and the ship drawn forward by a girdle 8, and the beard turned red by a touch 9, that both stones might be believed to be gods, and the true God not be sought after. 

XXIII. Moreover if magicians also produce apparitions and disgrace the souls of the departed; if they entrance children to make them utter oracles; if, by means of juggling tricks, they play off a multitude of miracles; if they even send dreams to men, having, to assist them, the power of angels and demons, when once invoked (through whom both gods 10 and tables 11 have been accustomed to return the message that a tortoise was being stewed with the flesh of a sheep) they even send dreams to men, having, to assist them, the power of angels and demons, when once invoked (through whom both gods and tables have been accustomed to receive their messages). They are also sorcerers 12 about the cures of sicknesses; for they first infect the disease, and then prescribe remedies wonderfully new or of a contrary nature, after which they cease to afflict, and so are believed to have cured 13. Why then should I speak at large touching the other subtleties or even the powers of spiritual delusion: the apparitions of Castor and Pollux, and the water carried in a sieve, and the ship drawn forward by a girdle, and the beard turned red by a touch, that both stones might be believed to be gods, and the true God not be sought after. 

1) It may be that Tertullian looked for some special intervention on such a trial, or he may not have meant his words "by any Christian" to be taken to the letter, but only to assert the frequency of the gift. The frequency and notoriety of these miraculous cures he asserts again, ad Sulp. c. 2. 4, as particular to Christians, de Test. Anim. c. 3. Their commonness is implied also de Spect. c. 29. de Idol. c. 11. and below c. 37. 43. Justin M. speaks of many having been and being cured, generally and unexceptionally, c. 68. 73. Euseb. Prepar. 1. 16. Clemen. Propeut. p. 9. quoted by Fabr. Bibl. Antiq. p. 416. Amm. Marc. i. 29. ii. 30. Sueton. vii. 35. ap. Bulgen. de Sort. i. ii. p. 90.

2) The oracular tripod, see Hefnann Lex. v. Tripod.
be brought forward of those who are believed to be acted upon by a god, who drawing their breath over the altar conceive the deity from its favour, who are relieved by vomiting wind, and prelude their prayer with sobbing. That very virgin Caelseis herself who promiseth rains, that very Esculapius that discovereth medicines, that supplied life to Socordius, and Thanatius, and Asclepiodotus, doomed to die another day—unless these confess themselves to be demons, not daring to lie unto a Christian, then shed upon the spot the blood of that most impudent Christian. What can be plainer than this fact? what more to be trusted than this proof? The simplicity of Truth is before you: her own virtue supporteth her. Here will be no room for suspicion.

These confessions prove at once that gods are demons, Christ, God. 59

Will ye say that it is done by magic, or some cheat of that sort? Ay! if your eyes and your ears will permit you! But what can be insinuated against that which is shown forth in undisguised sincerity? If on the one hand they be truly gods, why feign they themselves demons? is it to humour us? Then is your deity at once made subject to the Christians, nor can that be accounted Deity, which is subjected to man, and (if this contribute aught to shame) to its own rivals. If on the other hand they be demons or angels, why do they take upon themselves elsewhere to act as gods? For as they, who are accounted gods, would not call themselves demons, if they were truly gods, lest forsooth they should put themselves down from their majesty, so they also, whom ye plainly acknowledge for demons, would not dare elsewhere to act for gods, if those whose names they use, were any gods at all; for they would fear to abuse the majesty of beings, without doubt higher than themselves and to be feared. So utterly nought is that deity to which ye hold; for if it were sought, it would neither be affected by demons, nor by gods. Seeing then that both sides agree in one declaration, affirming that they are no gods, ye must allow that there is but one sort of such beings, namely demons. True on both sides. Now look for gods, for these, from such gods of yours, who discover not this only, that neither they themselves nor any others are gods, ye immediately learn this also, Who is really God, and whether it be He, and He Alone, Whom we Christians confess, and whether He ought to be believed and worshipped according to the rule of the faith and discipline of the Christian. Here they will say, "And who is this Christ with His tale of wonders? is He a man of erst common condition? is He a magician? was He stolen away after His crucifixion from the sepulchre by His own disciples? is He even now in hell? is He not in Heaven? and to come quickly from thence also with a quaking of the whole universe, with a shuddering of the world, amidst the wailings of all men save the Christians, as the Power of God,
even with the blood of Christians. If then it were possible for them to speak falsely under the hands of a Christian desiring to prove the truth unto you, they would be unwilling to lose you, so profitable and so serviceable to them, even from the fear of being driven out one day by yourselves perhaps, made Christians.

XXIV. All this confession of theirs whereby they deny themselves to be gods, and whereby they make answer that there is no other God, save this One, Whose servants we are, is quite sufficient to refute the charge of sinning against the public, and especially the Roman, Religion. For if they be public, certainly no gods, neither certainly is the Religion aught; and if the Religion be sought, because the gods are nought, neither certainly are we guilty of sinning against Religion. But on the contrary your reproach hath really recoiled upon your selves, who worshipping a lie, not only by neglecting, but added moreover by warring against, the true Religion of the true God, commit against the True One the crime of true irreligion. Now then although it were allowed that these gods were gods, do ye not grant, according to the common belief, that there is some One higher and mightier, as the King of the universe, of perfect power and majesty? For the most part of men also do so apportion the Divine Nature, that they will have the power of chief dominion to belong to One, its offices to many: even as Plato describeth the great Jupiter as accompanied in heaven by an army of gods as well as of demons, and therefore that his officers, and his praetors, and his governors, should be alike respected. And yet what crime doth he commit, who directeth rather his labour and his hope to earn the favour of the king himself, and alloweth Caesar not the name of god, as he doth not that of emperor, to belong to any save the prince alone? seeing that it is judged to be a capital crime to call any, or to suffer any to be called, Caesar, save Caesar himself. Let one worship God, another Jupiter: let one raise his suppliant hands to Heaven, another to the altar of Fides: let one in his prayer, (if ye
think this of us,) tell the clouds, another the ornaments of
the ceiling: let one devote his own life to his God, another
that of a goat. For beware lest this also contribute to the
charge of irreligion, to take away the liberty of religion and
to forbid a choice of gods, so that I may not worship whom
I will, but be constrained to worship whom I will not. No
one, not even a mortal, will desire to be worshipped by any
against his will; and therefore even to the Egyptians hath
been allowed the free use of a superstition, vain as theirs, in
consecrating birds and beasts, and in condemning to death
those who slay any god of this sort. Every province also
and state hath its own god; as, Syria, Atargatis; Arabia,
Duar; the Norici, Belenus; Africa, Cælestis; Mauritania,
hers own Princes. I have named, methinks, Roman
provinces, and yet no Roman gods belonging to them,
because they are not more worshipped at Rome than those,
who, through Italy itself, are from municipal consecration
ranked as gods, as Delventinus the god of the Casinenses;
Visidians, of the Narinienses; Ancharia, of the Esculani; of
the Volsinienses, Noria; of the Socinienses, Valeria; of the
Straturi, Hostia, of the Falsici, Juno, who, in honour of her
father Curis, hath also received her surname. But we
alone are forbidden to have a religion of our own. We
offend the Romans, and are not held to be Romans, because
we worship not the god of the Romans. It is well that God
is the God of all, Whose we all are, whether we will or no.
But with you it is lawful to worship any thing except the

Romans tolerated all false religions in provinces, not the true.

Apol. I. 24.

For I cannot suppose that foreign gods would have
wished that favours should be shewn to a foreign nation
rather than to their own, and that they would have given up
to men beyond the seas the land of their country, in which
they were born, grew up, were ennobled, and buried. No
matter for Cybele if she loved the Roman city as the
memorial of the Trojan race,—her own native race forsooth,
which she protected against the arms of the Greeks,—if she
foresaw that it would pass to those avengers, who she knew
would subdue Greece, the conqueror of Phrygia. A mighty
proof hath she thereupon put forth, even in our age, of her
majesty conferred upon the city, when, Marcus Aurelius
having been, at Smyrnium, removed from the state by death on
the sixteenth day before the Calends of April, that most holy
of arch-enemies, on the ninth day before the same Calends,
on which he made a libation of impure blood by mutilating
his arms also, issued, as before, his accustomed orders on
behalf of the health of Marcus, who had been already cut
off. O slothful messengers! O sleepy despatches! through

Apost. I. 25.

Roman empire advanced not by, but against, their chief gods. 63

true God, as though He were not rather the God of all, of
Whom we all are.

XXV. Methinks I have proved enough concerning false
and true Deity, when I have shewn how the proof consisteth
not in discussions only and arguments, but in the testimony
of those very beings, whom ye believe to be gods, so that
there is now nothing in this question which needs to be
treated of again. Yet since the authority of the Roman
name specially cometh across us, I will not pass by the
controversy which the presumption of those provoketh, who
say that the Romans have been raised to such a height of
greatness as to be masters of the world, for the merit of their
very diligent devotion to Religion; and that they are so
fully gods, that those flourish above all others, who above all
others render service to them. These forsooth are the
wages paid in gratitude by the Roman gods. Sterculius,
and Mutunus, and Larentina, have advanced the empire!
For I cannot suppose that foreign gods would have
wished that favour should be shewn to a foreign nation
rather than to their own, and that they would have given up
to men beyond the seas the land of their country, in which
they were born, grew up, were ennobled, and buried. No
matter for Cybele if she loved the Roman city as the
memorial of the Trojan race,—her own native race forsooth,
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his arms also, issued, as before, his accustomed orders on
behalf of the health of Marcus, who had been already cut
off. O slothful messengers! O sleepy despatches! through
of early Roman rites—they conquered their gods. They were inscribed gods. But how vain is it to ascribe the eminence of the Roman name to the merit of their religious zeal! since it was after the establishment of the imperial, or call it still the regal, power, in an advanced state of prosperity, that Religion made progress. For although an exceeding nicety in superstition was adopted by Numna, yet the religious system among the Romans did not as yet consist in images or temples. Religion was thrifty, and her rites needy: and no Capitol were there, vying with the Heavens, but altars of turf thrown together as it chanced, and vessels still of Samian ware, and but scant savour, and the god himself no where; for at that time the talents of the Greeks and Tuscans in framing images had not as yet over-flooded the city. The Romans then was not religious before they were great, and therefore were not great for this cause, because religious. But how could they be great because of their religion, whose greatness proceeded from irreligion? For, if I mistake not, every empire or kingdom is gained by wars, and extended by conquests. Moreover wars and conquests consist for the most part in the taking and overthrow of cities. This business is not without injury to the gods. The same ruin embraceth walls and temples, like massacres citizens and priests, nor doth the plunder of sacred treasures differ from that of the profane. As many therefore as are the trophies of the Romans, so many are their acts of sacrilege; as many as are their triumphs over nations, so many are they over the gods; as many have been their captures, as there yet remain images of captive gods. And therefore do they bear to be worshipped by their enemies, and decree to them an empire without end, whose insults, rather than their fawnings, they, adulated, have to repaid. But they who have no sense of any thing, are as safely injured as they are uselessly worshipped.

Poverty of early Roman rites—\textit{they conquered their gods.} 65

\textbf{Gods subject to Fates: fates had only secondary worship.}

\textbf{Apol.} I. 25. whose fault Cybele did not before learn the death of the Emperor! Verily the Christians would laugh at such a goddess. But neither would Jupiter at once have suffered his own Crete to be shaken by the Roman fasces, forgetting that cave of Ida, and the Corybantian cymbals, and the most pleasing odour of his own nurse there. Would not he have preferred this his own tomb to all the Capitol, so that that land should rather be the first in the world, which covered the ashes of Jupiter? Would Juno too be willing that the city of Carthage, which she loved even in preference to Samos, should be utterly destroyed, by the race of Æneas forsooth? Whereas I know,

\begin{quote}
"Here were her arms, "
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
"Here was her chariot, here e'en now she cherished, "
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
"(So might Fate will,) the empire of the world."
\end{quote}

This wretched wife and sister of Jupiter prevailed nothing against the Fates. Clearly,

\begin{quote}
"by Fate e'en Jove himself doth stand."
\end{quote}

And yet the Romans have not offered to those Fates, which gave up Carthage to them contrary to the intent and vow of Juno, as much honour as to that most abandoned she-wolf Larentina. That many gods of yours have reigned, is certain. Wherefore if they hold the power of bestowing empire, from whom, when they reigned themselves, had they received that gift? whom had Saturn and Jupiter worshipped? Some Sterculus, I presume; but that, at Rome, afterwards, together with their own native gods. Even if there were any that reigned not, yet was the kingdom ruled by others, not as yet their worshippers, because they were not as yet held to be gods. Wherefore it belongeth to others to bestow the kingdom, seeing that there were kings long before these were inscribed gods. But how vain is it to ascribe the eminence of the Roman name to the merit of their religious zeal! since it was after the establishment of the imperial, or call it still the regal, power, in an advanced state of prosperity, that Religion made progress. For although an exceeding nicety in superstition was adopted by Numna, yet the religious system among the Romans did not as yet consist in images or temples. Religion was thrifty, and her rites needy: and no Capitol were there, vying with the Heavens, but altars of turf thrown together as it chanced, and vessels still of Samian ware, and but scant savour, and the god himself no where; for at that time the talents of the Greeks and Tuscans in framing images had not as yet over-flooded the city. The Romans then were not religious before they were great, and therefore were not great for this cause, because religious. But how could they be great because of their religion, whose greatness proceeded from irreligion? For, if I mistake not, every empire or kingdom is gained by wars, and extended by conquests. Moreover wars and conquests consist for the most part in the taking and overthrow of cities. This business is not without injury to the gods. The same ruin embraceth walls and temples, like massacres citizens and priests, nor doth the plunder of sacred treasures differ from that of the profane. As many therefore as are the trophies of the Romans, so many are their acts of sacrilege; as many as are their triumphs over nations, so many are they over the gods; as many have been their captures, as there yet remain images of captive gods. And therefore do they bear to be worshipped by their enemies, and decree to them an empire without end, whose insults, rather than their fawnings, they, adulated, have to repaid. But they who have no sense of any thing, are as safely injured as they are uselessly worshipped.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[a] The goat Amalthean.
\item[b] See Pythian oracle, Herod. i. 91.
\item[c] Lact. ii. 17. \textit{Exch.} Prem. v. 518.
\item[d] To be made gods, they must have worshipped the gods who made them such; and so, to be gods at Rome, Sterculus and the like; but they were gods before, and so must have worshipped elsewhere, their native gods also. Others understand by "cum indigenis suis," "together with their native worshippers," these non-Italian gods being as it were foreigners, joining with the native worshippers. This interpretation has produced a reading, "cum indigenis autovides suis."
\item[e] Prod. i. c. i. 346.
\item[f] Rome had no images for 170 years, Varro, ap. Aug. de C. Dr. iv. 9. Pictarch. Num. Clem. Al. Strom. i. 16.
\item[g] Euseb. \textit{Prep.} Ev. ix. 3. They were of wood or clay until the conquest of Asia.\textit{Plin.} xxxiv. 7.
\item[h] De Spect. c. 7. \textit{Plin.} l. c. 40. From the capture of Syracuse, foreign temples were despoiled to ornament Rome, \textit{Liv.} xxv. 40. add \textit{Municipe.}
\end{footnotes}
Surely it cannot consist with belief that they should be thought to have increased in greatness through the merits of their Religion, who, as we have suggested, have either grown great by injuring Religion, or have injured it by growing great. They too, whose kingdoms have together made up the sum of the Roman empire, were not, at the time when they lost those kingdoms, without religions.

XXVI. See then whether He be not the Disposer of kingdoms, Whose is both the world which is ruled, and man himself who ruleth; whether He have not ordered the changes of dominions with their times, in the course of the world, Who was before all time, and made that world, the universe of times. See whether it be not He Who exalted and put down states, under Whom the race of men once lived without states. Why do ye err? Rome in her rude state is more ancient than certain of her own gods; she reigned before so large a compass of Capitol was erected. The Babylonians too reigned before the High Priests, and the Medes before the Fifteen, and the Egyptians before the Salti, and the Assyrians before the Luperci, and the Amazons before the Vestal Virgins. Finally, if the religious rites of Rome procure kingdoms, never would Judea have reigned aforetime, that despiser of those common deities, whose God too ye Romans for some time honoured with sacrifices, and her temple with offerings, nor would ye ever have ruled over her, had she not at the last sinned against Christ.

XXVII. A sufficient answer this to the charge of sinning against the gods, because we cannot be thought to sin against that, which we shew does not exist. Wherefore when we are called upon to sacrifice, we take our stand against it on the strength of our conscience, whereby we are assured who those be, to whom these services are paid, under Simon. Again, Jos. A. xiv. 16 or 17, 17 or 19, are decrees of the Roman senate to amity with the Jews, under J. Cesar, and John Hyrcanus, (comp. Curr. ii. 11.) and ibid. and c. 29 or 30, see Epistles of M. Antony, and P. Dolabella to Hyrcanus. Pann. under Simon. Again, Jos. A. xiv. 16 or 17, 17 or 19, are decrees of the Roman senate to amity with the Jews, under J. Cesar, and John Hyrcanus, (comp. Curr. ii. 11.) and ibid. and c. 29 or 30, see Epistles of M. Antony, and P. Dolabella to Hyrcanus. Pann.

Heathen blind agents of Satan to seduce or terrify Christians.

The images which ye publicly expose, and the human names which ye consecrate. But some think it madness that, when we are at once to sacrifice for the moment and to escape unhurt, our fixed purpose remaining steadfast in our own mind, we prefer to our safely a perverse resistance. Ye give us forsooth counsel whereby we may cheat yourselves! But we know whence such counsels are suggested, who it is that setteth all this in motion, and how at one time by cunning persuasion, at another by harsh violence, he worketh for the overthrowing of our constancy. It is in truth that spirit of demoniacal and angelic properties, who rivalling us because of our separation from him, and envying us because of the grace of God bestowed upon us, maketh war against us out of your minds, which, by the secret influence of his spirit, are disposed and prompted to all that perverseness in your judgments, and that injustice in your wrath, to which we began at the first to speak. For although all the power of demons and spirits of that sort were made subject to us, yet, like naught, servants, they sometimes mingle contumacy with their fear, and delight to injure those, whom at other times they reverence: for even fear inspireth hatred. Besides, also, their desperate state, arising from their previous condemnation, counteth on the comfort of enjoying meantime mouth of the ungodly judge possessed by him seemed to advise, saying, 'Consult for thyself.' The like forms, 'Conscilia tibi,' 'Miserrimum te,' &c. were used; in Agon. Macr. V. Vincenti; comp. the persuasions in Eus. H. E. ix. 15. his (Germanicus and Polyergus, viii. 7. (Philomorus, Philaeus) de Mart. Pal. c. x. (Pet. Apelesmus) Tert. Scorp. etc. xi. Her.


in this also ye are found to be irreligious towards your gods, seeing that ye shew more of awe towards a human power. Finally, among you, men more readily swear falsely by all the gods than against the single Genius of Caesar.

XXIX. Let it then first appear whether those, to whom sacrifice is offered are able to impart health to the Emperor, 1 impe-
or to any human being, and so adjudge us guilty of high treason. 2 If angels or demons, in substance the worst of majes-
tants, work any good deed, if the lost save, if the con-
demned deliver, if finally, as is within your own knowledge, the dead defend the living, then assuredly would each first defend his own statues, and images, and temples, which, as I think, the soldiers of the Caesars keep in safety through our watches. 3 But methinks these very materials too come from the mines of the Caesars, and the entire temples stand according to the nod of Caesar. 4 Finally many gods have had Caesar in wrath with them; it maketh for my argument if some too have found him propitious, when he conferreth any bounty or privilege upon them. How then shall they, who are in Caesar's power, whose also they wholly are, have the health of Caesar within their power, so that they may be thought to bestow that which they more readily themselves obtain from Caesar? For therefore do we sin against the majesty of the Emperors, because we subject them not to their own creatures! because we make not a mockery of our services for their health's sake, not thinking it to be in hands soldered with lead! But ye are religious, who seek it where it is not, ask of those by whom it cannot be given, passing Him by, in Whose power it is! moreover ye put down by force those who know how to ask it, and, in that they know how to ask it, are able also to obtain it.

XXX. For we pray for the health of the Emperors to the
eternal God, the true God, the living God, Whom even the Emperors themselves would rather have propitious to them than all the rest. They know Who hath given them their kingdom: they know, as human beings, Who hath given them also their life. They feel that this is the only God, in Whose power alone they are, to Whom they are the second in power, after Whom they are the first, before all, and above all gods. And why not? since they are above all men, who, as living, surely stand before the dead. They reflect how far the powers of their empire avail, and thus they understand God. They acknowledge that they prevail through Him, against Whom they cannot prevail. In a word let the Emperor conquer Heaven, carry Heaven captive in his triumph, send his guards to Heaven, lay on Heaven his taxes. He cannot. Therefore is he great because he is less than Heaven; for he himself is of Him, of Whom is both Heaven and every creature. Thence is he an Emperor, whence he was also a man, before he was an Emperor; thence cometh his power, whence also came his breath. Thither we Christians, looking up with hands spread open, because without guilt, with head uncovered, because we are not ashamed, finally without a prompting, because we pray from the heart, are ever praying for all kings, that they may have a long life, a secure dominion, a safe home, valiant armies, a faithful senate, a righteous people, a world at peace, and whatever be the desire both of the man and of the king. These things I cannot ask of any other than Him, from Whom I know that I shall obtain them; since it is He Who alone giveth them, and it is I to whom the obtaining of them is due, I His servant who alone give Him reverence, who for His Religion am put to death, who offer to Him a sacrifice rich and of the highest rank, which He Himself hath commanded, the prayer that proceedeth from a chaste body, from a soul that sinneth not, from the Holy Spirit; not a single penny's worth of grains of frankincense, the droppings of an Arabian tree, nor two drops of wine, nor the blood of a discarded beast that longeth to die, and after all these foult things a filthy conscience also, so that I marvel, when the victims are being tried before you by the most wicked priests, why the heart of the beasts rather than of the sacrificers themselves are examined. Whilst then we are thus spread forth before God, let your claws of iron pierce us, your crosses hang us up, your fires play about us, your swords cut off our necks, your beasts trample on us; the very posture of the praying Christian is prepared for every punishment. This do ye worthy rulers, tear from us that breath which is praying to God for your Emperor. Here will be the crime, where is truth and devotion to God.

XXXI. Now (ye will say) we have been flattering the Emperor, and have feigned these prayers, of which we have spoken, that we may escape forsooth your violence. Much profit clearly doth the deceit bring us! for ye allow us to prove whatsoever we maintain. Thou therefore, that thinkest that we care nothing for the health of Cæsar, look into the oracles of God, our writings, which we do not ourselves suppress, and which very many accidents transfer to the hands of strangers. Learn from them, that it is commanded us, in the overflowing of kindness, to entreat God even for our Lord. A proclamation appointed by Naum as religious rites.

* De idol. c. 6.
* A declaration appointed by Naum as religious rites.
* His erit crimina, ubi veritas et Dei devoto est, omitted by Rig.
enemies*, and to pray for blessings on our persecutors. And
who more the enemies and persecutors of us Christians, than
those, concerning whose majesty we are charged with guilt?

But even by name, and in plain words: *Pray, saith the
Scripture, for kings, and for princes, and for powers, that
ye may have all things in quietness*. For when the kingdom
is shaken, all its other members being shaken with it, surely
we also, although we stand aloof from tumults, are found to
have some place in the misfortune.

XXXII. We have also another and a greater need to pray
for the Emperors, and moreover for the whole estate of the
Empire, and the fortunes of Rome, knowing, as we do, that
the mighty shock which hangeth over the whole world, and
the end of time itself, threatening terrible and grievous things,
is delayed because of the time allowed to the Roman Empire*
We would not therefore experience these things, and while
we pray that they may be put off, we favour the long con­
tinuance of Rome. But moreover as we swear not by the
Genii of the Caesars*, so we do swear by their health,*

1 Athenag. Leg. c. 11.
3 The belief that the Roman Empire was that which leteth, 2 Thess. iv. 7, 6, 6, 7, that delayed the coming of
Anti-Christ, occurs in S. Cyril. (Cat. xxv. 11, 12.) Jerome (Ep. 131. ad Algæ.
quot. 11.) Chrysostom and Ambrosiaster ad loc. Lactantius vii. 29. Damasc. iv.
26. Theoret ad loc. says, "some say the Roman Empire, some the grace of the Spirit," "but this last," he
argues, "will not cease." S Augustine speaks doubtfully, Ep. 199. §. 11. "We
who know not what they [the Thess.] knew, desire to attain laboriously to the
Apostle's meaning, and are unable;" somewhat more confidently in the de
Civ. D. xx. 19. "it is not without reason [non absurde] believed to be spoken of the Roman Empire itself." Tertullian repeats this statement, below
c. 39. and ad Scap. c. 9. he views the

subject on the opposite side, De Orat. c. 6. de Res. Curr. c. 29. that the end of the
world should be longed for; both are consistent, though belonging to dif­
ferent frames of mind; the Christian should long for the coming of his Lord,
and the consummation of all things, and yet may shrink from the terrible
period which is to precede it. So Lactan­tius, i. c. "She, she is the city,
which yet upholds all things, and the God of Heaven is to be prayed by us,
(if so be that His purposes and decrees may be delayed);" that that hateful tyrant
should not come sooner than we think, who shall essay so greater an
offence, and extinguish that light, through whose destruction the world
itself shall fall to pieces."

4 See 28. fin. It was refused as
idolatry, Eus. H. E. iv. 10. (martirydum of Polycarp.) See ad Nat. i. 17. ad
Perhaps in conformity with Gen. 49. 15. See Basil in Ps. 14. and Reser.
Arcad. et Honor. Imp. i. 41. in fin. cod. in transact. ap. Westben, ed Orig.

honour Emperor most, and most safely, by honouring him truly. 73

which is of greater dignity than all Genii. Ye know not
that Genii are called "Dæmones," and hence by a diminutive
title, " daemonia." We in the Emperors reverence the
judgment of God, Who hath set them over the nations. We
know that in them is that which God hath willed, and
therefore we would have that safe which God hath willed,
and this we hold to be a great oath; but as to the demons,
that is, the genii, we are wont to adjure them that we may
cast them out of men, not to swear by them, so as to confer
on them the honour pertaining to God.

XXXIII. But why should I say more of the Religion and the
reverential affection of the Christians towards the
Emperor, whom we needs must look up to as the man whom
our Lord hath chosen? I might even say with good cause,
Cæsar is rather ours, being appointed by our God.
Wherefore in this also I do him more service towards his welfare,
not only because I ask it from Him, Who is able to grant it,
nor because I that ask it am such an one as to deserve to
obtain it*, but also because, by keeping down the majesty of
Cæsar beneath God, I commend him the more unto God
to Whom alone I subject him. But I subject him to one to
whom I make him not equal. For I will not call the
Emperor a god, both because I cannot speak falsely, and
because I dare not mock him, and because he himself will not
desire to be called a god. If he be a man, it concerneth
a man to yield to a god. He hath enough in being called
an Emperor: this also is a great name which is given him
of God. He who calleth him a god, denieth that he is an
Emperor. Unless he be a man, he is not an Emperor.
Even when triumphing in that most lofty chariot, he is
warned that he is a man, for he is prompted from behind,
"Look behind thee—remember that thou art a man*" And,
in truth, his joy is on this very account the greater, for that
he glittereth with so much glory, as to need reminding of his
proper nature. He were not so great, if he were then calle­
d a god, because he would not be truly called so; he is
greater, in that he is reminded not to think himself a god.

XXXIV. Augustus, the founder of the Empire, would not

* in that, as a Christian, I worship
• Juv. v. 42. Plin. 32. 1. Jerome
Him, see above, c. 29, 30.
even have himself called Lord; for this also is a name of God. I will by all means call the Emperor lord, but only when I am not compelled to call him lord in the stead of God. Nevertheless to him I am a freeman, for there is One that is my Lord, the Almighty and eternal God, the Same who is his Lord also. He that is the father of his country, how is he his Lord also? He that is the father of his country, how is he its lord? But a title of natural affection is more pleasing also than one of power. Even of a family men are rather called the fathers than the lords. So far is it from being due to the Emperor to be called a god, (which cannot be believed,) with a flattery not only most disgraceful, but dangerous also, as though thou hast one Emperor, thou wert to call another so. Wilt thou not incur the highest and most imachable displeasure of him whom thou hadst for thine Emperor, a displeasure to be feared even by him to whom thou gavest the title? Be religious towards God, thou that wouldest have Him propitious to the highest call. Do not fear for its evil omen: it is ill-augured to call Caesar a god before he be deified. It is good not to believe any other to be God, and so to be called a god, let it at least fear for its falsehood in calling a man a god; for immorality? shall Religion be deemed an occasion of wantonness? and how justly do we deserve condemnation! for why do we discharge our vows and our rejoicings for the Caesars, in chastity and sobriety and righteousness? Why do we not on the festival day overshadow our door-posts with laurels, and encroach on the day with our candlelight? It is a righteous act, when a public solemnity requireth it, to dress up your house in the guise of some new brothel!

I would, however, touching this reverencing a secondary majesty also, concerning which we Christians are called to answer a second charge of sacrilege, for not celebrating with you the holydays of the Caesars in a manner in which neither modesty, nor shame, nor decency permit, but the opportunity of pleasure rather than any fitting reason hath advised, I would give proof of your own faithfulness and truth, in case they should in this instance also perchance be found worse than the Christians, who would not that we should be accounted Romans, but enemies of the kings of Rome. I call on the Romans themselves, on the native populace of the seven hills themselves, to answer whether that Roman tongue of theirs spareth one of their own Caesars. The Tiber is my witness and the theatre of the beasts. Now if nature had covered the breasts of men without some transparent material, so that they might shine through, whose heart would not be found graven with the picture of another and another new Caesar presiding over the division next to sacrilege is that designated as against the majesty of the Emperor. Ulp. l. c. ad leg. Jul. majest. ap. Her. Sed occasio voluptatis magis quam digna ratio persuasit, omitted by Rig. Sed occasio voluptatis magis quam digna ratio persuasit, omitted by Rig. Sed occasio voluptatis magis quam digna ratio persuasit, omitted by Rig.
76 Hypocrisy of those, who charged Christians with disloyalty.

APOL. of the royal donative? even in that hour in which they cry

"Jove, multiply thy years by lessening ours."

These words a Christian is as incapable of pronouncing as of wishing for a new emperor. "But these be mobs," sayest thou? Mobs let them be; they are Romans notwithstanding, and none are more noisy clamourers for the punishment of the Christians than the mob. The other classes no doubt are, in proportion to their authority, sincere in their pious reverence; no hostile spirit is breathed from the senate itself, from the knighthood, from the camp, from the very palace! Whence pray thee came your Cassii, and your Niger, and your Albini? whence come they, who beset a Caesar between two laurels? whence they, who exercise their art of wrestling in strangling him? whence they, who break into the palace in arms with more boldness than all the Sigerii and Parthenii? From the Romans, if I mistake not, that is from men not-Christians. And so all these, even when their wickedness was on the point of bursting forth, were both offering their sacrifices for the health of the Emperor, and swearing by his Genius, one kind of men without, another within, and doubtless were giving to the Christians the name of public enemies. But even they who are every day detected as accomplices or abettors of wicked parties, the gleaning that still remaineth after the gathering in of the vintage of parricides, how did they face their doors with the richest and the most luxuriant laurels! how did they overcast their porches with vapour of candles, the tallest and the brightest! how did they portion out the forum among them, filling it with the richest and most superb couches! not that they might solemnize the public rejoicings, but that they might hope and wait for something after it? For men consult not with the same feelings about their friends and their masters: the anxiety of the kinsman is busy on other grounds than that of the slave.

XXXVI. If these things be so, that those are proved to be enemies, who were wont to be called Romans, why are we who are but thought to be enemies denied to be Romans? May we not both be Romans and not be enemies, when those are found to be enemies, who were accounted Romans? The piety then, and religious reverence, and faith due to the Emperors standeth not in such services as these, which even enmity may more zealously perform as a cloak for itself, but in that moral course of life, by which a kindly feeling must needs be as truly shewn towards the Emperor as towards all mankind. For these works of good-will are not due from us to Emperors alone. In doing good to others we make no exception of persons, for we do it at the same time to ourselves, seeking our measure of praise or reward not from man, but from God, Who requireth and receiveth an impartial charity. We are the same to the Emperors that we are to our neighbours, for we are equally forbidden with respect to every one, to wish ill, to do ill, to speak ill, to think ill. That which we may not do to an Emperor, neither may we do to any man: that which we may do to no man, the less, perhaps, may we do to him, who, through God, is so great a man.

XXXVII. If, as we have said above, we are commanded and, by changing mentally the name of the prince, might enthrone a proxy and a representative of him for whom they hoped. The same services do they also pay, who consult astrologers, and soothsayers, and augurs, and magicians, touching the life of Caesar; which arts, as being put forth by rebel angels, and forbidden by God, the Christians do not employ, even in their own behalf. But who hath need of such curious enquiry about the life of Caesar, unless it be one, who is plotting or desiring something against it, or is hoping and waiting for something after it? For men consult not with the same feelings about their friends and their masters: the anxiety of the kinsman is busy on other grounds than that of the slave.

* at their accession.
* & Scap. 2. (in general terms)
* Commodus was nearly surprised by the populace in the suburbs, within he had retired on account of the healthiness of the laurel-groves. Herodian. l. i. ap. Her. * Murder of Commodus by a wrestler.

62. "He (Severus) put to death many, as having consulted Chaldæans and Magi about his life." Spartanus ap. Godofr. l. c. The practice was a frequent ground of punishment. Tac. Ann. xii. 93. xvi. 30. Severus himself had been falsely charged with it. Spartanus.
to love our enemies, whom have we to hate? And if again\(^1\) when injured we are forbidden to repay the injury, lest we ourselves be equally guilty, whom have we power to hurt? For reflect, yourselves, on this matter. How often do ye spend your fury on the Christians, partly from your own proper inclinations, partly in obedience to the laws\(^1\) How often also, passing you by, doth the hostile mob attack us\(^1\), on its own score, with stones and fire! With the very phrenzy of Bacchanals, they spare not the Christians even when dead; but they must needs drag them out from the repose of the grave, the sanctuary in some sort of death, and cut and tear them in pieces, no longer what they were, no longer even entire\(^1\). And yet what retaliation for injury have ye ever marked in men so banded together, so bold in spirit even unto death? though a single night might with a few torches work out an ample vengeance, if it were lawful, with us that evil should be balanced by evil. But God forbid that the divine character of the sect\(^2\) should be vindicated by human fire, or should grudge to suffer that wherein it is tried. For if we wished to act the avowed enemy, not the secret avenger only, would strength of numbers and forces be wanting to us? The Moors and the Marcomans\(^3\), and the Parthians themselves, or any other people, however great, yet a people nevertheless of one spot, and of their own boundaries, are, I suppose, more numerous than one of the whole world! We are a people of yesterday, and yet we have filled every place belonging to you, cities, islands, castles, towns, assemblies, your very camp, your tribes, companies, palace, senate, forum\(^4\)! We leave you your temples only. We can count your armies: our numbers in a single province will be greater\(^5\). For what war should we not be sufficient and ready, even though unequal in numbers, who so willingly are put to death, if it were not in this Religion of ours more lawful to be slain than to slay? We could fight against you even unarmed and without rebelling, but only disagreeing with you, by the mere odium of separation. For if so large a body of men as we, were to break away from you into some remote corner of the globe, surely the loss of so many citizens, of whatever sort they might be, would cover your kingdom with shame, yea, and would punish you by their very desertion of you. Doubtless ye would tremble at your own desolation, at the silence of all things, at the death-like stupor of the whole world. Ye would have to seek whom to govern. More enemies would remain to you than citizens: for now ye have fewer enemies by reason of the multitude of Christians, almost all, citizens, yea having almost all your citizens Christians. But ye have preferred to call us enemies of the human race\(^6\). And who would snatch you from those hidden foes, who are everywhere making havoc of your minds and your bodily health, from the inroads, I mean, of daemons, which we drive away from you without reward, without pay? This alone would be enough, for our vengeance, that ye should henceforth lie open\(^4\), a vacant tenement for unclean spirits\(^7\). And now not even thinking of compensation for so great a protection, ye have preferred judging as enemies a race not only harmless, but even necessary to you, who are in truth enemies, yet not of men but of their errors.

XXXVIII. Wherefore it were meet that this sect should be accounted (and that with much more kindly feelings) among lawful factions\(^8\), a sect, by which no such thing is done, as is wont to be apprehended from unlawful factions. For, if I mistake not, the cause of prohibiting factions is to

\(^1\) *Eusebius speaks of many local persecutions being raised by the populace, even when there was no general persecution, H. E. iii. 39. (under Trajan) v. 1. (under M. Antoninus) vi. 32. (under Decius, at Alexandria.)

\(^2\) *Partly out of savageness, partly in consternation of the doctrine of the Resurrection, Eus. v. 1. fin. (Martys of Vienne.)

\(^3\) *These had harassed the Empire under M. Antoninus; and with the Parthians Severus was then at war.

\(^4\) *See above o. c. 1. p. 3. n. g.

\(^5\) *Foes髮usino disnemere exercising vestores; utres provincox piures erunt. omitted by Rig.

\(^6\) *(Christianorurn) pane omnium civium, pene omnes cives Christianos habendo; sed hostes malitiiis vocare genus humani, omitted by Rig. By the first clause, Tert. seems to mean that almost all the Christians were citizens; (c. p. 3) slaves or foreigners only.) in the second, that almost all the citizens were Christians, and if not, would be their enemies.

\(^7\) *Above on c. 23. Orig. c. Cel. viii. 72. "But we, moreover, removing by our prayers all daemons, who stir up wars, and break oaths, and disturb peace, aid those who rule, more than such as seem to war."

\(^8\) *T. adopts the word "factio" used as a term of reproach by the Heathens, Minuc. F. p. 70.
come together to call the sacred writings to remembrance, if so be that the character of the present times compel us either to use admonition or recollection in any thing. In any case, by these holy words we feed our faith, raise our hopes, establish our confidence, nor do we the less strengthen our discipline by inculcating precepts. Here too are exercised exhortations, corrections, and godly censure. For our judgment also cometh with great weight, as of men well assured that they are under the eye of God; and it is a very grave forestalling of the judgment to come, if any shall have so offended as to be put out of the communion of prayer, of the solemn assembly, and of all holy fellowship. The most approved elders' preside over us, having obtained this honour not by money, but by character; for with money is nothing pertaining unto God purchased. Even if there be with us a sort of treasury, no sum is therein collected, discresitable to Religion as though she were bought. Every man placeth there a small gift on one day in each month', or whensoever he will, so he do but will, and so he be but able; for no man is constrained, but contributeth willingly. These are as it were the deposits of piety; for afterwards they are not disbursed in feasting and in drinking, and in disgusting haunts of glutony, but for feeding" and burying the poor, for boys and girls without money and without parents, and for old men now house-ridden, for the shipwrecked also, and for any who in the mines", or in the islands, or in the prisons, become their Creed's pensioners", so that it be only for the sake of the way of God. But it is the exercise

*spect. c. 28. Lact. vi. 18.*

80 Christians not factionous, as not concerned about things of factions.

be found in a provident care for the temperate condition of the public, lest the state be divided into parties, a thing which might easily disquiet your assemblies, your councils, your courts, your public meetings, even your public shows, by the rival conflicts of party zeal, when men had already begun to make a trade of selling and hiring out their services for acts of violence. But we who are insensible to all that burning for glory and greatness, have no need of banding together, nor is any thing more foreign to our taste than public affairs. We acknowledge one commonwealth of all mankind, the world'. Equally do we renounce your spectacles, as much as the matters which give rise to them, which we know to be conceived of superstition, in that 1 we have got clear of the very things about which these performances are concerned. We have no concern, in speaking, seeing, hearing", with the madness of the circus", with the immodesty of the theatre", with the cruelty of the arena, with the folly of the wrestling gallery'. The Epicureans were permitted to determine for themselves certain pleasures to be real. Wherein do we offend you if we take other than yours to be pleasures? If we will not know how to be pleased, the loss, if it be one, is our not yours. But we reject those things which please you, nor are ye delighted with our pleasures'.

XXXIX. I will now set forth on my own part the employments of the Christian society, that since I have disproved that which is evil, I may shew somewhat that is good, if be I have also unfolded the truth'. We are a body formed by our joint cognizance of Religion, by the unity of discipline, by the bond of hope. We come together in a meeting and a congregation as before God', as though we would in one body sue Him by our prayers. This violence is pleasing unto God. We pray also for Emperors, for their ministers and the powers, for the condition of the world, for the delaying of the end'. We

1 spectiam ad
2 dictus, visus, auditus restored
3 cum
4 dictus, visus, auditus restored
5 spect. c. 28. Lact. vi. 18.

Christian worship, discipline, alms.

81
Christian brotherhood, as born of One Father.

of this sort of love which doth, with some, chiefly brand us with a mark of evil. 'See,' say they, 'how they love each other?' for they themselves hate each other: and 'see how ready they are to die for each other;' for they themselves are more ready to slay each other. But whereas we are denoted by the title of 'The Brethren,' on no other ground, as I think, do they brand this name, than because among themselves every title of consanguinity is, from affection, falsely assumed. But brethren we are even of your own, by the law of Nature, our one mother, although ye have but little of the man in you because ye are ill brethren. Now how much more worthily are they both called and esteemed brethren, who acknowledge one Father, that is God, who have drunk of One Spirit of holiness, who from the one womb of their common ignorance have started at which I know not; for what could they care for that chastity, had married, for the sake of having children, even elsewhere their own, according, I suppose, to the rule of those ancient others exercise fellowship; wives. In that alone do we declare our brotherhood. We therefore, who are united in mind and in our family property, which noiseth light thought to be not true-born brethren, because no tragedy of their common ignorance have started at have drunk of baptism, see also Cypr. ad Donat. § 8.

Simplicity, charity, temperance, of Christian feasts.


of Attic wisdom and of Roman steadiness! A Philosopher and a Censor turned pimp!! What wonder then if such our love be social? for even our little suppers ye revile as extravagant also, besides being disgraced by vice. It was of us, I quote I suppose, that the saying of Diogenes* was spoken, "The Megarians feast, as though they were to die to-morrow, and build, as though they were never to die." But each beholdest Matt. 7, the mote in another's eye, rather than the beam in his own.

The whole air is turned sour with the crude breathings of so many tribes, and curie, and decurio. When the Salii are about to feast, one must needs lend money for it. Your accomptants will calculate the expenses of the tithes and the feasts dedicated to Hercules. For the Apatrian and Bacchanal festivals, and for the Athenian mysteries, a levy of cooks is ordered; at the smoke of the feast of Serapis the firemen will be aroused. It is the supper-room of the Christians alone that men carp at. Our feast sheweth its nature in its name. It is named by the word by which love is among the Greeks. Whatever expense it costeth, expense incurred in the name of piety is a gain; if we aid every poor man by this refreshment, not, according as the parasites among you, aspire to the glory of enslaving their liberty, and, for their hire, filling their bellies in the midst of insults, but, according as with God, more thought is taken for men of low degree. If the cause of the feast be good, judge ye what the rest of the course of our rules is, according to the duties of Religion. It alloweth nothing vile, nothing immodest. Men sit not down to meat before tasting, in the name of the night also they must pray. They eat as much as hungry men desire; they drink as much as is profitable for chaste men; they are so filled, as men who remember that of the Rhodians, Plut. de Amore Divit. Casaub. in Athen. iv. 10.

1. i. p. 84.


3. sapereo, illumination, as a title of baptism, see also Cypr. ad Donat. § 8.

4. T. joins together the two Cato's, the great-grandfather the Censor, with the Philosopher, whose the act was.

5. The same was said by Stratonicus of the Rhodians, Plut. de Amore Divit. Casaub. in Athen. iv. 10.


7. ° sapereo, illumination, as a title of baptism, see also Cypr. ad Donat. § 8.
those who know that God heareth. After that water for the hands and lights are brought, according as each is able, out of the Holy Scriptures, or of his own mind, he is called upon to sing publicly to God. Hence it is proved in what degree he hath drunken! In like manner prayer breaks up the feast. Hence they separate, not into bands for violence, nor into groups for running to and fro, nor for the outbreaks of lasciviousness, but to be as chary as before of modesty and chastity, as men who have fed not so much upon meats as upon instruction in righteousness. This coming together of Christians would deservedly be unlawful, if it were like those things which are unlawful; deservedly to be condemned, if we were not at variance with those things which are to be condemned. If any complain of it on the ground that factions are complained of, for whose hurt have we at any time assembled? We are the same when gathered together as when scattered, the same in the mass as single, no one vexing no one. When the honest, when the good come together, when the pious, when righteous, whenever the chaste meet, honest, when the good come together, when the pious, when righteous, when gathered together as when scattered, the same in the outward ground, of persecution; which Origen also quoting Jerome, mentioning prayer at such times, (Cyril. de Bapt. Christi, c. 22. ad Eustoch. in explication of it.) and as a time of spiritual danger, (Ambr. ad Ps. 119. p. 12.) Celcus, ap. Orig. c. Cele. i. init. mentions also the outward ground, of persecution; to which Origen also refers. In the same passage, ap. C. Hortold of Cal. p. 16.

Conclusion. Hence certain prayers were called heremarize, Justinian ad 1 Cor. xi. 21. p. 662. quoting Jerome, Cassiodorus, Socrates, Epiphanius, Cassian, &c.


2. Hence certain prayers were called heremarize, Justinian ad 1 Cor. xi. 21. p. 662. quoting Jerome, Cassiodorus, Socrates, Epiphanius, Cassian, &c.

86 Calamities from neglect of God, not from gods they worshipped;

... founded: for they would not otherwise have remained unto this day, if they themselves also had not been of later date than that catastrophe. Palestine had not yet received that swarm of Jews from Egypt, nor had that seminary of the Christian sect, as yet settled there, when the shower of fire burnt up Sodom and Gomorrah, places on its borders. The land still smelteth of the burning; and, if any fruits of the trees there struggle into life, so as to be seen by the eyes, nevertheless, when touched, they crumble into ashes. But neither did Tuscany nor Campania complain of the Christians, at that early day, when fire was poured over Vulsinii from Heaven, and over Tarpeii from its own mountain. No one at Rome as yet worshipped the true God, when Hannibal at Cannæ, in the slaughter which himself had made, measured out by the bushel the rings of the Romans. All your gods were worshipped by all, when the Senones seized upon the Capitol itself. And it is well, that when any adverse accident befalleth cities, there hath been the same overthrow of the temples as of the walls, so that I may at once prove against you that the evil cometh not from the gods, because it cometh upon themselves as well as others. Mankind hath even deserved ill of God, first in that they were undutiful towards Him, Whom though they knew in part, they not only sought not after Him to fear Him, but devised for themselves others besides, to worship them; next because, by not seeking after the Teacher of good, and the Judge and Avenger of evil, they grew in all trespasses and sins. But if they had sought after Him, it followed of necessity, that Whom they sought, they should know, and Whom they knew, honour, and Whom they honoured, find rather propitious than wrathful. They ought therefore to know that the same God is now also angry with them, Who was ever so in times past, before that any bore the name of Christians. He, Whose good gifts, produced before they...
Kindness and severity of God to all—severity, kindness to good.

This, say ye, is to make the argument recoil upon your own God also, seeing that He also suffereth His own worshippers to be harmed on account of the wicked. Learn first His counsels, and ye will not thus retort. For He, Who hath once ordained an everlasting judgment after the end of the world, hasteneth not the separation, which is a necessary part of that judgment, before the end of the world. Meanwhile He is without partiality towards the whole human race, both in blessing and in chastening them; He hath willed that good things should be shared by the wicked, and evil things by His own people, that by an equal participation we all might know both His kindness and His severity. Because we have been thus taught by Himself, we love kindness, we fear severity. Ye on the other hand despise both, and it followeth therefore that all the afflictions of the age come from God upon us (if they do so) for our admonition, upon you for your punishment. But in truth we are in no wise harmed; for we have in this world no concern but to depart out of it as quickly as we may. Next because if any evil be inflicted, it is ascribed to your deservings. But although some evils slightly touch us also, as being joined together with you, we rather rejoice in acknowledging therein the divine prophecies, as confirming our assurance and the confidence of our hope. But if all your misfortunes come upon you from those whom ye worship, for our faults, why persist ye in worshipping beings so ungrateful, so unjust, who ought rather to assist and abet you in afflicting the Christians?

XLII. But we are called to account on another charge of wrong, and are said to be unprofitable in the common concerns of life. How can this be said of men who live with you, have the same food, dress, furniture, the same wants of daily life? For we are not Brachmans, or the naked philosophers of the Indians, dwelling in the woods, and outcasts from life. We remember that we owe gratitude to God our Lord and our Maker. We put not away from us any enjoyment of His works; certainly we refrain from using them immoderately or wrongly. Wherefore we live with you in this world, not without a forum, not without shambles, not without your baths, taverns, shops, inns, markets, and other places of traffic. We voyage moreover with you, serve in your armies, labour with you in the fields, and trade with you. Besides this, we join our crafts with yours. Our acquirements, our services, we lend to the public for your profit. How can we be thought to be unprofitable to you in your concerns, you with whom and by whom we live, I know not. But if I attend not the solemnities of your holyday, I am nevertheless on that day also a man. I do not wash at nightfall, or at the Saturnian festival, lest I should waste both night and day; yet I wash at a proper and a wholesome hour, such as may save both my warmth and my colour; cold and pale after bathing I can be, when dead. On the feast of Bacchus I sit not down to meat in public, as is the custom of those who are condemned to the beasts, when they take their last meal: but whereasover I do eat, I eat of your abundance. I buy no garland for my head; nevertheless, since I do buy flowers, how doth it please you?—more, and more costly, merchandise of theirs freely at their proper places. We buy certainly no witness that more, and more costly, merchandise of theirs of all intercourse is made a charge against the Jews, Eupbrat. ap. Philostr. de Ast. the earlier.

88 Kindness and severity of God to all—severity, kindness to good.

29. 30.


99 naked philosophers of the Indians, dwelling in the woods, and outcasts from life. We remember that we owe gratitude to God our Lord and our Maker. We put not away from us any enjoyment of His works; certainly we refrain from using them immoderately or wrongly. Wherefore we live with you in this world, not without a forum, not without shambles, not without your baths, taverns, shops, inns, markets, and other places of traffic. We voyage moreover with you, serve in your armies, labour with you in the fields, and trade with you. Besides this, we join our crafts with yours. Our acquirements, our services, we lend to the public for your profit. How can we be thought to be unprofitable to you in your concerns, you with whom and by whom we live, I know not. But if I attend not the solemnities of your holyday, I am nevertheless on that day also a man. I do not wash at nightfall, or at the Saturnian festival, lest I should waste both night and day; yet I wash at a proper and a wholesome hour, such as may save both my warmth and my colour; cold and pale after bathing I can be, when dead. On the feast of Bacchus I sit not down to meat in public, as is the custom of those who are condemned to the beasts, when they take their last meal: but whereas over I do eat, I eat of your abundance. I buy no garland for my head; nevertheless, since I do buy flowers, how doth it please you?—more, and more costly, merchandise of theirs freely at their proper places. We buy certainly no witness that more, and more costly, merchandise of theirs is

8 Above, c. 39. b See de Idol. c. 14. 16. The refusal of all intercourse is made a charge against the Jews, Euphrat. ap. Philostr. de Vit. Apollon. v. 11. c As heathen did, that they might feast the earlier. By serving an idol.
90 Temple-revenues, sinful trades, injured; states benefitted.

Apol. 1. 43.

The Romans anointed as well as burnt their dead; the Christians embalmed exclusively, as more in harmony with the doctrine of the resurrection and natural piety. It is mentioned, de Res. Carn. c. 27. de Infam. c. 11. Lact. ii. 4. Cassian. Collat. xv. 3. Greg. Nyss. in Fun. Melet. ap. Lact. It is ridiculed by Caeceil. ap. Minuc. F. p. 167. "Ye reserve unguents for funerals," add Procl. de Exemp. Def. xlv. 51. 2. Aet. Phalaris, ap. Ior. A. 260. n. 21. Aet. Euphili, ib. A. 260. n. 129. Plin. Ep. ad Euj. 11. "Certainly it is very plain, that the temples which were almost left desolate have begun [since the persecution] to be frequented, and the sacred rites, of a long time intermitted, to be renewed, and the victims to be commonly sold, for which otherwise very seldom was found a purchaser." Arnob. i. i. p. 13. "The anges, diviners, &c.—lest their arts should come to an end, and they now extract but petty fees from the now-seldom enquirers,—cry aloud, the gods are neglected,' and now there is the extremest thinness in the temples. The ancient rites exist but for scorn," &c. See also on the decay of Heathenism, Lact. v. 9. Firm. de er. Prof. Iol. p. 43. Prud. de Mort. Caesar—aug. vii. 65. in pass. Laur. iii. 497. Above, c. 12. "The Galileans, in addition to their own, support our people too, Julian. Ep. ad Arac., Justin. Apol. i. 17. Tatian c. 4. Arnob. i. 1. Above, on c. 22.

Waste of life in persecutions; Christians condemned only as such. 91

before the true God in prayer for you as well as for yourselves, but those of whom ye can have no fear?

XLIV. Yet here there is a loss to the state, great as it is real, which no one turneth to look upon; here is an injury to the citizens, which no one weigheth, when in our persons so many righteous men are expended, when so many innocent men are squandered away. For now we call to witness your own acts, you who preside daily at the trials of prisoners, and dispose of the charges by your sentences. So many criminals are reckoned up by you under various charges of guilt. What assassin among them, what cut-purse, what sacrilegious person, or seducer, or plunderer of batters, is entitled also a Christian? In like manner when the Christians are brought to trial under their own head, who even of these is such as all these criminals are? It is ever from your own people that the prison is steaming: it is ever from your own people that the mines are breathing sighs; it is ever on your own people that the beasts are fattened; it is ever of your own people that the masters of the shows find flocks of criminals to feed. No Christian is there, unless it be only as a Christian; or if he be any thing else, he is forthwith no longer a Christian*. XLV. We alone then are innocent? What wonder if this be so of necessity? and truly of necessity it is so. Taught innocence by God, we both know it perfectly, as being revealed by a perfect Master; and we keep it faithfully, as being committed to us by an Observer that may not be despised. But to you human opinion hath handed down the rule of innocence, and human authority hath commanded it. Hence ye belong to a discipline which for the attaining of true innocence is neither perfect nor so greatly to be feared. What is the wisdom of man in shewing what is really good? What his authority in exacting it? The one is as readily deceived, as the other disregarded. And hence, which is the more full commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," or, "Be not even angry?" Which the more perfect, to forbid adultery, or to keep men even from the secret lusts of...
Human laws lacking in authority—solemn sanction of Christian.

The eyes? which the more refined, to forbid evil doing, or even evil speaking? which the more complete, not to permit an injury, or not to suffer even the requital of an injury? Meanwhile, however, know that even your own laws, which seem to tend to innocence, are borrowed from the law of God, as the more ancient. I have already spoken of the age of Moses*. But what is the authority of human laws, when it is in the power of man both to evade them, being generally undiscovered in his misdoings, and sometimes to set them at nought, as sinning from chance or necessity? Consider it also in respect of the shortness of the punishment inflicted, which, whatever it be, nevertheless continueth not after death. So also Epicurus holdeth cheap all torment and pain, by pronouncing slight ones despicable, and great ones shortlived†. But of whom an account is taken by the God Who looketh upon all, and who see before us an eternal punishment at His hands*, we are with good cause the only men who attain unto innocence, both from the fulness of our knowledge, and the difficulty of concealment after death. So when we resemble that which we have established our proof. But while our sickness somewhat of truth in denying the gods, yet just at the close of life ordered a cock to be sacrificed to Mercapuus*, I suppose in honour of his father, because Apollo declared Socrates to be the wisest of all men*. O ill-advised Apollo! he hath borne testimony to the wisdom of that man, who denied the being of the gods! Whatever hatred the truth kindleth against itself, so much doth he incur, who faithfully setteth it forth, while he who corrupteth and affecteth it, gaineth favour on this account et al. especially, from those that attack the truth. Philosophers affect, inasmuch as they are both its mockers and despisers*, the truth in mimicry, and, in affecting, corrupt it, as men who catch at praise. The Christians both seek

Philosophy, powerless, vainglorious and corrupt; only truth hated.

The philosophers, it saith, advise and profess the same things, innocence, justice, patience, sobriety, chastity. Why then, when we are likened to them in discipline, are we not made equal to them in the freedom and impunity of their discipline? Or why are not they also, as being our equals, forced to the same offices, which we, not fulfilling, are put in peril? For who compelleth a philosopher to sacrifice, or to take an oath‡, or at noon-day to parade abroad useless candles? Nay they even openly demolish your gods, and in treatises accuse your superstitions, with your own approbation*: most of them likewise bark against your princes^, and ye suffer it, and they are more readily rewarded by statues* and pensions, than sentenced to the beasts. And with good cause, for they bear the name of philosophers, not of Christians. This name of philosophers puteth not the demons to flight: why should it, seeing that the philosophers rank the demons next to the gods? It is the saying of Socrates, "If the demon so please." And he also, even when he savoured somewhat of truth in denying the gods, yet just at the close of life ordered a cock to be sacrificed to Eschelapius*, I suppose in honour of his father, because Apollo declared Socrates to be the wisest of all men*. O ill-advised Apollo! he hath borne testimony to the wisdom of that man, who denied the being of the gods! Whatever hatred the truth kindleth against itself, so much doth he incur, who faithfully setteth it forth, while he who corrupteth and affecteth it, gaineth favour on this account et al. especially, from those that attack the truth. Philosophers affect, inasmuch as they are both its mockers and despisers*, the truth in mimicry, and, in affecting, corrupt it, as men who catch at praise. The Christians both seek

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* Above, c. 32 end.
* Above, c. 35.
* Above, c. 19.
* Above, c. 23.
* Dum unicique manifestatur veritas nostra, omitted by Rig.
* Above, c. 10.
* Above, c. 35.
* Above, c. 19.
* Qua et illusores, et contemptores. Mimice (philosophi) omitted by Rig.
Lycurgus chose obstinately to starve himself to death because the Lacedaemonians had amended his laws. The Christian, even when condemned, giveth thanks. If I am to make a comparison as touching good faith, Anaxagoras refused to restore a pledge to his guests; the Christian is called faithful even to strangers. If I am to take my stand on the ground of simplicity, Aristotle basely displaced his own familiar friend Hermias; the Christian doth not hurt even his enemy. The same Aristotle flattereth Alexander, who ought rather to have been directed by him, as unbecomingly as Plato was sold by Dionysius for his belly's sake. Aristippus in his purple, under a vast surface of outward gravity, liveth the life of a profligate; and Hippias is put to death while laying a snare for the state. This hath no Christian ever attempted on behalf of his own friends, though scattered abroad with every sort of cruelty. But some men will say that certain even of our own people depart from our rule of discipline. Then do they cease to be accounted Christians amongst us. But these philosophers, with such deeds upon their hands, continue to hold among you the name and the honour of wisdom. What likeness then is there between the philosopher and the Christian? the disciple of Greece and of Heaven? the trafficker for fame and for salvation? the doer of words and of works? the builder and the destroyer of things? the foister in of error, and the restorer of truth? its plunderer and its guardian?

XLVII. For the antiquity of the Holy Scriptures, already established, yet again serveth me in making it very credible that this was the store-house of all the wisdom of later times. And were it not that I now desire to moderate the bulk of my book, I would go at large into the proof of this also. Which of the poets, which of the sophists is there, not drunk from the fountain of the Prophets? Hence, there-
96 Philosophers, knowing of God, dispute irreverently, and so, err.

fore, have the philosophers also watered the dryness of their own understanding. For because they have certain things of ours, therefore they liken us to them. Hence also methinks hath philosophy been by law cast out by some, the Thebans, for example, the Spartans, and the Argives. While they strive to come at what is ours, being men, who (as we have said) lust after fame and eloquence only, if they have met with any thing in the sacred writings, they have straightforward re-written it according to the bent of their nice research, and have perverted it to their own purpose, neither sufficiently believing them to be divine, not to corrupt them, nor sufficiently understanding them, as being, even then, somewhat obscure, and seen darkly even by the Jews themselves, whose own they seemed to be. For even where the truth was in simple form, the more on that account did that cavilling spirit of men, which despiseth faith, waver, whence they confounded in uncertainty even that which they had found certain. For having found only that there was a God, they questioned of Him not as to His character, and His nature, and His dwelling-place. Some affirm that He is without body, some that He hath a body, as do the Platonists and the Stoics; some that He cometh of atoms, some of numbers, as Epicurus and Pythagoras; some of fire, as was thought by Heraclitus. Again the Platonists hold that He careth for the world, the Epicureans on the other hand that He is inactive, unemployed, and, if I may say so, a non-entity as respecteth the affairs of men; the Stoics again, that He is placed without the universe, forever, have the philosophers also watered the dryness of their own understanding. For because they have certain things of ours, therefore they liken us to them. Hence also methinks hath philosophy been by law cast out by some, the Thebans, for example, the Spartans, and the Argives. While they strive to come at what is ours, being men, who (as we have said) lust after fame and eloquence only, if they have met with any thing in the sacred writings, they have straightforward re-written it according to the bent of their nice research, and have perverted it to their own purpose, neither sufficiently believing them to be divine, not to corrupt them, nor sufficiently understanding them, as being, even then, somewhat obscure, and seen darkly even by the Jews themselves, whose own they seemed to be. For even where the truth was in simple form, the more on that account did that cavilling spirit of men, which despiseth faith, waver, whence they confounded in uncertainty even that which they had found certain. For having found only that there was a God, they questioned of Him not as to His character, and His nature, and His dwelling-place. Some affirm that He is without body, some that He hath a body, as do the Platonists and the Stoics; some that He cometh of atoms, some of numbers, as Epicurus and Pythagoras; some of fire, as was thought by Heraclitus. Again the Platonists hold that He careth for the world, the Epicureans on the other hand that He is inactive, unemployed, and, if I may say so, a non-entity as respecteth the affairs of men; the Stoics again, that He is placed without the universe, turning about, like a potter, this mass of matter from without; the Platonists, that he is placed within the universe, abiding like a pilot within that which he directeth. So also concerning the world itself, they are not agreed, whether it had or had not a beginning, whether it shall have an end, or abide for ever. So also of the state of the soul, which some contend is divine and eternal, others that it can be dissolved: each hath, according to his own sentiment, brought in a new doctrine, or reformed the old. And no wonder if the wit of philosophers hath perverted the ancient document. Some of their race have by their own opinions corrupted this our novel body of writings also, after the views of the philosophers, and from the one way have cut out many excide-devious and inextricable mazes. Which remark I have offered for this reason, lest the notorious variety of opinions in this our sect should seem to any one to place us in this respect also on a level with the philosophers, and condemn truth, because variously defended. But for those who corrupt our doctrines we briefly rule, that the canon of truth is that which cometh from Christ, handed down through those who have companied with Him, long after whom these different commentators will be proved to have existed. All contradictions to the truth have been framed out of the truth itself, the spirits of error thus exercising their rivalry. By them have the corruptions of this wholesome kind of discipline been privily introduced; by them also have certain fables been let in, which, from their likeness to it, might weaken the credit of the truth, or rather gain it over to theists. Whence it is that the Old Testament is irreverently, and so, err.


Nam quia quedam de nostris ha-bent, exasperant nos comparant illis. The sentence, slightly varied in Edd. and MSS, is omitted by Rig.

Interposition altered with Hav. Argivis. Dum ad nostra consonar,
hidden fire beneath the earth, for the punishing of men, we are forthwith borne down by jeers, for so is there also a river of the world in general by a sort of wall formed by the zone of fire, the Elysian plains have preoccupied their belief. Seeing that even the copies of them gain belief from their own minds, then must our mysteries be regarded as the copies of things later than themselves, which the law of nature suffereth not, for never doth the shadow go before the substance, or the image before the reality.

XLVIII. Come now, if any philosopher affirmeth (as doth Laberius after the opinion of Pythagoras) that a man is made out of a mule, a serpent out of a woman, and shall, by the force of eloquence, wrest every argument to this opinion, will he not gain the consent of men, and fixedly persuade them ever to abstain from animal food? and will not each on this account be persuaded, lest in supping on ox-flesh he eat one of his own ancestors? But the Christian, if he promiseth that man shall be made again of man, and that of Caius the very same Caius shall be refashioned, will be driven out by the people, not merely by blows, but rather by stones, as though whatever be the governing argument for the restoration of human souls to material bodies, do not itself require, that they return to the same bodies, seeing that this it is to be restored, to become what it was before. For if they be not what they were, endowed, that is, with a human, and that the same, body, then will they not be the very same which they were, because they could not be what they were not, without ceasing to be what they had been. Moreover, how shall they be said to be restored, which are no longer to be the same? Either, being made another thing, they will not be themselves, or, remaining themselves, will not be from another source. We should need many jests and much leisure, if we chose to sport with this question, into what beast each man may be thought to have been changed. But let us rather keep to the defence of ourselves, who lay it down as a thing certainly more worthy of belief, that a man should be refashioned from a man, (who you will coming in place of whom you will, so it be only a man,) so that the same sort of soul may be restored to the same rank of beings, though not to the same likeness. Surely, since the cause of the restoration is the appointed future judgment, each will of necessity be presented the very same man that he was before, that he may receive judgment from God for his good deservings or the contrary. And therefore will the bodies also be again presented, both because the soul can suffer nothing by itself without connection with a material substance, that is the flesh, and because what thing soever souls are doomed to suffer from the judgment of God, they have deserved it, not without the flesh, within which they have done all things. But, thou sayest, how can matter, which hath been dissolved, be made to appear? Consider thyself, O man, and thou wilt find how to believe this thing. Think what thou wast before thou hadst a being: simply nothing: for hadst thou been any

*See note C at the end of this Book.
† The fiery sword of the Cherubim.
‡ See in Crinit. de Honest. Discipl. i. 9.
§ Quasi non quacunque ratio presentiminorum humanorum in corpora reale procederet, ipsa exigat illas in sedem corporis revocari, cum hoc sit resistit, id esse quod fuerat. Nam si non id sunt quod fuerat, id est humanum et id ipsum corpus indutre, jam non ipsum erunt quae fuerant, quia non potuerunt esse quod non erant, nisi destinat esse quod fuerat. Porro quae jam non erunt ipsae, quomodo redisse dicitur? Aut aliqui factae non erunt ipsae, aut manentes ipsae non erunt alliunde. added for the most part from F.

†† See note D at the end of this Book.
100 Creation makes Resurrection credible—Analogies of Nature.

APOL. I. 48.

The same argument is urged by

Tert. de Res. Carn. c. 11. Justin M. 

Apol. i. § 19. Irex. v. 3. Tad. c. 6. 

Theophil. ad Aut. i. 8. Athenag. de 

Res. § 3. Hill. in Ps. 63. Ambr. de Fid. 

Res. § 64. Apost. Consp. v. 7. p. 308. 


Aug. in Ps. 63. de Catech. Bud. c. 56. 


Juces. § 7. Zeno de Res. i. 1. 2. tr. 16. § 7. 

1 * interpolation changed, animatorem; 

signatum et per Epsun, loc. 

Dei. Rev. Carn. c. 12. Theophil. ad 

Aut. i. 13. Epiph. in Ancor. § 84. (a) 

Pears. i. c. whose own language is 


216 sq. Prudent. l. 2. c. Symm. Ma- 

carius, Hom. 5. Ambr. Hexaem. iii. 8. 


4. in 1 Cor. xv. ap. Elmenhorst. ib. 


carius, Horn. 5. Ambr. Hexaem. 

iii. 8. Zeno de Res. i. 1. 2. § 10. Rufinn. l. c. 

Theophil. l. c. of the monthly resur- 

rection of the moon, ib. and li. 15. Cyril. 

Jer. xviii. p. 10. Zeno l. c. § 9. of the 

yearly resurrection of nature. Cyril. 

iv. 50. xviii. § 6. § 7.

The things created in and of pairs—Time and Eternity.

101 thou mayest learn to do even from the Pythian inscription 4) art the lord of all things that die and rise again, shalt thou 

die to perish for ever? Wheresover thy elements shall be 

scattered, whatsoever matter shall destroy, absorb, abolish, 

waste thee to nothing, it shall restore thee again.* "Nothing" 

itself is in the hands of Him, in Whose hands is "The 

Whole." 4) 'They, say ye, 'we must be ever dying and ever 

rising again!' If the Lord of all things had so determined, 

thou woudest experience, even against thy will, this law of 

thy creation. But now He hath not determined otherwise 

than He hath declared unto us. The same Mind which from 

diversity of parts hath framed one whole, so that all things 

consist of rival substances in unity, of the void and the solid, 

of the animate and the inanimate, of the comprehensible and 

the incomprehensible, of light and darkness, yea even of life 

dead, hath made time also to consist of two states so 

determinate and distinct, that the first part of it, measured 

from the beginning of all things, in which we now live, 

runneth out to its end in this mortal life, but the next, which 

we wait for, is continued to a never-ending eternity. When 

therefore the end, and that middle space of time, which lieth 

open between 4, shall have come, so that the visible face of 

the universe itself is removed, which is equally temporal, 

and hath been spread like a curtain before that eternal 

dispensation, then shall the whole human race be restored, 

to determine the account of their good or evil deservings in 

this world, and then to pay the debt through the boundless 

series of everlasting ages. Therefore, there shall neither be 

an absolute death, nor another and another resurrection, but 

we shall be the same that we now are, and no other there- 

after; the worshippers of God ever with God, clothed 

upon with their proper substance of eternity, but the 5, 4. 

wicked, and which live not entirely unto God, for the 

punishment of an equally eternal fire, receiving from the 

very nature of that fire, being, as it is, divine, the supply of 


1 Probably the Resurrection of a rich Lord." D at the end of this book.

4) "Know thyself."
_Sufferings for truth, very grievous for the time, joyful in the end._

punishments, things vain and fabulous, unaccused and unpunished, because harmless. But in things of this sort, if ye must needs punish, ye ought to punish by derision, not by swords, and fires, and crosses, and wild beasts; in the iniquity of which cruelty, not only doth this blind mob exult and insult, but even some of yourselves, who through iniquity catch at the favour of the mob, boast of it. As if all that ye can do against us were not of our own free choice! Assuredly I am, only if I will, a Christian. Thou wilt therefore only condemn me, if I will to be condemned. But since whatever thou canst do to me, thou canst not do unless I will, that which thou canst do is necessarily of my own will, not of thy power. Wherefore also the mob vainly rejoiceth in our hurt, for the joy, which they claim to themselves, is ours, who would rather be condemned than fall away from God. On the contrary, they who hate us ought to grieve, and not to rejoice, at our gaining that which we have ourselves chosen.

L. ‘Why then,’ ye say, ‘do ye complain that we persecute you, if it be your own will to suffer, seeing that ye ought to love us, through whom ye suffer that which ye will?’ Certainly it is our will to suffer, but in the same manner in which, though no one willingly suffereth the ills of war, (since he must needs be harassed and endangered,) yet he fighteth with all his strength, and he who complained of the battle, rejoiceth, when he conquereth in the battle, because he gaineth both the glory and the spoils. We have a battle, in that we are summoned to the tribunals, that we may then, at the hazard of our life, contend for the truth. But to obtain that for which thou hast contended, is victory. This victory hath both the glory of pleasing God, and the spoils of eternal life. Yet still we are crushed! yea, after that we have won the battle. Therefore when we are slain, we conquer, and in fine when we are crushed we escape. Ye may now call us faggot-men and half-axle-men, because being bound to the wood of half-an-axle we are burnt by a circle of faggots enclosing us. This is the garb of our conquest, this our robe of victory; in such a chariot do we

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* Above, c. 1. 42. below, c. 50. ap. Lucif. Calar. ad Constant. 
* De Pudic. c. ult.
104 Suffering for earthly glory, praised; for God, accounted madness.

Christian blood harvest-seed.

hath a privilege for men to suffer for country, for lands¹, for empire, for friendship, that which they may not for God! Agro added

And yet for all these ye cast statues, and inscribe images, and carve titles tocontinue for ever. As far as ye can by means of monuments, ye yourselves in some sort grant a resurrection to the dead¹, while he, who hopeth for the true resurrection from God, if he suffer for God, is mad. But go on, ye righteous rulers,—much more righteous in the eyes of the people if ye sacrifice the Christians to them—rack, torment, condemn, grind us to powder: for your injustice is the proof of our innocence. It is for this that God permitteus us to suffer these things. For, in condemning just now a Christian woman to the bawd² rather than the lion, ye have confessed that the stain of chastity upon us is accounted more dreadful than any punishment, and any death. Nor yet doth your cruelty, though each act be more refined than the last, profit you anything. It is rather the allurement to our sect. We grow up in greater number as often as we are cut down by you. The blood of the Christians is their harvest seed³. Many among yourselves

¹ The statues exhibiting the figure, as though alive:
Non incipia notis marmora publicis,
Per quae spiritus et vita reddidit bonis
Post mortem dulcis.

Hor. Od. iv. 8. add Plin. xxiv. 2. Eus. de Vit. cont. l. 2. ap. Hav.

² Above, on o. 27.

³ For Quint. c. 4. de Monogramm. fin.

⁴ Lat. i. ix. in vit.

⁵ Ambros. de Virginit. i. 4. Val. l. ix.

6 Above, on o. 27.

Max. iii. 3. relates the story of Anaxarchus.

⁷ Nearcurs or Diosmedon, Latet.

⁸ See ad Scap. fin. Aug. de Civ. D. xxii. 6. The Church is likened also to the increased fertility of trees on pruning; (Justin M. Dial. c. 110. Theodoret. de Car. Gr. Aed. i. ix. p. 613;) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings.

⁹ See ad Scap. fin. Aug. de Civ. D. xxii. 6. The Church is likened also to the increased fertility of trees on pruning; (Justin M. Dial. c. 110. Theodoret. de Car. Gr. Aed. i. ix. p. 613;) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings.

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² See ad Scap. fin. Aug. de Civ. D. xxii. 6. The Church is likened also to the increased fertility of trees on pruning; (Justin M. Dial. c. 110. Theodoret. de Car. Gr. Aed. i. ix. p. 613;) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings.

³ See ad Scap. fin. Aug. de Civ. D. xxii. 6. The Church is likened also to the increased fertility of trees on pruning; (Justin M. Dial. c. 110. Theodoret. de Car. Gr. Aed. i. ix. p. 613;) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings.

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⁵ See ad Scap. fin. Aug. de Civ. D. xxii. 6. The Church is likened also to the increased fertility of trees on pruning; (Justin M. Dial. c. 110. Theodoret. de Car. Gr. Aed. i. ix. p. 613;) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings.

⁶ See ad Scap. fin. Aug. de Civ. D. xxii. 6. The Church is likened also to the increased fertility of trees on pruning; (Justin M. Dial. c. 110. Theodoret. de Car. Gr. Aed. i. ix. p. 613;) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings.

⁷ See ad Scap. fin. Aug. de Civ. D. xxii. 6. The Church is likened also to the increased fertility of trees on pruning; (Justin M. Dial. c. 110. Theodoret. de Car. Gr. Aed. i. ix. p. 613;) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings.

⁸ See ad Scap. fin. Aug. de Civ. D. xxii. 6. The Church is likened also to the increased fertility of trees on pruning; (Justin M. Dial. c. 110. Theodoret. de Car. Gr. Aed. i. ix. p. 613;) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings; (Theod. i. c.) the blood of martyrs to waterings.

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more it is oppressed." Add c. 20. Orig. de Prisco, iv. 1. "You may see how in a brief time the religion itself grew, advancing through the deaths and sufferings of many," c. Cels. iv. 32. "The Word of God, more powerful than all, and when hindered, making this hinder as it were the very nourishment to its growth, advancing, took possession of yet more minds," and l. viii. 26. "The more that kings, and rulers of nations, and people, every where laid them low, the more were they increased and prevailed exceedingly," whence he says, l. iii. 8. p. 452. "Inasmuch as having been taught not to resist, they kept this gentle and loving law, therefore they accomplished, what they had not, had they, mightily as they were, received permission to war." See the passages ap. Kestoros in Pilt. et Tragi. Hist. p. 172—186. Jerom. in vit. Malch. "By persecutions the Church grew, was crowned by martyrdoms." ad Is. viii. 9, 10. that the heathen were conquered in the martyrs, add Aug. de C. D. xviii. 85. xxiii. 9. Chrys. S. de Drosid. § 2. Hom. 23. (col. 34.) in S. Matth. Hom. 4. in 1 Cor. § 10. ad ecc. qui scandalizat. l. i. c. 23. (quoted ib.)


Apostolic decree, Acts xv, binding upon later times.
NOTES

Things strangled—African deviation sanctions the principle.

Those who for appetite's sake, by any act prepare the blood of any animal whatsoever, so as to be eatable. If then henceforth any essay to eat the blood of an animal in any way sover, if a clerk, let him be despoised, if lay, excommunicated.” Balsamon (ad Can. 67. p. 646.) notes that this Canon was directed against such as maintained that they observed the injunction of Holy Scripture in that they did not eat mere blood, but food prepared of other things with it; against which he says the Novell 58. of the Emperor Leo, the philosopher, (A. D. 886.) was also directed, severely punishing all such.

“Things strangled” are either mentioned with blood, (as in Clem. Strom. l. c. Orig. c. Oels. l. c. Minut. F. l. c. Cyril J. l. c. &c. or are counted as included in it, as in Ambrosiaster l. c. and Aug. c. Faust. 32. 13. “and from blood,” i. e. that they should not eat any flesh, the blood whereof was not poured out.” There would however be the difference, that blood was forbidden by a law antecedent to the Mosaic (which ground is given in the Const. Ap. vi. 32.) and it may have an inherent sacredness, or there may be an inherent inpropriety in eating it. Some distinction, accordingly, seems to be made; as when S. Augustine, contending Faustus, maintains the Apostolic decree to be temporary only, and appeals to the practice of Christians, he instances “things strangled” only, and of these the smaller animals, in which the blood would not be perceptible. “Who among Christians now observes this, as not to touch thursches, or other birds however small, (minutiores avicoria,) unless their blood had been poured out, or a hare, had it been struck on the back of the neck with a stone, and killed so as to let out blood?” (I. c.) S. Augustine’s principles go further, but he seems to have been restrained by a sort of instinct: the instances, which he gives of the violation of the Apostolic decree, are such as scarcely touch upon the use of “blood;” in which there would be the least possible blood, and that unknown to those who used the food.

In like way, Balsamon (l. c. A. D. 1124.) speaking of the Latin practice as opposed to the Greek, names “things strangled” only. “The Latins eat things strangled as being a matter indifferent.”


In the West, it is noticed that Zacharias, Bishop of Rome, (A. D. 741.) in a letter to Boniface, the Abp. of Germany, (Conc. t. xvii. p. 413.) forbids several animals, probably on the ground of their being things strangled.

Apostolic decree obeyed very long in West; in the East until now.

Humbert, Cardinal under Leo IX. (A. D. 1054.) in answering the charge of the Greeks, that they ate “things strangled,” limits the defence to cases of the Greeks, that they ate “things strangled,” limits the defence to cases of the Greeks, that they eat blood of an animal in any way, even, if a clerk, let him be despoised, if lay, excommunicated.” Balsamon (ad Can. 67. p. 646.) notes that this Canon was directed against such as maintained that they observed the injunction of Holy Scripture in that they did not eat mere blood, but food prepared of other things with it; against which he says the Novell 58. of the Emperor Leo, the philosopher, (A. D. 886.) was also directed, severely punishing all such.

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Principles of early Christians on image-worship.

Notes in vain; for had any image been found, the heathen would have thought it to be of God. The assertions in Tertullian, Origen, and Minutius especially, are too distinct to be evaded; they attest a state of the Church very different from that of modern Rome; so could not men have spoken, had the use of images been such as the Deutero-Nicene Council would have it. The modern Romanist excuse (e. g. Feuardent, ad Iren. Panell. ad loc.) that the ancient Christians were denying that they employed statius, though they did shew reverence, or that they had images of the dead, inasmuch as the saints were alive, certainly cannot in any way be made to fit the passages which speak of their having no statues.

Over and above these positive statements of facts, the Benedictine editor of Origen thus sums up the principles of the early Christians. 1. They held that no image of God was to be made," Clem. Al. Strom. vi. [vii. 5] Orig. c. Cels. 1. c. Minuc. F. p. 313. "Why should I form an image to God, when, if thou findest right, man himself is the image of God?" Lactantius ii. 2, who also argues like Tertullian, "what avail, lastly, images, which are the monuments either of the dead or the absent? images are superfluous, they [the Gods] being everywhere present; because they are the images of the dead: they are like the dead; for they are devoid of all sensation." This was continued, as to the Father, Conc. Nic. ii. Actt. 4. 5. 6. and Greg. 2 Ep. ad Leon. Iaurap. Petav. 15.14. i. add Aug. de Fid. et Symb. c. 7. 9. The second commandment extends to Christians. Clem. Al. Strom. vi. [vii. 5] Orig. c. Cels. iv. [iv. 6] vi. [14. vii. 64.] Tert. de Spect. 23. de Idol. 3. 4. [add Cypr. Test. iii. 59.] S. Augustine says, that all the decalogue is binding except as to the sabbath, c. Faust. xv. 4. 7. xix. 18. c. 2 Epp. Pelag. iii. 4.] 3. Painting and sculpture are forbidden to Christians as to Jews. Clem. Al. Protr. [1-4. p. 18. ed. Sylb.] Orig. c. Cels. iv. [31.] Tertull. de Idol. 1. c. Hermog. [Init.] 4. They blamed the Enerattites for having images of Christ, which they venerated after the manner of the Gentiles. Iren. 1. 25. 6. and from him Epiph. Har. 27. c. 6. Romanist answer, (e. g. Bellarm. de Ecol. Triumph. 1. ii. 3. t. i. p. 3149.) that what S. Irenaeus is here blaming, is the using heathenish rites, towards these images and those of the philosophers which they set up with them, as sacrificing, burning incense: (which S. Augustine adds, de Har. c. 7. "worshipping and burning incense,"") S. Irenaeus, however, says nothing of this, but only, "And they crown them, and set them up with the images of the philosophers of the world, and shew other signs of reverence to them, in like way as the Gentiles," and S. Ephraimius expressly signifies out for censure, the outward act of reverence, "with whom (the philosophers) they place other images of Jesus, and while giving them up, they fall down before them (worship, ευφημίαν) and in other ways do after the customs of the heathen." Epiph. (if it be not a gloss) adds "sacrifices" to the account of Irenaeus, but it seems, on a conjecture only; "what are customs of the heathen, but sacrifices and the rest?"

To this statement, however, he subjoins that there was some allowed use of images in the three first centuries, alleging Euseb. vii. 18. Philost.

Scanty traces of pictures in four first centuries.

vii. 3. Niceph. vi. 15. Sozom. v. 21. Aug. de Cons. Ev. i. §. 16. Tertull. de Pudic. §. 7. Photius, cod. 271. and the amount of this supposed testimony in favour of their use confirms the argument against it. For that of Eusebius, (followed by the other Greek historians,) and Photius, relates chiefly to the fact of the statue at Paneas, which Eus. supposed to have been that of our Lord, and set up in gratitude by the Syro-Pheneician woman, "after the heathen manner of honouring delivcrers," (tou tvov enepujil enpocriwv) so that this has no relation to Christians at all. Modern Romanists, however, (as Bellarm. l. c. c. Petav. de Incarn. 15. 13. 4.) lay stress on the fact mentioned by Sozomen, (l. c.) that "when the heathen had insulted it and broken it in pieces, the Christians gathered up the fragments and laid them up in a Church, where they remain to this day." "Whence," Petyarius infers, "we see that Christians at that time, so far from disliking images, prized and honoured their very fragments, when broken in pieces by the heathen." Yet since they were persuaded that this statue, though the work of a heathen, was a likeness of their Lord, how could they but lay up the fragments safe from further insult? This is very different from setting it up in a place of worship as an object of reverence. 2. Eusebius mentions that he had learnt (lqbt'qnuqiq) that paintings of Paul, Peter, nay, of Christ himself, had been preserved. (The expression implies their rareness and obscurity.) S. Augustine speaks of them, as commonly existing, but with disapprobation; "so did they deserve to err," he says of those imposed upon by Apocryphal books, "who sought for Christ and his Apostles, not in the sacred volumes, but on painted walls." Tertullian speaks of the symbol of the good shepherd on the Eucharistic cup, (e. 7. coll. c. 10.) not of images or statues; but the use of symbols has ever been recognized among us. This last is the only instance of any sacred use, or any recognized by the Church; and in it there is no question even of the human figure, much less of worship, or of outward obeisance.

The instances adduced by Pascalius on this place, Feuardent on Ireneus, Bellarmine, l. c. 10. t. i. p. 2113, are also instructive, as evincing the absence of any genuine testimony. They adduce the story of the image at Paneas, the later fables of the picture of Christ sent to Abgarus, that made by Nicodemus, the picture sent to the king of Persia, the picture of S. Mary, and again of S. Peter and S. Paul, by S. Luke. Their other authorities are not even said to belong to these times. Paulinus in speaking of those with which he had adorned the oratory of S. Felix, finds it necessary to account for having so done, by an unusual practice [raro more] in order to withdraw the rude multitude who assembled thither on the festival, to excess. The introduction of any paintings into Churches, the date about his time, the close of the fourth century. The prohibition of them, however, by the Council of Elberis, at the beginning of the same century, (Can. 38.) implies a disposition to introduce them. That Council prohibits all pictures; "We will not have pictures placed in Churches;" although the reason which they assign only extends (as Romanists argue) to those representing the Holy Trinity, "lest That to which our worship
112 Pictures, when introduced, of histories, not of individuals.

Notes on Pictures, when introduced, of histories, not of individuals.

It is manifestly speaking of S. Paul, whom he recognized by the likeness to a picture of the Apostle Basil, [Ep. 360,] mentioning the passage; Petav. l. c. It is not here to be prevented idolatry frequently taking off the surface, wherein the likeness consists, editor, who renders it bonum et occular eximiae.' They acknowledge the spuriousness of the Epistle.

3. The martyrdoms were depicted in no other way, than histories of the O. T. which were never the objects of outward reverence. 4. Pictures also of the living, as well as of the departed, were placed in the Churches, as that of Paullinus himself, with S. Martin, (Epist. 32. ad Severum,) yet since the pictures of the living were not placed to have any sort of worship paid them, so neither those of the departed.

Though it makes no difference in principle, whether there be more or fewer of such instances, it is worth noticing, how eagerly proof has been grasped at, even where there is none, so that we may be the more satisfied that no real proof has been neglected. Thus S. Augustine, (quoted by Petav. 1. c. 6.) Surm. 2. de S. Steph. is not referring to a picture of S. Stephen, but to his own discourse, in which he tells his hearers, that they had seen, i. e. had set before their eyes, his martyrdom. S. Chrysostom in Erem. Melet. is speaking of engravings on rings, cups, &c. not of Churches; Theodoret, in vit. Symeon, mentions only a report that in Italy the picture of that saint was set over workshops as a safeguard. This fact (strangely enough) is seriously alleged by Bellarm. l. c. ii. 9.

Other mistakes have been more serious, as when Eusebius, de vit. Const. iii. 40, is quoted in proof that images of Christ were set up in Churches, whereas he only says, 'that the symbol of the Saving Passion (the Cross) was set up, formed of precious stones, (ἐκ τῶν ἴδιων ἁπάντων ἑπενθέσθη.) Or iii. 3, that there were a number of gold and silver images in Constantine's Churches, (Bellarm. l. c. ii. 9.) while he only mentions treasures [sacred utensils] (τα χρυσά και σπάνια ἑμπόρια;) or Paullinus of the use of the crucifix, where he is distinctly speaking of the cross only,—the ancient symbol of the cross with the crown of thorns over, (coronatam, vers. in Ep. 32. [ol. 12.] ad Serv. l. 13. crucifix minimo superijiciis.

It is remarkable also to contrast the distinct statements of later works, now acknowledged, to be spurious, with the absence of such statements in the genuine works. Thus in the spurious Ep. to Julian attributed, in the Deutero-Nicene Council, to S. Basil, [Ep. 360,] 'whence I honour also and reverence exceedingly the likenesses of their images [the Blessed Virgin's, Apostles, Prophets, and Martyrs;] these having been delivered down from the holy Apostles, and not forbidden, but painted in all our Churches.' In the de Visit. Infirm. ii. 3, in S. Augustine's works, is an account of a crucifix; the treatise is spurious, and its author wholly unknown.

In the spurious Epistle of S. Ambrose, (de Invent. Gerv. et Protas,) (quoted by Damase, p. 755, and Petav. l. c.) he is made to speak of a vision of S. Paul, whom he recognized by the likeness to a picture of the Apostle the reason. Thus the author of the Quastum et Resp. ad Antheo, (ap. S. Gregory of Nazianzum Ep. 49. ad Olym., is manifestly speaking of statues, where-with the cities, not Churches, were adorned. He contrasts the destruction of the statues with the destruction of the whole city, 'for if the statues shall be cast down, (καταρρέουσαν,) this is not so grievous though it is otherwise grievous—but if with them an ancient city shall be cast down, (παρασταθησασθαι,) they were then the statues on the buildings of the city, which would be overset with it. Besides since the Greeks to this day do not set up statues, how much less then! Bellarmine, l. c. alleges the passage; Petav. de Inc. 12. 14. 3. gives it up.

It is remarkable, on the same ground, that even where pictures were used, statues were avoided, as the Greek Church continues to do, though forgetting
Irrelevance of illustrations urged in defence of image-worship:

NOTES which he had by him; in the genuine Epistle, (Ep. xxii. ad Sororem,) he speaks of a certain presaging glow. In the celebrated passage alleged from S. Gregory, (Ep. ix. 52.) mention is made of a picture of Christ, and of reverence paid to it, and the principle is laid down, "we prostitute not our souls before it, as before the Divinity, but we worship Him Who is represented in the picture." The passage is certainly spurious, for the letter had already been brought to a close, and, according to the admission of the Benedictine Editor, it is absent from all MSS. The modern Romanist plea for image-worship is strikingly at variance with S. Gregory's sentiments in his genuine works, as in his Ep. to Serenus, Bp. of Marseilles, Ep. ix. 105. xi. 13. He says he had heard that "his brother Serenus, seeing certain worshippers of images, had broken those same images in the Church, and cast them out, and I praise this, that you were zealous, that nothing made with hands should be worshipped." He then draws the distinction between the use of pictures as means of instructing the unlettered, and the abuse of worshipping them; advises that they be retained to the former end, and care be taken "that the people sin not in worshipping a picture." Gussauville admits candidly that this is somewhat harshly (durissime) spoken; another commentator explains it away by reference to the distinction of absolute and relative worship of the image of the saints, (Thom. 2. 2. qu. 94. art. 2. ad 1\\textsuperscript{a}vo.) Yet the same person would never have used both sorts of language.

On such authorities however, and the then received practice, was the Deutero-Nicene Council determined, in which unhappily the two distinct questions of the lawlessness of pictures in Churches, (which we fully admit,) and the outward reverence to them, were blended together.

Still images, if possible, is the evidence of outward reverence; on the cross, see above, p. 37. n. a. but besides this, no genuine document is quoted in behalf of any sort of outward reverence; the quotations from the genuine works of the Fathers on the head of worship in the Deutero-Nicene Council, relate only to the principle of the honour paid to the type being referred to the prototype, where they are not speaking of images made with hands. Thus S. Ambrose in Ps. 118. Serm. x. § 25. "God is honoured in good men, His image, as the emperor in his statue; the Gentiles worship wood as the image of God;" 114 the image of the invisible God is in that which is unseen," [i. e. the spirits of good men]. In like way S. Augustine de Doctr. Christ. iii. 9. "he who reverences any sign [signum] divinely instituted, venerates not what is seen and transitory, but that whereunto they are all referred;" add S. Athanas. l. iii. c. Ariann. c. 5. where to illustrate how "the Divinity of the Father is seen in the Son," [the Image of the invisible God] he uses the likeness of an Emperor being seen in the image, so that he who sees the image, in it sees the Emperor. "So then he who worships the image, in it worships the king also; for the image is his form and likeness. Since then the Son is the Image of the Father, we must needs understand that the Divinity and Property of the Father is the Being of the Son. And this is the meaning of 'Who being in the Form of God,' and, 'the Father is in Me.' In like way, S. Basil, de Sp. S. c. 18.

not so used by Fathers; would prove worship not merely relative. 115 answers the question, "If the Father be God and the Son God, how are there not two Gods?" but because the image of the king is also called the king, for the power is not severed, nor the glory divided. For as the rule and power which controlleth us is one, so is our glorifying one, and not many. Wherefore the honour to the image passeth to the prototype. What then in the one case the image is by imitation, the Son is in the other by Nature," add Hom. 14. c. Sabell. § 4. Now it is observable that the very object of these illustrations implies that the reverence is not merely relative, but is paid to the image in itself, only not distinct; as the reverence paid to the Son is not simply relative to the Father. The inversion then of those comparisons proves nothing, unless it could be shown that as the Son is worshipped in Himself, although with the Father as being One with the Father, so the image made with hands may be worshipped in itself. This also the language of S. Athanasius implies; he says, "worship the king also," the worship then of the image is again nothing merely relative; for had it been so, it had been an unfit illustration. Lastly, to justify the application of these illustrations, used in the Ancient Church, to image-worship, it ought to have been shown that the Fathers so applied them; for they sanction only the application which they themselves make. But so applied to a subject wholly foreign to what they had in view, these illustrations would become the very excuses of the Heathen, against which the early Christians argued, and against which they could not have argued, as they did, had they, with the modern Romanists, had an image-worship which they excused in the same way. The heathen excuse in Lactantius, (ii. 2. see also Athenag. § 18.) "they say, we do not fear them, (the images,) but those (the gods) after whose likeness they are formed and in whose names they are consecrated," is exactly the same as the distinction of the Pseudo-Gregory (see above), or S. Thomas 1. c. "the images of saints may not be worshipped with an absolute though inferior adoration, but with a relative only may they and ought they to be worshipped." In like way, it is inconceivable that S. Augustine should argue in the way he does (in Ps. 113.) against the images of the heathen, if they had been used in Christian worship. He could not have thus nakedly censured arguments so like what Romanists now use. "Holy Scripture guards in other places, that no one, when images were mocked, should say, I worship not this visible thing, but the Deity which invisibly dwelleth there," [S. 2. § 3.] if the Heathen should have retorted, that so "Christians worshipped not that visible thing, but the Deity, God and man, thereby represented:" or again, (§ 4.) "They deem themselves of a purer religion who say, 'I worship neither image nor Namen; but I gaze on the bodily image of that which I ought to worship.'" Again, both here (§ 5.) and Ep. 105. ad Deogratias, (qq. 3. § 18.) he speaks of the special danger of images, when the mind in prayer was directed towards them, "Who worships or prays, looking upon an image, and does not become so affected as to think that he is heard by it, as to hope that what he longs for will be granted him by it?—Against this feeling, whereby human and carnal insufficiency may easily be ensnared, the Scripture of God utters things well
116 Intermediate state held by the Fathers as distinct from Heaven;

Notes on Apol.

known, whereby it reminds and rouses as it were the minds of men, slumbering in the accustomed things of the body; ‘The images of the heathen,’ it says, ‘are silver and gold.’” He then (§.6) meets the objection, that the Christians too had vessels of silver and gold, the works of men’s hands, for the service of the Sacraments. “But,” he says, “have they mouths, and speak not? have they eyes, and see not? do we pray to them, in that through them, we pray to God? This is the chief cause of that frantic ungodliness, that a form, like one living, has more power over the feelings of the unhappy beings, causing itself to be worshipped, than the plain fact that it is not living, so that it ought to be despised by the living. For ungodliness, that through them, we pray to God? This is the chief cause of that plague of silver and gold, the works of the unhappy beings, causing itself to be worshipped, than the plain fact that it is not living, so that it ought to be despised by the living. For

For images are of more avail to bow down the unhappy mind (in that they have mouth, have eyes, have ears, have nostrils, have hands, have feet,) than it hath to correct it that they speak not, see not, hear not, smell not, touch not, walk not.” It seems impossible that S. Augustine could so have written, had the Church in his day permitted the use of images, whereas Christians might gaze while they prayed.

To sum up the historical statement; 1. in the three first centuries it is positively stated that the Christians had no images. 2. Private individuals had pictures, but it was discouraged. (Aug.) 3. The Cross, not the Crucifix, was used, at the end of the fourth century; and these, historical pictures from the O. T. or of martyrs, not of individuals. 5. No account of any picture of our Lord being publicly used occurs in the six first centuries, (the first is in Leontius Neap. 1. v. Apol. pro Christian. A.D. 600.) 6. Outward reverence to pictures is condemned. (Greg.)

Note C. on c. xlvii. p. 98.

The ancient Fathers uniformly speak of the intermediate state under the Scriptural name of “Paradise,” (Tert. de Paradiso, in Lib. de Anima, c. 55. Orig. de Princ. i. ii. v. fn. Chrys. Hom. i. and ii. de Cruc. et Latron. §. 2. Prudent. pro Exeq. def. Cathem. x. 181.) or “Abraham’s bosom,” (Tert. adv. Marc. iii. 24. iv. 34. de Anima, c. 7. 55.) in the “refreshment of awaiting the Resurrection,” (de An. c. 55.) distinguishing it from Paradise, or the dwelling beneath the Altar, as open to Martyrs (de Res. Carn. c. 43. only, and the Patriarchs, (de An. c. 55. Sulp. c. 12.)] Aqu. Carn. de Judic. Dom. ap. Tert. Orig. de Princ. i. iv. 23. Quaest. et Resp. ap. Just. M. q. 75. 76. Greg. Naz. Orat. in S. Cesar. Greg. Nys. Nys. Orat. 2. in 40. Mar. fn. t. i. p. 513. (even of Martyrs) Chrys. Hom. 7. in Heb. iv. Hom. ii. de Lataro, t. i. p. 726. ed. Ben.; Hom. 53. in Matt.; Hom. 40. in Gen.; Pseudo-Dionys. Eccl. Hier. vii. 4. Athanas. Expos. Fid. §. 1. Aug. Quaest. ad Antioch. q. 19. Hil. in Ps. 2. fn. and Ps. 120. fn. Ambrosiast. in Phil. 1. Prudent. i. c. Aug. in Ps. 36. 10. (see on Conf. ix. 6. ed. Ox.) Arethas in Apoc. vi. 10. Theoph. ad Heb. xi. add Liturg. of S. James. They speak of those gone before, as “at rest in a hidden receptacle,” Aug. Ench. c. 108. de Civ. D. xii. 9. “in eternal rest,” Hil. in Ps. 57. §. 6. “in the keeping of the Lord,” Id. in Ps. 53. §. 10. 120. §. 16. “in an invisible place appointed them by God,” S. Iren. v. 31. “somewhere in a better place, as the bad in a worse, awaiting the day of Judgment,” Justin M. Dial. §. 5. “cherished in peaceful abodes,” Zeno de Res. l. i. Tr. 6. §. 2. of the Martyrs as being “under the altar,” Prud. Hymn. de 18. Mart. Consurg. Perist. iv. 190. Pseudo-Victorinus in Apoc. c. 6. of “a place where the souls of the righteous and the ungodly are carried, feeling the anticipations of the judgment to come,” Novatian de Trin. c. 1. They say mostly, that the very Apostles and Patriarchs are not yet crowned, Chrys. Hom. 28. in Heb. xi. Hom. 39. in 1 Cor. §. 4. Theodoret in Heb. xi. Orig. in Lev. Hom. vii. Euthym. in Luc. 23.; they teach that they “wait for us,” (Heb. xi. 40.) Orig. in Lev. i. c. Ambros. de Bono Mort. c. 10. Greg. Nys. de Hom. Opif. c. 22. Theod. and Theoph. ad loc. Arethas. i. c. that the reward is not before the resurrection; Tert. de An. c. 55. adv. Marc. iv. 34. that “they now, beholding their way to immortality more clearly, as being near it, raise the gifts of the Godhead, and exult with a Divine joy; not now fearing that they should turn aside to evil, but well knowing that they shall have safely and for ever the good things laid up,” Pseudo-Dionys. Eccl. Hier. i. 7. that “the judgment is not at once after death,” Ambr. de Cain et Abel, ii. 2. Tert. de An. c. ult. Hil. in Ps. 2. fn. Lact. vii. 21.; Novat. de Trin. c. 2. that “the heavens are not open, until the earth pass away,” Tert. de An. c. 55. that they “see not the unchangeable Good, as the holy Angels see Him,” Aug. Gen. ad litt. xii. 35. “that they see the good things” [laid up for them] “only through faith and hope,” Greg. Nys. i. c. S. Aug. assumes, as known to all, that they are not in heaven; “after this life, thou wilt not yet be there, where the saints will be, to whom it will be said, Come ye blessed of My Father, &c.; thou wilt not yet be there, who knows not but thou mayest already be there where that proud rich man in the midst of torments saw the poor, once full of sores, resting afar off. In that rest assuredly thou wilt, without anxiety, await the day of judgment,” in Ps. 36. (comp. Hil. in Ps. 62. §. 7. Retr. i. 14.) that they will not see the face of God until after the resurrection, Jerome, sp. Aug. 145. ad Fortunian. §. 8. Yet they say also that they “see Christ face to face,” Chrys. Hom. 4. ad Phil. Quaest. et Resp. ap. Justin M. q. 75. “are with Christ,” S. Chrys. Hom. 16. in Rom. And thus S. Hilary distinguishes between the “kingdom of the Lord,” in which the saints shall be with the Lord until the Resurrection, and the “kingdom of God,” “the eternal kingdom,” (in Ps. 144. §. 16. Ps. 148. §. 8.) “the heavenly kingdom,” “kingdom of heaven,” “the eternal and blessed kingdom,” (in Ps. 120. §. 16.) into which they are to enter after the Resurrection, advancing to the kingdom of God the Father by the kingdom of the Son, (Propl. in Ps. 11. in Ps. 119. Lit. 12. §. 14. and more fully in Ps. 148. §. 7. 8.) so that then shall they see God. (see Benedict,

state of rest and joy; being with Christ; yet short of Heaven, 117
presence of angels; sight of God; where Paradise is, unknown;

Notes Pref. to St. Hil. § vi. p. lxi sqq.) Even as late as S. Bernard, it was held that, in the intermediate state, the saints see the Humanity of our Lord, not His Divinity until after the Resurrection: (Serm. 3. in Fest. Omn. Sanct.) Again since it seems probable that S. Paul (2 Cor. xii. 4.) speaks of "Paradise," and "the third heaven," as the same, they speak of this "place of rest," as being in heaven, without implying that the saints are in heaven, in the same way, as they shall be after the Resurrection; thus S. Basil, i. c. speaks in the same sentence of Heaven and Paradise; S. Cyprian, (de Mort. §. ult.) and S. Ambrose, (de Bono Mort. c. 12.) of "paradise and the heavenly kingdom." S. Chrys. (de Cruc. et Latr. ii. 3. t. ii. p. 416.) of the chief "mounting instantly from the Cross to heaven;" S. Antony sees the soul of Amus borne through the air, [not heaven, as Bell. de Sanct. Beat. l. 4.] Athanas. de Vit. Ant. §. 60. S. Greg. Nys. Orat. in S. Ephrem. (v. fin. t. 8. p. 614.) speaks of S. Ephrem's being "in the heavenly tabernacles, where are the orders of Angels, and choirs of the Patriarchs," &c. and (fin. p. 616.) of his "standing by the Divine altar, and together with the Angels, offering oblations to the life-giving and All-holy Trinity." The Angels, however, may be in Paradise whither they conduct souls, and of this S. Jerome speaks, Ep. 23. ad Marcell. de Ob. Leo; "she is received by the choirs of Angels, is cherished in Abraham's bosom," and also of their enjoying the intercourse of Angels, Ep. 39. ad Paulam de Ob. Blass. Epiphanius, Histor. 78. fin. of their being at rest in glory, exulting with the Angels, living in heaven; S. Augustine of their being "able in that heaven ineffably to see and hear the very Substance of God, and God the Word, by Whom all things were made, in the Love of the Holy Spirit," de Gen. ad Litt. xii. 34. § 67, where he thinks it likely that Abraham's bosom, Paradise, the third heaven, are different names for the one place where are the souls of the blessed, ib. § 66. With this passage of S. Augustine agrees S. Gregory of Nazianzum, who supposes that departed saints contemplate the Blessed Trinity wholly, Orat. 43. in Basil. The inference, "is a place in which souls are laid up, either in a state of refreshment, or in punishment, according to their deserts." The Author of the Ancient work, de universa natura, says that the souls of all are contained in the same place, until the time which God shall appoint; that "the righteous are contained in Ades, but not in the same place as the unrighteous, but in Abraham's bosom," Galland. Bibl. PP. t. 2. p. 451. add Novatian, i. c. Pseudo-Victorius. in Apoc. 6. S. Greg. Nys. de An. et Res. t. iii. p. 209. attests that "all think that the souls are removed hence to Ades as a receptacle," (although he himself thinks that "Ades designates not any place so called, but a certain unseen and incorporeal state of life," ib. p. 219, 20. yet will he not contend with those who hold a definite place under the earth to be extended by St. Paul, Phil. 2. 10. as the receptacle of departed souls) as the author of the Definitt. ap. Athan. t. ii. c. 9. says that "Christ rose from Ades in like way as we also shall rise at the second Advent," then we must be there. (To the same end, Colomelous (Epist. c. 28.) cites Thedorets as saying that "there was one Ades to all, but light to some, dark to others;" and an author in Suidas, that "in Ades it must needs be well with some, worse with others." Olympiodorus in Evol. 3. speaks of both opinions, that Paradise was in inferno and in heaven, as being held by previous writers.) Others speak of Paradise as above, and distinct, and say that the spirits of the righteous, Abraham and the Patriarchs, were removed thither by our Lord. Thus S. Chrysostom, that the penitent thief was admitted to Paradise "before Abraham, before the whole human race," (de Cruce et Latr. ii. § 2.) and S. Cyril Jer. says, "The faithful Abraham had not yet entered, but the robber enters," (xiii. 15. § 31.) and S. Jerome in another place (Ep. 39. ad Paul. de Ob. Blass. §. 3.) says that the Patriarchs were in a state of refreshment in the "inferi," because Christ had not yet opened the gate of Paradise; (whence he explains the parable of Lazarus.) So that he must have thought that they were no longer there; (comp. S. Aug. de Civ. D. xx. 15;) but they did not speak, as though they knew where Paradise was, nor (as the modern Romanists,) as though the Patriarchs were in heaven, as they shall be after the resurrection. On the contrary, S. Aug. says he knows not where Paradise is. Tertullian, on the other hand, (de Anima, c. 55. de Res. Carn. c. 43.) supposes the Martyrs only to be admitted to Paradise, (see below,) the rest to be kept safe in a place of refreshment (Abraham's bosom) or of torment, as in the parable of Dives, (adv. Marc. iii. 24. de An. c. 7. de Res. Carn. c. 17.) Tertullian, however, infers from the words "lift up his eyes and saw Abraham afar off," that "Abraham's bosom" was, relatively to the place where the wicked awaited their doom, far on high; so that he comes to much the same as S. Ambrose. S. Aug. again says, that if the promise to the dying thief, "To-day thou shalt be with Me in Paradise," related to our Lord's human nature, then Paradise must be the same as "Abraham's bosom" in the inferi, since His soul was there, not in heaven, but he thinks it more easily explained of His Divine Nature, since the inferi, he thinks, are not used in Scripture in a good sense. He concludes "whenever then Paradise a place wherein the blessed is there, is with Him, Who is everywhere," Ep. 187. ad Dard. § 5. 7. add Ep. 164. ad Bood. § 7. 8.

In the main, then, all this harmonizes together; that they are at rest; with the Lord; in His keepings seeing Him; (though we know not the place which Scripture designates as "Paradise," or "Abraham's bosom," or "the Altar," yet not seeing God as they shall see Him after the Resurrection, nor having as yet their full reward. The Council of Florence, however, defined, that the "souls which have either contracted no spot of sin after Baptism, or which after contracting it, have been, in Ades, or in Heaven; change in doctrine at Florence.
120

Bliss of martyrs; not yet perfect.

Notes on Apol.

Either in or out of the body, cleansed, are received presently into heaven, and clearly behold the Triune Lord, differently according to their merits; those, who die in actual mortal sin, or in original sin, descend presently into hell, yet are differently punished. It places departed souls then either in Heaven, Purgatory, or Hell, and has no room for this teaching of the Fathers, which Romanists accordingly reject 4. Whether the Martyrs had a special privilege of being at once admitted into the higher heaven, as some have inferred, is a distinct question. S. Ignatius (ad Rom. § 7.) speaks in one word as though he knew that he was going to “the Father!” (“There is a living water, speaking in me, which shall lead me within, ‘hither to the Father,'”) although in the rest of the Epistle, he dwells upon being “with Christ” only. Moyes et Max. Ep. ad Cyprian, Ep. 31. “to obtain the kingdom of heaven without any delay,” Cypr. Ep. 55. ad Antonian, “to be crowned at once by the Lord,” [unless this means that their course is finished at once, in contrast with those who remain to struggle through a whole life.] Tert. assigns them an especial reward, but only the admission into Paradise: Dionysius Alex. (Ep. Eus. vi. 42.) speaks of them as “assessors with Christ, and partakers of His kingdom.” Yet even of them S. Augustine strongly says, “This life, which the blessed Martyrs now have, although it cannot be compared with any happiness or enjoyment of this world, is but a slight particle of the promise, nay, rather a consolation for the delay. For the day of retribution will come, when the body being restored, the whole man will receive his reward. For so is there much difference between the gladness and sorrow of people dreaming or waking, so is there much between the torments or joys of the dead or the righteous, because the rest of the souls without the bodies is one thing, the brightness and bliss of Angels with celestial bodies, to which the multitude of the saints shall take hold of when pressed, shall yield 25 measures of wine. And when one of the saints shall take hold of a cluster, through me bless the Lord.” Tert. assigns them an especial reward, but only the admission into Paradise: Dionysius Alex. (Ep. Eus. vi. 42.) speaks of them as “assessors with Christ, and partakers of His kingdom.” 5 Yet even of them S. Augustine strongly says, “This life, which the blessed Martyrs now have, although it cannot be compared with any happiness or enjoyment of this world, is but a slight particle of the promise, nay, rather a consolation for the delay. For the day of retribution will come, when the body being restored, the whole man will receive his reward. For so is there much difference between the gladness and sorrow of people dreaming or waking, so is there much between the torments or joys of the dead or the righteous, because the rest of the souls without the bodies is one thing, the brightness and bliss of Angels with celestial bodies, to which the multitude of the saints shall take hold of when pressed, shall yield 25 measures of wine. And when one of the saints shall take hold of a cluster, through me bless the Lord.”

Note D on c. lxxii. p. 101.

Tertullian alludes to the doctrine of the Millennium in the de Spectac. c. ult., in the de Res. Carn. c. 25. and more explicitly, (though mingled with Montanist errors,) adv. Marc. iii. 24. where he refers also to a work, “De spe fideibus,” in which he had treated of it more fully. Before him, both S. Irenæus and Justin M. speak of it, as belonging to the full soundness of faith. S. Irenæus speaks of those who “being thought to believe rightly, pass over the order of the advancement of the righteous, and know not the gradations by which they are practiced for incorruption,” as “admitting heretical sentiments.” (5.31.1.) of “sentiments, borrowed from heretical discourses, in ignorance of the dispensations of God, and the mystery of the resurrection of the just, and of the kingdom, which is the beginning of incorruption, by which kingdom, they who are accounted worthy, are gradually habituated to receive God.” (Ep. Deum, 5. 32. 1.) He speaks of it as something undoubted, questioned only by “some of those accounted orthodox,” and the opposed views, as novel apparently in the Church, “transplanted (transferuntur) from heretical discourses.” He speaks also of some, “essaying to transfer the prophecy of Isaiah,” (5. 34. 4.) of “some, essaying to allegorize” other prophecies. (5.35.1.) The traditional saying of our Lord, which he alleges from Papias, and other presbyters, relates but to a subordinate point, and is manifestly not the ground upon which he rests his doctrine. He quotes it only in connection with his exposition of the blessing of Isaac upon his younger son, Jacob. The estimate then of the judgment of Papias, (who however is praised by S. Jerome, [Ep. 71. ad Liciniun,] and his writings accounted of value,) does not affect the question; nor though this parable be not our Lord’s, (as it is unlike His words in the Gospel,) is support withdrawn from the doctrine, which is not indeed contained in the parable. The words are, “The days shall come in which vines shall grow, each having 10000 boughs, and on each branch 50000 grapes, and to each branch 10000 switches, and on each switch 10000 clusters, and on each cluster 10000 grapes, and each grape, when pressed, shall yield 25 measures of wine. And when one of the saints shall take hold of a cluster, another shall cry out, ‘I am a better cluster, take me; through me bless the Lord.'” Irenæus subjoins, “And that in like manner a grain of wheat should produce 10000 ears, and each ear shall have 10000 grains, and each grain ten pounds of fine clean flour; and the other fruits and herbs according to the proportion befitting them, and that all animals, using this food which is obtained from the earth, and be at peace and harmony, subject to men with all subjection.” The words, though not from our Lord, 4 no more exclude a spiritual interpretation than Is. xxv. 6. and so many others. The doctrine itself S. Irenæus states to be traditional, as also he implies it to have been that received in the Church. The doctrine in S. Irenæus is briefly this, that after the resurrection, the saints should also, in different degrees of nearness according to their deserts, in the holy City, in Paradise, or in Heaven, enjoy the sight of the Lord; “for every where shall the Saviour be seen, as they who see Him, shall be worthy.” (5.36.1.) And for this he quotes the Presbyterians before-mentioned, who had seen and heard from St. John, and whom

4 Tertullian’s statement that the souls of the saints remain in Abraham’s bosom or Paradise or some place short of heaven, until the Day of Judgment, is placed by Pamelius among his Paradoxæ (a. 9.); and the corresponding doctrine in other Fathers is excused by Romanists on the ground that the Church had not then decided on the question, so that it might be held before the Council of Florence, (A.D. 1439.) not since. see e. g. Pam. l. c.

4 It may still be that the basis of the parable may be from Him, though not the form. One would not like to judge, lest one should be pronouncing on a priori grounds, against what might be from Him.
NOTES

S. Irenreus says, that the new flesh which riseth, is the seed of the vine is drunk, through the Old Testament, singled out as the product of the whole. For the very word "flesh" is not even removed, but that by the Spirit they ascend to the Son, and by the Son to the Father, the Son thereupon giving up His work to the Father, as it is written, I Cor. 15:25.

The sort of parable also, which Irenaeus mentions on the authority of Papias and the Presbyters, and which is the only ground for Gennadius' statement, that Papias and the other "looked for things pertaining to meat and drink," relates only to the vine and wheat, both of which are throughout the Old Testament, singled out as symbolic of the Eucharist. (Iren. v. 33. 3 and 4.) And this is the more confirmed by Irenaeus' citation of our Lord's words, as being then to be fulfilled. "I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until I drink it new with you in the kingdom of God." (Matt. 26:29. Mark 14:25.) The miraculous nature of the food, further, leads us the more to think of a sacramental eating and drinking. "He hath promised to drink of the fruit of the vine with His disciples; shewing both, as well the inheritance of the earth, in which the new fruit of the vine is drunk, as a resurrection of His disciples in the flesh. For the new flesh which riseth, is the same which also receiveth the new Cup." (v. 33. 1.) S. Irenaeus argues that it must take place "in the flesh;" that "drinking" is an office of the flesh, as the vine is a product of the earth; yet it did not need (one should have hoped) to say that he looked not for any thing earthly and fleshly, who looked to share it with his risen Lord. In like way, S. Irenaeus says, that the righteous shall in this their true sabbath have

"a table prepared for them by God;" (ib. § 2.) yet that was no earthly feast. Together, however, with the risen saints, S. Irenaeus supposed that those who had resisted Anti-Christ, would live on: those would be multiplied by a natural birth (v. 35. 1. and 34. 2. quoting Is. vi. 12.) yet the curse being removed, "the seed," Lactantius says, (vii. 34.) "will be holy and dear to God." Even for these, then, what they look for is a restoration of Paradise; so that, although not yet "like the angels of God in heaven," the kingdom entitled by the full be removed. But since this did not belong to the risen saints, it is not even imputed to him that he looked to marriage as one of the joys of the Millennium. (See Gennadius below, p. 124.)

S. Irenaeus expected also that Jerusalem would be rebuilt, ("the earth being restored by Christ, and Jerusalem rebuilt," v. 35. 2.) and he quotes the prophecies of the restoration of the children of Israel; but these he understands of the Christian Church. "We have shewn a little before, that the Church is the seed of Abraham, and therefore that we may know that in the New Testament, after the Old, He shall out of all nations gather together those who shall be saved, 'raising up from the stones children to Abraham,' Jeremiah says, &c. (xxiii. 7. 8.)" There is then no proof, that he looked for a restoration of the yet unconverted Jews to their own land. He insists on Isaac's blessing not having been literally fulfilled in himself, and therefore as awaiting a literal completion, and in this prophecy he specifies the promise, "Nations shall serve thee, &c." as having received no literal fulfilment, whence, (since from the whole he infers that "this blessing, without contradiction, belongs to the times of the kingdom, when the just rising from the dead shall reign," v. 32. 2.) he must have looked for some literal fulfilment of it then: but whether he looked for more is implied by the very word "reign," or in what way those who had not yet died were to serve the risen saints, he does not specify. There is then no reason to say that he thought of any subjection, after the manner of men, or that they were to "minister to their delights." (Orig. de Princ. ii. 10.)

Justin M. although prior to, and so independent of Irenaeus, agrees with him, in those points wherein he expresses himself. He too looked upon a belief in the Millennium, as a part of the entire faith; for, though he states that "many of pure and godly Christian sentiments did not acknowledge this," (the Millennium,) he says, "I and whosoever are, in all things, of sound Christian doctrine, know that there shall be both a resurrection of the flesh, and 1000 years in Jerusalem, built, and adorned, and enlarged, as the prophet Ezekiel and Isaiah and the rest conformed." (Dial. § 80.) It is plain that Justin M. here contradicts those who are in all things sound, with those whom he had described generally as "of pure and godly sentiments," not with the heretics who denied the Resurrection, and to whom he had just denied the name of Christians. "If ye meet with some called Christians, but who confess not this, but even dare to blaspheme the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, who say also that there is no resurrection of the dead, but that
As to his views of the Millennium, he assents to the statement in Trypho's question, "do ye confess that this place of Jerusalem shall be rebuilt, and your people gathered together, and be in joy with Christ, together with the Patriarchs and the Prophets, and those of our race, and even those who become proselytes before your Christ came?" (Dial. § 90.) But this joy he expressly states to be spiritual; "They from every nation, slaves or free, who believe in Christ and know the truths in His words and in those of His prophets, know that they shall be with Him in that land, and shall inherit the things eternal and incorruptible." (ib. § 139.) He also looked to it, as a fulfillment of our Lord's words; "He said, that He should come again to Jerusalem, and then again eat and drink with His disciples;" (§ 51.) and so, when he quotes Is. lxv. 17—25 as a prophecy of the Millennium, the words therein comprised, "they shall plant vineyards and eat the fruit of them," will be to be understood in the same way as in S. Ireneus. Of the conversion of the Jews, Justin M. says nothing decisive. Trypho asks him, "What sayest thou? that no one of us shall inherit any thing in the holy mount of God?" Justin answers, "I say not so; but they who persecuted and do persecute Christ, and repent not, shall inherit nothing in the holy mount; but the Gentiles which have believed in Him, and repented for their sins, these shall inherit with the patriarchs, and the prophets, and the righteous, who are sprung from Jacob, though they sabbatize not, nor are circumcised, nor keep the fasts. Assuredly shall they inherit the holy inheritance of God." (§ 20.) He seems here to speak only of such lineal descendants of Jacob as had embraced the Faith. Again, when he says, "Ye shall be in the same place of Jerusalem acknowledge Him, who was put to shame by you;" (§ 40.) he does not speak whether he means this of the converted, or of the unconverted who should be compelled to acknowledge Him (as in Matt. xxvi. 64.) In neither case is any general return of the unconverted Jews implied.

Similar is the view of Melito, Bp. of Sardis, (A. D. 170,) a man, whom many Catholics, according to Tertullian, accounted "a Prophet," (ap. Hieron. de Virr. Ill. in vit. of whom it was said, "he had his whole conversation in the Holy Ghost," (Polyeuctes, Ep. ad Victor. ap. Eus. H. E. v. 24.) He took a journey to Palestine to see the Canons of the O. T. (Ep. ej. ap Eus. H. E. iv. 27.) and wrote on the Apocalypse, as Bishop of one of the seven Churches addressed in it. The meaning of S. John may well be thought to have been yet preserved there, within seventy years of his decease. Gennadius places Melito apparently as the most spiritual of the maintainers of the Millennium; at least, he charges him with nothing, except expecting what should be in time, not eternal; as the Millennium must necessarily be. "In the divine promises, we look for nothing earthly or transitory, as the Melitians hope; no marriage-union, according to the phrenesies of Corinthus and Marcus; nothing pertaining to meat or to drink, as Irenæus, Tertullian, and Lactantius, asseSSing to Papias; nor do we hope that, for 1000 years after the Resurrection, the reign of Christ will be on the earth, and that the saints will reign with Him amid delights, as Nepos taught, who feigned a first resurrection of the righteous, and a second of the ungodly, and that between these two, the nations who know not God, will be kept in the flesh in the corners of the earth. Which after the 1000 years of the reign of the righteous upon earth, are to be excited by the instigation of the devil to war against the righteous reigning, and to be restrained by the Lord fighting for the righteous with a shower of fire, and thus dying are, together with the rest who before died in ungodliness, to be raised in an incorruptible body to eternal punishments." (de Dogm. Eccles. c. 52.) It is observable also that as Gennadius detaches Melito from the followers of Papias, so neither does Jerome any where mention him among them, so that he seems to stand as an independent witness.

This doctrine Eusebius states to have been the prevailing doctrine in the Church, owing, as he thinks, to the respect for the antiquity of Papias.

"Among which" [things approaching to the fabulous] he said that there would be a period of 1000 years after the Resurrection from the dead, during which the kingdom of Christ should subsist in the body upon this earth. Which I think that he supposed, having misunderstood the Apostolic relations, not comprehending what was by them mystically uttered in similitudes. For he appears to have been a person of very confined mind, "as far from you;" (it does not occur whether he means this of the converted, or of the unconverted who should be compelled to acknowledge Him) (as in Matt. xxvi. 64.) In neither case is any general return of the unconverted Jews implied.

In this statement also, no account is given of any thing earthly in the doctrine, except that the kingdom was looked for upon the earth.

Tertullian himself, as might be expected from his character, distinctly limits the joys of the Millennium to spiritual joys. "This [Jerusalem] we say is provided by God for receiving the saints upon the resurrection, and refreshing them with the abundance of all, (only spiritual,) good things, in compensation for those which in the world we have either despaired, or lost." (adv. Marc. iii. 24.) He admits also (which is to be observed) a spiritual fulfilment of these same prophecies in the Church. "As to the restoration of Judæa, which the Jews themselves, led by the mention of names of places and countries, hope for, as it is described, [i.e. in the Apocalypse];—how the allegorical interpretation spiritually belongs to Christ and the church—Probus says, (i.e. 4,) "Of this opinion" (viz. of the earthly delights of the Millennium) "doubtless was Tertullian in his book De spe Fidelitatis;" yet without evidence, and against it.
126 Doctrine first opposed by Origen, as adhering to the letter.

Notes the Church and its character and fruits, it was long to follow out, and has already been set in order in another work which we have entitled, "On the hope of the Faithful;" and it were for the present superfluous, when the question relates to things promised in heaven, not on earth. For we confess also a kingdom promised to us upon the earth, but before heaven, but in a different state of being: namely, after the resurrection, for 1000 years, in the city of Jerusalem, divinely built, brought down from heaven, which the Apostle also calls, "our mother from above." This both Ezekiel knew and the Apostle John saw." Tertullian supposed that all the righteous would "rise within the Millennium," only, "sooner or later, according to their deserts." (adv. Marc. 1. c.)

Such was the state of the doctrine until the early part of the third century; held by most, questioned by some, but by none, whose name has been preserved. The first whom we know of, who openly impugned the doctrine, was Origen. His charges are founded not on the language of its maintainers, but on the passages of Scripture, whose literal meaning they contended for. And thus he blames them as "disciples of the letter alone," as "refusing the labour of understanding, and as following a certain surface of the letter of the law;" (de Princ. ii. 11. 2. as on the other hand, S. Irenæus blames some for "attempting to allegorize," (Nepos) wrote an "exposition of the Allegorists," Eus. H. E. viii. 24.) In this way, Origen charges them with thinking, that "stories" should be given to them as ministers of their delights, whom they were to have as rough-men, or builders of the walls, by whom their destroyed city should be built up," in reference to Is. 61, 4. 5., whereas they speak of a heavenly city which shall come down from heaven; or again that "they should receive the riches of the Gentiles to eat, and that the canals of Midian and Kedar should come to them," etc., from Is. 60. 5 sqq. 61. 6. (other references are Rev. 21, 18 seqq. Is. 65. 12. 14.) He charges them also with "looking for promises consisting in bodily pleasure and luxury," and that "this therefore chiefly long to have again after the resurrection such flesh, as shall never fail in the power of eating and drinking, and doing all which belong to flesh and blood"—with holding that there would be "even after the resurrection, marriage-union, and begetting of children,"—a manifest misconception of the doctrine, if he means to speak of that held in the Church.

It may have been owing to his influence, that his great disciple, the words referred to, ("Now the very servants of the enemies shall rebuild it," c. 16.) are explained by S. Barnabas himself, within a few lines, of the building up of the Christian Church, wherein they who were "the house of devils," having "received remission of sins, and placed their hope in the names of the Lord," became new men, built again from the beginning, wherefore God is truly in our dwelling, dwelleth in us,"

a Du Pin adds to the above the names of S. Athenagoras and S. Clement of Alexandria, (Novelle Biblioth. Art. Papisa, not. c. i. p. 146.) but without references, and apparently without authority. The statement as to S. Clement is probably founded on the apocryphal Exegesis Theodot, i. c. 63. Whitby adds S. Barnabas. "S. Barnabas is very positive, "That the very temple which was destroyed by their enemies shall be rebuilt gloriously," but

b "Origen thus sums up: "They thus think who, believing indeed in Christ, but understanding the Scriptures in a certain Jewish sense, looked for nothing worthy of the Divine promises." l. c. Eusebius (but it does not appear whether he is here using Dionysius' own words) says, that "Nepos taught that the promises in the Divine Scriptures would be realized rather after Jewish notions, ("השביל יהודא" and that there would be a certain space of 1000 years, passed in bodily enjoyment on this earth." H. E. viii. 24.)

Exaggerated form of doctrine in Egypt opposed by Dionysius. 127

S. Dionysius of Alexandria, (A. 247.) set himself so earnestly to withstand the doctrine. He brings the same charge as Origen, that they understood the Scriptures in a Jewish way, and held forth unworthy views of the Divine truth. It is not clear, what form of the doctrine Dionysius opposed. He himself speaks with much respect of Nepos, Bishop of Egypt, against whose work he wrote and argued. "In many other things I accept and love Nepos, both for his faith and laboriousness and his study in the Scriptures, and for his copious psalmody, wherewith many of the brethren are cheered until now; and altogether I reverence the man, so much the more, as he is gone before to rest." It is unlikely that one, of whom Dionysius so spake, should have had gross and carnal notions of the Millennium; and so it may be, that his work was only abused by certain teachers, who for a time made divisions in the Church. These at all events exaggerated the doctrine of the Millennium, perhaps perverted it. Dionysius says, that they disparaged the Scriptures, and "hold out the expectation of this book as of some great and hidden mystery, and allow our simpler brethren to have no great and lofty thoughts, either of the glorious and truly Divine Appearing of our Lord, nor of our resurrection from the dead, nor of our gathering together to Him, and conformity with Him; but persuade them to hope, in the kingdom of God, for petty and mortal things, and such as they now are." He speaks of these doctrines having been "of long time, spread widely in the Arsinoites, so that there had been divisions and fallings away of whole Churches." He held a disputation for three days, at the close of which, "Coracius, the chief upholder of these views, publicly protested that he would for the future neither hold, nor discuss, nor mention, nor teach, these things, as having been sufficiently convinced by what had been said against them," and so harmony was restored. (ap. Eus. 1. c.) Dionysius' own words might apply to the doctrine, as set forth by the previous fathers. In this case one must suppose that he, like Origen, misconceived the doctrine; for, in that it relates only to an intervening state, it does not affect any of the doctrines, which he says it occasioned to be held in a low sense. If we might have taken to the letter what S. Jerome says, it would be clear that it was not the doctrine of the earlier fathers, but one very different, which Dionysius opposed. S. Jerome, however, begins with an inaccuracy, saying that the book was written against S. Irenæus; the tone also in which he describes it as having been written is very different from (Praep. ad lib. 18. in Is.) "Against whom?" (Irenæus) "Dionysius, Bp. of Alexandria, writes an elegant book, ridiculing the fable of 1000 years, what would seem likely from Dionysius' own words, S. Jerome says,
sifting of the Day of Judgment, the mass of the saints will appear [separated from the staff] resplendent in dignity, very mighty in good deeds, and shewing forth the mercy of their Redeemer. And this shall be the seventh day. When that sixth day" [of the reformation of men after the image of our Creator in Christ] "shall have passed away, then shall come the rest after that sifting, and the saints and righteous of God shall have their sabbath. But after the sabbath, we shall pass into that life and that rest of which it is written, "That eye hath not seen, nor ear heard." (b.) S. Augustine, even when he had changed his view, speaks very tenderly of the spiritual Millennium. "They who on account of the first words in this book [Rev. xx. 1 sqq.] have imagined that there will be a first corporeal resurrection, have among other things been chiefly moved by the number of '1000 years,' as though there ought thus to be fulfilled in the saints as it was a sabbath of such duration, a holy rest namely after the labours of 6000 years since man's creation, and ejection from the bliss of paradise, entailed by that great sin, into the sorrows of this mortal life: so that, since it is written, 'One day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day,' the 6000 years [of the duration of the world] being accomplished, as it were six days, there should follow as it were the seventh day of the sabbath in the last 1000 years, the saints namely rising again to celebrate their sabbath. Which opinion would be at all events unobjectionable, if it were believed that the saints should in that sabbath have spiritual joys through the presence of the Lord. For we too so thought once. But since they say that they who shall then rise again, shall be wholly given up to most immoderate bounds and drinking, as not only to preserve no moderation, but even to pass the bounds of Heathenism [incredulitatis] itself, these things cannot be believed except by carnal men. But they who are spiritual call those who believe these things by a Greek term, Chiliasts, whom we, rendering literally, may term Millarians." (de Civ. D. xx. 7.)

In like way Epiphanius says (Hier. 77. § 26.) that he had heard it confidently affirmed of Apollinaris, (though he did not believe it,) that he said that in the first resurrection, we shall pass a space of 1000 years, in the same manner of life as now, keeping the law and other things, making use of the same things as now, partaking of marriage, circumcision, and the rest."

If the doctrine of the Millennium had thus degenerated, it is not surprising that it sunk, even independently of the influence of three such names as S. Dionysius, S. Augustine, and S. Jerome; nor need these, on the other hand, be necessarily supposed to object to the doctrine as set forth by S. Irenæus, to which S. Augustine at least sees no objection, even while he prefers another interpretation. In later times, the doctrine of purgatory took the place of this as well as of that of the intermediate state; the characteristic of both these doctrines being the incalculation of the gradual preparation of the soul (in S. Irenæus' words) to "receive God;" for this the Church of Rome has substituted the fierce purifying
Of the Witness of the Soul.

[The De Testimonio Animi is the expansion of an argument, touched upon in the Apology, c. 17, to which it contains an allusion, c. 6. It was written therefore somewhat, probably not much, later; as being a supplement to it. It is perhaps the most original and acute of Tertullian’s works.]

I. It is a work, which needeth to be laboured at with much nicety of research, and far more of memory, if one would call the testimonies to Christian Truth out of all the most received writings of philosophers, or poets, or any teachers whatever of the learning and wisdom of this world, so that its rivals and persecutors may, by their own peculiar documents, be proved guilty both of error in themselves, and of injustice towards us. Some indeed, in whom, as respecting ancient writings, both the diligence of curious research and the retentiveness of their memory hath held out to the observation of philosophers, or poets, or any other persons, whereby we may be led to trust them, or to distrust them, or to trust their own teachers, (on other points most approved and choice authorities,) if they any where fall upon arguments tending

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1 Hence (as Feu·ardent admits) the five last chapters of S. Irenæus were omitted in most MSS., and in those from which his work was first published, Feu·ardent restored them.  
2 It is remarkable, that the objections to the doctrine, in Origen, (see p. 126.) the five last chapters of S. Irenæus and S. Jerome, (p. 1275.) are almost entirely founded on the literal application of the prophecies of Isaiah, not of the Revelations.

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a Quadratus, Aristides, Justin, Athenagoras, Melito, Theophilus, Antioch., Apollinaris, Tatian, Irenæus, Clem. Al., Millennium. b In suggillationem. Rig. (apparently from conjecture) has "in singula rationem," "attesting on each separate point, the nature, &c."
to the vindication of the Christian Faith. Then are the poets foolish, when they make the gods the subjects of human sufferings and fables: then are the philosophers hard to be believed, when they knock at the door of truth. So long only shall a man be esteemed wise and prudent, who teacheth that which is almost Christian, whereas, if he affect prudence or wisdom, either in rejecting heathen ceremonies or in convicting the world, he is branded as a Christian. Now therefore, we will have nothing to do with books, and with doctrine, whose success is on the wrong side, which is more believed in falsehood than in truth. No matter whether any have taught One God and One only. Yea let them be thought to have declared nothing which a Christian can allow of, lest he be able to upbraid them with it. For even that which is declared, all do not know, and they who do know it, are not assured that it is true. So far are men from assenting to our writings, to which no one can allow of, lest he be able to upbraid them, for hating and scoffing at us on account of those very things, which now charge thee as a party to them.

II. We give offence, in preaching God as the One God, under the one Name of God, from Whom are all things, and under Whom is the whole body of things. Bear witness to this, if thou knowest it to be so, since we hear thee also saying openly and with full liberty, not allowed to us, at home and abroad, "Which God grant!," and, "If God will," by which word thou both declarlest that there is some God, and confessest that all power is His, to Whose will thou lookest; and at the same time thou deniest that the rest are gods, in that thou callest them by their proper names, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Minerva. Thou affirmest that He Alone is God, Whom Alone thou namest God, so that even when thou dost sometimes call these gods, thou seemest to use the name as a foreign and, as it were, a borrowed one. Neither art thou in ignorance concerning the nature of God, which we preach. "God is good," "God doeth good," is thine own word. Clearly thou impliest besides, "But man is evil," uttering, that is, indirectly and covertly in the contrary proposition, the reproach, that man is therefore evil, because he hath departed from the good God. Again, whereas with us every blessing pronounced in the name of the God of goodness and kindness is a thing of the highest sacredness in our discipline and conversation, thou sayest as

readily as any Christian need, “God bless thee.” But when thou turnest the blessing of God into a curse, thou dost in like way by the very word confess, according to our doctrine, that His power is altogether over us. There are some who, though they deny not God, do not at all regard Him as One that considereth, and witnesseth, and judgeth, (wherein indeed chiefly they set us aside,) who flee to that doctrine through fear of the judgment which is preached, thus honouring God, while they make Him free from the cares of watching and the trouble of regarding them, not even attributing anger to Him. For, say they, ‘if God be angry, He is corruptible and subject to passions. Moreover, that which is passive and corruptible admiteth also of being destroyed, of which God admitteth not.’ But the same persons confessing elsewhere that the soul is divine, and bestowed by God, fall upon a testimony of the soul itself to be retorted against the above opinion; for if the soul be either divine or given by God, doubtless it knoweth Him, Who gave it, and if it knoweth, assuredly it also feareth Him; Him moreover Who hath so largely endowed them. Doth it not fear Him, Whom it would rather have favourable to it, than wrathful against it? Whence then cometh this natural fear of the soul towards God, if God hath no mind to be angry? How can He be feared Who cannot be offended? What is feared except anger? How shall one be angry except he mark what is done amiss? Why should he mark what is done amiss except to judge? how shall he judge, except he have power? to whom belongeth the chief power, except to God alone? Hence cometh it then, O soul, that, from the knowledge that is within thee, thou declarest, at home and abroad, no man scoffing at, nor forbidding thee, ‘God seeth all things,’ and ‘I commend to God,’ and ‘God shall repay,’ and ‘God shall judge between us.’ Whence hast thou this, not being a Christian, and, moreover, oftentimes crowned with the fillet of Ceres, and clothed in the scarlet cloak of Saturn, or the linen one of Isis? Finally, in the very temples themselves thou callst upon God as thy Judge, standing under Æsculapius, praying* to the brazen statue of Juno, capping Minerva with her helmet of dark figures*, and thou callst to witness not one of the gods who are present with thee: in thine own forum thou appealest to a judge in another place; in thine own temples thou allowest a foreign God. O testimony of Truth, which amongst the very demons maketh thee a witness for the Christians!

III. But when we affirm that there are demons—as if forsooth we did not prove it also, seeing that we alone cast them out of the bodies of them—some supporter of Chrysippus mocketh us. Thine own execrations make answer both that there are demons, and that they are objects of malediction. Thou callest a man a demon, who vexeth thee either by his uncleanness, or his wickedness, or his pride, or by some ill mark or other which we assign to demons, or for the cravings of thy hatred. Finally, thou namest the name of Satan* in every expression of dislike, and scorn, and detestation, whom we call the angel of wickedness, the contriver of all error, the corrupter of the whole world, through whom man, being from the beginning beguiled, so that he transgressed the commandment of God, and on that account being given over unto death, hath thenceforth made his whole race, that is infected of his seed, the transmitters of his condemnation also. Thou perceivest therefore thine own destroyer, and although the Christians alone, or whatsoever sect there be on the Lord’s side, know him, yet even thou acknowledgest him in hating him.

IV. But now as touching an opinion which more essentially belongeth to thee, inasmuch as it regardeth thine own proper condition, we affirm that thou continuest after the consummation of life, and that thou waitest for a day of judgment, and that thou art doomed according to thy deservings either to be tormented or to be comforted, in either case eternally. For the receiving of which things we say that thy former substance must of necessity return unto

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1 Interpunction altered, “in male-dictum censuravit benedictionem Dei.”
2 See on Apol. c. 17. n. 8.
3 Interpunction altered, “in male-dictum censuravit benedictionem Dei.”
4 as the colour of blood, Lips. Sat. i. 8. coll. de Pall. c. 4. fin.
5 Apol. c. 48.

* exorans. Edd. exorans Ag. Rig. conjectures “exuraus,” “gilding,” which would rather be inaurans or desaurans.
* The snakes from the Ægis.
* Apol. c. 33.
thou, and the material part, and the memory of the self-same human being, both because thou canst not feel nothing either evil or good without the faculties of the sensible flesh, and because there is no mode of judgment without the presentation of the actual person, who hath deserved to suffer judgment. This Christian opinion, though much more noble than that of Pythagoras, and that of Plato, although it is more exalted in that it preserves the memory of the actual person, who hath deserved to suffer them from death, yet, because of its name, it is set down to mere vanity, and stupidity, and, as it is expressed, presumption. But we are not ashamed if our presumption agreeeth with thee. For first when thou makest mention of any one that is dead, thou callest him 'poor man,' not assuredly because he is taken away from the blessing of life, but because he is now appointed unto punishment and judgment. But elsewhere thou callest the dead free from care. Thou declarest the misery of life, and the benefit of death. Moreover thou callest them free from care, whencesoever thou retirdest without the gate to the tombs with thy meats and feasts, making an offering rather to thyself than to them, or returnest somewhat drunken from the tombs. But I ask for thy sober opinion. Thou callest the dead, 'poor men,' when thou speakest from thine own mind, when thou art far distant from them; for in their feast, when they are as it were present and sitting down with thee, thou canst not reproach them with their lot, thou art bound to flatter them on whose account thou farest so sumptuously. Dost thou then call him 'poor man,' who feeleth nothing? what when thou cursest him as a sentient being, whom thou rememberest with some sting of ill-will? thy prayer that the 'earth may lie heavy on him,' that his ashes may be tormented in the shades below. In the same manner thou pratest in good part for him, to whom thou owest favour, that his bones and ashes may be comforted, and desirest that he may rest happily in the shades below. If thou hast no sense of suffering after death, if no continuance of feeling, if, in a word, thou art thyself nothing when thou hast left the body, why dost thou lie against thyself, as though thou couldst suffer something hereafter? nay, why dost thou fear death at all, if thou hast nothing to fear after death, inasmuch as thou hast nothing to feel after death? For although it may be said that death is feared, not because it threateneth any thing for the future, but because it cuttest off the blessings of life, yet since the far more numerous ills of life equally depart, it putteth an end to the fear by the preponderance of the good gained; nor is the loss of good any longer to be feared, which is recompensed by another good, a rest from evil. That is not to be feared, which delivereth us from all that is fearful. If thou fearest to depart out of life, because thou knowest life to be very good, at all events thou oughtest not to fear death, which thou dost not know to be evil. But in that thou fearest it, thou knowest it to be evil. But thou wouldest not know this, for
Iridicula, trifling and ridiculous. Test.

DE Falso, thou wouldest not fear it, unless thou knewest that there is something after death, which maketh it an evil, such that thou mayest fear it. Let us say nothing now of the instinctive habit of fearing death. Let no one fear that which he cannot escape. I will meet thee on the opposite question thou mayest fear it. Let us say nothing now of the innumerable accounts of the hope of greater happiness after death. For the desire of fame after death is naturally implanted in almost all men.

It would be tedious to rehearse the Curtii, and the Reguli, or those Grecian heroes of whose contempt of death, for the sake of posthumous fame, we have innumerable accounts. Who at this day doth not so study to make his memory rife after death, as to preserve his name either by works of literature, or by the simple reputation of his character, or by the ambitious pomp of his very tomb? Whence cometh it, that the soul at this day aspireth to something which it would have after death, and diligently prepareth those things which it is to enjoy after death? Surely it would care nothing for the future, if it knew nothing of the future. But perhaps thou art more fully assured that thou shalt feel the same things, which God hath given unto His people to know! But he who doth not think that such utterances of the soul are the teaching of a congenial nature, and the silent depositions of an innate conscience, will say rather that the habit, and as it were the evil, of such forms of speech, hath now become confirmed by the doctrines of published books being wafted abroad among the people. Surely the soul existed before letters, and discourse before books, and the thought which is written, before the writing of it, and the man himself before the Philosopher and the Poet. Is it then to be believed that before letters and the publication of them, men lived without utterance of speech upon such matters? No one, I suppose, spoke of God and His goodness! no one spoke of death nor of the shades below! discourse went a begging, nay, could not exist at all, for lack, at that time, of those subjects, without which even at this day it can gain neither in fulness, nor richness, nor wisdom, if those things which at this day are so obvious, so continually present, so near at hand, being in a manner bred in the very lips, had no being in former times, before letters had sprung up in the world, before Mercury, methinks, was born. And whence cometh it that letters themselves were ordained, to know, and spread abroad for the use of speech, things which no mind had ever conceived, nor tongue pronounced, nor ear heard? But in truth since the Divine

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DE Scriptures, which are in our hands, or in the hands of the Jews, into whose olive-tree we have been grafted from a wild olive, precede secular writings by a long period, not merely by a moderate space of time, (as we have shewn in the proper place, in order to prove their authority) even if the soul hath taken these declarations from books, surely we must needs believe that it hath taken them from ours and not from yours, because the former things are better for the instruction of the soul than the latter, which themselves also waited to be instructed by the former; and even should we allow that it was instructed out of yours, still tradition belongeth to its first origin; and that is altogether ours, whatsoever ye have chanced to take and to deliver out of our writings. And since this is so, it mattereth little whether this consciousness of the soul be formed by God or by the writings of God.

VI. Why then, O man, wilt thou have it that these truths have proceeded forth from human opinions in thine own writings, so as to come to be hardened by common use? Believe therefore thine own writings; and, as concerning our records, believe so much the more those which are of God, if they proclaim them heaven-wards, and detestation earth-wards? why in one place doth she serve Him, in another call upon Him as an avenger? why doth she judge concerning the dead? why doth she use the words of the Christians, whom she would fain neither hear nor see? why hath she either given us those words, or received them from us? why hath she been either our teacher or our disciple? Distrust (if thou canst) this agreement of doctrine amid so great an inconsistency of conversation. Thou art a fool if thou ascribest such things to this language only or to the Greek, (which are held to be nearly akin to each other,) so as to deny the universal language of Nature. The soul descendeth not from Heaven upon the Latins or the Greeks alone. Throughout the world man is one, though his names be various; the soul is one, though its language be various; the spirit is one, though its voice be various. Every nation hath its own proper speech; but the matter of all speech is the same in all. God is every where, and the goodness of God is every where: the demon is every where, and the curse upon the demon is every where: the calling down of the divine judgment is every where: death is every where, and the consciousness of death is every where, and the witness thereof is every where. Every soul of its own right proclaimeth aloud those things, which we are not permitted even to whisper. With good reason then is every soul both a culprit and a witness, as much a culprit in respect of error, as it is at the same time a witness of the truth; and in the day of judgment it shall stand before the courts of God, having nothing to answer to the charge—"Thou didst pronounce God, and didst not seek after Him: thou didst detest demons, and didst worship them: thou didst appeal to the judgment of God, and didst not believe in its being: thou didst anticipate punishments in a world below, and didst take no heed against them: thou didst savour of the name of Christ, and didst persecute the Christian!"

* Above, c. 2. "God shall repay," "God shall judge between us."

* The older Edd. and Cod. Ag. have "in quorum oleastro insiti sumus;" but "oleastro" is used only of the "wild olive," (as in the de Præsc. Hær. c. 36.) Rig.'s conjecture then, as it seems, "olea es oleastro," appears necessary, and the similarity of the first letters may have caused the omission of "olea." * Apol. c. 19.
Christians charged as impious and disloyal; found among neither. 143

Christians only. We then who grieve for your ignorance, and have compassion for human error, and look forward unto things to come, and behold the signs thereof daily threaten-ing, we must of necessity force our way even in this manner, that we may set before you those things which ye choose not to hear openly.

II. We worship one God, Whom ye all by nature know, at Whose lightnings and thunders ye tremble, in Whose benefits ye rejoice. The rest ye also think to be gods, whom we know to be demons*. Nevertheless it appertaineth to man's proper right and natural privilege, that each should worship that which he thinketh to be God; nor doth the Religion of one man harm or profit another. But neither is it the part of Religion to compel men to Religion, which ought to be taken up voluntarily, not of compulsion, seeing that sacrifices also are required of a willing mind. Thus even if ye compel us to sacrifice, ye shall render no service thereby to your gods; for they will not desire sacrifices from unwilling givers, unless they be contentious; but a God is not contentious. Finally, He that is the true God bestoweth equally all His gifts on unholy men, and on His own people. Matt. 5, 25. And therefore hath He appointed an eternal judgment for the thankful and the unthankful! Yet us, whom ye think to be sacrilegious, ye have never taken even in theft, much less in sacrilege. But all they, who spoil your temples, both swear by the gods, and worship the same, and are not Christians, and yet are convicted of sacrilege*. It would be tedious to recount in what other ways all the gods are mocked and despised, even by their own worshippers*. So too we are defamed as touching the majesty of the Emperor; yet no disciples of Albinus, or of Niger, or of Cassius¹, could be found among the disciples of Christ. Nevertheless those very men, who even up to the day before had sworn by the gods of the Emperors, who had both offered and vowed sacrifices for their health, who had often condemned the Christians, were found to be their enemies. The Chris-

142 Expostulation with Heathen, not for Christians' sake, but their own.

THE ADDRESS TO SCAPULA.

[The ad Scapulam is placed at the very beginning of the reign of Caracalla, A.D. 214, on the ground that Severus is spoken of as the father of Antoninus, so that the latter probably was the then Emperor; Severus is also spoken of in the past, c. 4.] but Caracalla at the beginning of his reign recalled those whom his father had banished, (Dio Cass. 1. 77. c. 5) and so, we may suppose, stopped persecutions. Nor are persecutions spoken of in his reign. The "defect of the sun's light in the district of Utica," c. 3, is supposed to have been an eclipse, A.D. 210. Hilarian (ib.) was the President of Africa, under whom Perpetua and Felicitas became martyrs, A.D. 209. see Lumper, 1. c. 14. The beginning of this Treatise is an epitome almost of the Apology.]

I. It is not that we are terrified; it is not that we have any great dread of those things which we suffer from ignorant men; seeing that we have joined ourselves unto this way, taking, of course, upon ourselves its conditions, and covenanting that we would encounter these conflicts, pledged in the service even to our very lives; desiring to obtain those things which God promiseth to a contrary course of things which He threateneth to a contrary course of life. Finally, we battle with all your cruelty, even of our own accord rushing to the charge, and rejoice more when this our goodness may be seen Lumper, 1. c. 41. than when acquitted of the Apology.

Matt. 5. 44, 48. v. 46. commanded by the law of our Religion, to love even our enemies, and to pray for them which persecute us, that this our goodness may be perfect, and specially our own, not the goodness of the world in general*. For to love their friends, belongeth to all; but to love their enemies, to the

* Apol. c. 1. 21. 49. 50. ⁵ Ib. c. 31.
Loyalty of Christians could avenge, known but for peace and piety.

... as the rule love, and reverence, and honour, and... for the health of the Emperor, but only to Him Who also are within his... wish him well, and expedient for him, as a man next in place to God, and is he greater even than the gods themselves, in that they... food of demons; but demons... savour of shedding our blood... asking it of Him... our burying places, Let there be no "areas?", there were no "areas"—to themselves, for they gathered not their harvest. Moreover in the rain also of the past year it was made manifest, what mankind hath deserved, because that the flood of old also was on account of the unbelief and the iniquities of men: and what the fires threatened, which lately hung over the walls of Carthage through the night, they know who saw them; and what the former thunderings uttered, they know who hardened themselves against them. All these are the signs of the wrath of God hanging over us, which we must of necessity, in whatever way we may, both proclaim and teach, and in the meanwhile pray that it may be only local; for the universal and final, they shall feel at the appointed time, who in any other way interpret the examples of it. For that sun too, which in the district of Utica had its light all but extinguished, was such a prodigy, that it could not have suffered this effect from an ordinary eclipse, being situate in its own altitude and house. Ye have astrologers to enquire of. We can in the same way set before you the ends also of certain Presidents, who, at the close of their lives, remembered that they had sinned, in that they had persecuted the Christians. Vigellius Saturninus, who first drew the sword against us in this country, lost his eyes. Claudius Hermelianus in Cappadocia, when, being angry because his wife had gone over to this sect, he had treated the Christians cruelly, and when in the solitude of his palace, being wasted with disease, he had broken out angry because his wife had gone... 

III. Notwithstanding, (as we have said before,) we must needs grieve, because no state will bear unpunished the guilt of shedding our blood. It was also under the president Hilarian; when they had cried out concerning the courts of...
Mildness shown to Christians by individual governors;

Ad Scap. III. 4

Cæcilius Capella at this catastrophe of Byzantium, cried out, “Christians, rejoice.” But even they, who seem to thee to be without punishment, shall come unto the day of Divine judgment. To yourself also we wish that it may be out, the thine office, and at the Acts 5, fight against God. Thou canst discharge the duties of thine office, and at the same time remember those of humanity, if it be only because ye yourselves also live under the sword. For what more is committed unto thee than to condemn the guilty when they have confessed, and to bring to the torture those who deny? Ye see then how ye yourselves act against your own instructions, to compel those who have confessed, to deny. Thus ye confess that we are innocent, whom ye will not condemn at once on our own confession; but when ye strain every point to stifle us, it must needs be innocence that ye are striving to storm us out of. But how many presidents, more determined and more cruel than thee, have from such reasons used dissimulation, as did Cincius Severus, who at Thysdris himself furnished a plan of escape, through which the Christians might make such an answer that they might be set at liberty: as did Vespronius Candidus, who dismissed a Christian on the pretence that it would be a breach of the peace to satisfy the wishes of his people: as did Asper, who when one was but slightly tortured, and straightway fell from his faith, did not even force him to offer sacrifice, and who had before publicly declared, in the midst of advocates and assessors, that he was very sorry to have chanced upon this case. Pudens also, when a Christian was sent before him, perceiving at once from the indictment that the charge was vexatious, tore that same indictment and dismissed him, refusing, according to his instructions, to hear the man without an accuser. All these things might be suggested to thee, both by thine own duty, and by those very advocates, who themselves feel the good services of the Christians, though they cry out against us as they list: for the secretary of a certain man, when he was thrown down by a devil, was delivered from it, as was also a kinsman and a little boy belonging to certain others. And how many honourable persons (for I speak not of common men) have been healed either of devils or of infirmities! Even Severus himself, the father of Antoninus, was mindful of the Christians. For he sought out also Procclus a Christian, who was surnamed Torpacion, the steward of Eutocia, who had once cured him by means of oil, and kept him in his own palace even to his death: whom also Antoninus very well knew, nursed as he was upon Christian milk. But moreover Severus, knowing that certain most illustrious women and most illustrious men were of this sect, not only did not harm them, but even honoured them by his own testimony, and openly withstood the people, when they were mad against us. Marcus Aurelius also in his German expedition, when prayer had been made to God by his Christian soldiers, obtained rain in that drought which he was suffering. When have even droughts failed to be removed by our kneelings and fasting? Then too the people crying out “to the God of Gods Who Alone is mighty,” hath, under the name of Jupiter, borne witness to our God. Besides these things, we deny not the deposit committed to our charge, we defile the marriage of none, we refresh the needy, we take care of the orphans, we do not permit the children to be captured from their mothers. We attack an evil with an evil, we recompense to no man Rom. 12, evil for evil. As for those who falsely pretend to our Religion, and whom we ourselves disown, let them see to that. Finally who complaineth of us on any other score?

\[\text{Cæcilius Capella at this catastrophe of Byzantium, cried out, “Christians, rejoice.” But even they, who seem to thee to be without punishment, shall come unto the day of Divine judgment. To yourself also we wish that it may be out, the thine office, and at the Acts 5, fight against God. Thou canst discharge the duties of thine office, and at the same time remember those of humanity, if it be only because ye yourselves also live under the sword. For what more is committed unto thee than to condemn the guilty when they have confessed, and to bring to the torture those who deny? Ye see then how ye yourselves act against your own instructions, to compel those who have confessed, to deny. Thus ye confess that we are innocent, whom ye will not condemn at once on our own confession; but when ye strain every point to stifle us, it must needs be innocence that ye are striving to storm us out of. But how many presidents, more determined and more cruel than thee, have from such reasons used dissimulation, as did Cincius Severus, who at Thysdris himself furnished a plan of escape, through which the Christians might make such an answer that they might be set at liberty: as did Vespronius Candidus, who dismissed a Christian on the pretence that it would be a breach of the peace to satisfy the wishes of his people: as did Asper, who when one was but slightly tortured, and straightway fell from his faith, did not even force him to offer sacrifice, and who had before publicly declared, in the midst of advocates and assessors, that he was very sorry to have chanced upon this case. Pudens also, when a Christian was sent before him, perceiving at once from the indictment that the charge was vexatious, tore that same indictment and dismissed him, refusing, according to his instructions, to hear the man without an accuser. All these things might be suggested to thee, both by thine own duty, and by those very advocates, who themselves feel the good services of the Christians, though they cry out against us as they list: for the secretary of a certain man, when he was thrown down by a devil, was delivered from it, as was also a kinsman and a little boy belonging to certain others. And how many honourable persons (for I speak not of common men) have been healed either of devils or of infirmities! Even Severus himself, the father of Antoninus, was mindful of the Christians. For he sought out also Procclus a Christian, who was surnamed Torpacion, the steward of Eutocia, who had once cured him by means of oil, and kept him in his own palace even to his death: whom also Antoninus very well knew, nursed as he was upon Christian milk. But moreover Severus, knowing that certain most illustrious women and most illustrious men were of this sect, not only did not harm them, but even honoured them by his own testimony, and openly withstood the people, when they were mad against us. Marcus Aurelius also in his German expedition, when prayer had been made to God by his Christian soldiers, obtained rain in that drought which he was suffering. When have even droughts failed to be removed by our kneelings and fasting? Then too the people crying out “to the God of Gods Who Alone is mighty,” hath, under the name of Jupiter, borne witness to our God. Besides these things, we deny not the deposit committed to our charge, we defile the marriage of none, we refresh the needy, we take care of the orphans, we do not permit the children to be captured from their mothers. We attack an evil with an evil, we recompense to no man Rom. 12, evil for evil. As for those who falsely pretend to our Religion, and whom we ourselves disown, let them see to that. Finally who complaineth of us on any other score?
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What other trouble doth the Christian suffer than that which cometh of his Religion? which Religion no one in all this time hath ever proved to be incestuous or cruel. For so much innocence, for so much goodness, for our justice, for our chastity, for our faith, for our truth, for the living God, we are cast to the flames, a thing which neither men guilty of sacrilege nor those true enemies of the public weal, nor the many guilty of treason, are wont to suffer. For now also the Christian name is persecuted by the president of Leon and the president of Mauritania, but only by the sword, as it was from the first also commanded that such should be punished. But the greater the conflict the greater the rewards which follow.

V. Your cruelty is our glory. Only take heed and consider whether in this our very endurance of such things, we do not shew that we burst out, for the single purpose of proving this very point, that we do not fear these things, but of our own accord invite them. While Arrins Antoninus in Asia was earnestly persecuting us, all the Christians of that state presented themselves in one body before his judgment-seat, when he, having ordered a few to be led away, said to the rest, 'Wretched men! if ye wish to die, ye have precipices and halterers.' If it should be determined that the same thing should be done here also, what wilt thou do with so many thousands of human beings, so many men and women, of every sex, of every age, of every degree, giving themselves up to thee? Of how many fires, of how many swords will there be need! What will Carthage itself, which thou must needs decimate, endure, when every man recognizeth there his own kinsmen and comrades, when he beholdeth perchance, in the number, the men and matrons even of thine own degree, and all the chief persons, and even the kinsmen and friends of their own friends? Spare then thyself, if not

* Apol. c. 34.
* Th. c. 50.

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* Ih. c. 2. 7. 8.
* There were two proconsuls of Asia of this name; the one under Adrian, maternal grandfather to Antoninus Pius, twice Consul;" Capitolin. in Anton. init. who calls him "vir annectus;" he publicly compassionated Nerva for having come to a throne; (Pliny panegyrizes him, Ep. 1. iv. ep. 3.) the other under Commodus, who having put him to death on false accusation, was obliged to give up his accuser to popular justice, Lamprid. in Comm. Hist. Aug. Scriptt. p. 48. see Cauab. ad Capitolin.
* to execution.
* See Apol. c. 1. p. 2. 3. and note g.
AN ADDRESS TO THE MARTYRS.

[The Ad Martyras is probably Tertullian's earliest work, as being written at the very commencement of the persecution, before any had actually suffered martyrdom; for had any so suffered, Tertullian would naturally, in his exhortation to the rest, have referred to them. The allusion, then, c. 6. fn. to the deaths on occasion of Albinus, fixes it A.D. 197. See above, notice on the Apology.]

Ad Martyras

I. AMONGST the aliments of the flesh, which both our Lady Mother the Church from her own bosom, and the brethren singly from their private store, supply to you in your prison, blessed martyrs elect, accept somewhat from me likewise, which may serve to nourish your spirit also. For that the flesh be made fat, and the spirit hunger, is not good. Yea, if that which is weak be cared for, that which is yet weaker ought as well not to be neglected. Nor am I such an one as am worthy to speak unto you. Nevertheless not only their own masters, and superiors, but even private persons, and whosoever will, from a distance needlessly exhort even the most perfect gladiators, so that oftentimes advice suggested even by the vulgar crowd hath been pro-

Eph. 4, fitable. First therefore, blessed men, grieve not the Holy Spirit, Who hath entered with you into the prison; for if He had not now entered in with you, neither would ye have been there this day. And therefore give diligence that He may abide there with you continually; so may He bring you from thence unto the Lord. Even the prison is

* opibus, cod. W. Others "operibus," "from the labour of their hands;" the two readings differ in MSS. only by a stroke through the p; but "opibus" agrees better with the preposition "de" and with S. Cyprian. Pam. supposes "ope-

ribus" to mean, each of his own handi-
craft, clothes, &c. but T. speaks only of food.


e odìs 2 Vat. MSS. odìs MS. Dir., whence Rig. conjectures "odìdis" which he explains "chips" and so, " trifles, things of no account," regarding "odìs" as too strong a term for those expecting martyrdom. It is probable, however, that Tertullian refers to what at least took place elsewhere, that the Montanist martyrs, as being severed from the Church, were disowned by the Church. An older author, quoted by Euseb. H. E. v. 17. says, "Whence also, whenever those who out of the Church are called to martyrdom for that which is indeed the fall, in with some of those who out of the Phrygian heresy are called Martyrs, they both are at variance with them, and are themselves perfected by Martyrdom without holding communion with them, not willing to join themselves to the spirit, which spake through the Montanist and the women." Eusebius (it seems) subjoins, "The truth of this is manifest, and happened in our times in Apameae on the Meander, in the martyrdoms of Galus and Alexander of Eumenae." This strong language then, and the placing both upon a level, perhaps betrays a disposition, even thus early, to look favourably on Montanism. S. Cyprian, perhaps, imitates this warning against dissensions, Ep. 13. Fell. (7. Pam.) ad Rogat. Older Ed. have "ineditis" "poor scanty fare;" and it is implied c. 2. that the food was of things necessary only; yet the word "saginati" (init.) implies that of these there was an adequate supply; and, as a Montanist, T. reproaches the Church in supplying the martyrs too freely in prison. (de Jejun. c. 13.)

f See adv. Valent. c. 3.

g The lapsed—those who had sacrificed to idols, or bought themselves off, and who were restored to the reader to the peace, i. e. communion of the Church, at the request of those awaiting martyrdom. See Cyr. de Lap. c. 12. p. 164. ed. Ox. (and Bingham quoted ib.) Fell. Epp. 15—20. Fell. (16—15. Pam.) 28, 22. (17) 37, 32, 30, 31. (31, 26.) 33. (27.) 50. (29.)

To give peace, be at peace—nature of Martyrs' dissensions. 151

in truth the house of the Devil, wherein he keepeth his own household. But therefore have ye come into the prison, that ye may tread him under foot even in his own house; for ye have already wrestled with him abroad, and trodden him under foot. Let him not therefore say, "They are in my own place: I will tempt them with mean enmities, and passions, or dissensions among themselves." Let him flee from your sight, and hide himself in his inmost recess, coiled up and listless, like a serpent that hath been charmed or frumigated away. And let him not so prosper in his own kingdom, as to set you at variance: but let him find you guarded and armed with concord, because your peace is war against him; which peace some, not finding in the Church, have been wont to entreat of the martyrs in prison. And therefore ye ought, were it only for this, to have, and to cherish, and to keep it among yourselves, that ye may be able, if need be, to give it unto others also.

II. In like manner may all other hindrances of the soul have accompanied you even to the threshold of the prison, just so far as did your parents also. Thenceforth ye were separated from the world itself: how much more from the life of the world, and its concerns! Nor will this dismay
AD 314. IV. 2.

you, that you are severed from the world. For if we consider that the world itself rather is a prison, we shall perceive that ye have rather gone forth from prison than gone into prison. The world hath the greater darkness, whichblindeth the hearts of men. The world putteth on the heavier bonds, which bind the very souls of men. The world breatheth forth the worse uncleanness, even the lusts of men. Finally the world containeth the greater number of criminals, to wit the whole race of man: it awaiteth moreover the judgment, not of the Proconsul, but of God. Wherefore, blessed men, consider that ye have been translated from a prison to a place, it may be, of safe keeping.

It hath darkness, but ye yourselves are light. It hath bonds, but ye have been made free. An evil breath is uttered there, but ye are a sweet savour. A judge is looked for: but ye shall judge even the judges themselves. Let him be sad there, who sigheth for the enjoyment of the world? The Christian, even when out of prison, hath renounced the world; but, when in prison, a prison also. It mattereth not where ye are in the world, who are without the world: and if ye have lost any of the joys of life, it is a goodly traffic to lose somewhat, that you may gain the benefit of the world.

It is a strange thing, that the flesh loseth not, through the care of the Church, even the love of the brethren; and besides this, the spirit gaineth such things as are ever profitable to the Faith. Thou seest there no strange gods: thou comest not upon their images: thou art scourged, but not with the world's breath; thou art beaten, but not by marching under arms, running over the plain, working at the fosse, forming the close testudo. All their doings are opposite of what is good and pleasant. Even in peace they are already learning by labour and distresses to endure war, by marching under arms, running over the plain, working at the fosse, forming the close testudo. All their doings are made up of toil, lest their bodies and their minds should be terrified in passing from the shade to the sun, from the open air, from the vest to the coat of mail, from the shouts of the public shows, the cruelty, or the madness, or the lewdness of the beholders. Thine eyes fall not upon the places of public lust. Thou art free from offences, from temptations, from evil recollections, and now too from persecution. The prison afforded to the Christian that which the wilderness did to the Prophets. The Lord Himself oftentimes lived in retirement, that He might pray the more freely, that He might withdraw from the world. It was moreover in a solitary place that He shewed His glory to His disciples. Away with the name of a prison! let us call it a retirement. Though the body be shut up, though the flesh be confined, all is open to the spirit. Roam freely, thou spirit; walk to and fro, thou spirit; not setting before thee shady walks, or long cloisters, but that way which leadeth unto God. As oft as thou shalt walk herein in the spirit, so oft shalt thou not be in prison. The leg suffereth nothing in the stocks, while the mind is in Heaven. The mind carrieth about with it the whole man, and removeth him whither it listeth. But where thy heart is, there will thy treasure be also. Let therefore our heart be there, where we would have our treasure.

III. Be it now, blessed men, that a prison is grievous even to Christians. We were called to the warfare of the living God, even then when we made our answer according to the words of the Sacrament. No soldier cometh with luxuries to the war, nor goeth forth from his chamber to the field of battle, but from slight tents, unfolded and tied down, wherein are found together every hardship, and every opposite of what is good and pleasant. Even in peace they are already learning by labour and distresses to endure war, by marching under arms, running over the plain, working at the fosse, forming the close testudo. All their doings are made up of toil, lest their bodies and their minds should be terrified in passing from the shade to the sun, from the sun to the open air, from the vest to the coat of mail, from the shouts of the public shows, the cruelty, or the madness, or the lewdness of the beholders. Thine eyes fall not upon the places of public lust. Thou art free from offences, from temptations, from evil recollections, and now too from persecution. The prison afforded to the Christian that which the wilderness did to the Prophets. The Lord Himself oftentimes lived in retirement, that He might pray the more freely, that He might withdraw from the world. It was moreover in a solitary place that He shewed His glory to His disciples. Away with the name of a prison! let us call it a retirement. Though the body be shut up, though the flesh be confined, all is open to the spirit. Roam freely, thou spirit; walk to and fro, thou spirit; not setting before thee shady walks, or long cloisters, but that way which leadeth unto God. As oft as thou shalt walk herein in the spirit, so oft shalt thou not be in prison. The leg suffereth nothing in the stocks, while the mind is in Heaven. The mind carrieth about with it the whole man, and removeth him whither it listeth. But where thy heart is, there will thy treasure be also. Let therefore our heart be there, where we would have our treasure.
that from it it may itself also receive strength. Let the
spirit confer with the flesh about the common salvation of
both, not now thinking of the grievances of the prison, but
of the contest and fight itself. The flesh perchance will fear
the heavy sword, and the lofty cross, and the fury of the
beasts, and the extreme punishment of the fire, and all the
mexcising of the executioner in tortures*. But let the spirit
on the other hand set this before itself and the flesh, that
these things, however bitter, have been nevertheless received
by many with an even mind, yea and voluntarily sought
after for the sake of fame and glory; and not by men only,
but even by women, that ye also, O blessed women, may
match your own sex. It were a long tale to name each of
those who, led only by their own spirit, have slain them­
"selves with the sword. Of women, Lucretia is a ready
example, who having suffered violation, thrust a knife into
herself in the sight of her kinsfolk, that she might obtain
glory for her chastity. Mutius burned his right hand upon
the altar, that fame might lay hold on this his deed.
Philosophers have done but little; (Heraclitus, who having be­
smeared himself with the dung of oxen; burnt himself to
death; and Empedocles* who leaped down into the fires of
Mount Ætna; and Peregrinus*, who, not long since, threw
himself upon a funeral pile,) since even women have despaired
fire: Dido, that she might not be compelled to marry after
the loss of a most beloved husband: the wife of Asdrubal
too, who, while Carthage was now burning, when she saw
her own husband a suppliant before Scipio, rushed with her
children into the flames of her native city*. Regulus, a
general of the Romans, taken prisoner by the Carthaginians,
when he would not have his single self ransomed at the price
of many Carthaginian prisoners, preferred being given back
to the enemy, and being crammed into a sort of chest, and

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ad Deinocr. c. 6. p. 207.
* not led and upheld by the Holy Spirit.
* To be accounted a god. Laert. in vit.
* A Cynic philosopher, praised by
Aul. Gall. (xii. 11.) Amm. Marc. (xxix.
1.) ridiculed by Lucian, (de Mort.
Peregrs.) who says, that he imposed on
the Christians, as though he were one,
and was largely relieved by them, being
cast into prison, as such: his death is
mentioned by Athenag. §. 36. Amm.
Marc. 1. c.
p. 126.
* Val. Max. 3. 2. Flor. 9. 15.
I will be a witness against faint-hearted—suffering, lot of man. 157
from their bites and their scars. Some also have ere now
hired themselves to the flames, to run over a certain space of
ground in a burning shirt. Others have walked with most
enduring shoulders amidst the lashes of the hunters. These VI.
things, blessed men, the Lord hath suffered to come into the
world, not without a cause: but both for our encouragement
now, and for our confusion in that Day, if we shall be afraid to suffer for the Truth's sake unto salvation those
things, which others have made a display of suffering for.
vanity's sake unto perdition.

But let us pass over these examples of constancy arising from
mere display. Let us turn to the actual contemplation of the
condition of man, that those things too may instruct us, whatever
they be, which, accustomed to befall men even against their
will, must be endured with constancy. For how often have the
flames burned men alive! How often have wild beasts, both
in their own woods and in the middle of cities, having
escaped from their dens, devoured men! How many have
been slain by robbers with the sword, and by their enemies
even on the cross, having first been tortured, yea and having
received, in full, every sort of indignity! There is no one
who may not suffer even for the sake of man, what he
scrupleth to suffer in the cause of God. For this let even
the present times be a proof to us, how many persons, and of what
quality, meet with deaths not to be expected either from
their birth, or their rank, or their persons, or their age, for
the sake of man, either from himself, if they act against him,
or from his enemies, if they take part with him.

1 The tunica molesta, one of the punishments of Christians. Martial, x.
2 Severus, in and after the conspir.
3y of Albinus. Spartan, in vit.
c. 13, 4 After having slain numberless
persons on the side of Albinus, among
whom were many chiefs in the state,
many women of rank, all their goods
were confiscated—then many nobles of
the Spaniards and Suevi were slain.
OF THE CROWN.

[The "de Corona" was written probably A.D. 201, when Severus gave a "very large donative to his soldiers, the whole booty of Ctesiphon," on occasion of their saluting his son Caracalla as Augustus, and Geta as Caesar. Spartan in Severo, c. 16. Of two other liberalities of Severus, the first, A. 198, was to the people, (see Notice on Apol.) the last, A. 200, was an increase of pay, not a largess, Spart. I. c. The date A. 201 of this largess is obtained. 1. From Eusebius, who places the victories over the Parthians, A. 200; (Chron. I. 2.) but Ctesiphon was taken at the approach of winter, (Sparr. I. c.) and so at the end of that year. 2. Caracalla was then in his thirteenth year, (Sparr. I. c.) but he was killed after six years' reign, A. 217, aged 20. (Dio Cass. I. 77.) 3. A Cinvn, A. 200, 1, gives Severus the title Parthicus Max., one A. 201, 2, exhibits Caracalla as Augustus, Geta as Caesar. See Lumper, I. c. 2. Art. II. §. 1, and Art. I. §. 5. It is probably the earliest treatise containing any trace of Montanism, see c. 1. The mention of the "long peace" which Christians had enjoyed, (c. 1.) may be accounted for, in that the scene lay not in Africa but in the East.]

I. It came to pass the other day, the bounty of the illustrious Emperors was being paid off at the camp. The soldiers were coming up wearing their laurel crowns. A certain man there, more the soldier of God, more firm of purpose, than the rest of his brethren who had presumed that they could serve two masters, stood conspicuous, his single head untrammelled, his crown hanging idle in his hand, the Christian being already, by this very ordering of himself, proclaimed. Every man began to point at him; the distant mock, the near to gnash their teeth upon him. The murmurs reacheth the ears of the Tribune, and the person had now quitted his place. Immediately the Tribune saith, "Why so different from the rest in thy dress?" He answered that he might not act with the rest. Being asked his reasons, he answered, "I am a Christian." O soldier boastful of God! Straightway the votes were taken, and the business re-

158 Occasion of the Treaty.

Current complaints—dread of persecution.

manded, and the accused sent for trial before the Prefects. On the spot he laid down the cloak, wherewith he was so heavy laden, now beginning to receive his rest: he Mat. 11, put off his shoe, so troublesome, from his feet, now beginning to stand upon holy ground: he delivered up the sword, not needed even for the defence of the Lord: the Mat. 26, laurel crown fell even from his hand: and now, his robe empurpled with the earnest expectation of his own blood, his feet shed with the preparation of the Gospel, girl with the Eph. 6, sharper word of God, his whole armour put on according to Heb. 4, the Apostle, and looking for a better crown, in the white robe Eph. 6, of martyrdom, he awaiteth in his prison the free gift of Christ. Opinions were then pronounced upon him, (whether those of Christians I know not, for none other are those of Heathens,) as though he had been headlong, and hasty, and too eager to die, in that, because questioned touching his dress, he brought trouble upon the Christian name. As though he alone were brave; among so many brethren and fellow-soldiers alone a Christian! Clearly nothing remains but that those intend to refuse martyrdom also, who have rejected the prophecies of the same Holy Spirit. Finally they murmur that so long and happy a peace hath been endangered; and I doubt not that some are removing their Scriptures, making ready their baggage, preparing to flee Mat. 10, from one city to another; for they care not to remember 23. any other part of the Gospel. I know their shepherds also: lions in peace, stags in fight. But on the questions re-

Severus and Caracalla; see above, Alluding to the title of a play of Notice. Plautus, Miles gloriosus.
160 Grounds of Church’s practice to be sought, while obeying it.

DE CON. V. 2. 160

specting the avowal of our Faith I shall speak in another place: on this occasion, inasmuch as they advance this objection also, 1 Where are we forbidden to wear crowns? I shall attack this “ where?”—the more specific shape of the present question,—that both those, who ask it from the anxiety of ignorance, may be instructed, and those, who argue it in excuse of the sin, may be refuted, (and that especially by this very man’s example1)—laurel-crowned Christians whom this question serveth to soothe, as though that may be thought to be either no sin, or a doubtful one, which admiteth of a question. But that it is neither no sin, nor a doubtful one, I shall now in the meanwhile shew.

II. I say that no believer alloweth a crown upon his head1 at any other time, except the time of this sort of temptation. All observe this rule from their novitiate up to their confession and martyrdom, or their apostasy. Whence the authority for this rule, which is now made the chief question, is for thee to look to. Moreover, when it is made a question why a thing is observed, it is meanwhile granted that it is observed. Wherefore that cannot be thought to be no sin, or no certain sin, which is committed against a rule, which, as such, ought to be maintained for its own sake, and is sufficiently authorized by the support of general consent. Doubtless; yet in such wise, of course, that the reason may be enquired into!—yes, but without hindrance of its observance, and not to overthrow, but rather to build it up, in order that thou mayest the more observe it, when thou art easy even with respect to the reason of it. But what sort of thing is it for a man then to call the observance of the rule into question, when he hath abandoned it, and to ask why he is bound to the observance, when he hath ceased from it? since although he may wish it generally, on the ground of their withdrawing in persecution, when their lives alone were sought. See S. Cypr. de Laps. c. 8. p. 150. Oxf. Tr. not. g. 2 Sic tamen ut ratio quern renda sit; sed salva observatione; the words Plane; sic tamen ut re stored

1 Plane; Sic tamen ut ratio quern renda sit; sed salva observatione; the words: Plane; sic tamen ut re stored

Actions not prohibited in H. Scr., are not therefore permitted. 161
to be thought that he therefore calleth it in question, that he may shew that he hath not done wrong in ceasing to observe it, yet nevertheless he sheweth that he did wrong before, in taking upon himself to observe it. For if he hath not done wrong in wearing the crown to-day, he hath at some time done wrong in refusing it. And therefore this treatise is not for them, to whom the question doth not belong, but for those who, from a desire to learn, proffer the question, not to dispute it, but to ask advice upon it. For the question on this point is endless, and I commend the faith which believeth1 that the rule ought to be observed, before it hath 2 credit learned why1. It is easy moreover to ask on the instant where it is written that we may not be crowned. But where is it written that we may be crowned? for they who demand the support of Scripture on the other side, already judge that their own side also ought to have the support of Scripture. For if it shall be said that we may be crowned because Scripture forbiddeth it not, it may be equally retorted that we may not be crowned, because Scripture commandeth it not4. What shall Religion do? shall it admit both, because neither is forbidden? or refuse both, because neither is commanded? But (thou wilt say) that which is not forbidden is freely permitted. Nay, but that is forbidden, which is not freely permitted.

III. And how long shall we go on, sawing backwards and forwards upon this line, when we have an old established observance, which, in preventing the question, hath decided it? If no Scripture hath determined this, assuredly custom hath confirmed it, which, doubtless, hath been derived from tradition. For how can a thing be used unless it be first delivered to us? But, thou sayest, even where tradition is pleaded, written authority ought to be required. Wherefore let us enquire whether none, save a written tradition, ought

1 according to the words Nisi credi derta, non intellegitur, Is. 7, 9. LXX. ad Diodor.) and it seems, on the ground, that if an action be in any wise doubtful, the absence of positive permission will, in a dutiful mind, be decisive against it.

2 First of all, which is of greatest moment in things of this sort, the practice amongst us, which we can produce, hath the form of law, because our rules have been handed down to us by holy men.” Basil. l. c.
Unwritten traditions universally observed in Baptism.

his pomp and his angels. Then are we thrice1 dipped, pleading ourselves to something more than the Lord hath prescribed in the Gospel; then, some undertaking the charge of us, first, we taste a mixture of honey and milk, and from that day we abstain for a whole week from our daily washing. The Sacrament of the Eucharist, commanded

1 Tertullian repeats this form of the Renunciation, de Iud. c. 6, and de Spect. c. 4, and refers to it de Cult. Fem. i. 2. The "angels" of Satan are also renounced in the Greek liturgy. I renounce Satan and all his works, and all his service, and all his angels, and all his pomp; (Ass. i. 114, 137, 8) and in a different order Const. Ap. vii. 41. I renounce Satan, and his works, and his pomp, and his services, and his Angels, and his inventions, and all which are under him; (in the Coptic,) I renounce thee, Satan and all thy unclean works, and all thy wicked devices, and all thy evil inventions, and all thy arts, and all thy cunning, and all thy wiles, (ib. 156.) in the Armenian, We renounce thee, Satan, and all thy works, and all thy arts, and thy wiles, and thy rogues, and thy tricks, and thy steps; (ib. 172. and ii. 203.) and in the Apostolic Syriac, I, N. who am This however, is used rarely among the Greeks, but most commonly with single exceptions among the Latins almost disused, for they are mostly content with single renunciation of such things. This, however, must be individual neglect, for the truth is immemorially described in the ritual of Paris V; (ii. 17.) only, in case of emergency, single is allowed, (ib. 15.)

"the whole Creed, not the single confession of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Most ancients, the Marcionites retained the practice of the Father in baptism; it is used first of all its adoption on the natural birth, then, by analogy, on the spiritual."

Jerome adv. Lucif. c. 8, adding to Tertullian's words, "to signify infamy," Tert. says, adv. Marc. i. 14, that the Marcionites retained the practice of the Father in baptism. It is mentioned by Clem. Al. Pedag. i. 6. They were placed on the altar on the Easter Eve, Con. Carm. iii. can. 24, and consecrated with a peculiar benediction, (see Bingham 12. 4. 6) and in Mithridates Romanus, in Syn. Trull. Can. 57. it is forbidden to place them on the Altar, which implies the continuance of the custom.
by the Lord at the time of supper, and to all, we receive
even at our meetings before day-break, and from the hands
of no others than the heads of the Church. We offer, on one
day every year, oblations for the dead as birth-day honours.
On the Lord's day we account it unlawful to fast or to
worship upon the wine, or even of our bread, be spilled upon the ground.

We feel pained if any of these traditions on the
Easter Day even unto Pentecost. We feel pain if any of the wine, or even of our bread, be spilled upon the ground.

Our Lord did not command us to fast. He commanded us to eat and drink to the glory of God. He said, "This is my body, which will be given for you. Take, eat; this is my body." (Matt. 26:26)

He also said, "This cup which is poured out for you is the new covenant in my blood." (Matt. 26:28)

And again, "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life; and I will raise him up at the last day." (John 6:50)

So we see that our Lord never commanded us to fast, but rather to eat and drink in remembrance of him and his sacrifice.
reason. By these examples therefore it will be declared, that even an unwritten tradition may be maintained in its observance, being confirmed by custom, a sufficient witness of a tradition at the time approved by the continuance of the observance. But even in civil matters custom is taken for law, where there is no law: nor is there any difference whether it be founded on any writing or on reason, since it is reason which commandeth even written authority. Moreover if law be founded in reason, then will all that is founded in reason, by whomsoever first brought forward, be law. Dost thou not think that any believer may have the power to conceive and to establish a thing, so it be agreeable to God, conducive to true Religion, and profitable to salvation, when the Lord saith, And why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right? and this not as touching judgment only, but every opinion also on things coming under examination. So also saith the Apostle: If in any thing ye be ignorant, God shall reveal it unto you; he himself having been accustomed to supply counsel, when he had no commandment of the Lord, and to ordain certain things of himself, yet himself also having the Spirit of God, That guided him into all truth. Wherefore his counsel and his ordinance have now obtained the likeness of a Divine command, because supported by the reason which cometh of God. Question now this reason, saving however thy respect for tradition, from whomsoever dateth as having delivered it: and regard not the author, but the authority, and chiefly that of custom itself, which ought for this cause to be respected, because it may be the witness of reason: so that if it be God, Who hath given reason also, thou mayest learn, not, whether the custom ought to be observed of a law, written or unwritten, Divine or human, is founded in some principle or reason, whether, as in Divine law, of the Divine Mind, and not cognizable always by men, or in human reason, as far as it is sound, derived from the Divine. As having its authority in itself, independent of the accidents which elicited it. I e. being guided by the Spirit of God, to see the reasons in the Divine Mind, which gave a fitness to these things, his counsel became, as it were, a transcript of the Divine Mind, and so a command of God.

John 16. That which when, as in Christianity, purified from error, is the gift of God.
whereby colour is not perceived, nor scent inhaled, nor softness commended? It is as much against nature to follow after flowers by the head, as to follow after food by the eye, sound by the nose. But every thing which is against nature, deserves to be noted as a monstrous thing among all men; but among us to be styled also sacrilege against God, the Lord and Author of nature.

VI. Dost thou look then for a law from God? thou hast that universal one, in the public record of the world, in the tables of Nature, to which even the Apostle is wont to appeal. As when he saith touching the veil of the woman, Doth not even nature teach you? as when he writeth to the Romans, saying that the Gentiles do by nature the things contained in the law, and putteth them in mind that there is a law given by nature, and a nature which is law. But in the former part of this Epistle also, when he declareth that men and women had changed amongst themselves the natural use of their being, into that which is against nature, their sin being by a just recompense turned into their punishment, he manifestly advocateth the natural use. Even God Himself we first begin to know by nature, both when we call Him the God of gods, and assume that He is good, and call upon Him as our Judge. Dost thou question whether, in the enjoyment of His creatures, nature ought to be our guide, lest we be carried away by that way, by which the enemy of God hath corrupted, together with man himself, the whole creation put in subjection to man for certain uses; whence also the Apostle saith that it was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by misfortune.

that the perishing of the heavens denotes not their utter destruction, but change for the better,” Jerome in Is. 51, 6. Comp. S. Aug. de Civ. D. xx. 16. Chrys. ad loc. Method. de Res. §. 32. S. Cyril Jer. c. 2. S. Athanas. Euseb. Prosper. Casiodorus, in Ps. 101, 26. Proclus, l. c. and §. 32. (Comm. l. c.) Gaudens, l. c. Greg. M. Moral. xvii. in Job 25, 24. Auct. de Prom. Dimid. Temp. l. c. Hezychius also, l. v. in Lev. (c. 18.) understands by “the creature,” the natural creation. On the other hand, S. Augustine understands it to be “human nature,” in those who actually, or who shall hereafter, believe, (Quast, 83. qn. 67. Propos. de Ep. ad Rom. Prop. 53. in Prisc. et Orig. c. 9. in Ps. 129, §. 3.) in which he is followed by Greg. M. (Mor. iv. 34. in Job 3, 18.) and Galæusius l. (Tr. 3. c. Pelag. ap. Labe. Conc. t. i. p. 148.) Origen (ad loc.) seems, in like way, to suppose it chiefly to relate to the soul sympathizing with the body; but also (whence he is followed by Sedulius, l. c.) to include Angels and even Archangels, in that they “fight” for us. (Dan. 10.) S. Hilary (de Temp. xii. §.) and S. Cyril Alex. (Thes. xiv. 1. t. v. p. 170. ed. Par.) employ the text against the Arians, since the Son, if created, must have been liable to all here spoken of; they must then have held all creatures even the highest, to be included; the holy Angels are also regarded by Theodoret (ad loc.) as included in the “whole creation,” and apparently by S. Greg. Naz. l. c. and S. De Sp. c. 2.
end of the matter. For this some worldly learning will be necessary, for worldly things must be shown by their own documents. What little I have attained unto will, I believe, be sufficient. If there was ever a certain Pandora, whom Hesiod mentions as the first of woman-kind, her's was the first head that was crowned by the Graces, when she received gifts from all the gods, whence her name Pandora. But to us Moses, a prophet, not a poet¹, shepherd, describeth the first woman Eve, as having her loins girt with leaves rather than her head with flowers. Pandora therefore there was none. But the origin of the crown is a thing that be ashamed of, even for its false history; yea, and it will soon appear, for its true one also. For of the rest it is known for certain that they were the originators of the thing. Pherecydes relateth that Saturn was crowned with vine-leaves, with the skin of a lion placed beneath its head, and to Ariadne a garland of gold and Indian jewels, the work of Vulcan, the gift of Bacchus, and afterwards a constellation. Callimachus hath put the vine-branch upon Juno. So also her statue at Argos, crowned with vine-leaves, with the skin of a lion placed beneath its feet, displayeth the step-mother boasting over the spoils of both her step-sons. Hercules carrieth on his head the leaves sometimes of the poplar, sometimes of the wild olive, sometimes of parsley. Thou hast the tragedy of Cerberus: thou hast Pindar: and Callimachus, who relateth that Apollo also, after killing the serpent at Delphi, put on a laurel crown, in that he was a suppliant; for among the ancients suppliants wore crowns: Harpocration argueth that

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1 Hesiod, who speaks of Pandora, calls himself a shepherd, Theog. init. seu Ovid. and Dion Chrys. ap. Lac. 4 eternus, MSS. or certus. Grimo is a conjecture of Rigaltius. The meaning seems, 'whereas the story of Pandora is a fable, as contradicted by Scripture, it is known that 'the rest', those which follow, Saturn, &c. were real men, and originated or improved upon the making of garlands. 2 Hesiod. Ovid. and Bacchus. 3 Plin. xii. 1. 4 Id. xvi. 44.
Things abused or attributed to idols, may be used, if necessaries, was any thing, but because the things, which others do unto idols, pertain to devils. Moreover if the things, which others do unto idols, pertain to devils, how much more that which the idols, while yet alive, have done unto themselves! In truth the devils themselves have provided for themselves through those, in whose persons they before hungered for that which they have provided.

VIII. Do thou maintain then this belief in the mean time, while I sit an objection which meeteth me. For already I hear it said that many other things also, which were first brought to light by those whom the world hath believed to be gods, are nevertheless found in daily use, both among ourselves and the ancient saints, and in the things of God, and in Christ Himself, Who lived the life of a man, through no other than the common means of human life. Be it so by all means: nor will I enquire any farther back into the origin of these things. Let Mercury have been the first teacher of letters: I shall allow that they are necessary for our intercourse with the world, and in our services towards God. And if it be he also who tuned the strings of instruments to music, I must not deny, while I listen to David, that the saints had the same talent on their side, and that it ministered unto God. Let Æsculapius be the first that invented medicines: I remember that Esaías also prescribed something medicinal to Hezekiah, when he was sick. Paul also knoweth that a little wine is profitable for the stomach. But let Minerva too be the first who built a ship: I cannot but see Jonah and the Apostles sailing in ships. And more than this—even Christ must have His cloak; even Paul must have his cloak. If they name some one of the gods of the world as the inventor of every single article of furniture, and of each particular vessel, they must needs remember Christ, both when He sat upon a couch, and when He proffereth the basin for the feet of His disciples, and when He poureth water therein out of a pitcher, and when He girdeth Himself with a linen towel, the very clothing proper to Osiris. To this sort of argument I can answer thus: I allow indeed the common use of such implements, but demand that it shall be tested by the rule of distinction between things reasonable and things not reasonable, because this generalizing of the subject is fallacious, keeping out of sight the corruption of the creature, Rom. 8, 20, whereby it is made subject to vanity. For we say, in a word, that those things are meet both for our own uses, and for those of our fathers, and for the things of God, and for Christ Himself, which provide mere benefits, and certain helps, and honourable comforts in things necessary to human life: so that they may be thought to have been first inspired by God Himself, Who first prepared provision, and instruction, and, if you will, pleasure for His own creature, man: while the things, which transgress this line, are not meet for our uses, especially such things as are, for this reason I mean, not to be found either in the world, or in the things of God, or in the conversation of Christ.

IX. Finally, what Patriarch, what Prophet, what Levite, or Priest, or Ruler, what Apostle in after times, or Evangelist, or Bishop is found to have been crowned? Nor, methinks, was even the temple of God, nor the ark of the covenant, nor the tabernacle of the testimony, nor the altar, nor the candle-stick, which it would have surely been meet should be crowned, both in the solemnity of their first dedication, and next in the rejoicings at their restoration, if this had been worthy of God. But if they were figures of ourselves, (for we are both temples of God, and His altars, and lights, and vessels,) this also they foreshewed in a figure, that the men of God ought not to be crowned. The reality ought to answer to the image. If so be thou objectest that Christ was crowned, to this thou shalt now hear a short answer: Be thou also crowned in like manner: it is lawful for thee. Nevertheless the people did not contrive even this crown of impious mockery. It was a device of the Roman soldiers, according to the custom of the world, which the people of God have never allowed either under the name of public rejoicing or of inborn luxury: that people, which returned from the captivity in Babylon with cymbals and pipes and Neh. 12, psaltères rather than with crowns, and who after eating and drinking rose up to play without crowns. For neither Ex. 32, the description of their rejoicing, nor the reproof of their wantonness, would have been silent concerning either the

* The Egyptian Priests wore linen Schweigh. ib. only, Herod. ii. 57. and others ap.
Heathen rite of crowning dead illustrates idolatry of crowns.

1.74 Since they drink wine with cymbals and pipes and psal­
teryies, he would have said also 'with crowns,' if this custom had ever been used in the things of God.

De. Honour or the dishonour of the crown. So also Esaias saith, since they drink wine with cymbals and pipes and psal­
teryies, he would have said also 'with crowns,' if this custom had ever been used in the things of God.

X. Wherefore, in alleging that the ornaments of the gods of this world are found to pertain also to the true God, in order that thou mayest claim for common use, among these ornaments, a crown also for the head, in this thou layest down a rule for thyself, that whatsoever is not found in the things of God must not be applied to common use. For what is so unworthy of God, as that which is worthy of an idol? and what so worthy of an idol, as that which is worthy also of a dead man? for it belongeth to the dead also to be so crowned;

It will be therefore the part of those, who are without sense, so to use that of which they have no sense, as though they would abuse it if they were not without sense. For when the real use of a thing ceaseth, from the ceasing of the natural sense, there is nothing between this and its abuse. Let any one abuse a thing as he will, when he hath not wherewith to use it. But for us it is not lawful to abuse things, according to the Apostle, who teacheth us rather not to use them; unless we say that they who have no sense do not even abuse them, but that the whole work is nothing, and is itself also dead as regardeth the idols, though clearly not dead as regardeth the demons, to whom the superstition appertaineth. The idols of the nations, saith David, are silver and gold. They have eyes, and see not; noses, and smell not; hands, and handle not. For it is by these members that one must enjoy flowers. But if he declareth that they that make idols shall be like unto them, then are they like unto them, who use any thing according to the fashion of idols. To the pure all things are pure; so also to them that are defiled all things are impure. Now nothing is more defiled than idols. But all substances are pure, as being the creatures of God, and, in this their character, meet for the use of all: but the application of this very use maketh the difference. For even I kill a fowl for myself, no less than Socrates did for Esculapius: and if the savour of any place offendeth me, I burn something from Arabia, but not with the same ceremony, nor in the same dress, nor with the same outward show with which men deal with idols. For if the creature is defiled by a bare word, (as the Apostle teacheth, But if any man say this is offered in sacrifice to idol, touch it not;) much more is it defiled, when thou dost cast it in the dress, and with the ceremony and the outward show pertaining to things offered unto idols. Thus the crown also cometh a thing offered to idols; for it is with this dress, and ceremony, and outward show, that the offering is made to the idol by those who first invented it, to whom, on this account especially, the use thereof properly belongeth, that nothing may be allowed for common use, which is not found in the things of God. For this reason the Apostle crieth out, flee from idolatry, of every kind, doubtless, and to altogether. Examine all the branches of the matter, and see how many thorns lurk therein. Nothing must be given to an idol; so neither must any thing be taken from an idol. If to sit in the idol's temple, be foreign to the faith, what is it? to be seen in the idol's dress? What communion hath Christ with Belial? Wherefore flee therefrom. For he commandeth that we be far separate from idolatry: in nothing must we come nigh unto it. Even an earthly serpent sucketh in men from a distance with its breath. John proceedeth still farther: Little children, saith he, keep yourselves from idols. He saith not now, from idolatry, as from a service, but from idols, that is from their very likeness. For it is not meet that thou, being the image of the living God, shouldest become the image of an idol and a dead man. Thus far do we claim for idols the sole property in this dress, both because of the origin, to which it is traced, and because of the superstitious use of it; and moreover from this also, that since it is not numbered among the things of God, it is reckoned more and more the representation of those, in whose ancient and solemn rites and services it is met with. Of these even the very doors, and the very victims and altars, and the very ministers and priests are crowned. Thou hast in Claudius the crowns of all the various colleges of priests.

1 Cor. 7, to use them: unless we say that they who have no sense do not even abuse them, but that the whole work is nothing, and is itself also dead as regardeth the idols, though clearly not dead as regardeth the demons, to whom the superstition appertaineth. The idols of the nations, saith David, are silver and gold. They have eyes, and see not; noses, and smell not; hands, and handle not. For it is by these members that one must enjoy flowers. But if he declareth that they that make idols shall be like unto them, then are they like unto them, who use any thing according to the fashion of idols. To the pure all things are pure; so also to them that are defiled all things are impure. Now nothing is more defiled than idols. But all substances are pure, as being the creatures of God, and, in this their character, meet for the use of all: but the application of this very use maketh the difference. For even I kill a fowl for myself, no less than Socrates did for Esculapius: and if the savour of any place offendeth me, I burn something from Arabia, but not with the same ceremony, nor in the same dress, nor with the same outward show with which men deal with idols. For if the creature is defiled by a bare word, (as the Apostle teacheth, But if any man say this is offered in sacrifice to idol, touch it not;) much more is it defiled, when thou dost cast it in the dress, and with the ceremony and the outward show pertaining to things offered unto idols. Thus the crown also cometh a thing offered to idols; for it is with this dress, and ceremony, and outward show, that the offering is made to the idol by those who first invented it, to whom, on this account especially, the use thereof properly belongeth, that nothing may be allowed for common use, which is not found in the things of God. For this reason the Apostle crieth out, flee from idolatry, of every kind, doubtless, and to altogether. Examine all the branches of the matter, and see how many thorns lurk therein. Nothing must be given to an idol; so neither must any thing be taken from an idol. If to sit in the idol's temple, be foreign to the faith, what is it? to be seen in the idol's dress? What communion hath Christ with Belial? Wherefore flee therefrom. For he commandeth that we be far separate from idolatry: in nothing must we come nigh unto it. Even an earthly serpent sucketh in men from a distance with its breath. John proceedeth still farther: Little children, saith he, keep yourselves from idols. He saith not now, from idolatry, as from a service, but from idols, that is from their very likeness. For it is not meet that thou, being the image of the living God, shouldest become the image of an idol and a dead man. Thus far do we claim for idols the sole property in this dress, both because of the origin, to which it is traced, and because of the superstitious use of it; and moreover from this also, that since it is not numbered among the things of God, it is reckoned more and more the representation of those, in whose ancient and solemn rites and services it is met with. Of these even the very doors, and the very victims and altars, and the very ministers and priests are crowned. Thou hast in Claudius the crowns of all the various colleges of priests.
But we have interposed this distinction of the difference between things reasonable and things unreasonable, to meet those who by occasion of some particular instances maintain a communion in all. With a view therefore to this part of our subject, it remaineth that the causes for wearing crowns be now themselves examined, that, whilst we shew that they are foreign, yea, contrary to true Religion, we may prove that not one of them is so supported by the voice of Reason, that any dress of this kind can be claimed for the use of all; although there be some whose examples are objected to us.

XI. For to begin with the cause of the military crown itself, I think we must first enquire whether military service generally be meet for Christians. Otherwise what availeth to treat of incidental circumstances, when there is a fault in first principles? Do we believe that a human sacrament may supersede a Divine one, and that a man may pledge his faith to another lord after Christ? and renounce father and mother and all that are nearest to him, whom the Law teacheth should be honoured and loved next to God, whom the Gospel also hath in like manner honoured, only not valuing them more than Christ? Shall it be lawful for him to deal with the sword, when the Lord declareth that he that useth the sword shall perish by the sword? And shall the soldier keep his station either for any others rather than for Christ, or on the Lord's Day, when he doth it not even for Christ? And shall he keep watch before those temples which he hath renounced? And shall he sit at meat where the Apostle would not have him? And shall he defend by night those, whom it will not befit even to watch before those temples, whom the Law hath put to flight by his exorcisms, although there be some whose examples are objected to us.

Mat. 10, 37. valuing them more than Christ? Shall it be lawful for him to deal with the sword, when the Lord declareth that he that useth the sword shall perish by the sword? And shall the soldier keep his station either for any others rather than for Christ, or on the Lord's Day, when he doth it not even for Christ? And shall he keep watch before those temples which he hath renounced? And shall he sit at meat where the Apostle would not have him? And shall he defend by night those, whom it will not befit even to watch before those temples, whom the Law hath put to flight by his exorcisms, although there be some whose examples are objected to us.

These are foreign, yea, contrary to true Religion, we may prove that not one of them is so supported by the voice of Reason, that any dress of this kind can be claimed for the use of all; although there be some whose examples are objected to us.

Cor. 2. The Gospel also hath in like manner honoured, only not valuing them more than Christ? Shall it be lawful for him to deal with the sword, when the Lord declareth that he that useth the sword shall perish by the sword? And shall the soldier keep his station either for any others rather than for Christ, or on the Lord's Day, when he doth it not even for Christ? And shall he keep watch before those temples which he hath renounced? And shall he sit at meat where the Apostle would not have him? And shall he defend by night those, whom it will not befit even to watch before those temples, whom the Law hath put to flight by his exorcisms, although there be some whose examples are objected to us.

1 Cor. 6. son of peace act in battle, whom it will not befit even to go to law? Shall he administer bonds and imprisonment, and tortures, and punishments, who may not avenge even his own injuries. Again, shall he keep his station either for any others rather than for Christ, or on the Lord's Day, when he doth it not even for Christ? And shall he keep watch before those temples which he hath renounced? And shall he sit at meat where the Apostle would not have him? And shall he defend by night those, whom it will not befit even to watch before those temples, whom the Law hath put to flight by his exorcisms, although there be some whose examples are objected to us.

Rom. 12, 19. as being foreign, yea, contrary to true Religion, we may prove that not one of them is so supported by the voice of Reason, that any dress of this kind can be claimed for the use of all; although there be some whose examples are objected to us.

Mat. 26, 52. as being foreign, yea, contrary to true Religion, we may prove that not one of them is so supported by the voice of Reason, that any dress of this kind can be claimed for the use of all; although there be some whose examples are objected to us.

We also ought to swear to God the oath which the soldiers do to the Emperor. For they, when they receive their pay, swear to prefer the safety of the Emperor to all things. As being foreign, yea, contrary to true Religion, we may prove that not one of them is so supported by the voice of Reason, that any dress of this kind can be claimed for the use of all; although there be some whose examples are objected to us.

Lac. 1 Cor. 6. son of peace act in battle, whom it will not befit even to go to law? Shall he administer bonds and imprisonment, and tortures, and punishments, who may not avenge even his own injuries. Again, shall he keep his station either for any others rather than for Christ, or on the Lord's Day, when he doth it not even for Christ? And shall he keep watch before those temples which he hath renounced? And shall he sit at meat where the Apostle would not have him? And shall he defend by night those, whom it will not befit even to watch before those temples, whom the Law hath put to flight by his exorcisms, although there be some whose examples are objected to us.

Deb. c. 14. Statio i. military duty. St. Christian stationary-days, so called from the long continuance of the service, until 3 in the afternoon.

As being foreign, yea, contrary to true Religion, we may prove that not one of them is so supported by the voice of Reason, that any dress of this kind can be claimed for the use of all; although there be some whose examples are objected to us.

De Orat. c. 14. as being foreign, yea, contrary to true Religion, we may prove that not one of them is so supported by the voice of Reason, that any dress of this kind can be claimed for the use of all; although there be some whose examples are objected to us.

De Idol. c. 19. as being foreign, yea, contrary to true Religion, we may prove that not one of them is so supported by the voice of Reason, that any dress of this kind can be claimed for the use of all; although there be some whose examples are objected to us.

DeFileSize.e. end of this Treatise, p. 184.

Oath of fealty or promise in Baptism, to keep His will and commandments, &c.

Suetonius Calig. c. 15. has the formula of the oath, nor will I account myself and my children dearer than Caius. Arr. 1. c. 14. ap. Lact. We also ought to swear to God the oath which the soldiers do to the Emperor. For they, when they receive their pay, swear to prefer the safety of the Emperor to all things.

1 The Cross in Baptism. Incense to idols, de Res. Carnis beog. Martyr. x. 36. In matutina super spectaculis arcest, &c.

2 Soldiers being also executioners. Fides pagana, as below, fides pagana, i. e. there is one faith, whether as a heathen, i. e. he is bound to God as a Christian, as to the Emperor as a heathen; but this lies not in the words, and this sense of "pagana" belongs to a later time, when the only heathen were villagers (pagani).
They have no necessity for sinning who are under the single necessity imposed by tortures or penalties, both to sacrifice and directly to deny his faith. But our Religion doth not even wink at this necessity; because the necessity of fearing to deny the faith, and of undergoing martyrdom, is stronger than that of escaping suffering and fulfilling the required task. But an excuse of this sort overthroweth the whole substance of our sacramental vow in loosing the check even upon wilful sins. For even the will may be maintained to be necessity, in that it admitteth of being compelled. I might, as a first step, set up this very necessity in bar of all other reasons for crowns of office, in which the plea of necessity is most common. Since there is a necessity that the offices be shunned for this reason, that we fall not into sins, or else that martyrs be endured that we may break through the offices. On the first head of the question, whether even military service in itself be not unlawful, I shall say no more, in order that the second may be brought forward: lest, if, using my whole strength, I put military service out of the question, I should then be uselessly challenging a dispute touching the military crown. Suppose then that military service is lawful even to the point of its being the cause for wearing the crown.

XII. But let us first speak of the crown itself. This laurel is sacred to Apollo or to Bacchus: to the one as the God of arrows, to the other as the God of triumphs. So teacheth Claudius, when he saith that soldiers are wont to be crowned with the myrtle also: for that the myrtle belongeth to Venus the mother of the race of Æneas, the mistress also of Mars, who, through Ilia and the twin Romuli, is of Roman kin. But I do not believe that Venus is, like Mars, attached to Rome, through the quarter in which her grievance as his mistress lieth. Since the soldiery are crowned with the olive also, this is idolatry to Minerva, who is equally the goddess of arms, but crowned with this tree for the peace also which she made with Neptune. In these respects the superstition of the military wreath will be every where defiled and defiling; and so the whole will be directly defiled in the very source. Behold now! what think ye of the yearly recitation of vows, first in the head-quarters, secondly in the Capitoline temples? Next to the places, hear what are the words used: 'Then have we vowed, O Jupiter, that an offering shall be made to thee with an ox having his horns crowned with gold.' What do the words import? surely a denial of the Faith. Although in such a case the Christian be silent with the mouth, yet by wearing the crown on his head he hath responded. The same laurel, in the distribution of the bounty-money, is denounced as idolatry, certainly not without hire, since it selleth Christ for certain pieces of gold, as Judas did for pieces of silver. Shall this be the meaning of, Ye cannot serve God and Mammon, to give the hand to Mat. 6. Mammon and to forsake God? Shall this be the meaning of, Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar’s, and unto God the things that are God’s, not to render the man to God, and to take the penny from Caesar? Is the triumphal laurel crown strewed with leaves, or with corpses? Is it adorned with plates of metal, or with tombs? Is it bedewed with ointments, or with the tears of wives and mothers? perhaps even of some Christians, for Christ is among barbarians also. Hath not he, who weareth on his head the cause of the state with laurel, and magistrates moreover placed the Tuscan: this is the name of those crowns, adorned with jewels and distinction of the Tuscan: this is the name of those crowns, adorned with jewels and oak-leaves of gold, in honour of Jupiter, they use, together with striped cloaks, in accompanying the procession of the cars. There are also provincial crowns of gold which now require the larger heads of statues

* "Want of will is the cause: want of power is pleaded." Senec. Ep. 116.

** See on S. Aug. Conf. viii. 6.
and not of men. But thy order, and thy magistracies, and the very name of thy court, is the Church of Christ. His thou art, being enrolled in the books of life. There is thy purple, the Blood of the Lord, and thy broad crown in His Cross: there is the axe, laid unto the root of the tree,—there are the rods, out of the root of Jesse. No matter also for the public horses with their crowns. Thy Lord, when He would enter Jerusalem according to the Scriptures, had not even an enrolment for them. These are chariots, and these in horses, but we will call on the name of the Lord our God. In the Revelation c. 18, 4. of John we are withheld even from dwelling in this Babylon; much more from her pomp. The common people also are crowned, sometimes out of joy for the prosperity of their princes, sometimes according to the special custom of the solemnities of their cities: and extravagance layeth hold of all public rejoicing. But thou art a stranger in this world, a citizen of Jerusalem which is above. Our citizenship, saith he, is in Heaven. Thou hast thine own enrolment of princes, sometimes according to the special custom of the rejoicings of the world, yea thou oughtest to do the rejoicing of the world, yea thou oughtest to do the rejoicing of the world.

180 Crowns relate to honours, poms, joys of world, not the Christian's.

Heb. 11, all public rejoicing. But thou art a stranger in this world, a citizen of Jerusalem which is above. Our citizenship, saith he, is in Heaven. Thou hast thine own enrolment of princes, sometimes according to the special custom of the rejoicings of the world, yea thou oughtest to do the rejoicing of the world, yea thou oughtest to do the rejoicing of the world.

181 Human freedom no cause for crowns, for things of the world unreal.

 thou hast an Apostle commanding thee to marry in the Lord. 1 Cor. 7, 40. The making also a freeman in this world is an occasion of crowning. But thou art already redeemed by Christ, and that at a great price. How shall the world set free another's servant? Although it seemeth to be freedom, yet was it seen also to be a state of service. In the world all things are imaginary, and nothing real: for even then, when thou wast redeemed by Christ, thou wert free from man, and now although made free by man, thou art Christ's servant. If. 22. thou thinkest that the freedom of this world is true liberty, so that thou even distinguishest it by a crown, thou hast returned to the service of man, which thou thinkest to be liberty: thou hast lost the liberty of Christ, which thou thinkest to be service. Will the occasions furnished by the games also be disputed, which their own titles at once condemn? as pertaining, that is, to sacred and funereal rites. For it remaineth only that the Olympian Jupiter, and the Nemean Hercules, and the poor little Antinous, and the unhappy Antinous* be crowned in the Christian, that he himself may become the spectacle, where he ought to be the spectator. We have, methinks, enumerated all the occasions: and not one of them are our concern: all are foreign to us, profane, unlawful, renounced once for all in our sacramental profession. For all the same were the pomps of the Devil and his angels*, the offices of the world, its honours, its solemnities, its popular arts, its false vows, its human services, its vain praises, its shameful glories. And in all these things there is idolatry, if only in the character of the crowns, with which all these things are adorned. Claudius will begin by telling us that, in the verses of Homer, even the Heaven is crowned.
Heathenism crowns the exalted & debased: Xi the Xian's crown.

Christ's crown, of thorns; glorious crowns worn in, kept for, heaven.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{1 Pet. 3: 18} & \quad \text{Heavenism crowns the exalted & debased: Xi the Xian's crown.} \\
\text{1 Cor. 11: 3} & \quad \text{with stars: certainly by God; certainly for man: wherefore man himself also ought to be crowned by God. But by the world are crowned brothels, and baths, and the mill, and the prison, and the school; the very amphitheatres, and the very places for stripping the slain, and the very funerals themselves. How doubly sacred, how honourable and pure is this dress, judge not from the "heaven" of the Poet alone, but by the conversation of the whole world! But the Christian will not dishonour even his door with laurels, if he knoweth how many gods the Devil hath fabricated even for doors; Janus, from ' janua' Limentinus, from ' limen', Forculus and Carda, from ' fores' and ' cardines'; and among the Greeks, Apollo ' Thyrsæus', of the door, and the Damons called Antellis, facing the sun.' XIV. So far must the Christian be from putting this work of idolatry upon his own head, yea, I might even say, upon Christ, if so be that Christ is the head of the man, which head is as free as Christ Himself, not obliged to wear even a veil, far less a bandage. Moreover also the head which is obliged to wear a veil, the head of the woman, being already occupied by the veil, hath not room for the bandage also: she beareth the burden of her own subjection. If she ought not to be seen with her head uncovered, because of the Angels, much more, having her head crowned, will she offend those who are perhaps at the same time wearing their crowns. For what is a crown on the head of a woman but the pander of her beauty, the highest mark of lewdness, the extreme denial of modesty, the contriver of allurement? Wherefore also the woman will not be too carefully adorned, according to what the Apostle provideth, that she be not crowned even by the plaiting of the hair. But He that is both the Head of the man, and the Beauty of the woman, the Husband of the Church, Christ Jesus, what sort of crown, I pray thee, did He put on for both man and woman? 'Twas one, methinks, of thorns and briars, as a figure of those sins, which the flesh of our Lord was crowned with thorns, should, insulting the holy Passion of the Lord, be encircled with flowers. For the crown of the Lord, prophetically designated us, aforetime unfruitful, who are placed around Him through the Church, whereof He is the Head.' Clem. Al. Ped. ii. 8.
\end{align*}\]
vision, what will be the realities when truly presented? 

De Co. v. 13. These be thy sights, these thy sweet savours! Why condemnest thou to the garland and the wreath, that head which is designed for a kingly crown? for Christ Jesus hath made us even kings unto God and His Father. What hast thou to do with a flower that dieth? Thou hast a flower* out of the rod of Jesse, on which all the grace of the Spirit of God hath rested; a flower incorruptible, unwithering, everlasting, by choosing which, this good soldier hath been promoted to honour in the ranks of Heaven. Blush ye, his fellow-soldiers, who shall now stand condemned, not by him, but even by any soldier of Mithra, who, when he is enrolled in the cavern, the camp, in very truth, of darkness, when the crown is offered him, (a sword being placed between him and it, as if in mimicry of martyrdom,) and then fitted upon his head, is taught to put it aside from his head, meeting it with touch of his hand, and to remove it, it may be, to his shoulder, saying that Mithra is his crown. And thenceforth he never weareth a crown, and he hath this as a sign whereby he is approved, if at any time he is tried touching his military oath: and he is forthwith believed to be a soldier of Mithra, if he throweth down his crown, if he declareth that he hath it in his God. See we the wiles of the Devil, who pretendeth to some of the Heathen Priesthoods had, not to defile themselves with blood; and says truly (with Tertullian, Apol c. 30. 33.) that they availed more with their prayers for the Empire than others with their arms; since too there were at all times Christians in the Roman armies, it is not to be taken to the letter, when he says, (ib.) "we are not war with the Emperor, though he constrain us; but we war for him, banded into an army of piety, peculiar to ourselves, by intercessions unto God." At the same time, both the objection of Celsus, and the answer of Origen, imply the fact, which was to be expected, that fewer Christians in proportion were to be found in the armies. Origen, however, no where maintains war to be lawful for Christians, for which Grotius (De Jur. Bell. et Pac. i. 2. § 9. n. 2.) and Spencer (In i. viii. c. Cels. 73.) charge him with inconsistency. In iv. 82, where he says, that "the wars of bees are an instruction how just and due wars might, if needs be, take place among men." there is no reference to Christians, in whom alone he held it was inconsistent; i. 1. is plainly an argument ad hominem only, that it was lawful for Christians to unite in a way unallowed by the state, to overthrow the tyranny of Satan, as it was "to remove a tyrant, who had taken possession of a city." On the other hand, it does not appear that in speaking against the literal sense of Luke 22, 35, 36. (tom. xv. in Matt. i. 2.) he means to speak against more than private requital of injuries. Lactantius, vi. 20. seems peremptorily to exclude all war. S. Basil also, Ep. 188. ad Amphilocho. (Canon. i.) Can. 13. recommends hesitatingly that such as have actually shed blood in war, be kept from the communion for three years, as having unclean hands.

On the other hand, S. Basil himself attests in the same Canon, "our fathers did not account man-slaying in wars, as man-slaying," adding, "in my opinion, having compassion on those who fought in behalf of chastity and piety," thus bearing witness to the Catholic practice, while counselling a restriction of it. (And of such voluntary self-restriction Theodosius furnishes an instance; "What, when having gained a splendid victory [over Eugenius], yet because the enemies were slain in the battle, he deprived himself of the participation of the Sacraments," Soc. S. Ambr. de Ob. Valentin. § 34.) In either case, out of reverence, not to approach the Holy Eucharist, with hands which had recently any how

Note F, on c. xi. p. 176.

Fathers did not hold war forbidden.

Christians to remain in it, if already in it, when called to be Christians, only suffering martyrdom rather than do any thing unlawful; which he would not have tolerated, had he thought it wholly forbidden. It is the free choice of such a profession which he condemns; and serious persons could not have chosen it amid such perils to the Faith.

In like way, Origen, in the passages in which he is supposed to pronounce the service illegal, is mostly speaking of its inconsistency with the character of the Gospel; it was not contrary to that of the Law, which, under certain circumstances, enjoined it, and established a polity which needed it; it was to that of the Gospel, which increased through suffering, (c. Cels. v. 26.) and in which they were to "beat their swords into pruning-hooks." (ib. v. 33.) In the same spirit, (viii. 73.) he claims for the Christians, as a spiritual priesthood, the same exemption as some of the Heathen Priesthoods had, not to defile themselves with blood; and says truly (with Tertullian, Apol c. 30. 33.) that they availed more with their prayers for the Empire than others with their arms; since too there were at all times Christians in the Roman armies, it is not to be taken to the letter, when he says, (ib.) "we are not war with the Emperor, though he constrain us; but we war for him, banded into an army of piety, peculiar to ourselves, by intercessions unto God." At the same time, both the objection of Celsus, and the answer of Origen, imply the fact, which was to be expected, that fewer Christians in proportion were to be found in the armies. Origen, however, nowhere maintains war to be lawful for Christians, for which Grotius (De Jur. Bell. et Pac. i. 2. § 9. n. 2.) and Spencer (In i. viii. c. Cels. 73.) charge him with inconsistency. In iv. 82, where he says, that "the wars of bees are an instruction how just and due wars might, if needs be, take place among men," there is no reference to Christians, in whom alone he held it was inconsistent; i. 1. is plainly an argument ad hominem only, that it was lawful for Christians to unite in a way unallowed by the state, to overthrow the tyranny of Satan, as it was "to remove a tyrant, who had taken possession of a city." On the other hand, it does not appear that in speaking against the literal sense of Luke 22, 35, 36. (tom. xv. in Matt. i. 2.) he means to speak against more than private requital of injuries. Lactantius, vi. 20. seems peremptorily to exclude all war. S. Basil also, Ep. 188. ad Amphilocho. (Canon. i.) Can. 13. recommends hesitatingly that such as have actually shed blood in war, be kept from the communion for three years, as having unclean hands.

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Christian soldier may obey even in unjust war.

NOTE

shed man’s blood. S. Basil himself, in his Homily on the Forty Martyrs, both attests the fact of soldier-martyrs, and praises them, as “having acquired the highest honours with kings, for military experience, and valour of soul celebrated with all, for courage.” § 2. as S. Greg. Naz. (Orat. iv. c. Jul. §. 83 sqq.) implies without disapprobation that there were many Christians in Julian’s army. He also (Or. xii. ad Jul. Trib. Exsq. §. 11.) addresses soldiers on their duties, (cp. Ap. Const. viii. 32.) S. Ambrose, (de Off. i. 40. 41.) panegyrizes the valour of the mighty men of the Old Testament and of the Maccabean period; though among Christians he instances only the firmness of martyrs: he praises also the pious valour of Theodosius, (de Obs. Theod. §. 7.) as does S. Augustine, (de Civ. D. v. 26.) S. Augustine argues, (Ep. 138. (ol. 5.) ad Marcell. §. 14.) that wars against the evil were not inconsistent with charity; (§. 15. ad Bonif. §. 8.) that if military service had been forbidden to Christians, the advice, to be “content with their wages,” would not have been given in the Gospel. He tells Boniface, himself a soldier, “Think not, no one can please God, who serves in arms of war,” appealing to David and the two Centurions, (Ep. 189. ol. 98.) and gives him practical rules, §. 6. e. g. “Peace should be in will, war, of necessity.” He defines it further, c. Faust. xxii. 74. 75. and shews that soldiers may lawfully carry on what, in those who declare it, is an unjust war. “But if war is waged out of the cupidity of man, this hurts not the saints—for there is no power, but of God, either commanding or permitting. A just man then, if perchance he be in military service under a king, who is even a sacrilegious man, may rightly war at his command, keeping the due order of internal peace, (to which which is commanded is either certain that it is not against the command of God, or not certain whether it be,) so that perchance the injustice of the command may make the king guilty, but the due order of obeying may prove the soldier innocent.”

The sayings of S. Aug. alleged on the other side, are such as these; “We are not to pray that our enemies should die,” (in Ps. 37. §. 14.) therefore, it is inferred, those of the land may not be killed in war; “we obtain this from the clemency of the Emperors, lest the sufferings of the servants of God, which ought to be glorious in the Church, should be dishonoured by the blood of their adversaries,” (Ep. 139. ol. 158. ad Marcell. §. 2. to Ep. 133. ad Marcellin. fin. 134. ad Arping. §. 3. quoted by Barclay,) therefore, the enemies of the state are not to be repelled by force. So Erasmus. In like way, Barclay (Apology, Prop. 15.) adduces several passages in which the Fathers speak against private resistance, as S. Amb. in Luc. 22. [v. 36. 1. x. §. 53.] S. Cyril. Al. 1. xi. in Joann. S. Chrys. Hom. 15. in Matt. 5. Hom. 85. in Matt. 26. S. Jerome, Ep. p. 3. t. 1. ep. 2. [123. ad Ageruch. §. 13.] or contentious in the Church, as Ep. [77.] ad Ocean. §. 8.

On such authorities, Gibbon says, (c. 15. §. 4.) “nor could their humane ignorance be convinced that it was lawful on occasion to shed the blood of our fellow-creatures, either by the sword of justice or of that of war, even though their criminal or hostile attempt should threaten the peace or the safety of the whole community.”

OF PUBLIC SHOWS.

[The “De Spectaculis” was written previously to the “De Corona” and the “De Idololatria,” in the latter of which T. expressly refers to it, (c. 13.) and, by implication, in the former also; since, saying that he had written on shows “in Greek only,” (c. 8.) he implies that he had written in Latin. The “De Corona”fixes it before A.D. 261: (see Notice to it:) the “De Idololatria,” probably, in an earlier part of A.D. 196, (see Notice, below;) it is quoted also in the De Cultu Fem. i. 7, which books were written during a severe persecution, (ii. 13.) probably that under Severus, (Lumper l. c. Art. ii. §. 6.) of internal evidence, it has been noticed, that it was probably written when some great shows were being given, the chief occasion of which, about this period, was Severus’s return to Rome, after his victory over Albinus, A.D. 196. (see Notice on Apol.) The “secular games,” A.D. 284, fell too late. It was also written apparently before the edict of Severus against the Christians, since T. ascribes the persecution to the populace only, (c. 26.) or the governors of the provinces, (c. 30.) (see Lumper l. c. Art. i. §. xiv.) Neander also, (Tertullian S. 29.) supposes it to have been written on occasion of this victory of Severus. It has no trace of Montanism; for not the expectation of a “new Jerusalem,” (c. ult.) of which the Apocalypse also speaks, is Montanistic; but the affirmation that such a city had been actually seen in the air for forty days. adv. Marc. iii. ult.]

I. WHAT STATE OF FAITH, WHAT ARGUMENT OF TRUTH, WHAT RULE OF DISCIPLINE, BARTHEL, AMONG OTHER ERRORS OF THE WORLD, THE

Pamphilus (drawing, as he says, in much from the Author of the Obs. Div. et Hum. Jur.) shews at length that T. almost uniformly combines the condemnation of the four sorts of shows, 1. racing, in the Circus, 2. plays, in the Theatre, S. gymnastics, in the Stadium, 4. gladiators and fighting with beasts, in the Amphitheatre; thus c. 2. he instances the things abused, 1. the horse, 2. melody of voice, 3. bodily strength, 4. the lion. The places are named in the same order, c. 20. 21. 22. the actors, c. 22. 23. 24. ult. the games, c. 3. circus, thestrum, agon, (gymnastics,) munus, (soc. gladiatorium,) and 29. and Apol. c. 38. Isidor. Etym. xlvii. 16. (copying T.): in a different order, de Pudic. Zeno, in forbidding the theatre and the shows in the Amphitheatre; thus c. 2. he ascribes the persecution to the populace only, (c. 26.) or the governors of the provinces, (c. 30.) (see Lumper l. c. Art. i. §. xiv.) Neander also, (Tertullian S. 29.) supposes it to have been written on occasion of this victory of Severus. It has no trace of Montanism; for not the expectation of a “new Jerusalem,” (c. ult.) of which the Apocalypse also speaks, is Montanistic; but the affirmation that such a city had been actually seen in the air for forty days. adv. Marc. iii. ult.]
Rejection of pleasure training to Christian firmness.

De Spect. VI. 1.

pleasures also of the public shows, hear, ye servants of God, who are coming very nigh unto God; hear again, ye who have witnessed and professed that ye have already come unto Him, that none may sin either from real or pretended ignorance. For so great is the influence of pleasures, that it maketh ignorance linger to take advantage of it, and bribeth knowledge to dissemble itself. In either case to some, perchance, the opinions of those heathens have still a charm, who, on this question, have been accustomed to argue against us thus: that these great refreshments of the eyes or the ears from without are no hindrance to religion in the mind and in the conscience; and that God is not offended by such gratification of a man as there is no sin in his enjoying at its proper time and in its proper place, saving always the fear and the honour due unto God. But this is what we are prepared especially to prove, how it is that these things do not accord with true religion, and with the true service of the true God. There are who think that the Christians, a people ever ready for death, are trained up to this obstinacy, by the renouncement of pleasures, so that they may the more easily despise life, having, as it were, cut its bonds asunder; and may not pine after that, which they have already rendered superfluous to themselves; that so

\[ \text{The term "pleasures" was almost technically applied to the "shows," Trebell. in Gal., "public pleasures," Cæcilius ap. Minuc. F. 4: ye abstain from lawful pleasures;" in like way in Greek, "the phrenzied pleasures (σκόπειας) of the theatres," Hom. de Semente, p. 11. ap. Athenaeus, ii. p. 60. see La C. On the strange fascination even of the gladiatorial shows, see S. Aug. Conf. i. c. who complains, Hom. in Ps. 80. 6: how many baptized persons have preferred to-day to throng the Circus, rather than this Basilica, (see R.): add Auct. de Spect. ap. S. Cypr. § 4. s. In later times, there was even a tribunal to such, Cæcilius, i. vili. ep. 10. ap. Lps. ap. Dioph. c. 10.}

\[ \text{The Catechumens, candidates for Baptism.}

\[ \text{The baptized.}

\[ \text{A man may, by phrenzy, be so disposed thereto (to death) and the Galileans by holiness, Arr. ad Epist. iv. 7. ap. Rig.}


\[ \text{Actions not therefore good, because using good things of God. 189 this rule may be thought to be laid down rather by man's wisdom and provision, than by the law of God. It was grievous forsooth to them, while they yet continued in pleasures, to die for God. And yet even were it so, to a counsel so fitting, 'obstinacy' in such a religion ought to make us obedient.}

\[ \text{If. But besides there is not a man who puteth not forth this pretence likewise: "that all things were formed by God and given unto man, (as we teach,) and so are good, as coming all from a good Author: that among such are to be reckoned all those by which the public shows are furnished, the horse for instance, and the lion, and the powers of the body, and the sweet music of the voice: that therefore nothing can be deemed foreign from nor hateful to God, which is a part of His own creation, and that that must not be reckoned as a sin, which is not hateful to God, because not foreign from Him. Clearly also even the buildings of these places, as the stones, the mortar, the marble, the columns, are things of God, Who hath given them to be the furniture of the earth: nay, the very performances themselves are enacted under God's own Heaven. How wise a reasoner doth human ignorance seem to herself to be! especially when she seareth to lose any of these delights and enjoyments of the world! In brief, you may find very many whom the risk of losing pleasure, more than that of losing life, keepeth back from this religion. For even the fool dreadeth not death, being a debt which he oweth; and even the wise man despiseth not pleasure, being a thing of so great value, because both to the fool and the wise man there is no other charm in life save pleasure. No one denieth, because no one is ignorant of that which nature of herself teacheth, that God is the Maker of the whole world, and that that world is both good, and placed under the dominion of man. But because they know not God thoroughly, save by the law of Nature, not as being also of His household; beholding Him at a distance, not nigh; they must be ignorant in what manner, when He made His works, He commanded that they should be used; and also, what rival force from the}
190 Every creature of God, and man himself, abused by man to sin.

Demand of express prohibition of shows in Scr. cannot be met. 191

which He hath created, seeing that the whole ground of the condemnation is the wrong use of the creature by the created. We therefore who, knowing God, have seen also a constant His adversary, who having found out the Maker have found this at the same time the corrupior likewise, ought not to wonder nor doubt in this matter. When the power of that corrupting and adverse angel in the beginning cast down from his innocence man himself, the work and the image of God, the lord of the whole world, he changed like himself, into perverseness against his Maker, the whole substance of man, made, like himself, for innocency: so that in that very thing, which it had grieved him should be granted to man and not to himself, he might make man guilty before God, and establish his own dominion.

III. This our consciousness being arrayed against the opinion of the Heathen, let us turn more particularly to the discussions of our own brethren. For the faith of certain persons, involving either more simple or more cautious than common, demandeth authority from the Scriptures for this renouncing of the public shows, and standeth upon doubts, because abstinence of this sort is not plainly and by name commanded to the servants of God. Without question we do not find it any where set out in exact terms, "Thou shalt not kill." Thou shalt not go to the circus, nor to the theatre; thou shalt not wait upon the exercise or the service, in the same way in which it is plainly laid down, "Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not worship an idol; thou shalt not commit adultery, nor theft." But we find that the very first words of David relates to this kind of thing amongst others. "Blessed is the man, saith he, Ps. I, 1, who hath not gone into the council of the ungodly, and hath not stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the seat of pestilences." For although he seemeth to have foretold of

DE SPET.

other side acteth in corrupting the uses of the creatures of God: for thou canst not know either the will, or that which resisteth the will, of Him of Whom thou knowest nothing. We must therefore consider not only by Whom all things were made, but from what they are turned away; for so will it be seen to what use they were, if it be seen to what they were not, made. There is much difference between other side acteth in corrupting the works of God. Would est have murder committed by resisteth the will, of Him of Whom thou knowest noth? W

thought not that whatsoever He hath created He created not to end in such works as He condemneth, although these same works be done through the things

k According to another reading, "We ought not to doubt but that, when the power, &c. he changed, &c." 1 See on S. Cyprian, de Patient. c. 12. p. 261. not a. Oxft. Tr. and de Zeilo, c. 3. p. 369. 2 The same objection is quoted in de Spectac. ap. S. Cypri. §. 2. Pam. alleges S. Chrysostome as meeting the same argument with the same Ps.; which he applies also to the theatre,

Hom. 6. de Paenit. r. ii. p. 317. as does S. Clem. Alex. Ped. iii. 11. v. fin. p. 109. ed. Syb. and S. Basil, Hom. in Gord. Mart. c. 3. 1 i.e. gymnastic. 2 "munus" the special name for shows of gladiators, though used to include fighting with beasts. On the origin of the name, see c. 12. 3 as in LXX. λαοῖν.
and that just man, that he had no part in the council and the sitting of the Jews, when consulting about denying the Lord, yet Divine Scripture hath always a wide bearing; every where there is, after the sense of the immediate subject, a rule of duty also supported; so that even this passage is not foreign from the purpose of forbidding the public shows. For if he then called a few only of the Jews the ungodly, less enemies of Christ, than were then the Jews? What if the rest also agree thither? For at the shows men stand in the way; for they both call the cardinal passages of the barriers going round the circus, and the divisions separating the commons going down it, the ways: and the place itself for sitting down in the circle is called the seat.

Therefore on the contrary, Wretched is the man that hath gone into any council of the ungodly, and hath stood in any way of sinners, and hath sat in any seat of pestilences. Let us understand it as spoken generally, although a thing admit also of a special interpretation; for in some instances, where the terms are special, the sense is general. When God puteth the Israelites in mind of their law or duty, or reproveth them, surely it concerneth all men: when He threateneth destruction to Egypt and Ethiopia, He fore-
De Timaeus relates that the Lydians, passing over from Asia, settled in Etruria under their leader Tyrrehenus, who had yielded to his brother in the contest for the kingdom. Wherefore they establish in Etruria, among other rites of their own superstition, public shows also, in the name of Religion. Thence the Romans fetch and borrow their players, the season of their games, and their name, so that they were called from the Lydians 'judi.' And although Varro deriveth the sense of 'judi' from 'judus,' that is from sport, as also they were wont to call the Lupercal rites 'games,' because they ran about in game, yet he accounteth this sport of the young men 'as belonging to holy days, and temples, and solemnities. Nothing need now be said of the reason of the name, so long as the reason of the thing is idolatry. For whereas games were called, in the mass, 'Liberalia,' they manifestly in their name speak of honour done to father Liber; for they were first established in honour of Bacchus by the countrymen, in return for the benefit which they ascribe to him in discovering to them the gift of wine. Next were games called Consualia, which in the beginning were in honour of Neptune; for him they call also Consus. After that a certain Romulus appointed the Equiria in honour of Mars, though they claim the Consualia also for Romulus, because he dedicated them to Consus, the God, as they will have it, of counsel; to wit, that counsel whereby he devised at that time the rape of the Sabine virgins, as wives for his soldiers. A righteous counsel truly! and even at this day a thing just and lawful in the eyes of the Romans themselves; I would not say in the eyes of God. For this also helpeth to stain the 'origin,' so that thou canst not deem that good which took its rise from evil, from shamelessness, from violence, from hatred, from a fratricide, from a son of Mars, as its author. And at this day there is in the Circus, at the head of the

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Titules of shows idolatrous, as derived from gods or dead men.

course, an altar to this Consus buried under ground1, with an inscription to this effect: 'Consus lord of counsel, Mars of war2, the Lares of the inmost chambers.' At this altar the public priests sacrifice on the nones of July, the priest of Romulus and the virgins on the twelfth day before the kalends of September. Next, this same Romulus established games for Jupiter Feretrius on the Tarpeian hill, which Piso saith were called the Tarpeian and the Capitoline games. After him, Numa Pompius did the same for Mars and Rubigo3, for they feigned that even Rust was a goddess. Next, Tullus Hostilius, then Ancus Martius, and the rest. Who they were, and how many, that one after another established games, and in honour of what idols, is set forth in Suetonius Tranquillus, or those from whom Tranquillus had his story. But this will be enough to convict the 'origin' of idolatry.

VI. To this testimony of ancient times, is added that of the posterity following in its turn; shewing the character of the 'origin' on the very face of the 'titles' used even in the present day, by which it is stamped upon them to what idol, and to what superstition, the games of either sort were distinguished as belonging. For the Megalensian, the Apollinarian, the Cerealian also, and the Neptunalian, the Latianian and the Floralian are celebrated in common; the rest of the games owe their superstitious observance to the birth-days and other solemn days of kings, and public successes, and municipal festivals; among which, the exhibitions enjoined by wills pay funeral honours to the memories even of private men, and this too according to ancient custom; for from the very beginning the games were reckoned of two sorts, the sacred and the funereal, in honour, that is, of the gods of the nations and of the dead. But as touching idolatry it maketh no difference to us, under what

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1 Plut. in Rom.
2 duelio, the old name (as being in an inscription) for bellum Varro de L. L. vi.
3 A god Robigo is named by Varro de L. L. i. 5. A. Gall. v. 19.
4 The Theatre and the Circus, see de Civ. D. iv. 11.
5 Tullianus, ap. Her. Digr. i. 19.
8 Robigo; supposed to affect iron as well as corn. Ov. Fast. iv. 922 seq.
9 Suet. in Vesp. "extraordinary games for his German victory."
name and 'title' it is, so long as it appertaineth to the same
spirits, which we renounce, although dead. They may pay
honours to their gods, just as well as they pay them to their
dead. The real nature of the two cases is the same, the
idolatry is the same, and our renouncement of the idolatry is
the same.

VII. The games of either sort have a common 'origin'
and common 'titles,' as arising from common causes; for
the same reason they must needs have common 'equipments,'
derived from the general guilt of the idolatry which founded
them. But to whom belongeth the somewhat more pompous
outfit of the games of the Circus, (which the name of
'pomp' well befiteth,) the pomp which goeth before them
doeth in itself prove,' by the long line of images,' by the
host of statues, by the chariots, by the sacred carriages, by
the cars, by the chairs,' by the crowns, by the robes'?
What rites besides, what sacrifices go before, come between,
and follow after; how many colleges, how many priestesses,
how many offices are set in motion, the men of that city
know, in which the council of the gods. Festus v.
proving whose
source whence
its own fountain, the little twig from its own tree, containeth
the quality of its source. No matter for its grandeur or its
cheapness; the pomp of
preceedit,
pous
specially
Rig. The Edd.
tus, quibus proprie
proving whose
the somewhat more
famous
of the gods, Appian. de Bell. Civ.
set
in motion, the men of that city
know, in which the council of the gods.
ipsa
exuvia.
the
1. ov. fast. iv. 391. varro de l. l.
pomp of the gods, Dion. Hal. i. vii.
the gods, Appian. de Bell. Civ.
1. 3. c. 29. Dio. l. 43. 44. ap. her. l. c.
euxvim. T. uses it of more splendid
apparel, (de fall. c. 4) and peculiarly of
the gods, Dion. Hal. i. vii.

VIII. To treat of 'places' also, according to my plan, 
Ut et the Circus is chiefly dedicated to the Sun, whose temple is
in the midst of the ground 1, and whose image riseth conspicuous
above the roof of the temple, because they did not
think that he, whom they have in the open air, ought to
have his image consecrated under a covering 2. Those who
derive the first of these shows from Circe, affirm that it was
celebrated in honour of her own father the Sun; from her
also they contend that the name of Circus cometh. Well
then, the enchantress did, under the name, the work of those
surely whose priestess she was; to wit, the demons and the
angels. How many idolatries then dost thou observe in the
fashion of the place itself? each single ornament of the
Circus is in itself a temple. The eggs those assign to the
honour of Castor and Pollux, who blush not in believing
that these were born of an egg from a swan which was
Jupiter. The pillars vomit forth their dolphins 2 in honour
of Neptune; they support their Sessaie, so called from the
sowing of the seed, their Messiae from the harvest, their
Tutelinae from the protection of the fruits 2. In front of
these appear three altars to three gods, mighty and powerful:
these they consider to be of Samothrace. The enormous
obelisk, as Hermaties affirmeth, is publicly exposed in
honour of the Sun 2: its inscription is a superstition from
Egypt, whence also its origin. The council of the gods
were dull without their Great Mother: she therefore
pre sideth there over the Euripus 4. Consus, as we have said,
lieth buried beneath the earth at the Murican goal: even

196 Idolatry in outfit of the games, whether splendid or poor.

All the fabrics of the Circus, idolatrous in origin. 197

about in it, there is idolatry in even one: though there be
but one sacred carriage drawn, it is nevertheless the carriage
of Jupiter. Every idolatrous show, however meanly or
frugally furnished, is sumptuous and gorgeous in the amount
of its sinfulness.
pressed into the games, from being a gift of God it passed over to the service of devils. Wherefore this department is assigned to Castor and Pollux, to whom Stesichorus teacheth that horses were given by Mercury. But Neptune is also a god of horses, whom the Greeks call Hippius. Chariots with four horses they have consecrated to the Sun, those with two to the Moon. Verily also

"First to his chariots Ericthonius dared
"To yoke four horses, and on rapid wheels
"Uphorse, to ride a victor."

Ericthonius, the son of Minerva and Vulcan, engendered too by mishap upon the earth, is a devilish monster, yea a very devil himself, and not a serpent. But if Trochilus of Argos be the inventor of the chariot, he hath consecrated this his work to Juno, the guardian of his country. If Romulus first shewed at Rome the carriage with four horses, methinks he also is enrolled among the idols, if he be the same as Quirinus. Chariots, being by such inventors brought into use, with good reason caused the charioteers also to be clothed in the colours of idolatry. For at the first there were two horses only, white and red. The white was sacred to the winter because of the white snow, the red to the summer because of the redness of the Sun. But afterwards, when luxury as well as superstition had advanced in growth, some consecrated the red to Mars, others the white to the Zephyrs, and a green one moreover to the Mother Earth or to the Spring, an azure one to the Heaven and the Sea or to the Autumn. But seeing that every sort of idolatry is condemned of God, surely this also is condemned, which is the unhallowed offering to the elements of the universe.

X. Pass we now to the stage, which we have already shewn to have the same 'origin' and like 'titles,' according as the names and the performance of the games were from

S. Virg. Georg. iii. 89.
" He was represented with serpents for feet; emblems, T. implies, of Satan.
" The colours were those of the trappings of the horses.
" Joannes Antioch. (ap. Salmas, ad

Soln. p. 902.) Cedrenus, p. 231. Isid. Hist. iv. 41. says that the four colours had reference to the four elements; so the Chron. Alex. ap. Lac. Cassiodorus, l. 3. Ep. 51. mentions the reference to the seasons, (ib.)
200 Romans witnesses against their theatres—temples of Venus.

DE SPECT. VI. 17. The 'equipments' also are of the same sort in that department which belongeth to the stage. For men go from the temples and the altars and that unhappy scene of incense and blood, amid pipes and trumpets, and with those two most filthy masters of funeral rites and sacrifices, the undertaker and the soothsayer. Wherefore as from the 'origin' of games we pass to the games of the circus, so now we bend our course to the plays of the stage, beginning with the evil of the 'place.' The theatre is especially the shrine of Venus. In fact it was in this manner that this sort of performance came up in the world. For the censors were often wont to destroy, in their very birth, the theatres more than any other thing, consulting for the morals of the people, as foreseeing a great peril accruing to them from licentiousness. So that from this very fact their own opinion, which maketh for us, may serve as a testimony to the Gentiles, and this precedent of even a human rule of duty may serve to strengthen our own. And therefore Pompey the Great, less only than his own theatre, when he had built up that strong-hold of every vice, fearing that the censors might one day cast reflections on his memory, placed over it a temple of Venus, and summoning the people by a proclamation to the theatre, but a temple of Venus, 'under which,' said he, we have put rows of seats for the shows.' Thus did he cloak this damned and damnable work under the name of a temple, and by the aid of superstition eluded the rule. But there is fellowship between Venus and Bacchus: these two demons of drunkenness and lust have conspired and leagued together. Wherefore the theatre of Venus is also the house of Bacchus. For they called by the special name 'Liberalia' others also of the sports of the stage, besides those which were consecrated to Bacchus, (as there are also the Dionysia among the Greeks,) those namely which were instituted by Bacchus. And clearly the patronage of Bacchus and of Venus is likewise over the 'performances' of the stage. Whatever there be peculiar and proper to the stage, with respect to the dissoluteness and postures of the body, they consecrate to the soft nature of Venus and of Bacchus, the one dissolute through her sex, the other through his wantonness; while such things as are done by the voice, by music, by wind and stringed instruments, have for their patrons Apollos and Muses and Minervas and Mercuries. Thou must hate, Christian, those things, the inventors whereof thou canst not but hate. We would now subjoin somewhat concerning the 'performances,' and the things, the inventors whereof we detest even in their names. We know that the names of the dead are nothing, as are their images; but we are not ignorant who those are, that, when images are set up under these names, work, and rejoice, and pretend to a divine nature, namely wicked spirits, demons. We see therefore that the 'performances' also are dedicated to the honour of those who occupy the names of the inventors, and are not free from idolatry, seeing that even those who instituted them are on that account esteemed gods. Indeed as concerning the 'performances,' we ought to have taken our rule from an earlier source, and to have said that the demons, from the beginning, providing for themselves, among other apportenances of idolatry, the defilements also of the shows, whereby they might draw away men from God, and bind him to their own service, inspired him also with the genius for this sort of handiwork. For that which was to belong to them, would not have been provided by any others; nor would they at the time have brought them into the world by means of any other men, than those very persons in whose names, images, and histories, they had, with the view of trafficking for themselves, set up the cheat of a consecration.

XI. To proceed in order, let us enter upon an examination of the agonistic games likewise. Their 'origin' is akin to that of the games afore-mentioned, wherefore these also are either sacred or funeral institutions, and consecrated

* * *
either to the gods of the nations or the dead. Hence their
'titles,' the Olympian, (which at Rome are the Capitoline)
to Jupiter: likewise the Nemean to Hercules, the Isthmian
to Neptune: the rest of the games, to the dead. What
wonder then if idolatry defile the 'equipments' of the
games with its profane crowns, with its presiding priests,
with its collegiate ministers, and lastly with the blood of
bulls itself. Let me add also as touching the 'place,'—used as
it is as the common place, in the stead of a college of the Arts,
of the Muses, and of Minerva, and of Apollo; of Mars likewise,
by means of the battle and the trumpet,—they strive to
imitate the circus in their stadium, which in fact is itself
also a temple, of that idol whose solemn rites it celebrateth.
Moreover the rites of their Castors, their Hercules's, and
their Mercures have brought gymnastic 'performances' also
into practice.

XII. It remaineth to consider the show, the most
acceptable to the most illustrious. It is called a 'service' from the 'office' performed, since 'office' is another word for 'service,' and the ancients considered that in this show they performed an office towards the dead, after that they had tempered it by a more humanized cruelty. For formerly, since it was believed that the souls of the dead were propitiated by human blood, they bought and sacrificed, during their funeral rites, captives or slaves of a bad description. Afterwards it was thought fit to disguise this impiety under the cloak of pleasure. Those therefore whom they had prepared, trained up in such arms and in such manner as they were then able, provided only they learned how to be killed, on the appointed day of the funeral—sacrifices they consumed at the place of burial. Thus they consoled themselves for death by murders. Such is the 'origin' of this service. But by degrees they advanced to that which was charming in proportion as it was cruel, for beasts could not be sufficiently pleased, unless it were by beasts too that the bodies of men were torn in pieces.

\*\*\* since the idols were of the dead, as above, c. 10.
\*\*\* in that show of gladiators were given on the appointment to the Quasehship, (Capitol. in Anton. Spartan in Get., by law, Tac. Ann. xi. 22. abolished. ib. xii. 5.) and the other offices, see in Lips. Sat. i. 9, quoted by Lac.
\*\*\* since all these dignities were in some way subservient to idolatry. Lac.
\*\*\* in which notice was given of the shows, perhaps with some reference to the occasion, as in Suet. in jul. c. 26.
\*\*\* he solemnly announced (prognosticavit) a show to the people in memory of his daughter.
\*\*\* in which the details of the show were given, "sacram et ludorum ordinem," Sen. Ep. 119. ap. Lips.

\*\*\* Interpunction changed; "quod utique templum est et ipsum, ejus idole." T. means that the 'stadium' was itself a place of idolatry, but rendered yet more so by the imitation of the Circus.
\*\*\* Cypr. ad Don. § 6.
XIII. We have, methinks, sufficiently completed our course of proof, in how many and in what ways the shows are guilty of idolatry, in respect of their 'origins,' 'titles,' 'equipments,' 'places,' 'sacrifices,' whereby we are well assured that they do in no wise assort with us, who have twice renounced idols: not that an idol is any thing, (as saith the Apostle,) but that the things which they sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, who dwell (that is) in the consecrated images, whether of dead men, or, as they suppose, of gods. On this account therefore, since both kinds of idols are of one class, seeing that their dead and their gods are one, we abstain from both kinds of idolatry, and abominate temples no less than monuments: we acknowledge neither altar; adore neither image; offer no sacrifice; make no oblation to the dead: nay we eat not of that which hath been sacrificed or offered to the dead, because we cannot eat of the Supper of God and the supper of devils. If therefore we keep the throat and the belly free from defilements, how much rather do we refrain our more honourable parts, the eyes and the ears, from the pleasures dedicated to idols and to the dead, which are not carried through us by the stomach, but are digested within the very spirit and soul, the cleanliness of which pertaineth more to God than doth the stomach!

XIV. Having thus introduced the name of idolatry, the suggestion of which alone ought to be enough to make us renounce these shows, let us now treat the question supernaturally, in another way, for the sake of those especially, who flatter themselves on the ground that such abstinence is not enjoined by name, as though sufficient declaration were not made touching the shows, when the lusts of the world are condemned. For as there is a lust of money, or of honour, or of glutony, or of lasciviousness, or of glory, so likewise is there a lust of pleasure. But the shows are a kind of pleasure. Methinks the general name of lusts containeth in itself pleasures also: in like manner pleasures, generally understood, embrace the special division of shows. But we have before made mention of the character of the 'places' for the shows, that they do not of themselves defile us, but by reason of the things which are done therein, through which as soon as they have drank in defilement, they straightway cast it forth again in the other direction.

XV. To speak no more then (as we have before said) of their chief title, idolatry, let us contrast the other qualities of the things themselves with all those of God. God hath taught us to deal with the Holy Spirit, as being according to Eph. 4, the goodness of His Nature, tender and delicate-tranquilly, and gently, and quietly, and peaceably: not to disquiet Him by madness, nor by wrath, nor by anger, nor by grief. How shall this possibly accord with the shows? For there is no show without disturbance of spirit. For where there is pleasure there is also partiality, through means of which, in fact, pleasure hath its relish. Where there is partiality, there is also rivalry, through which partiality hath its relish. Moreover also where there is rivalry, there is both madness, and wrath, and anger, and grief, and all the rest that cometh of these, which, like these, assort not with the rule of religion. For even though one enjoy the shows moderately and virtuously, according to the character of his rank, or age, or even natural disposition, yet is he not of an imperturbable mind and without some hidden passion of the spirit. No one cometh unto pleasure without affection. No one feeleth affection without its incidents. These very incidents are the incitements of the affection. But if the affection faileth, there is no pleasure, and he is now guilty of trifling in going thither where he gaineth nothing: and I think that with us, even trifling hath no place. What if he himself judge himself in sitting amongst those, whom, not wishing to be like them, he, without doubt, confesseth that he doth abominate! It is not enough for us that we ourselves do no such thing, unless we shun the conversation of those who do such things. When thou savest a thief, saith the Scripture, thou consentedst unto him. I would that we did not even dwell with such in the world; but yet in the things of the world.
VI. All things of the world are of the Devil. 

PEE T. • 

DE we are separate from them; for the 
speaks of the 
peror; and Bulenger de 
"p.n"''' 

Vitellius massacred some of the people 
11. from the times of the first 
naked from the 
Naz. 

the 
be 
ach, speaking things not to 
we leaping, 
full of 
Ad AlelC. (ap. Panvin. 

zies are, either_or the dissensions in 
the theatrical contests, or the 
party­ 
term in designating the 
Marcell. fin. Lact. vi. 

For what good can those, who are therein engaged, gain to 

They see not what is thrown: they think it a handkerchief, 
From thence therefore they go on to fury, passions, and 

Percei’ve 

within his urn. Then they are in anxious suspense for the 

too slow for them. Their eyes are 

already agItated about their wagers 

Fluctuat 

Ambr. in 

38. (al. 27.) de 

36. (al. 27.) de 

3. "Madness" became a technical 

because they cursed the faction, which 

The very harlots also, the victims of the public 

presence of women, from whom alone they were wont to 

conceal themselves, and are bandied about 
the rest in silence·, which indeed 

rejoiced. 

"Madness" specially belongs to the shows. 

De 

Spect. 

VI. 16. 

we are separate from them; for the world is of God, but the 

things of the world are of the Devil. 

XVI. When therefore madness is forbidden us, we are 

prohibited every show, even the Circus, where madness 
peculiarly presideth*. Behold the people coming to the 
show, already full of madness, already tumultuous, already 
blind, already agitated about their wagers*. The Praetor is 
too slow for them. Their eyes are ever rolling with the lots 
within his urn. Then they are in anxious suspense for the 
signal. The common madness hath a common voice. I 
perceive their madness from their trifling. ‘He hath thrown 
it,’ they say, and announce to each other what was seen at 
one by all. I possess the evidence of their blindness. 

They see not what is thrown: they think it a handkerchief, 

thus. 

flame, 

It is 

savage~ 

chastity,” 

Fem. 

Prstcr. C. 

theatres too shocking to be spoken of. 

Immodesty of theatres too shocking to be spoken of. 

Apop. c. 35. Lact. i. vi. Theodoric 


1. (quote by Panvin. c. 11.) "Cat’s 
come not to shows.—The place pleads 
for excess, whose garrulity if they bear 
patiently, it is a glory to princes 

themselves, who are not themselves, unless perchance it be 
that alone, by means of which they are not themselves? By 
the ill fortune of another are they grieved: by the good 
fortune of another are they rejoiced. All that they desire, 
all that they abominate, is foreign to themselves: so that 
with them love is idle, and hatred unjust. Can it haply* be 
forstian as lawful to love without a cause, as to hate without a cause? Of a surety, God, Who commandeth that 

enemies be loved, Mat. 5. 

forbidden to hate even with a cause: God, Who teacheth, 

that those who curse should be blessed, suffereth not to 
curse even with a cause. But what is more bitter than the 
Circus, wherein they spare not even their rulers nor their 

own citizens? If any of those doing, wherewith the Circus 
hath gone mad, be elsewhere fitting for the saints, it will 
be lawful in the Circus also: but if no where, therefore not in 
the Circus. 

XVII. In like manner also we are commanded to love no 
immodesty. By this means therefore we are cut off from the 
theatre* likewise, which is the private council-chamber of 
immodesty, wherein nothing is approved save that which 
elsewhere is disapproved. Wherefore its chief grace is for 
the most part finely framed out of filthy lewdness, such as 
the Atellan acteth, such as the buffoon representeth even 
under the character of women, banishing their distinctive 
immodesty, so that they may blush at home more easily than at 
the theatre; such as finally the pantomime submitth to 
his own body from his childhood, that he may be able to 

be an actor. The very harlots also, the victims of the public 
lust, are brought forward on the stage, more wretched in the 
presence of women, from whom alone they were wont to 

conceal themselves, and are bandied about by the mouths 
of every age and every rank: their abode, their price, their 
description, even in matters of which it is not good to speak, 
is proclaimed. I pass over the rest in silence*, which indeed 

* Apop. c. 35. Lact. i. vi. Theodoric 


1. (quote by Panvin. c. 11.) "Cat’s 
come not to shows.—The place pleads 
for excess, whose garrulity if they bear 
patiently, it is a glory to princes 

themselves, who are not themselves, unless perchance it be 
that alone, by means of which they are not themselves? By 
the ill fortune of another are they grieved: by the good 
fortune of another are they rejoiced. All that they desire, 
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it were fitting should remain hid in its own darkness and dens, lest it pollute the day. Blush the senate! Blush all ranks! let the very women, the destroyers of their own modesty, shudder at their doings before the light and the public, and blush this once within the year". But if all immodesty is to be abominated by us, why should it be lawful to hear those things, which it is not lawful to speak, when we know that even foolish jesting and every vain word is judged by God? Why in like manner should it be lawful to behold the things, which it is sin to do? Why are those things, which when coming forth from the mouth, defile the man, thought not to defile the man when entering in by the eyes and the ears? seeing that the eyes and the ears wait upon the spirit, and one cannot be presented clean, whose attendants are unclean.

XVIII. Thou hast therefore, in the prohibition of immodesty, the prohibition of the theatre also. But if we despise likewise the teaching of this world's learning, as being accounted foolishness before God, we have here a sufficient rule concerning those kinds of shows also, which, by means of the writings of this world, make up the plays or the games of the stage. But if tragedies and comedies are the originators of crimes and lusts, bloody and lascivious, impious and extravagant, that which commemorateth a thing atrocious and vile, is itself in no wise better. That which is rejected in the doing, ought not to be listened to in the recital. But if thou contendest that the race course is even named in the Scriptures, thou shalt have that indeed granted: but thou wilt not deny that the things are unfit for thee to behold, which are enacted in the race course, the blows, and the kicks, and the buffets, and all the wantonness of the hand, and all the battering of the face of man, that is, of the image of God. Thou wilt not approve in any case of vain runnings, and yet vainer shootings and leaping: strength used for an hurtful purpose, or for no purpose, will in no case please thee; nor again the training of an artificial body, as over-stepping the workmanship of God. And thou wilt

1 de Spect. ap. Cypr. c. 9.
2 because so produced once in the year at the Floralia.

Good, that the bad be punished; not, to see their punishment. 209

hate men who are fattened up, because of the idleness of Greece. Moreover the art of wrestling is a work of the Devil. It was the Devil who hugged the first human beings to death. The very attitude is the power of the serpent, firm for taking hold, tortuous for binding fast, supple for gliding away. Thou hast no need of crowns. Why seest thou thy pleasures in crowns?

XIX. We will now look for a reproof of the amphitheatre also from the Scriptures. If we maintain that cruelty, that impiety, that brutality is permitted us, let us go to the amphitheatre. If we be such as we are reported to be', let us delight ourselves with human blood. 'It is a good thing when the guilty are punished.' Who but a guilty man will deny this? And yet an innocent man cannot rejoice in the punishment of another, for it more befitteth the innocent to grieve, because that a man like unto himself hath become so guilty as to be so cruelly punished. But who shall be my warrant that the guilty are always sentenced to the beasts or whatever the punishment be, so that no violence is done to innocences also, either from the vengeance of the judge, or the weakness of the advocate, or the urgency of the torture? How much better therefore is it not to know when the wicked are punished, lest I should know also when the good perish, if indeed there be any savour of good among them. At all events unconvicted gladiators come to the sports, that they may become the victims of public amusement. But even as respecteth those who are condemned to the sport, what manner of thing is this that, from a lesser fault, they go on, in the way of correction, to be murderers? But this is my reply to Heathens. Far be it from my wish that the Christian should be taught at greater length how to hate this show. Although no one is able to describe all these things more completely than myself, unless it be one who is still a spectator, I would rather not complete the tale than call it to mind.

XX. How vain therefore, yea, how desperate, is the
De reasoning of those, who, hanging back doubtless to gain admission for their pleasure, plead that no mention of such abstinence is specially marked out in the Scriptures, which directly forbid the servant of God to mix with assemblages of this kind. I heard lately a new defence of a certain play-lover. 'The sun,' saith he, 'yea, even God Himself, is a spectator from Heaven, and is not defiled.' In truth the sun carrieth his rays even into the common sewer and receiveth no pollution: and would that God beheld none of the crimes of men, that we might all escape His judgments! But He beheldeth even robberies; He beheldeth also falsehoods, and adulteries, and deceits, and idolatries, and these very shows themselves! And therefore it is that we will not behold them, lest we be seen by Him, Who beheldeth all things. Thou distinguishest, O man, between the accused and the judge: the accused, who is accused because he is seen, the judge, who is the judge because he seeth. Do we therefore give our minds to madness beyond the boundaries of the circus also, and bend our thoughts to immodeesty beyond the doors of the theatre, and to insolence beyond the race-course, and to merciless cruelty beyond the amphitheatre, because God hath His eyes also beyond the chambers, and the tiers, and the curtains? We do err: in no place and at no time is that excused which God condemneth: in no place and at no time is that lawful, which is not lawful at all times and in all places. Herein is the perfectness of Truth, and hence the complete subordination, and the uniform reverence, and the constant obedience which is due to it, that it changeth not its opinion, nor the perfection of Truth, and hence the complete subordination which is not lawful at all times and in all places. Herein is God condemneth:

Inconsistent to endure in theatres, things shunned in private life. 211 up his cloak in public for his bodily necessity, cannot in the circus disport himself in any other way than by obtruding all his shame upon the eyes of all: and he, who guardeth the ears of his virgin daughter from every word, doth himself carry her to the theatre to such words and actions: and the very man, who in the streets restraineth or protesteth against one that carrieth on a quarrel by blows, doth in the race-course give his voice in favour of more serious battles: and he who shuddereth at the corpse of a man that hath died in common course, doth in the amphitheatre bend down most enduring eyes upon bodies mangled and torn in pieces and begrimed with their own blood: nay he who cometh to the show to testify his approval of the punishment of a murderer, doth himself with whips and rods urge on the gladiator to murder against his will: he too who demandeth the lion for each more notable murderer, demandeth for the atrocious gladiator the staff and the hat: while he sendeth for him back again who is slain, for a near view of his countenance, more pleased to examine him closely whom he wished to put to death at a distance; so much the more cruel if he wished it not.

XXI. The Heathens, with whom there is no perfection of truth, because God is not their teacher of truth, define good and evil according to their own will and pleasure, making that in one case good, which in another is bad, and that in one case bad, which in another is good. Thus therefore it hath come to pass, that the very man who would hardly lift

1 admittere Cod. Ag. Edd. Big. conjectures "amittende," needlessly.

4 The "staff" (radix) freeing from the necessity of fighting; the "cap" (pileus) if slaves, freeing them wholly. The staff might be given after 3, the cap after 3 years. Ulpian ap. Lopo. Sat. ii. 29. These being demanded by the people for distinguished gladiators, were, as T. says, the rewards of blood-shedding.

5 See Ulpian ap. Bulenger de Theatro i. 60. (de infanis theatri) Aug. de Civ. D. ii. 14. "The Romans reject players from all honours." and 27. The actors whereby the praiseworthy temper of Roman virtue decreed honours, degraded from the tribes, acknowledged as foul, made infamous." This seems to have been relaxed as to the "wrestlers" and "charioteers," on the very ground of "their not being players; they were "inhoneste personae," not "infames." Ulp. ib. A soldier, who acted, was capitally punished. (ib.) see also Bulenger de Circo, c. 60. de vomat. circ. cit. They were mostly slaves; whence Adrian refused the people's request to set one free, as unjust to his master. Dio ap. Onuphr. Fusc. de Luc. Circo i. 11.
212 Infamy of players condemns plays; unreality displeases God.

De Spect. VI. 22. statu·m restored

condemn: yea they openly sentence them to disgrace and degradation, excluding them from the council-chamber, from the rostra, from the senate, from the knighthood, and from all other honours, and some outward adornings. What perverseness! they love those whom they punish, they degrade those whom they approve; they honour the craft, they disgrace the craftsman. What sort of a judgment is this, that one should be blackened for the things whereby he hath his merit? nay, what a confession is it of the evil of a thing, when the authors of it, even when they are most approved, are not without disgrace!

XXIII. Seeing then that the reflecting mind of man, even in spite of the opposing interest of pleasure, judgeth that such persons ought to be condemned to a sort of rack of infamy, with the forfeiture of the advantages of worldly honours, how much more doth the justice of God punish the workers of such things! Shall that charioteer please God, the disquieter of so many souls, the minister to so many evil passions, to so many humours: crowned like a priest, or coloured like a pimp, whom the Devil hath dressed up to be caught away, in rivalry of Elias, in a chariot. Shall that man please Him, who with a razor changeth his features and so submitteth to the insults of buffets, as though he were mocking the commandment of the Lord? Even the Devil, forsooth, teacheth men to give their cheek patiently to be smitten. So too he hath, by means of shoes, made the infidel towards his own countenance, which, not content with making it approximate to Saturn and Isis and Bacchus, he so submitteth to the insults of buffets, as though he were mocking the commandment of the Lord? 

Even the Devil, against which we make our vow in receiving the sign of Faith: and of that, which we abjure, we ought not to be partakers neither in deed, nor in word, nor in beholding nigh nor afar off. But do we not renounce and rescind that sign in rescinding the testimony thereof? Doth it therefore remain that we demand an answer from the Heathens themselves? Let these now tell us in their turn, whether it be lawful for Christians to deal with a show. But hereby do they chiefly discover that a man hath become a Christian, from his renouncing the shows. He therefore clearly denieth himself to be such, who taketh away the mark whereby he is known. And what hope remaineth in a man of this sort? No one goeth over to the camp of the enemies, unless he hath thrown down his own arms, unless he hath deserted the standard of his own chief and his oaths to him, unless he hath made a covenant to perish together with them.

XXV. Will he at that season think upon God, seated where there is nothing that cometh of God? He will hypocrisy, will not approve of one that counterfeiteth a voice, different sexes or ages, or that maketh a show of loves, passions, groanings, tears. But when He declareth in the law that he is accused who putteth on a woman's garments, Deut. how shall He judge the pantomime, who is also trained in all things pertaining to a woman! And shall that boxer forsooth escape unpunished? those scars from the castus, those lumps on his fists, those swellings on his ears, he received from God when he was formed! God committed those eyes to him in order that they might be put out with blows! I say nothing of him, who putteth another man in the lion's way before himself, lest he be less a murderer than he who quam restored

1 statu·um restored

2 Statu·um restored

3 Insignia of rank.

4 The history of Elijah seems to have been used as a serious defence of the shows. See de Spect. ap. Cypr.

5 See note B. on Apol. p. 110.

6 The human countenance.
have, I suppose, peace in his mind, while battling for the charioteer! He will learn modesty while gaping upon the buffoons! Nay in all the show, no offence will more meet us, than that very over-careful adorning of the men and women. The very community of feeling, their very agreement or disagreement in party-spirit, doth, by their intercourse, fan the sparks of carnal lusts. Finally, no one in entering the show, thinketh of any thing more than to be seen and to see. But while the tragedian is ranting, will he be considering the crying aloud of some Prophet? And amidst the music of the effeminate player will he be meditating a psalm within himself? and when the wrestlers shall be acting, will he be ready to say that a man must not strike again? will he moreover be able to be moved with pity, whose eyes are fastened on the bites of bears, and the sponges of them that fight with nets? God avert from His people so great a desire after murderous pleasure! for what manner of thing is it to go from the Church of God into the Church of the Devil? from the sky (as they say) to the sty? to weary afterward, in applauding a player, those hands, which thou hast lifted up to God? to give thy testimony for the gladiator out of the mouth, with which thou hast uttered Amen to That Holy Thing? to say, for ever

1 Probably to staunch the blood.
2 00010, thinleth.
3 Sanctum. The holy Eucharist, derived probably (as has been suggested to me) from S. Matt. 7, 5, as a reverence title, which should be understood only by Communicants, not by strangers. The name, moreover, with the addition "Sanctam Dominii" in S. Cyprian, de Unit. c. 7. de Lapsis, c. 11, and 16 bis. In the de Spectac. ap. Cypr. c. 7. ed. Bened. "Sanctum" occurs alone, explained shortly afterwards by "Eucharistiam, Christi sanctum Corpus." And this is a sort of comment on T. since the author imitates him throughout. Those words are, "daring to bear with him, if he could," the Holy Thing into a brothel [the Theatre], who when dismissed from the Church hastening to the show, yet bearing with him, after his wont, the Eucharist, carried around the Holy Body of Christ amidst the impurity of harlots." (In Fell's 2d edition, which is here altogether less accurate, and in some MSS. "Spiritus" is inserted before "Sanctum." " bearing with him the Holy Spirit, if he could," and "Christi Sanctum Corpus" omitted. This may have been occasioned by a difficulty in the words, "if he could," in that the Holy Eucharist would remain with him, whereas the Holy Spirit might depart from him. The author may mean, however, that although he bore about with him "That Holy Thing," it ceased to be such to him. S. Cyprian ad Deemter. c. 1. uses "Sanctum" absolutely, in reference to S. Matt. but not to the Eucharist. S. Augustine (quoted by Big.) speaks of the "Amen" in reference to the Holy Eucharist. Serm. ad Inf. ante Altare de Sacr. (Serm. 272. in die Pent. postrem.). If then ye be the Body and Members of Christ, your mystery is placed on the Table of the Lord; ye receive your own mystery. To that which ye answer Amen, and by answering, subscribe. For thou hearest, Th' Body of Christ, and answered, Amen.

XXVII. What wilt thou do, when discovered in this estuary of impious voices? not that thou canst suffer any thing there from men: no one knoweth thee for a Christian: but think what becometh of thee in Heaven. Doubtest thou that in this crisis, in which the Devil is raging against the Church, all the Angels are looking down from Heaven, and marking every man, whosoever hath spoken blasphemy, whosoever hath listened to it, whosoever hath ministered

Visitations on Xian play-goers; persecutions require earnestness. How many other examples also have been furnished in those, who by communion with the Devil in the shows, have fallen away from the Lord! For no man can serve two masters. What communion hath light with darkness? What hath life with death? We ought to hate these 6, 14. assemblies and meetings of the Gentiles, were it only that the name of God is there blasphemed, that the lions are there every day called for against us; that it is thence that persecutions are decreed, thence that temptations are sent forth.

XXXV. Why may not such men be in danger of devils entering into them? for the case hath happened, the Lord is witness, of that woman who went to the theatre, and returned thence with a devil. Wherefore when the unclean spirit, in the exorcism, was hard pressed because he had dared to attack a believer, he boldly said, 'and most righteously I did it, for I found her in mine own place.' It is well known also that there was shown to another in her sleep, on the night of the day in which she had heard a tragedian, a linen cloth upbraiding her with that tragedian by name, and that this woman at the end of five days was no longer in the world. How many other examples also have been furnished in those, who by communion with the Devil in the shows, have fallen away from the Lord! For no man can serve two masters. What communion hath light with darkness? What hath life with death? We ought to hate these 6, 14. assemblies and meetings of the Gentiles, were it only that the name of God is there blasphemed, that the lions are there every day called for against us; that it is thence that persecutions are decreed, thence that temptations are sent forth.

Be thou a member of the Body of Christ, that true be thy Amen." [add Serm. 334. in Nat. Mart. "To His Pledge thou sayest daily, Amen," and S. Ambrose de Sacr. iv. 6. "The priest saith to thee, The Body of Christ, and thou sayest, Amen, that is, True. What the tongue confesses, let the affectations retain." 1 See on Apol. c. 35. 40. Porr. de Ver. Acclam. et plauso. l. 8. c. 18. (sp. Hav.) 2 See on Apol. c. 23. p. 57 and 60. 3 perhaps, as a winding-sheet. 4 "Conquers shall thou conquer from everlasting," exclamation to Commodus, Dio l. 72. (Rig.) 5 O king Ar-
with his tongue, or with his ears, to the Devil against God? Ps. 1, 1. Christ, this seat of pestilences, and the very air which resteth upon it, defiled with the voices of the wicked? It may be that sweet things are there, and such be pleasing, and sincere, and some which are even good. No one mixeth poison with gall and hellebore, but throweth in the evil thing amidst seasoned dainties, and things of exceeding sweet savour. So also, whatsoever deadly thing the Devil contriveth, he mixeth with the things of God, such as are most pleasing and acceptable. All things therefore which are therein, whether they be brave, or honest, or high-sounding, or melodious, or refined, account of them forthwith as of drops of honey from a venomous reptile; and deem not thy greediness after pleasure of so much moment as the danger which cometh by its sweetness.

XXVIII. On such sweets let his own guests be fattened: the places, and the times, and the bidder to the feast, are their own. Our feasts, our marriage, are not yet; we cannot sit down with them, for neither can they with us. The thing is ordered by turns. Now are they glad, we afflicted: the world, He saith, shall rejoice; ye shall be sorrowful. Let us mourn therefore, whilst the heathen rejoice, that we may rejoice, when they shall begin to mourn; lest if we now rejoice together with them, we may then mourn together with them likewise. Thou art too nice, O Christian, if thou desirest pleasure in this world also; nay thou art exceeding foolish if thou thinkest this pleasure. Certain philosophers have given this name to peace and quietness; herein is thy joy, herein their avocation, herein also their boast. Dost thou breathe me a sigh for goals and theatres, and dust and sand? Prifthee tell me: cannot we live without pleasure, who are to die with pleasure? for what else is our desire but that which is the Apostle's also, to depart from the world and to be received with the Lord? Here is our pleasure, where is also our desire.

De Spect. VI. 28. Wilt thou not then flee from these chairs of the enemies of the world? Ps. 1, 1. Christ, this seat of pestilences, and the very air which resteth upon it, defiled with the voices of the wicked? It may be that sweet things are there, and such be pleasing, and sincere, and some which are even good. No one mixeth poison with gall and hellebore, but throweth in the evil thing amidst seasoned dainties, and things of exceeding sweet savour. So also, whatsoever deadly thing the Devil contriveth, he mixeth with the things of God, such as are most pleasing and acceptable. All things therefore which are therein, whether they be brave, or honest, or high-sounding, or melodious, or refined, account of them forthwith as of drops of honey from a venomous reptile; and deem not thy greediness after pleasure of so much moment as the danger which cometh by its sweetness.

XXIX. But now suppose that thou art to pass this life in delights. Why art thou so ungrateful as not to be content with, and not to acknowledge, the pleasures, so many and such as they are, which God bestoweth upon thee? For what can be more delightful than reconciliation with God? Rom. 5, 10. The Father and our Lord? than the revelation of the Truth? than the discovery of errors? than the forgiveness of so many past sins? What greater pleasure than a disgust for pleasure itself? than a contempt for the whole world? than true liberty? than a pure conscience? than a sufficiency of life? than the absence of all fear of death? to beat down, as thou dost, under thy feet the gods of the nations? to cast out devils? to do cures? to seek for revelations? to live unto God? These are the pleasures, these the shows of the Christians, holy, everlasting, free. In these, view thy games of the Circus: behold the courses of the world, the seasons gliding by; count the spaces of time; look to the goal of the consummation of all things; defend the companies of the Churches; bestir thyself at the signal of God; rise up at the trumpet of the Angel; glory in the palms of the martyrs. If knowledge, if learning delight thee, we have enough of books, we have enough of verses, enough of sentences, enough also of songs, enough of voices; not fables, but verities; not cunningly wrought, but simple strains. Wouldst thou both fightings and wrestlings? Cases are at hand, not slight but manifold. Behold uncleanness thrown down by chastity, perdition by faithfulness, cruelty by mercy, wantonness overlaid by modesty; and such are our games, in which we ourselves are crowned. Wouldst thou also somewhat of blood? thou hast Christ's.

XXX. But what sort of show is that near at hand? the Coming of the Lord, now confessed, now glorious, now triumphant. What is that joy of the Angels? what the glory of the rising saints? what the kingdom of the
Terrors of the Day of Judgment.

Sight of the Last: if things future such, what when come? 219

the theatre, but in the fire—unless perchance I may even
then not desire to see them, as wishing rather to fix my
gaze, never to be satisfied, on those who have furiously Ps.2,12.
raged against the Lord. This, I shall say, is He, the son John 5.
of the carpenter or the harlot, the destroyer of the Sabbath, John 8,
the Samaritan and Who had a devil. This is He, Whom 48.
ye bought of Judas: this is He, Who was smitten with a
reed and with buffetings, dishonoured with spittings,
drugged with gall and vinegar. This is He, Whom the
disciples stole secretly away, that it might be said that He 58.
had risen again, or Whom the gardener removed, lest his Mat. 28.
shows as these, such triumphs as these, what pretor, or
consul, or quaestor, or priest, shall of his own bounty
bestow upon thee? and yet we have them even now in
some sort present to us, through Faith, in the imagination
of the spirit. But what are those things which eye hath 1 Cor.
not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart 2.9.
of man? Greater joys, methinks, than the circus, and
both the theatres, and any race-course.

Righteous which followeth;? what the city of the new
Jerusalem? And yet there remain other shows: that last
and eternal Day of Judgment, the unlooked for, the scorned*
of the Nations, when all the ancient things of the world,
and all that are rising into life, shall be consumed in
one fire? what shall then be the expance of the show?
whereat shall I wonder? whereat laugh? whereat rejoice?
whereat exult? beholding so many kings, who were
declared to be admitted into Heaven, with Jupiter himself
and all that testify of him, groaning together in the lowest
darkness? those rulers too, the persecutors of the Name
of the Lord, melting amid insulting fires more raging than
those wherewith themselves raged against the Christians:
those wise philosophers moreover reddening before their own
disciples, now burning together with them, whom they
persuaded that there was nothing which appertained to
God*, before whom they affirmed that there were either
no souls, or that they should not return again to their
former bodies*: poets too trembling before the judgment-
seat, not of Rhadamnthus, not of Minos*, but of the
unlooked-for Christ. Then will the tragic actors be the
more to be heard, because more loud in their cries amidst
the charioteer to be gazed on, all red
wheel: then the wrestlers to be viewed tossing about, not in

1 probably the Millennium, as in
Apol. c. 48.
* See on de Test. An. c. 4. p. 136.

A truth lies at the basis of the
following painful description, since
Scripture says, "The righteous shall
rejoice when he seeth the vengeance;"
Tertullian, however, seems to have
been hurried away by his imagination,
and (as happens not uncommonly to
people) in the vehemence of his de-
scription to have forgotten what he
was describing—endless misery. Cer-
tainly, the righteous will "rejoice"
in God's vengeance upon His enemies,
(Ps. 58, 10, 60. Rev. 18, 20. xix. 1—3.)
but it is not for the uninspired, to joy
beforehand in the justice of God of
which they must stand in awe, and to
expand hints, which are given for their
own warning. There appears, however,
throughout these treatises, an intention
(to act upon the minds of the heathen,
(as even Gibbon implies in this case.)
so that he may have used this unsubdued
and fearfully vivid description, in order
to impress them the more.
* Apol. c. 21.
* i. e. that He was unconcerned
about the things of this world, Apol.
c. 47.
* Apol. c. 48.
* Apol. c. 24.
* In allusion to the colours worn by
the different factions, of which red was
one.

1 This last seems to be irony of
Tertullian's.
2 This is a spectacle, which not
pretor or consul exhibish to them,
but He Who is Alone both before all
things, and above all things, yea and
of Whom are all things, the Father of
our Lord Jesus Christ." de Spect. ap.
Cypr. fin.
OF IDOLATRY.

[Launer (I. c. Art. 10.) places the "De Idolatralis" in A.D. 198, on the following grounds: It was written during a period of great public rejoicings at Rome, (c. 15.) and so probably A.D. 198, on Severus's victory over Albinus; since, Julian, A.D. 193, (Xiphilin. lxxiv. 8.) is too early, that on his return from the East, A.D. 203, (Xiph. Ixxvi. !eri.iii. lO.) too late. 2. It appears (c. 17.) that Christians might then hold office, which is very unlikely after the commencement of Severus's persecution. 3. The expulsion also of the soothsayers from Italy (c. 9.) was probably on occasion of their being consulted about the life of Severus, just before the Parthian war, when he put many of them to death, A.D. 198. (Spartian ii. 15.)]

De Idol. \[Rom. \textit{vii.} \textit{1}.\] The principal sin of mankind, the chief guilt of the world, the whole cause of its judgment, is idolatry. For though each separate crime hath its own special character, and is marked out for judgment under its own proper name also, yet is it summed up under the sin of idolatry. Set aside names: consider operations. An idolater is also a murderer. Asketh thou whom he hath slain? If it addeth anything to the comprehensiveness of the title, I answer, not a stranger, nor an enemy, but himself. By what snare? by that of his own error. By what weapon? by sin against God. By how many blows? by as many as are his idolatries. He who denieth that the idolater perisheth, will deny that the idolater committed murder. In like manner thou mayest discover in the same man adultery and fornication; for he that serveth false gods, is without doubt an adulterer of the Truth, because every falsehood is an adultery. So also is he sunk in fornication; for who that dealeth with unclean spirits doth not go about defiled and corrupted? And therefore is it that the holy Scriptures use the word "whoredom" in reproach of idolatry. It constitutes fraud, methinks, if any take that which is another's, or deny to another his due; and in truth fraud committed against man is a sin of the highest rank. But idolatry defraudeth God, denying Him His own honours, and bestowing them upon others, so that with fraud it joineth insult likewise. But if fraud, as well as whoredom and adultery, bring death, then in these ways also is idolatry equally unacquitted of the crime of murder. After such sins, thus deadly, thus swallowing up salvation, all the rest also in some measure, and each in its separate place, have their proper character represented in idolatry. In this is likewise the covetousness of this world. For what Col. 3.5. solemnity of idolatry is there without the trappings of dress and ornament? In this are all kinds of lasciviousness and drunkenness; seeing that these solemnities are chiefly frequented for the sake of feasting and gluttony and lust. In this is unrighteousness; for what is more unrighteous than that which knoweth not the Father of righteousness? In this also is vanity; for all the manner of it is vanity. In this is lying; for its whole substance is a lie. So it is that all are found in idolatry, and idolatry in all. But besides this, since all sins whatsoever are in their spirit contrary to God, and there is nothing contrary in its spirit to God, which is not accounted to belong to devils and unclean spirits, whose servants the idols are, without doubt whatsoever commiteth sin committeth idolatry; for he doeth that which pertaineth to the masters of idols. II. But let all the various names of sins separate themselves unto their own proper acts, and idolatry remain for that, in which it itself consisteth; sufficient in itself is a name so much at enmity with God, a groundwork of crime so abundant, which putteth forth so many branches, diffuseth so many channels, that from hence is most fully derived the substance of the many shapes in which idolatry in all its breadth must be foreshunned. For in many ways it overthroweth the servants of God, and that not only when unrecognized, but also when disguised. Men for the most part imagine that idolatry is to be simply understood in these ways only; if a man either burn incense, or offer
Avoid idolatry in lesser shades, as adultery and murder;

Idols, as not to be worshipped, not to be made, of any substance or form.

neither doth it matter for the material, whether the idol be formed of plaster, or of colours, or of stone, or of brass, or of silver, or of needle-work. For since even without an idol there can be idolatry, surely when there is an idol, it mattereth not of what sort it be, of what material, of what form, lest any should suppose that that only is to be accounted an idol, which is consecrated under a human form. To shew this, the interpretation of the word eido is necessary: in the Greek it signifieth 'form,' hence the word eido, being made as a diminutive, hath in the same manner in our language produced 'formula.' Wherefore every form or formula claimeth to be called an idol. Hence idolatry is every office and service concerned with any idol. Hence also every maker of an idol is in one and the same sin, unless the people were guiltless of idolatry, because they consecrated for themselves the image of a calf and not of a man.

IV. God forbiddeth an idol to be made as well as to be worshipped. As a thing, to be capable of being worshipped, must first be made, so, if it may not be worshipped, the first care must be that it be not made. For this cause the Divine law, in order to the rooting out of the materials of idolatry, proclaimeth, Thou shalt not make any image, adding like Ex. 20, wise, nor the likeness of those things which are in heaven, and which are in the earth, and which are in the sea. Such crafts as these hath it wholly forbidden to the servants of God.
the spirits of the angels that fell away, would change into idolatry all the elements, the whole gear of the world, the things which are contained in heaven, in the sea, in the earth, so that they should be consecrated in the stead of God, in opposition to the Lord. Human error therefore worshippeth all things, save the Creator Himself of all things. The images of these are idols: the consecration of those images, idolatry. Whosoever idolatry doth, must needs be charged upon every maker of every idol. Finally, the same Enoch fore-condemneth, in his communion, both the worshippers of the idol and its makers together. And again, "I swear unto you, O sinners, that a just perdition is prepared against the day of blood. Ye that serve stones, and that make images of gold, and silver, and wood, and stone, and earthenware, and that serve phantoms, and devils, and spirits of ill name, and all false things not according to knowledge, ye shall find no help from them." But Esaias saith, Ye are My witnesses whether there be any God besides Me. And they that fashion and carve images at that time were not. They are all vain, who do, according to their own pleasure, things which shall not profit them. And so afterwards the whole of that declaration testifieth against the makers as well as the worshippers, the close of which is; Know ye that their heart is ashes; and they do err, and no man can deliver his own soul. On which head David in like manner saith of the makers: Let them that make them be like unto them. And what shall I, a man with an indifferent memory, say? what farther proof can I supply? what can I repeat from the Scriptures? as though either the word of the Holy Spirit were not enough, or there were need of con-

Necessity of a living no excuse for unlawful trades.

sidering farther, whether the Lord hath first cursed and condemned the makers of those things, whose worshippers He curseth and condemneth!

V. We will surely reply with more pains to the excuses of craftsmen of this sort, who never ought to be received into the House of God, did men but know the law of that House. Now this saying which is wont to meet us, 'I have sought else whereon to live,' may be retorted somewhat sharply, 'Therefore thou must live— if according to thine own laws, what hast thou to do with God?' Then as to the proof which they dare to bring from Scripture, that the Apostle hath said, As every man hath been found, so let him abide. According to that interpretation then we may all abide in sin; for there is not one among us who hath not been found a sinner, since Christ came down for no other cause than to deliver sinners. Likewise they say, that the same Apostle hath taught, according to his own example, that every one should work with his own hands for his living. If this precept be maintained in respect of every sort of hands, methinks that thieves about the baths live by their lawful professions; and even robbers work with their hands. Whereby they may live: likewise that forgers execute false writings—not surely with their feet, but—with their hands: and that players labour for their living not with their hands only, but with all their members. Let the Church then be open to all who support themselves by their own hands and their own labour, if no exception be made of those crafts whereby the law of God alloweth not.

But some man saith, in answer to our assertion that it is forbidden to make the likeness of any thing, 'Why then did Moses in the wilderness make the likeness of a serpent in brass?' Those figures are of a distinct character, which prepared the way for any hidden dispensation, not in abrogation of the law, but as an emblem of that which causeth them to be made. Otherwise, if we interpret these things, as the enemies of the law, do we also ascribe, as do the Marcionites, inconsistency to the Almighty? Whom they in this manner annul as being changeable, in that He in one place forbidth a thing, in

\textsuperscript{1} See adv. Jud. c. 10. adv. Marc. ii. in Justin M. Dial. § 94.

\textsuperscript{2} S. Barn. c. 19. Jewish interlocutors.
286 Brazen Serpent excepted case, type of sin slain by Cross of Christ.

Dr. Scott VI. 6.

another commandeth it. But if any one feigneth not to see that that image of the brazen serpent, after the manner of one hanging, signified a type of the Cross of the Lord, which was to deliver us from serpents, that is from the angels of the Devil, while it hanged up the Devil, that is the serpent, which had been slain by its means, (or whatever other interpretation of that figure hath been revealed to more worthy men,) so long as the Apostle declareth that all things happened at that time to the people in a figure, I am content that the same God, Who in the law forbade any likeness to be made, should by a special precept have interposed His command that the likeness of a serpent should be made. If thou obeyest the same God, thou hast His law, Thou shalt not make the likeness of any thing, if thou regardest 1

2 See adv. Jud. l. c, adv. Marc. iii. 18. T. here seems to develop the full meaning of the type, how it stood once a represented sin and the author of sin destroyed and nailed to the Cross, and Moses who knew no sin, but was made sin for us. S. Greg. Naz. Or. 45. in Pasch. § 42. looks on it as the emblem of sin and Satan slain by the Cross. So S. Aug. Tr. 12. in S. Joh. § 11. "What is the serpent lifted up? The Death of the Lord on the Cross. For because death was by the serpent, death was figured by the likeness of a serpent. The bite of serpents is deadly; the Death of the Lord life-giving, the serpent is hung up, that the serpent may be powerless; death is hung up, death may be powerless." c. Ath. c. 19. "Upon the wood hung that death, which through the woman came to the man by the persuasion of the serpent, whence also Moses raised up the serpent on the wood to signify His death." And Theodorus Prodomus (in Expl. Can. Cumae Hieres. ap. Lec.) exclusively so. In another point of view, S. Aug. and other fathers regard it, as a type of Him, Who came in the likeness of sinful flesh; as the brazen serpent was the likeness only of the serpent; so Theodoret (qu. 38, ad Num. yet apparently combining both Tert. S. Cyril Alex. l. ii. in Joh. c. 19. S. Greg. Nys. de Vit. Mos. v. fin. c. l. c. 964. Ambv. de Sp. S. iii. 8. Aug. de Pec. Mer. et Rem. i. 31. Chrys. ad Joh. 3. The two views are combined in a striking passage of Origen in reference to a different subject, the hanging of the king of Ai. Hom. 8. in Jos. 6. "The Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ was two-fold; I. e. consists of a two-fold character, because visibly the Son of God was crucified in the flesh; invisibly on that Cross the Devil with his principalities and powers was nailed to the Cross. (Col. ii. 14.) So then the character of the Lord's Cross was two-fold; one of which the Apostle Peter says, that Christ crucified left us an example, (1 Pet. ii. 22.) and this secondly, I. e. which was the trophy, set up of the Devil, wherein he was to be crucified and triumphed over. Therefore, lastly, the Apostle Paul (Gal. 6, 14.) gave a two-fold character of the Cross; for he said that two contraries were crucified, himself being holy and the world sinful, no doubt after the same pattern as we said before, of Christ and the Devil;" Even Philo remarkably connects this event with the fall. de Agra p. 315. ed. Mangy. "These things seem strange, a serpent speaking with human voice deceived Eve, and again a serpent to others brought deliverance by the sight alone."

3 Interdict rested with A. Lac. quotes also from Leidor. Etymol. l. v. a passage in which "interdict," is said to be "interim dixit," "that is 'interdictum,' which is by the judge pronounced not in perpetuity, but for correction at the moment, for a time, in the mean season."
hands that are the mothers of idols: should worship Him with those hands, which are themselves worshipped out of the Church in enmity to God: that he should approach those hands to the Body of the Lord, which bestow bodies on demons. Nor is this enough. It were a small matter that they should receive from other hands That Which they defile, but they themselves also deliver to others That Which they have defiled. Makers of idols are chosen into the ministry of the Church. Horrid sin! The Jews laid violent hands but once upon Christ; these every day assault His Body. O hands worthy of being cut off! Let them now consider whether it were said only in a figure, If thine hand offend thee, cut it off? What hands ought more to be cut off than those by which the Body of the Lord is offended?

VIII. There are also many other kinds of crafts, which, although they pertain not to the making of idols, do nevertheless, with the same sinfulness, make ready those things, without which idols can do nothing. For it mattereth nothing whether thou buildest or adornest; if thou furnishest a temple, an altar, or its chapel: if thou bearest out the gold leaf, or maketh the ornaments, or even the niche: a work of this sort is the greater of the two, which giveth to the Body, to the holy elements into the Body of the Lord is offended? they are more abundant than all superstition. Pride will want, sooner than superstition, dishes and goblets. Luxury consumeth crowns also more than religious observance doth. Since therefore we exhort men to such kinds of craft, as touch not an idol, nor the things which belong to an idol, and since the same things are common both to man and idols, we ought to take care of this also, that nothing be required by any at our hands, with our knowledge, for the use of idols. Which thing if we allow, and use not the means, so common, of binding it, I am resolved I do not think that we are free from the contagion of idolatry, whose hands are found employed, not in ignorance, in the service or for the honour and the use of devils.

XI. We observe among the trades certain professions detached, (Eb. xv. 43) it came to be the common name, especially for large detached, (Eb. xv. 43) it came to be the common name, especially for large detached, (Eb. xv. 43) it came to be the common name, especially for large detached, (Eb. xv. 43) it came to be the common name, especially for large detached, (Eb. xv. 43) it came to be the common name, especially for large detached, (Eb. xv. 43) it came to be the common name, especially for large detached, (Eb. xv. 43) it came to be the common name, especially for large
Magians who sought Christ at the beginning of the Gospel.

2 And I will say a few words. I am not that he honoureth idols, whose names he hath written in the heavens, to whom he hath assigned all the power of God, nor that on this account men think that God is not to be sought after, assuming that we are led by the unchangeable will of the stars. One thing only I advance, that those angels who forsook God, who were lovers of women, were also the discoverers of this curious art, and on that account were condemned by God. O Divine sentence, that standeth fast even on the earth, to which even those who know it not, bear witness! The astrologers are cast out as are their angels. Rome and Italy are closed against astrologers, as Heaven is against their angels. The same penalty of banishment belongeth both to disciples and masters. But wise men [Magi] and Magians who sought Christ at the beginning of the Gospel.

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yet heathen science may be learnt, rejecting its idolatries. 233

We know it may be said, 'If it be not lawful for the servants of God to teach literature, neither will it be lawful for them to learn it: and how then could any one be instructed in human wisdom, or be taught at all to think or to act, when literature is an implement for all the concerns of life? How can we set aside worldly studies, without which there can be no divine ones?' Let us enquire therefore into the necessity of a literary education. Let us consider that in part it cannot be allowed, in part cannot be avoided. The believer is more capable of learning literature than of teaching it: for the nature of learning is different from that of teaching. If the believer teacheth literature, then while he teacheth the praises of idols therein introduced, without doubt he commendeth them; while he delivereth, he affirmeth them; while he mentioneth, he beareth testimony to them. The very gods he denotheth by that name, whereas the law forbiddeth (as we have said) that the names of Ex. 23, gods be uttered, and that that name should be put upon a certain thing'. Hence faith in the Devil first beginneth to be built up from the first beginnings of education. Ask whether he committeth idolatry, who catechizeth concerning idols! But when the believer learneth these things, if he already understandeth what he is, he neither receiveth them, nor alloweth them; much more if he hath long understood. And even where he hath but begun to understand, he must needs first understand that which he hath first learned, that is, the things concerning God and the Faith. Wherefore he will cast away these things, and receive them not, and will be as safe as one who knowingly receiveth poison from one who knoweth it not, and doth not drink it. Necessity is accounted an excuse for such an one, because he cannot learn in any other way. But it is as much more easy not to teach than not to learn letters, as it is more easy for the believing scholar not to approach all the other defilements of the schools belonging to public and private solemnities, than for the master not to frequent them.

232  Idolatries involved in office of schoolmaster;

and that art. That art would teach thee thine own danger, 
VII. 10, which foretelleth the climacterics of others. Thou hast 
Acts 5, neither part nor lot in this matter. He cannot hope for 
the kingdom of Heaven, whose finger or whose rod abuseth Heaven.

X. We must enquire also concerning schoolmasters, and 
the other professors of learning. Or rather we cannot doubt 
that they are akin to idolatry in many shapes. First, because 
they must needs proclaim the gods of the Gentiles, declare 
their names, genealogies, fables, and all such things as 
adorn and honour them: then must they observe also their 
solemn rites and festivals, as men whose own revenues are 
thereby supplied. What schoolmaster without a table of the 
seven idols? Yet will he attend the five days' festival. The 
very first payment from a new scholar he doth both to the 
honour and the name of Minerva; so that, though he 
be unprofaned by any idol, yet in word he may be said to 
eto of that which is offered to an idol. Why is there less of 
defilement in this than in that which a trade presents 
which is openly called after the name and honours of an 
idol? The Minervalia are as much sacred to Minerva, as 
the Saturnalia to Saturn, which at the time of the Saturnalia 
must of necessity be celebrated even by menial servants. 
Likewise must he catch at new years' gifts, and the feasts of 
the seven hills, and of the winter solstice, and must demand 
all the presents pertaining to that of Caristia. On the feast 
of Flora the schools must be hung with garlands. The 
is honoured by presents on the holidays specially appointed. 
The same thing is done on the birthday of an idol: every 
pomp of the Devil' is attended. Who will suppose that 
these things befit a Christian, save he who shall think that they are fitting also for one who is not a schoolmaster?

* those belonging to each god.
* The Planetes, ad Nat. i. 13.
* Quinquatras, the same as the Pasanaemn. The attendance brought the fresh pupils, "discipulos attrahit illa novos." Ord. Fast. iii. 830. sp. Rig. Rig. suggests the interpolation, and the adherence to the MS. reading; Quis 
holimajamster sine tabula vii idolorum? quinquatras tamen frequentabilis, i. e. 
even if he have not the one, he will do 
the other.
* Mineral.
* ' of Rome. The Agonalia, a December festival.
* rites connected with the commemoration of the Heathen dead.

* Tert. applies this commandment in the same way, c. Prax. c. 7. S. Aug. (with the same construction) to false 
belief in our Lord, Serm. 8. (de x Plagi et x Praxe.) § 3. S. 9. (de x Chortia) § 3. S. Cypr., Test. i. 12. 
and S. Jerome, ad Zach. 9, 16. take it in the usual way.
XI. Suppose we consider all its other sins as touching their origins;—in the first place covetousness, the root of all evil; whereby some being ensuaded, have made shipwreck concerning faith; (though covetousness is by the same Apostle called also idolatry;) next, lying, the servant of covetousness; (of false swearing, so lawful unto the Gentiles;) and then, idolatry, which pertaineth to the God? But if covetousness be away, which is the cause of getting gain, when the cause of getting gain ceaseth, there will be no longer need of commerce. But be it that there is some honesty in the trade, free from the anxiety of watchfulness against covetousness and falsehood; I think that that falleth into the sin of idolatry, which pertaineth to the very soul and spirit of idols, which pampereth every demon. Is not this, in very truth, the chief of all idolatries? No matter whether the same merchandize (I speak of frankincense, and other foreign productions used in sacrifice to idols) be used also by men for unguents in medicine, by us† also as aids moreover in the burial of the dead. In truth, when the processions, when the priesthoods, when the sacrifices pertaining to idols are furnished by means of your dangers, your losses, your inconveniences, your anxieties, your journeyings and fro, and your traffic, what else art thou proved to be than a purveyor to idols. Let no one argue that in this manner one might dispute against every kind of commerce. All sins of a graver cast, in proportion to the greatness of the danger, open a wider field for diligent watchfulness, that we not only abstain from them, but from those things through which they are committed. For though a thing be done by others, it maketh no difference, if it be done through me. In nothing ought I to be necessary to another, when he doeth that which is not lawful for me to do. Inasmuch as I am forbidden to do it, I ought to understand that I must take care that it be not done through me. Finally, in another case, wherein the guilt is no lighter, I abide by the same predetermination. For, whereas I am forbidden to commit fornication, I lend neither assistance nor connivance in this thing to others; for in that I have separated mine

† In that Christians did not burn their dead, see Apol. c. 42.
what consistency will he exercise his own foster-children, to whom he hath given his own home as a store-house? If indeed he cast out a devil, let him not hug himself upon his faith, for he hath not cast out an enemy. He ought to prevail easily upon one whom he feedeth every day. No craft therefore, no calling, no trade, which supplieth any thing either for the furnishing or the making of idols, can be free from the name of idolatry, unless we understand idolatry to be something altogether different from the service and worship of idols.

XII. In vain we flatter ourselves about the necessity of man's subsistence, if, after having sealed our faith, we say, 'I have not whereon to live;' for I will now answer this abrupt statement more at large. It is spoken too late. For thou oughtest to have considered this beforehand, after the example of that most prudent builder, who first counteth the cost of the work, and his own powers, lest, failing when he hath begun, he be afterwards put to shame. But even now thou hast the words of the Lord, and enamples which take from thee all excuse. For what sayest thou? 'I shall be poor.' But the Lord calleth the poor, blessed. 'I shall not have food.' But, saith He, Take no thought for food. And for clothing we have a pattern, the lilies: 'I had need of worldly substance.' But 'Thou must sell all things and distribute to the poor.' 'But I must provide for my children, and for them that come after them.' No one putting his hand to the plough and looking back is fit for the work.

XIII. Nevertheless we must so comfort ourselves concerning the kindness and the mercy of God, as not to indulge our wishes even to the borders of idolatry, but to shun like a pestilence every breath of it even afar off, not only in those things of which we have before spoken, but in the whole range of human superstition, (whether in the service of its own gods, or of dead men, or of kings,) as of a thing which pertaineth to the same unclean spirits, sometimes by means of sacrifices and priestly ministrations, sometimes by shows and the like, sometimes by festivals. But of sacrifices and priesthoods what need have I to speak? and as touching shows and such like pleasures, we have already filled a book specially about them. In this place it is meet that we treat of festivals, and other extraordinary solemnities, in which we allow sometimes our wantonness, sometimes our fear, having fellowship with the Heathens in things pertaining to idols, contrary to the rule of our Faith. I shall first dispute this question, whether the servant of God ought to have fellowship in such matters even with the Heathens themselves, whether in respect of dress, or of meat, or any other particular of their rejoicing. The precept to rejoice with them that light hath, do rejoice, and weep with them that weep, was spoken by the Apostle concerning his brethren, when he exhorted them to be of one mind. But in these things light hath no fellowship with darkness, nor life with death: otherwise no fellowship with darkness.\(^1\)

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1 see Apol. c. 23. p. 60. n. b. 2 see on Apol. c. 30, and Justin M. Apol. i. 35. 3 see on Apol. c. 23, p. 60. n. b. 4 see on Apol. c. 30, and Justin M. Apol. i. 35. 5 In Baptism, see de Spect. c. 24. 6 see on Apol. c. 30, and Justin M. Apol. i. 35. 7 The De Spectaculis. 8 De Spect. c. 30. 9 see on Apol. c. 30, and Justin M. Apol. i. 35. 10 De Spect. c. 30.
World's blasphemy not to be caused nor avoided by sin. 239

the Name be not blasphemed. But the blasphemy, which is by all means to be avoided by us, is, methinks, this: If any one of us lead an Heathen to blaspheme with good cause, either by deceiving, or by injuring, or by despitefully using another, or by any other cause of just complaint, for which our Name is deservedly attacked, so that the Lord also is deservedly wronged. But, if it be said of every blasphemy, My Name is blasphemed through you, then are we all utterly lost; since the whole circus doth by 2, 24. Let us wicked voices attack that Name for no fault. Let us cease, and the Name will not be blasphemed. Rather let it be blasphemed, whilst we are abiding in, not falling out of, our course of duty; whilst we are approved, not whilst we are reprobates. O blasphemy akin to martyrdom! which attesteth that I am a Christian, at the very time when it for that cause protesteth against me! To speak evil of our observance of the Religion is to speak well of our Name. If, he saith, I desired to please men, Gal. 1, 16. But the same elsewhere commandeth that we should take care to please all men, 10, 32. even as I, saith he, please all men in all things. Did he 33. forsooth please men by keeping the feast of Saturn, or the Kalends of January? or by patience and meekness, 2 Tim. 2, 5. by gravity, by gentleness, by sincerity? In like manner Tit. 2, 7. when he saith, I am made all things to all men, that 1 Cor. 9, 22. may gain all, was he made an idolater to idolaters? an heathen to heathens? a worldly man to worldly men? For although he forbidden us not to company with idolaters, and adulterers, and other wicked persons, saying, For them must ye needs go out of the world, he doth not 1 Cor. 5, 10. surely so change the restraints upon our conversation, that, because we must needs live and mingle with sinners, we may therefore also sin with them. It is one thing to live together, which the Apostle alloweth: another to sin together, which no one alloweth. We may live with the heathen: we may not die with them. Let us live with all men: let us rejoice with them in that we have a common

1 i. e. is the Heathen whom thou joinest in these observances, to know thee to be a Christian, or no? If he know thee not, what gain? seeing it availeth only to defile thy own conscience. If he know thee, then thou sinnest against his too, teaching him that there is no difference between Heathen and Christian.

8, 7. of Me before men, of him will I also be ashamed before my Father which is in Heaven.

XIV. But most men have now begun to think that it is pardonable if they do sometimes as the Heathen do, that

4. "immutat habendas." Lac. "im-

5. "give the reins." by the opposition of Christians.

7. 1. e. to be Christians.

8. I. e. in concealment, when it rather gives occasion to defile thyself?

9. Plea of opponent. "He will not notice me, whether Christian or no. He will regard me simply as debtor or creditor." T. "Whatever thou art in man's sight, it is a trial, and thou wilt have failed." Addicts, is probably used as a law-term, "made over" into Satan's power, condemned.
240 Christians need not Heathen festivals, having more of their own.

Dr. nature, not a common superstition. We have the like souls with them, not the like Religion: we share the same world, not the same error. But if we have no right of fellowship in such matters with aliens, how much more sinful is it for brethren to assort together therein? Who can endure or maintain this? The Holy Spirit reproacheth Is. 1, 14. the Jews for their feast days. Your sabbaths, saith He, and your new moons, and your ordinances, My soul hateth. And do we, to whom these sabbaths belong not, nor the new moons, nor the feast days once beloved of God, celebrate the feasts of Saturn, and of January, and of the Winter solstice, and the feast of Matrons? For us shall offerings flow in? presents jingle? sports and feasts roar? Oh! truer fealty of the Heathen to their own religion; which taketh to itself no rite of the Christians! No Lord's Day, no Pentecost, even had they known, would they have shared with us! For there is another, a fast. For the heathen festival is on but one day in every year; thou hast not only as many days as they, but even more. For the heathen festival is on but one day in every year; thou hast it; and for the sake of a man, let us remember that all idolatry is committed for man's sake; let us remember that all idolatry is worship paid to man, seeing that it is allowed even by their own worshippers, that the gods of the Heathens themselves were formerly men. Therefore it mattereth nothing that such superstitious worship be paid to the men of a former or of the present age. Idolatry is condemned not on account of the persons who are set up in rivalry, but because of the services performed, which oppo-appertain unto demons. We must render unto Caesar the rendered things which are Caesar's: well that He hath added, and unto God the things which are God's. What then are the Mat. 22, things which are Caesar's? They are those, for instance, concerning which the question was then raised, whether tribute was to be given to Caesar or not. Wherefore also the Lord required that the tribute money should be shewn to Him, and asked concerning the image, whose it was. And when He had heard that it was Caesar's, He said, Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things which are God's. That is, render unto Caesar the image of Caesar, which is on the money, and unto God, the image of God, which is in man; so that thou givest unto Caesar money, unto God thine own self. Otherwise, if all things be Caesar's, what will be God's? Sayest thou then, 'The lamps before my doors and the laurel on my door-posts are in honour of God?' Surely it is not because they are an honour to God, but to him, who, in the stead of God, is honoured by such-like services, as far, that is, as they are seen, and saving those their effects, which are unseen, and appertain unto devils. For we ought to know of a surety, if there be any to whom, through ignorance of this world's learning, it is not known, that the Romans had gods even of their doors, Cardea so called from cardines, and Forculus kinges from fores, and Limentinus from limen; and Janus him doors himself from janua, and surely we know that, although these self be empty and feigned names, still when they are drawn aside, gate to superstition, demons and every unclean spirit take them to themselves, as bound to them, by consecration; otherwise the demons have no individual names; but wherever they find a token of themselves, there also they find a name. Among the Greeks also we read of Apollo Thymus, and the demons called Antelii, the guardians of doors. The Holy Spirit therefore, foreseeing these things from the beginning, foretold by the most ancient of the Prophets, Enoch, that even doors would become matters of superstition. For we see

* During the Pentecostal season.
* De Cor. c. 3.
* Apol. c. 35.
* Apol. c. 10. 11.
* De Cor. c. 13. Scorp. c. 10. Cypr.
* See above, on c. 4.
* de Idol. Van. c. 2.
that other doors also, those in the baths, are worshipped.

If therefore those things which are worshipped in the doors belong to these demons, then will both the lamps and the laurels belong to them. Whosoever thou dost to the door, thou dost to the idol. In this place I bring a testimony from the authority even of God; for it is not safe to withhold whatsoever is revealed to one man alone, for the sake doubtless of all. I know a brother, who, because his servants had, on the sudden announcement of public rejoicings, hung a garland on his door, was in the same night grievously chastised in a vision. And yet he had neither himself hung the garland, nor ordered it to be hung, for he had beforehand gone abroad, and had blamed the act on his return. Thus are we in these matters judged in the sight of God according to the religious conduct of our households also. Wherefore as respects the honour due to kings or emperors, we have the rule sufficiently laid down that we ought to be, according to the bounds of religious duty, and so long as we are separated from idolatry. For this cause hath that example of the three brethren gone before, who being in other things obedient to King Nebuchadnezzar, most perseveringly refused honour to his image, proving that whatsoever exaltesth the measure of human honour to the likeness of the Divine Majesty, is idolatry. So also Daniel, in other things leaning on Darius, continued so long in his obedience as he avoided peril to his religion. For, that he might not submit to that, he feared no more the king’s lions, than those did the king’s fiery furnace. Let those therefore who have no light, light their lamps daily: let those over whom fires are hanging fix to their door posts laurels, hereafter to be burnt. To them such things are fitting, as proofs of darkness, and omens of

II. Ifsoever thou doest to the door, thou dost to the idol. In this place I bring a testimony from the authority even of God; for it is not safe to withhold whatsoever is revealed to one man alone, for the sake doubtless of all. I know a brother, who, because his servants had, on the sudden announcement of public rejoicings, hung a garland on his door, was in the same night grievously chastised in a vision. And yet he had neither himself hung the garland, nor ordered it to be hung, for he had beforehand gone abroad, and had blamed the act on his return. Thus are we in these matters judged in the sight of God according to the religious conduct of our households also. Wherefore as respects the honour due to kings or emperors, we have the rule sufficiently laid down that we ought to be, according to the bounds of religious duty, and so long as we are separated from idolatry. For this cause hath that example of the three brethren gone before, who being in other things obedient to King Nebuchadnezzar, most perseveringly refused honour to his image, proving that whatsoever exaltesth the measure of human honour to the likeness of the Divine Majesty, is idolatry. So also Daniel, in other things leaning on Darius, continued so long in his obedience as he avoided peril to his religion. For, that he might not submit to that, he feared no more the king’s lions, than those did the king’s fiery furnace. Let those therefore who have no light, light their lamps daily: let those over whom fires are hanging fix to their door posts laurels, hereafter to be burnt. To them such things are fitting, as proofs of darkness, and omens of

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Th. 3, 1. to the precept of the Apostle, subject to magistrates and princes and powers, with all obedience; but this within the bounds of religious duty, and so long as we are separated from idolatry. For this cause hath that example of the three brethren gone before, who being in other things obedient to King Nebuchadnezzar, most perseveringly refused honour to his image, proving that whatsoever exaltesth the measure of human honour to the likeness of the Divine Majesty, is idolatry. So also Daniel, in other things leaning on Darius, continued so long in his obedience as he avoided peril to his religion. For, that he might not submit to that, he feared no more the king’s lions, than those did the king’s fiery furnace. Let those therefore who have no light, light their lamps daily: let those over whom fires are hanging fix to their door posts laurels, hereafter to be burnt. To them such things are fitting, as proofs of darkness, and omens of
and officers attending upon their lords, or their patrons, or chief magistrates when offering sacrifice? Even if one delivereth the wine to him who sacrificeth, nay if he assisteth even by a single word proper to the sacrifice, he will be accounted a minister of idolatry. Mindful of this rule, we can render our services even to magistrates and powers, like the patriarchs and others before us, who attended upon idolatrous kings up to the borders of idolatry. Hence the question arose but the other day, whether a servant of God may take upon himself the ministration of any dignity or authority, if, either through their exhibition or the public expense, nor reside over their exhibition, nor commit to others the care of temples, nor look after their revenues, nor exhibit shows at his own or the public expense, nor preside over their exhibition, nor make proclamation or edict for any solemnity, nor even take any oath; nor again, as respects acts of power, pass judgment on the life or honour of any, (for thou mightest allow of his doing so with regard to their money,) nor sentence to punishment, nor enact the sentence beforehand, nor put any man in bonds, nor shut up any in prison, nor inflict torture upon any, if indeed it be credible that such things can be done.

XVIII. But we must now treat of the appendages alone, and the outward pomp of such office. Each hath his own

* Joseph and Daniel, as below.

* Not as to set a foot within it.

* "Et purpura existere" restored, for which Rip. conjectured "prefecture," the Cod. Ag. having extenuate.

* Lac. interprets this of enforcing the laws against Christians; but Tertullian speaks as explicitly against the execution of personal punishments by a Christian, de Cor. c. 11. and so probably equally deprecated that a Christian should adjudge to them. Yet he speaks of justice even in capital punishments by secular authority, as exerted "in man's behalf," and "religious in its severity," (de An. c. 33.) and contrasts "violent ends, decreed by justice, the avenger of violence" with the "savage-ness of tortures." (ib. o. 56.) It may then only be that he held it unlawful unless necessary, not to be discharged by a Christian, of free choice.

* De Sper. c. 12.

Dress of civil rank may be worn, not of idolatrous office. 245

proper dress, as well for daily use, as for the honour and dignity of his office. Wherefore the purple, and the gold, the ornaments of the neck, were marks of dignity among the Egyptians and Babylonians, in the same manner as in these days, the bordered, and the striped, and the palm-embroidered robes, and the golden crowns of the provincial priests; but not under the same conditions: for they were bestowed on those, who deserved the familiar friendship of kings, only for the sake of honour; (whence also they were called the 'empurpled' of kings, from 'purpura,' as men are called with us 'candidates' from 'toga candida;') but not that this appendage should be attached to priesthoods also, or any other offices pertaining to idols. For had it been so, surely men of such sanctity and constancy would at once have refused the polluted garments; and it would have appeared at once, as it did appear long afterwards, that Daniel had not served idols, and did not worship Bel and the dragon. The mere purple dress therefore was not even a mark of high office among the Barbarians, but of high birth: even as Joseph also, who had been a slave, and Daniel, who through captivity had changed his condition, obtained the rights of free-men in Babylon and Egypt, wearing the dress of barbarian nobility. So to the believer among us, if need be, the bordered gown of boyhood, and the lady's robe might be allowed, as marks of birth not of power; of family not of honour; of rank not of superstition. But the purple or other marks of dignity and power, being from the beginning devoted to the idolatry engraven on dignity and power, bear the stain of their own profanation; since moreover these bordered and striped robes and laticlavi are put even upon the idols themselves; and the fasces and rods are carried before them. And with good cause: for devils are the rulers of this world: they bear the ensigns of one and the same body, the fasces and the purple robes. 1 unius point then wilt thou gain, if thou usest the dress, resteret though thou do not the works of the office? No man can be accounted clean in unclean things. If thou put on a

1 e. g. Liv. 30. 42. Sopatrum ex purpuratis et proptinstus regis esse.

Our Lord, by rejecting, condemned pomp.

Moreover now thou that arguest concerning Joseph and Daniel, know that old things are not always to be compared with new, barbarous with civilized customs, things begun with things completed, things pertaining to slaves with things pertaining to free-men. For these men also were, in their estate, servants; but thou, who art no man's servant, inasmuch as thou art Christ's alone, Who hath also freed thee from the captivity of the world, oughtest to live according to the rule of the Lord. That Lord walked in humility and lowliness, having no certain home, for He saith, The Son of Man hath not where to lay His head: in dress unadorned, in the loftiness the rule of the word, oughtest rendered the mean beauty, for else He would not have had, Behold, they that wear soft clothing are in king's houses: finally in visage and aspect without beauty, as also Esaias had foretold. If He exercised no right of power over His own people, to whom He rendered the mean office of a servant; if finally He avoided being made a king, though knowing that He was a King; He gave most fully a rule to His people, in thus melting away the loftiness and pomp as well of dignity as of power. For who should more have used these honours than the Son of God? what fasces, and how many, would attend Him forth! what purple glisten from His shoulders! what gold gleam from His head, if he had not determined that the glory of this world was foreign to Him and to His people! That glory therefore, which He would not have, He hath rejected; that which He rejected He hath condemned; that which He condemned He hath concluded under the 'pomp of the Devil.' For He would not have condemned, save what were not His own; but the things which are not of God could not be of any other save the Devil. If thou hast renounced the pomp of the Devil,' know that whatsoever thereof thou touchest, is idolatry; let even this admonish thee, that all the powers and dignities of the world are not only foreign, but likewise hostile to God, because through these are punishments devised against the servants of God, through these even the penalties prepared for the wicked, unknown. But thy birth and thy fortune are an hindrance to thee in resisting idolatry.' To avoid this there can be no lack of remedies, for, though they be wanting, the single one at least remaineth, whereby thou art thus promoted to a richer dignity, not in earth but in Heaven.

XIX. Under this head we might seem to have determined the rule concerning the profession of the soldier also, which is something between dignity and power. But now ariseth this question, whether a believer can turn himself to the profession of a soldier, and whether a soldier can be admitted to the Christian Faith, even from the ranks, or one of a still lower grade, who is not obliged to deal with sacrifices or capital punishments. There is no agreement between the divine and human sacrament, the standard of Christ and the standard of the Devil, the camp of light and the camp of darkness. One soul cannot be bound to two masters, to God and to Caesar. Even Moses carried a rod, and Aaron wore a clasp, and John was girt with a leather girdle, and Joshua the son of Naue led an army, and the people made war, if we choose to sport with the subject. But how will they make war, yea how will they be soldiers in peace, without the sword, which the Lord hath taken away? For even though soldiers came to John and received their rule of duty, even though a centurion was a believer, the Lord, even in disarming Peter, thenceforth disarmed every soldier. No dress is lawful for us, which is assigned to an unlawful action.

XX. But seeing that the conversation, which is according to the Divine law, is put in peril not only by acts but even by words, (for as it is written, Behold the man and his deeds, so is it also written, Out of thy mouth thou shalt be justified,) we ought to remember that the inroads of idolatry, whether through the fault of evil habit or of cowardice, must be guarded against even in words. The law forbiddeth the gods of the Heathens to be named, not indeed that we may not pronounce their names, which our daily converse com-
Names of gods may be pronounced but not as gods.

De Idol. VII. 21.

pellet us to mention. For we must often say: 'Thou wilt find him in the temple of Æsculapius;' or 'I live in the street of Isis;' and he hath been appointed a priest of Jupiter;' and many other things of like sort, since names of this kind are introduced even amongst men. For I honour not Saturn, if they have so called any by his name; I honour him no more than I honour Mark, if I call a man Mark. But it saith, The name of other gods shall not be mentioned, neither shall it be heard out of thy mouth. This he hath commanded, that we should not call them gods. For in the first part of the law also it is said, Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God for a vain thing, that is, 'for an idol.' He therefore that hath honoured an idol with the Name of God, hath fallen into idolatry. But it saith, but addeth the words, their or of the nations; as David doth, when he had named the gods, when he saith, All the gods of the nations are devils. This, however, I have advanced, rather as preparatory to future remarks. But it is the fault of an evil habit to say, "by Hercules," "so help me Jupiter's son," besides the ignorance of some who know not that they are swearing by Hercules. Moreover what else will an oath be, sworn by them whom thou hast forsworn, than a juggling of faith with idolatry? Even if he had not retorted the curse in the name of the same god, nor of any one like unto Jupiter, he had affirmed that Jupiter was a god, through whom being cursed he had, by cursing again, shewn himself to have been angered thereby. For why shouldst thou be angry, when cursed in the name of one whom thou knowest to be nought? For if thou art made furious, thou art once proved him to be something, and the confession of thy fear will be idolatry. How much more, when thou cursest again by the god himself, dost thou do honour to Jupiter by the same means as he who provoked thee! But the believer ought in such a case to laugh, not to become furious: yea, according to the commandment, thou oughtest not to curse again even by God, but altogether to bless in God's Name, that thou mayest both overthrow the idols, and proclaim God, and fulfil the law of righteousness.

XXII. In like manner he that hath been admitted into the Faith of Christ, will not endure to be blessed in the name of the gods of the Heathen, so that he will ever refuse the unclean blessing, and, by turning to God, will make it clean unto himself. To be blessed in the name of the gods of the Heathen is to be cursed in God's name. If I shall give alms to anyone, or do him any kindness, and he shall pray that his gods, or the presiding Genius of the colony, may be propitious to me, immediately my obligation or my work will be an honour to those idols, in whose name he repayeth me

* imo tibi; apparently a formula used, tolissim Jupiter; imo tibi. Martial, l. v. ap. Lac.

** faciet tibi sic bene Cæsar, Sic Capi-
Oaths by gods in money-contracts not to be signed.

De Idol. VII. 23. I Pet. 4, rather glorified, and devils not be honoured by that which I did for the sake of God? But God seeth that I did it for His sake.' Yea, and He likewise seeth that I was unwilling to shew that I did it for His sake, and that I have in some measure rendered that, which He hath commanded, an offering to an idol. Many say, no one is bound openly to avow himself: nor, as I think, to disown himself; for disown himself he doth, whosoever being treated in any matter as an Heathen dissembleth. And indeed all disowning is idolatry, even as all idolatry is disowning, either in deeds or in words.

XXII. But there is a certain kind of such idolatry, both in deeds and in words, two-edged and hurtful on both sides, though it win upon thee, as though it were clear in both respects, nothing appearing to be done, because nothing is laid hold of as said. They who borrow money from the Heathen, bound by the faith of pledges, being adjured, give a bond of security, and so deny that they have knowledge of the oath. They want forsooth a time of persecution, and a seat of judgment, and the presence of the magistrate.

Mat. 5, 34. Christ teacheth that we must swear not at all. 'I have written,' saith one, 'but I have spoken nothing: it is the tongue, not the writing, which killeth.' Here I appeal to Nature and to Conscience: to Nature, because although the tongue, being unmoved and silent, have no part in dictating, still the hand can write nothing, which the mind doth not dictate: though even to the tongue itself the mind dictateth either that which is conceived in itself, or that which hath been delivered by another. Now, let it be said, 'another dictateth.' I here appeal to the Conscience, whether or no the mind conceiveth that which another hath dictateth, and (be the tongue partaking or quiescent) transmitteth it to the hand? And well is it that the Lord hath said that sin is committed in the mind and in the conscience. "If," saith He, "the evil desire or the evil thought come up into the heart of a man, thou art held guilty of the act." Thou therefore hast given a bond of security, which surely hath come up into thine heart, since thou canst neither contend that thou didst not know, nor that thou didst not will it. For when thou gavest the bond, thou hadst knowledge of it, and when thou knewest, thou didst assuredly also will it; and thou art guilty as well in deed as in thought; nor canst thou, by the lighter charge, bar the graver one, so as to say that it is altogether rendered false, by thy giving a bond for that which thou dost not actually perform. 'Yet I have made no denial, because I have sworn no oath.' Nay, but notwithstanding thou hast done nothing of this kind, yet thou wouldest be said to have sworn, if thou hast consented. Hath not a word understood in writing, and a mute sound in letters, its force? Again, Zacharias when he was punished by the loss of his voice for a season, having conferred with his mind, passeth over his useless tongue, dictateth from his heart to his hands, and pronounceth without a mouth the name of his son. In his pen there speaketh, and in his waxen tablet there is heard, a hand clearer than any sound, a writing more vocal than any mouth. Ask whether he hath spoken, who is found without words. Let us pray to the Lord that the necessity of such a contract as this may never press upon us: and should it chance to do so, may He give to our brethren the means to rid ourselves of all such necessity, lest these writings which deny our Religion, standing in the place of our words, be brought forward against us in the day of judgment, sealed with the seals no longer of advocates but of angels.

XXIV. Amidst these rocks and bays, amidst these shoals and straits of idolatry, Faith wafted onwards by the Spirit of God holdeth her course: safe while on her guard, secure while in amazement. But for those who are cast overboard, there is an abyss whence none can swim; for those who strike upon a rock, there is a wreck whence none can escape; for those who are swallowed up there is in idolatry a whirlpool where none can breathe: every wave thereof choketh, every eddy sucketh down to hell. Let no man say, 'Who shall so safely guard himself? we must needs go out of the world.' As if it were not as good to go out, as to remain an idolater in the world. Nothing can be easier than to guard against idolatry, if the fear of it be our chief
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354 Dignity of our Lord visible to those worthy to behold it.

Note the eyes to which Christ would appear lovely—Those eyes are to be on De cleaned, that they may be able to see that light; which gives a sort of comment on T.'s stronger language de carne Christi, l. c. Theodoret explains Is. 53, 2, 3. of His sufferings (in Ps. 44.)

This passage of S. Aug. further shows that these Fathers did not think of what we should mean by "meanness of countenance" and the like, but only by a lowness of the outward form, which (as is the case often now in such degrees of moral dignity as men may reach unto) had nothing attractive except for those who had a certain sympathy with it, and whose eyes were purified to see the hidden Majesty. Thus Origen, who admitted the simulacra imputed by Celsus, says, (Comm. in Matt. § 100. t. III. p. 906. ed. de la Rue al. Tr. 35.) "A tradition has come down to us of Him, that there were not only two forms in Him, one according to which all saw Him, another, according to which He was transfigured before His disciples in the mount, when His countenance also shone as the sun, but that He appeared to each according as He was worthy. And being the Same, He appeared as though He were not the Same to all." (which O. likens to the Manna, Wisd. 16, 20, 21.) "And this tradition does not appear to me incredible, whether as relates to the body, on account of Jesus Himself, that He appeared in different ways to men, or on account of the very nature of the Word, which does not appear alike to all." And S. Jerome (in Ps. 44. Ep. 65. ad Princip. § 8.) having explained Is. 53, 2. of His sufferings,Body," subjoins, "for had He not had in His countenance and eyes a sort of starry lustre, neither had the Apostles instantly followed Him, nor they who had come to seize Him fallen to the ground," and this, (on S. Matt. 9, 9.) he explains not to belong to the human countenance, but to the Divinity gleaming through. "Certainly the very brightness and majesty of the hidden Divinity, which shone through in His human countenance, could at first sight draw beholders to Himself. For if the magnet and amber are said to have the power to join to themselves rings and straws, how much more could the Lord of all creatures draw to Himself whom He would?"

I. Happy the Sacrament of our water! whereby being cleansed from the sins of our former blindness, we are made free unto eternal life! A discussion of this matter, will not be idle, as instructing both those who are most perfectly informed, and those also, who content with simply believing, without examining the bearings of traditions, carry about with them through ignorance a belief which recommendeth itself, yet untried. And therefore a certain most venomous serpent of the heresy of the Cainites, lately dwelling in these parts, hath carried away very many with her doctrine, beginning with the overthrow of Baptism; plainly according to her nature; for vipers, and asps, and serpents,

b See on this sect de Prescript. c. 35. adv. omn. Hær. c. 3. They, as well as the Manichæans, (see S. Aug. Conf. iv. § 8. Oxf. Transl.) followed out the tenet of the impurity of matter, so as to reject Baptism with water. S. Jerome alludes to this rejection, (Ep. 69. ad Ocean. Intit.) using the same metaphors. "The Cainite heresy ariseth against me, and the viper who had once perished lifeth up her bruised head and overthroweth the Sacrament of Christ, not in part, as formerly, [i. e. as to the matter] but wholly; in that it was denied that all sin was forgiven in it. add S. Cyril. Ep. ad Magn. fin.

The Basilisk, basiliscus, regularus, basiliscus, basiliskus, basiliscus, is a specially deadly serpent, and peculiar to Africa, so Bochart. (Hieros. ii. 1. 3. c. 9. 10.) who identifies it with the VEN. "TEM of H. Sor.; add S. Jerome, Ep. 69. ad Ocean. § 6.
belief wondereth and believeth not, for it wondereth at simple things, as foolish, and at great things, as impossible. And be it altogether as thou thinkest, yet hath the declaration of God sufficiently prevented thee in both points. God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wisdom thereof, and, the things which are exceeding difficult with men, are easy with God. For if God be both wise and powerful, which even those who pass Him by deny not, with good cause placeth He the materials of His operations in the contraries of wisdom and power, that is in foolishness and impossibility, since every excellence taketh its rise from those things by which it is called forth .

III. Remembering this declaration, as one precluding farther question, let us nevertheless consider this mighty foolishness and impossibility that man should be re-formed by water. How, in fact, hath this material thing, without form, and darkness was over the deep, and the Spirit of God was borne over the waters. Thou hast first, O man, to reverence the age of the waters, in that they are an ancient substance, next their dignity, in that they were the seat of the Spirit of God, to wit, because more pleasing to Him, even then, than the rest of the elements. For there was as yet a total shapeless darkness, without the adorning of the stars, and there was the gloomy deep, and the earth unprepared, and the heaven unformed: water alone, a matter ever perfect, cheerful, simple, pure of its own nature, supplied a vehicle worthy of God. What shall I say of the disposition of the world having been thereupon based in

Dignity intended for water, marked at the Creation. 257

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Dignity intended for water, marked at the Creation. 257
Dr. Bapt. VIII. 6. 7. v. 9, 10. 20.

Water source of life in creation and re-creation.

For that He might suspend the firmament of Heaven in the midst, He did so by dividing the waters; and that He might suspend the dry land, He set it free by separating the waters. When the world being afterwards disposed according to its elements, inhabitants were given unto it, it was commanded to the waters first to bring forth living creatures; water first brought forth that which had life, so that there might be no wonder, if in Baptism the waters should be able to give life. For even the work of forming man himself was accomplished by the waters joining their aid. The material was formed of the earth, yet not fit for use unless moist and full of juice, which, in fact, the waters, separated before the fourth day to their own place, had, through the moisture which remained behind, made, by their admixture, clay. If after this I were to go on to all or to any more of what I can say of the authority of this element, how great its power or its grace, how many contrivances, how many services, how mighty an instrument had, through the moisture which remained behind, made, all to obey Him in His own Sacraments also, which He hath disposed through all things and all His works; whether that, which ruleth the earthly life, minister also in the heavenly.

IV. But it will be sufficient to have briefly premised these things, among which is also recognized that first notice of Baptism, whereby men are baptized, is a manner by God upon water as its regulating principle? Since every substance lying beneath must needs catch the quality of that which lieth above: specially the bodily that of the spiritual, which, by the subtlety of its own nature, can easily penetrate and sink into it. Thus the nature of water sanctified by the Holy One, itself also received the power of sanctifying. Let no one say, 'Are we then washed in the same waters which were then, in the beginning?' Assuredly not in the same, unless so far as the genus is the same, while the species are many: and whatever is attributed to the genus appeareth again in the species also. And therefore there is no difference whether a man be washed in the sea or in a pool, in a river or in a fountain, in a lake or in a canal: nor is there any distinction between those whom John baptized in the Jordan, and those whom Peter baptized in the Tiber, unless that eunuch too, whom Philip baptized on his journey, in the water on which they chanced, received thereby more or less saving benefit. Wherefore all waters, from the ancient privilege of their origin, obtain, after prayer to God, the sacrament of sanctification. For the Spirit straightway cometh down from the Heavens above, and is over the waters, sanctifying them from Himself; and so sanctified they imbibe the power of sanctifying. Besides, for the simple act the similitude of the things may suffice, so that since we are defiled by sins, as though by dirt, we should be cleansed by water. But as our sins do not appear upon the flesh, (for no man carrieth upon his skin the stain of adultery, or theft,) so persons of this sort are filthy in the spirit, which is the author of sin. For the spirit and Pam. have, instinctos reformatorum, "so to form the baptized;" but the authority does not seem so good.

All water then obtained fitness to be sanctified and sanctify. 239

Holy Thing was surely borne above an holy, or that which bore borrowed holiness from that which was borne above it; for every substance lying beneath must needs catch the quality of that which lieth above: specially the bodily that of the spiritual, which, by the subtlety of its own nature, can easily penetrate and sink into it. Thus the nature of water sanctified by the Holy One, itself also received the power of sanctifying. Let no one say, 'Are we then washed in the same waters which were then, in the beginning?' Assuredly not in the same, unless so far as the genus is the same, while the species are many: and whatever is attributed to the genus appeareth again in the species also. And therefore there is no difference whether a man be washed in the sea or in a pool, in a river or in a fountain, in a lake or in a canal: nor is there any distinction between those whom John baptized in the Jordan, and those whom Peter baptized in the Tiber, unless that eunuch too, whom Philip baptized on his journey, in the water on which they chanced, received thereby more or less saving benefit. Wherefore all waters, from the ancient privilege of their origin, obtain, after prayer to God, the sacrament of sanctification. For the Spirit straightway cometh down from the Heavens above, and is over the waters, sanctifying them from Himself; and so sanctified they imbibe the power of sanctifying. Besides, for the simple act the similitude of the things may suffice, so that since we are defiled by sins, as though by dirt, we should be cleansed by water. But as our sins do not appear upon the flesh, (for no man carrieth upon his skin the stain of idolatry, or adultery, or theft,) so persons of this sort are filthy in the spirit, which is the author of sin. For the spirit

and Pam. have, instinctos reformatorum, "so to form the baptized;" but the authority does not seem so good.

T. perhaps uses subjects in a twofold sense; "lying beneath," and, as implied by the position, "subject." "In specie redundant," as Clio, pro Balb. c. 22. "ut sermones—etiam ad vestras aures permanentem, et in judicio ipso redundantem, et in tempore, et in loco, ut specie (=speciem) paschet over to the species." I. e. thou far; T. is speaking of the element as affecting the Baptism, not of the Baptisms; it is an argument a fortiori: had the Jordan any special sacredness, John's had been better than Christian Baptism, whereas the contrary is strongly stated, c. 10.

2. Or the consecration of the water of Baptism, see authorities in Bingham, 11. 10.

3. Instanced as deadly sins in the de Idol. c. 1. Murder is omitted, as having mostly some stains, c. 1.
of inward cleansing, solely from its nature, because it is the proper matter for washing outwardly, how much more truly will water perform this office by the authority of God, by Whom its whole nature is framed! If they think that water receiveth an healing power from Religion, what Religion is better than that of the living God? Which being acknowledged, we here also recognize 1 the zeal of the Devil, railing at the things of God, when even he performeth baptism upon his own people. What resemblance is there? The unclean cleanseth, the destroyer delivereth, the condemned absolveth! He will destroy forsooth his own work, washing away those sins which he himself inspireth! These things indeed are set down for a testimony against those who refuse the Faith, if they in no wise believe in those things of God, in the pretended imitations of which by the rival of God they do believe. But do not unclean spirits in other ways also, and without any religious rite, brood over the waters, pretending to imitate the up-bearing of the Divine Spirit at the beginning? Witness all shady fountains, and all unfrequented streams, and the pools at the baths, and all the conduits and cisterns in houses, and the wells which are said to carry men off, to wit, by the power of the nostrous spirit. 4 For they call men stifled, and water-stricken, and hydrophobic, whom they think have been water hath killed, or hath worked upon by madness or fear. 3

To what purpose have we related these things? that none may think it too hard a thing that the holy Angel of God should be present to prepare the waters for the salvation of man, when the bad angel hath oftentimes unholy dealings with the same element for the destruction of man. If it seemeth a strange thing, that an Angel should interpose in the waters, an example of what was to be hath gone before. An angel interposing troubled the pool at Bethsaida. 2 They who complained John 5, 4.

1 See below, c. 6, and note.
2 De Resc. c. 39. Aug. c. Don. vi. 25. "In many sacrilegious rites of heathen persons are reported to be baptized." Clem. Strom. v. 11 p. 246, ed. Syll.
3 Not without ground then are the purifications (v. ἀφέων) the commencement of the mysteries of the Greeks, as among the Barbarians [i.e. Christians], also the bath," add vili. 4. p. 303. Justin M. Apol. i. 69. "The Metam. ix. p. 394. Polyben. Stratig. l. v. in Herac. DioCi. Sec. l. i. ap. Marsham Chron. Sec. x. p. 193. (Bapt. Ehr.) Gyrald. Syntagm. 17. t. i. p. 593. Telemaclius, and Penelope, in Homer, wash before praying, see Hoffn. v. Lotio.
5 Men armed in the Ambarvala (= armur ambris) amburbarle (= urbeam armbire) Lucan. i. 95. i. 124. Hosin. in v.
6 T. looking upon the heathen rites, as copied from the Jewish, (as, doubtless, they were, in as far as they were not the expressions of nature itself,) and so, anticipations of the Christian Sacraments, (in part, also, as suggested by Satan in conformity with the imitations of prophecy, see above, on Apol. c. 22.) seems himself to have applied, in his energetic way of speaking, the Christian term to them; for "regeneration" is no where ascribed to the heathen rite; he explains his own opinion prevailed among the Athenians, that whose was taught the mysteries after his departure hence obtained Divine honour; whereas also all eagerly hasted the mysteries." See other ibid. Marsham Chron. Sec. xi. c. 8. ecc. Virg. Ec. ix. 818. "Apollo ap. Pan. i. x. Heracles ap. DioCi. Sec. l. iv. Theseus ap. Plut. in eo. Bel. ap. Apollon. Apol. l. 2. all." Hoffn. v. Istratio. Marsham Sec. xi. c. sadoa.

8 De Anim. c. 50. Plin. II. 103, xxxi.
9 for "Bethsaida," according to a reading which has several, (though inadequate) authorities, both East and West, (see Schol. ad loc.) It occurs also in the very ancient Gothic liturgy, (edited by Thomaus,) which also refers to the pool of Bethsaida as a type of Baptism in Tertullian's language, (edit. by Thomasus,) which also gives to the waters of Bethsaida power to heal. 2 Angelo meditante." Tert.
of ill health watched for him: for 'whosoever first stepped down therither, after washing ceased to complain. This figure of bodily medicine spake of a spiritual medicine, according to that rule whereby carnal things ever go before as the figures of spiritual. Wherefore, when the grace of God increased among men, more was added to the waters and to the Angel. They that did cure the ills of the body, now heal the spirit: they that did work out the temporal health, now frame anew the eternal: they that did deliver one man once in the year, now save whole nations every day, death being abolished through the washing away of sins. For the guilt being taken away, the punishment is taken away also. Thus man, who aforetime had been in the image of God, will be

1 in restored to God after His likeness. The image is considered to be in form, the likeness in his eternity: for he receiveth again that Spirit of God, which he had then received by His breathing upon him, but had afterwards lost by sin.

VI. Not that we obtain the Holy Spirit in the water, but c. 4. "medicatrix quodammodo aqua per Angeli intervenerat." The angel of Baptism is also named there, 'Let the Angel of Thy blessing descend upon these waters." (Ass. ii. p. 34. 6.)

so seek angels (Joh. 5. 4.) is explained by S. Chrysost. S. Cyril Alex. S. Ambrose; see Script. Views, p. 350. note 1.

1 It may be that T. uses the future to mark that the restoration is but commensurate, to be perfected in eternity, as he says, "the likeness is his eternity." Thus Orig. de Prin. ii. 6. init.

2 Moses in that he thus relates the first creation of man, 'And God said, Let Us make man after Our image and likeness,' and then adds, 'And God made man, in the image of God made He him,'—in that he said, 'in the image of God made He him,' but is silent as to the 'likeness,' indicates nothing else, than that at this first creation he received the dignity of the 'image,' but that the perfection of the likeness is reserved for the consummation; but the Apostol John defines this much more clearly, 'We do not yet know what we shall be—we shall be like Him.' Whereby he most certainly points both to the end of all things, which he saith is yet unknown to him, and that a likeness of God is to be looked for, which shall be bestowed according to the perfectness of deserts; and S. Aug. de Trin. x. v. § 24. quoting also 1 Joh. 3. 2, "hence it appears that in that image of God (Col. 3. 9) the full 'likeness' of Him will then take place, when it shall receive the full vision of Him—that image of which it is said, 'Let Us make man after Our image and likeness, since it is not said 'My' or 'Thy' [but 'Our'] we believe that man was made in the image of the Trinity. And therefore thus also will that rather be to be understood, which the Apostol John says, 'we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is,' because he said it of him of whom he had said, 'we are sons of God.'


1 e. not fully; His complete gifts being bestowed through the Anointing c. 7. and imposition of hands as part of Baptism, (see Scriptural Views, p. 165. note.) For since Tertullian apparently all other Fathers believed Baptism to be the birth of water and the Spirit," those so born could not without the water and the Spirit, see below, c. 13. and de Anima, c. 41. "confirmed by the second birth of water and the power from above," de Pubic. c. 6. "whoever flesh hath in Christ put off its former desolations, is now wholly another thing; it cometh up [out of the water] new, born of pure water and the cleansing of the Holy Spirit." In like way, Pam. remarks that S. Cyprian says Ep. 69. ad Gaetlic. § 4. "Baptism the Holy Spirit is received," and yet Ep. 69. ad Januar. "Who has been baptized must be anointed, that having received the Chrism, he anointing, he may be the anointed of God, and have within the grace of God." As above, p. 261. note h. The mention of an Angel of Baptism is evidently in part suggested by the evident promise of the mystery of the Trinity into Whose Name the Church is baptized. This passage has been looked upon as a token of Montanism. The error, however, did not lay in this statement, but in its abuse. T. uses the argument rightly de Penit. c. 10.; after his fall, he on this ground claimed for the baptist, like the cases of emergency, priestly functions, in cases of emergency, priestly functions, and de Anima, c. 7. and at last maintained that those three c. 7. and at last maintained that those three c. 7. and at last maintained that those three c. 7. and at last maintained that those three c. 7. and at last maintained that those three"...
264 Unction and laying-on of hands, bodily in act, spiritual in effect.

VIII. After this, having come out from the bath, we are anointed thoroughly with a blessed unction, according to the ancient rule, by which they were wont to be anointed for the priesthood with oil out of an horn. Wherefore Aaron was anointed by Moses; whence Christ is named from Chriost, which is "anointing," which, being made spiritual, furnished a name for the Lord, because He was anointed with the Spirit by God the Father: as it is said in the Acts, For a truth against Thy Holy Child, Whom Thou hast anointed, they were gathered together in that city. So in us also the anointing runneth over us bodily, but profiteth spiritually, as likewise in Baptism itself the act is carnal, that we are dipped in the water, the effect spiritual, that we are delivered from our sins.

VIII. Next to this, the hand is laid upon us, calling upon and inviting the Holy Spirit, through the blessing. Shall the wit of man forsooth be allowed to summon a spirit into water, and, by adjusting his hands above, to animate the compound of the two with another spirit of such dulcet sound, and shall not God be allowed, by means of holy hands, to tune on his own instrument the lofty strains of the Spirit? But this also cometh of an ancient mystery, wherein Jacob blessed his grandsons born of Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh, his hands being laid upon their heads, and interchanged, and turned indeed crosswise, the one over the other, so that, representing Christ in a figure, they might even then foreshew the blessing to be accomplished in Christ. Then that most Holy Spirit cometh of this language, (Ecclesiastum.,-quom Dominus in tribus posuit,) it might have been rendered, "which is the body of the Three," (coll. Col. l. 24.) i. e. in which the Holy Trinity indwelleth through the Spirit; and probably T. meant to convey both at once, as he does de Pudic. i. c. For the Church properly and mainly consists in the Spirit Himself, in whom is the Trinity of the One Godhead, Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit. 1. see Bingham, 12. 1. 2. or possibly whence he (i. e. Aaron) was called Christus, see Lev. 6, 22. LXX., where however the term Χριστός is applied not to Aaron but to his son, "the priest, the anointed, who is instead of him." [Tr.]


* See S. Cyril, Lect. 21. (Myst. 3.) An hydraulic organ described by Vitruvius, l. x.

* Man. The Cross; in part also the Greek X. The mystical meaning of this action of the Patriarch is spoken of, S. Aug. Conf. x. §. 92. Novatian de Trin. c. 27.


* And even this was not without Mat. 10, Be ye harmless as doves. And even this was not without Mat. 10, Be ye harmless as doves.

Types of the Flood and the Red Sea.

down willingly from the Father upon the bodies that have been cleansed and blessed, and resteth upon the waters of Baptism, as though remembering His ancient abiding place, Who in the form of a dove descended upon the Lord, that the nature of the Holy Spirit might be shewn forth by a creature of simplicity and innocence. For the dove wanteth, the very gall even in the body: and therefore He saith, "For as, after the waters of the flood, whereby the former iniquity was purged, after the baptism (so to speak) of the world, the herald dove sent forth from the ark, and returning with an olive branch,—a sign, which even among the Gentiles foretokeneth peace,—announced to the world the appeasement of the wrath of Heaven; by the same ordering of spiritual effect, doth the Dove of the Holy Spirit fly down upon our earth, that is, our flesh, when it cometh forth from the laver after its former sins, bringing to us the peace of God, sent forth from the Heavens, wherein is the Church, the prefigured ark. But the world simulteth a second time, (wherein Baptism can ill be compared to the flood): and therefore it is reserved unto fire, as is also the man, who, after Baptism, reneweth his sins, so that this also ought to be received as a token of warning to us.

IX. How many pleases therefore of nature in its behalf, how many privileges of grace, how many rites of religious discipline, figures, preparatory forms, prayers, have ordained the religious use of water! First indeed when the people being at large and set free from Egypt, escaped the violence of the king of Egypt by passing over the water, the water restored utterly destroyed the king with all his armies. What figure more manifest in the Sacrament of Baptism? The nations are delivered from the world, to wit by water, and leave the perhaps T. had reference to porten-
dent, and meant to include the two senses, "pointed to Christ," and to "the blessing in Him," or he may have thought of the Holy Spirit descending upon Him, and, through Him, upon the Church.

* This was a common ancient opinion, mentioned also by Horus Hierogli.

* See Suicer v. expurg.

* See on this type, S. Jerome, S. Ambrose, S. Chrysostom, Script. View, p. 366.

* manifestly, if unrepented of; neither then is this any proof of Montanism.
Water honoured in O. and N. T. for confirming of Baptism.

1 Cor. 10. 4. 10. 14. 15. 25.

For if that rock was Christ, without doubt we see Baptism blessed by the water in Christ. How great, for the confirming of Baptism, is the grace of water in the sight of God and of Christ! Never is Christ without water. Forasmuch as He Himself is baptized in water: called to the marriage, He commences the first beginnings of His power in water. When He discourseth, He inviteth the thirsty to His everlasting water: when He teacheth concerning charity, He approveth among the works of love, a cup of water offered to a poor man: He refresheth His strength at a spring. If that rock was Christ, He would not otherwise descend except He was the rock, the water in the rock, and therein we see that Baptism is based. 1

John 19, forth from His Side: witness the spear of the soldier.

X. I have spoken, as far as to my poor wit hath been permitted, concerning those things in general which lay the foundation of the Sacrament of Baptism. I shall now proceed equally, as I may be able, to treat of certain particular questions respecting what remains to be said of its character.

Acts 10, 37. The baptism which John preached, was, even in those days, the subject of a question; proposed indeed by the Lord unto this office, being nevertheless in its nature human; for it bestowed no heavenly thing, but fore-ministered unto heavenly things, being in truth set over the work of repentance, which is in the power of man. Finally, the teachers of the law and the Pharisees, who would not believe, would also not repent. But if repentance be of men, the agere baptism of repentance also must needs be of the same nature; otherwise it would give the Holy Spirit also, and remission of sins, if it were from heaven. But none forgiveth sins or granteth the Spirit, but God only. Even the Lord Himself Mark 2, said, that the Spirit would not otherwise descend except He, first ascended to the Father. What the Lord did not as yet bestow, His servant surely would not be able to give. Indeed we find afterwards in the Acts of the Apostles, that they who had John's baptism had not received the Holy Acts 19, 2. Ghost, Whom they knew not, not having so much as heard of Him. Wherefore this was not an heavenly thing, which gave not forth heavenly things, seeing that even that heavenly thing which was in John, the spirit of prophecy, did, after that the whole Spirit had passed to the Lord, so fall away from Him, of that of Him, Whom he had preached beforehand, Whom when yet coming he had pointed out, he sent afterwards to ask whether it were really He. The baptism of

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966 Water honoured in O. and N. T. for confirming of Baptism.

John's baptism fore-ministered to, but gave not the Spirit. 967

lieving. But we with the same pittance of understanding as we have of Faith, are able to judge that that baptism was divine, but this in respect of the command, not in respect of its power also; (for we read that even John was sent by the Lord unto this office, being nevertheless in its nature human; for it bestowed no heavenly thing, but fore-ministered unto heavenly things, being in truth set over the work of repentance, which is in the power of man. Finally, the teachers of the law and the Pharisees, who would not believe, would also not repent. But if repentance be of men, the agere baptism of repentance also must needs be of the same nature; otherwise it would give the Holy Spirit also, and remission of sins, if it were from heaven. But none forgiveth sins or granteth the Spirit, but God only. Even the Lord Himself Mark 2, said, that the Spirit would not otherwise descend except He, first ascended to the Father. What the Lord did not as yet bestow, His servant surely would not be able to give. Indeed we find afterwards in the Acts of the Apostles, that they who had John's baptism had not received the Holy Acts 19, 2. Ghost, Whom they knew not, not having so much as heard of Him. Wherefore this was not an heavenly thing, which gave not forth heavenly things, seeing that even that heavenly thing which was in John, the spirit of prophecy, did, after that the whole Spirit had passed to the Lord, so fall away from Him, of that of Him, Whom he had preached beforehand, Whom when yet coming he had pointed out, he sent afterwards to ask whether it were really He. The baptism of

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John 3:18, 19
For in that he prepared the way for the remission of sins, the declaration was made in respect of a future remission. Indeed since remittance goeth before, remission followeth after; and this it is to prepare the way: for he that prepareth the way doth not himself also perfect, but procureth it to be perfected by another. He himself confesseth that the heavenly things are not his, but Christ's, when he saith, He that is of the earth, speaketh of the earth, He that cometh from above, is above all: and likewise that he himself baptized unto remittance alone, but that One should presently come, Who should baptize with the Spirit and with fire: to wit, because a true and stedfast faith is concerned with water, whereby it is baptized into baptism with water unto salvation. But behold, say they, the Lord came and baptized not: for we read, nevertheless He baptized not, but His disciples. As if John had preached that he should Himself actually baptize with His own hands! Surely it ought not to be so understood, but as having been spoken simply by a common form of speech. As we have, for instance, The Emperor propounded a decree, or, The Prefect beat him with clubs. Doth the one propound, or the other, best, in person? He is always said to do the thing, for whom it is ministerially done. Wherefore, He shall baptize you, must be taken to signify the same as, ye shall be baptized through Him, or into Him. But let it not move any that He Himself baptized not. For whereas unto should He baptize? Unto remittance? to what purpose then His forerunner? Unto remission of sins? which He gave by a word! Into Himself! Whom in humility He hid! Into the Holy Ghost? Who had not as yet descended from the Father! Into the Church! which the Apostles had not as yet founded! Wherefore His disciples baptized as ministers, as John His forerunner did before, with the same baptism of John: for let no one suppose that it was with any other, because there doth not exist any other, save that of Christ afterwards, which surely could not then be given by His disciples, seeing that the glory of the Lord was not as yet made perfect, nor the effectual power of the laver established by His Passion and Resurrection; for neither could our death be abolished, save by the Passion of the Lord, nor our life restored, without His Resurrection.

But since the rule is laid down that salvation cometh to none without Baptism, chiefly from that declaration of our Lord, Who saith, Except a man be born of water, and the Spirit, he hath not life: up come, on the part of certain men, questions too scrupulous, yea rather too unscrupulous, how, according to that rule, salvation cometh to the Apostles, whom we do not find to have been baptized in the Lord, except Paul. Nay, that, since Paul alone among the Lord, except Paul, put on the Baptist of Christ, either the peril of Gal. 3, 27, the rest, who are without the water of Christ, is already determined, that the rule may be maintained, or the rule is made void, if salvation be appointed even for men un-

1 Vera et stabilis aquae fides, qua tinguatur in salutem. Rig. proposes the very probable correction, stabilis versus aequi, a stedfast faith is baptized with water unto salvation.

2 The fire, S. Matt. 3, 11. is expressly referred to in connection with the miracle of the day of Pentecost, by S. Cyril Jer. (iii. 9. xvi. 8.) by S. Jerome in Matt. (with other applications) by Euthymius in S. Matt. as the prominent meaning, by Theophylact in S. Leo. An. de Bapt. hæret. ap. Cyrp. v. §: more frequently (or combined with this) of the invisible "fire" which in Christian Baptism consumeth sins. S. Ambrose de Elia et lej. c. 23. Auct. de Bapt. hæret. i. c. S. Cyril. Test. i. 12. S. Leo. Ep. 10. c. 6. S. Chrysostome Hom. XI. in S. Matt. Theodoret, Eusebius, S. Jerome, and S. Cyril Alex. (G. I. Orat. 3.) in Is. 4. Euthym. and Theoph. in S. Matt. S. Augustine, (Sermon 71. de Verb. Ev. Matt. 12. §. 19.) S. Basil Selenc. Or. 34. the liturgies of Antioch, Jerusalem, and S. James of Sarug. (Ass. ii. 225. 226. 226. 226. Juven. i. l. S. Ambrose (de Isaac et an. §. 77.) understands the fire of love (comp. the Veni Creator Sp.) which S. Aug. also (and after him Bede) combines (i. e.) as a fruit of the "tribulations of the faithful for the Name of Christ" (as does the author of the Op. Im. in Matt.) From the connection with v. 12. the "fire" is further interpreted of a fire to be passed through at the Day of Judgment, which should destroy the wicked, purify the righteous. S. Hil. in S. Matt. c. 3. and in Ps. 118. lit. 3. §. 5. 12. and the author of the Homilies on Isaiah ap. Basil. t. 1. p. 475. (this, Origen followed by S. Ambrose in Ps. 118. lit. 3. §. 14. places at the entrance of Paradise, coll. Gen. 3. 24. Matt. 18. 25. in Matt. tom. 15. §. 23. ed. de la Rue and Hom. 24. in Leo. c. 8.) or hell-fire, as Tertullian here, S. Irenæus, iv. 4. (al. 7.) 3. S. Basil adv. Eunom. i. v. p. 303. ed. Bon. Euthym. loc. cit. 3. mar. S. Jerome also gives it as a possible meaning, that in this life we are baptized with the Spirit, in the other with fire.

On the connection of Baptism with the Resurrection of our Lord, see S. Jerome adv. Lucif. 1. (ib. p. 248.) and Scriptural Views, p. 104.)
The Apostles probably received John's baptism;

John 13, who was unwilling to be washed, He that is once washed, needeth it not again; which He surely would not have said to one unwashed, and this is a proof put forward against those who deprive the Apostles of even the baptism of John, that they may overthrow the sacrament of water. Can it be thought credible that the way of the Lord, that is, the baptism of John, was not at that time prepared in these persons, who were designed to open the way of the Lord throughout the whole world? Was the Lord Himself, Who owed no repentance, baptized; and was it not necessary for sinners? Well! but others were not baptized. Yea, but these were not the companions of Christ, but the adversaries of the Faith, the teachers of the Law and Pharisees. Whereby also it is suggested, that, since the enemies of the Lord would not be baptized, those who followed the Lord were baptized, and were not of the same mind with their adversaries, especially when the


2 S. Chrysostom agrees with Tertullian, that the Apostles were baptized with water by John, "for if the publicans and harlots came to that baptism, much more who were afterwards to be baptized by the Spirit—" with us, both [the baptism of water and the Spirit] take place in one, but then separately." Hom. i. in. Acc. 5. S. Augustine, Ep. 265, ad Seleucian. 5. thinks it most probable that they were baptized by our Lord, yet that they were baptized with water, not with the Holy Ghost, lib. 5. 3. S. Augustin gives his grounds. 1. The same text John 13, 10, to be interpreted by Optatus in (v. 8) S. Aug. de bapt. 11. 14, and ad loc. S. Ambrose de myst. c. 6. Pach. Ep. 1. ap. Voss. Disp. 17. de Bapt. 6. 7. so also Auct. Prom. Dimid. Temp. c. 14.

Lord, to Whom they clave, had by His testimony exalted John, saying, Among those that are born of women there is not a greater than John the Baptist. Some drop a hint, sufficiently forced surely, that the Apostles supplied the place of Baptism, at the time when they were sprinkled and Mat. 8, covered with the waves in the ship; and that Peter himself also, when walking upon the sea, was sufficiently dipped. But to my thinking it is one thing to be sprinkled and caught by the violence of the sea, and another to be washed according to the rite of Religion. Nevertheless that ship set forth a figure of the Church, inasmuch as it is tossed in the sea, that is in the world, by the waves, that is by persecution and temptations, while the Lord is, as it were, patiently sleeping, until, being awakened in the last extremity by the prayers of the saints, He stirreth the world, and giveth again a calm to His own. Now whether they were, by whatever means, baptized, or whether they continued unbaptized, so that that saying of the Lord touching the one washing pertaineth only to us under the person of Peter, nevertheless it is sufficiently rash to judge concerning the salvation of the Apostles, as though even the privilege of their being first chosen unto Christ, and of their inseparable and familiar companionship with Him afterwards, could not bestow upon them at once all the benefit of
Faith sufficed before Death of Christ; since, with Baptism.

Baptism, seeing that they, as I think, followed Him Who promised salvation to every believer. Thy faith, said He, hath saved thee, and thy sins be forgiven thee: and this to one believing, yet not baptized. If this were wanting to the Apostles, I know not to whom belongeth faith!

Stirred up by a single word of the Lord, a man left the receipt of custom, abandoned father and ship, and the trade Mark 1, by which he supported life; disregarded the burial of a father; fulfilled, even before he heard, the chief commandment of that Lord, He that preferreth father or mother to Me, is not worthy of Me.

XIII. Here then these most wicked men provoke questions. Indeed they say, 'Baptism is not necessary for those for whom Faith is sufficient: for Abraham also pleased God by a sacrament wherein was no water, but only faith.' But in all cases, the things which come last determine the question, and the things which follow overrule those which go before. Be it that salvation was once through bare faith, before the Passion and Resurrection of the Lord: but when faith grew up to a belief in His Birth, Passion, and Resurrection, an enlargement was added to the sacrament, the sealing of Baptism*, the clothing, in a manner, of that Faith which before was naked. Nor doth it now avail without its own condition: for the condition of Baptism was imposed, and the form prescribed. Go, saith He, teach the nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. When with this law is compared that limitation, Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he shall not enter into the kingdom of Heaven, this hath bound down faith to the necessity of Baptism*. Wherefore from that time all believers were baptized. Then also was Paul, as soon as he believed, baptized: and this it was which the Lord had commanded during that affliction

Acts 22, bereavement, saying, Arise, and go into Damascus: there it

Faith sufficed before Death of Christ; since, with Baptism.

Baptism not disparaged by, 'Christ sent me not to baptize.'

shall be shewn thee what thou oughtest to do, to wit, to be baptized, which was the only thing wanting to him. For the rest, he had learned enough, and had believed that He of Nazareth was the Lord, the Son of God.

XIV. But they turn back upon us the case of the Apostle himself, in that he said, for Christ sent me not to baptize, as, if Baptism were overthrown by this argument! For why did he baptize Gaius and Crispus, and the household of Stephanas? Besides, although Christ had not sent him to baptize, yet He had commanded the other Apostles to baptize. But these words were written to the Corinthians according to the circumstances of that time, because divisions and dissensions were stirred up among them, when one called himself of Paul, another of Apollos. Wherefore I Cor. 1, 17, the peace-making Apostle, that he might not seem to claim every thing to himself, saith that he was not sent to baptize but to preach. For preaching moreover cometh first, Baptism afterwards. But be it that he first preached, I suppose that he, who was permitted to preach, was permitted also to baptize.

XV. I know not whether any farther show be made of calling Baptism into question. For my own part, I shall go through what I have hitherto omitted, lest I should seem to break off the train of thoughts immediately pressing. To us, in any case, there is one Baptism, as well according to the Gospel of the Lord, as the letters of the Apostle: seeing Eph. 4, that there is one God, and one Baptism*, one Church in the heavens. But certainly one may well enquire what ought to be maintained about heretics; for this saying was directed to ourselves. Now heretics have no fellowship in our discipline, of whom indeed the very privation of Communion testifieth that they are aliens. I am not bound to admit in their case that which hath been taught to me, because we

* Ed at Apostolis definit, neco quo rum fides. Une verbo Domini suscitatus telonum dereliquit, &c. Rig. adopta Ursini's conjecture, suscitata, and points, neco; quorum fides uno verbo Domini suscitata, an easier reading, and the irony is like T., but without authority; "Whether this were wanting to Apostles, I know not; whose faith stirred up, &c."

De Forrit, c. 6.

On the universality of this interpretation, see Scrip. Views, p. 28—33. ed. 2.

- See S. Chrys. ad loc. Hom. 3. p. 28. Oxf. Tr. Theodore says also, "But in Baptism are a fixed form: and he commanded both, [Mat. 28, 19.] He commanded both, but to preach is more honourable than to baptize. For to baptize is easy to all who have been counted worthy of the priesthood; but to preach belongs to few, who have received this gift of the Lord." ad loc. Ampliatus alleges the same, "because the words pronounced in Baptism are a fixed form: and Bede ad loc. (the whole context is from S. Aug.) that the saying the more exalts Baptism, since Baptism given by one of no account is of the same avail as by an Apostle, it is known not to be his but Christ's."

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and they have not the same God, nor One, that is the same,
and therefore neither have we one, because not the same, Baptism with them, which, since they have it not rightly, without doubt they have not at all; nor can that be counted, which is not there: and so also they cannot receive it, since they have it not. But this hath been already more fully discussed by me in Greek. We enter then the laver but once: our sins are washed away once, because these ought not to be repeated. But Jewish\(^a\) Israel washeth daily\(^b\), because he is daily defiled: and that this may not be practised amongst us also, on this very account is the rule laid down about the one washing. Happy the water which washeth once for all, which is not a mockery unto sinners, but Jewish\(^a\) Israel washeth daily\(^b\), because he is daily defiled: and that this may not be practised amongst us also, on this very account is the rule laid down about the one washing. Happy the water which washeth once for all, which is not a mockery unto sinners, which doth not, being stained by continual filth, defile again those whom it hath washed! 

XVI. We have indeed, besides, a second washing, itself Luke\(12,\) also one, to wit that of blood, whereof the Lord saith, I have a Baptism to be baptized, when He had been already baptized. For He had come by water and Blood, as John hath written, that He might be washed by water, glorified by Blood. Wherefore that He might\(^c\) make us to be called by water, chosen by blood, He sent forth these two Baptisms from the wound of His pierced Side; so far as that those who believed in His Blood might be washed with water, and that those who had been washed with water, might also drink His Blood\(^d\). This is that Baptism which both standeth in the place of the laver, when not received, and restoreth it when it is lost. 

XVII. To conclude my little work, it remaineth that I give an admonition also concerning the right rule of giving and receiving Baptism. The right of giving it indeed hath the chief Priest, which is the Bishop; then the Presbyters

\(^{a}\) See note G, at the end of this book.

\(^{b}\) i.e. to give.

\(^{c}\) as opposed to the true, i.e. Christian, Israel.


\(^{e}\) Proinde ut nos noceat aqua vocatos, sanguine electos, hos &c. U. Rig. omittit "ut," joins the clause with the preceding, and stops at electos. It would then be, "glorified by Blood, and therewith make us called by water, chosen by blood. These two," &c.

\(^{f}\) On this two-fold meaning of the Blood which flowed from our Lord’s Side, see Script. Views, p. 294 sqq. not 4.

\(^{g}\) see on Apol. c. 60. p. 106. not. b. add de Public. c. 22. S. Ambr. in Ps. 118. lit. 3. § 14.

\(^{h}\) add Constt. Ap. viii. 46.

\(^{i}\) "disce ntes" for "disce ntes," is a conjecture of Lactanius, adopted by Rig.

\(^{j}\) Quintilla.

\(^{k}\) see ab. on 1. Constt. Ap. iii. 9.

\(^{l}\) Epiph. Hier. 49. c. 4. H. 73. c. 3. 7. Chrys. Rom. de Bernice &c. [§ 6. 6. 2. p. 645. ed. Ben.] quoted by Cot. l. c. This is now allowed by both the Roman (Ritu­al. Rom. iussu Pauli v. edit. ap. App. ii. 11.) and Greek Churches. (Confession of Faith, printed 1669, ap. Smith Account of Greek Church, p. 110.) It was prohibited by Statut. Eccl. Ant. quoted as Const. Eccl. iv. ap. Gratian, c. 4, p. 109, to which Gratian added of his own "nisi necessitate cogente."

\(^{m}\) scriptum Tesc., Ga. U. "ex-
to women to teach and to baptize, let them know that
the Presbyter in Asia, who framed that writing, heaping up, as it were, from his own store unto the name of Paul, having been convicted, and having confessed that he did this out of love for Paul, yielded up his place; for how near would it seem to approach to a thing credible, that he should give to a woman the power of teaching and of baptizing, who suffered not a woman to be bold even in learning? Let them, saith he, keep silence, and ask their husbands at home.

XVIII. But they, to whom the office belongeth, know that Baptism must not be rashly entrusted. Give to every man that asketh of thee, cometh under its own proper head, which in truth pertaineth to almsgiving. Nay rather we should consider this saying, Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine: and, Lay hands suddenly on no man, lest thou be partaker of other men's sins. If Philip so suddenly baptized the eunuch, let us remember that the sanction of the Lord, clear and distinctly put forward, had intervened. The Spirit had commanded Philip to turn his course that way: the eunuch himself also was not found in a state of listlessness, nor one desirous on a sudden of being baptized, but he had gone up to the Temple for to worship, was intent upon the Divine Scriptures: so ought he to be found, to whom God had of His own will sent an Apostle, whom the Spirit a second time commanded to join himself to the chariot of the eunuch: a Scripture falleth in with the man's own faith: being in due season exhorted, he is received as a disciple: the Lord is shewn to him: Faith delayeth not: water is not given, but without authority. In the

infant Baptism to be delayed, unless necessary.

But Paul too was really baptized suddenly. Yes: for his host Simon had come suddenly to know that he was appointed a chosen vessel. God's good pleasure ushereth Acts 9, itself in by its own special claims: in every petition there may be both deceit and self-deception. Wherefore the delaying of Baptism is more profitable according to the condition, and disposition, and moreover the age of each person, but especially in the case of children. For why is it necessary, if the thing be not so necessary, that the sponsors also be brought into danger? for both they themselves may, from their mortal nature, fail of their promises, and they may be disappointed by the growing up of a bad disposition. The Lord indeed saith, Forbid them not to come unto Me. Let them come then when they are of riper years: let them come when they are disciples, when they are taught whither they are coming: let them become Christians when they are able to know Christ. Why is the age of innocence in haste for the remission of sins? Men will act more cautiously in worldly matters, so that to one, to whom no earthly substance is committed, that which is Divine is committed! Let them know how to ask for salvation, that thou mayest seem to give to him that asketh. With no less reason unmarried persons also should be put
Easter and Pentecost most fitting seasons for Baptism.

Pray with frequent prayers, fastings, and bowings of the knee, and long watchings, and with confession of all their past sins, that they may shew forth even the baptism of John. They were baptized, saith the Scripture, confessing their sins. We have cause to be thankful, if we do not confess in public our iniquities or our infirmities: for, by the afflictions of flesh and the spirit we at the same time both make satisfaction for things past, and build up beforehand a barrier against temptations to come. Watch and pray, saith He, Matt. 26, that ye fall not into temptation. And it was, I think, he cause they slept that they were so tempted that they forsook the Lord when He was seized, and that he who continued with Him, and used his sword, denied Him also thrice: for this saying had gone before, that no one should gain the kingdom of Heaven without temptations. Temptations beset Luke 22, the Lord Himself immediately after Baptism, after that He had passed forty days in fasting. It is after Baptism then rather; some men will say, that we too ought to fast. And who hindereth, pray, save the necessity of rejoicing, and thanksgiving for our salvation? But the Lord, to our poor thinking taking occasion of the type of Israel, cast a re-proach upon him. For the people having passed over the sabbath restored...
Our Lord's fasting commends it as remedy for temptation.

sea, and being carried about in the wilderness for forty years, while they were there nourished with divine stores, thought no less of their belly and their glutonous throat than of God. After this the Lord being alone in the wilderness after His Baptism, having measured out a fast of forty days, shewed that the man of God doth not live by bread alone, but by the word of God; and that the temptations which attend upon fulness and excessive indulgence of the belly are stifled by abstinence. Do ye therefore, blessed men, for whom the grace of God waiteth, when ye arise out of that most holy layer of your new birth, and spread your hands for the first time together with your brethren in your mother's presence, ask of the Father, ask of the Lord, Who supplieth goods, graces, diversities of gifts. Ask, saith He, and ye shall receive, for ye have sought, and ye have found; ye have knocked, and it hath been opened unto you. Only I beseech you that, when ye ask, ye remember also the sinner Tertullian.

Three views as to heretical or schismatical baptism.

The Baptism then of the Church was no second Baptism, because there had been no first. On this question there were three views in the ancient Church: first, that of the early African Church and of Asia Minor, in the time of Firmilian, which rejected all baptism out of the Church, schismatical as well as heretical; second, that of the Greek Church generally, stated fully by S. Basil, which accepted schismatical, but rejected heretical baptism; third, that first mentioned by Stephen, Bishop of Rome, who accepted all baptism, even of heretics, which had been given in the name of the Trinity. The second continues to be the rule of the Greek, the third (with some modifications) of the Latin, Church. (In both, it was presupposed that the Minister had at one time received the commission to baptize; the case of schismatical baptism, as it is now found among us, not occurring.)

Of these three, the two views which lasted, were founded on the respective traditions, or ancient practice of the East and West; that which excluded schismatical baptism seems, as it were, an offshoot of the original Greek tradition. The point at issue between the two views was, whether a wrong belief in the Object of Faith vitiated the Baptism conferred in Their Name, although the words were sound, (which the Greeks held,) or whether the Baptism, deriving its efficacy from the Name of the Blessed Trinity being pronounced over the baptized, was valid, although understood in an heretical sense by the baptizing priest, and by the baptized. This was the view of Stephen, and afterwards adopted by the Council of Arles, and developed and defended by S. Augustin.

The Greek view first occurs in the Apostolical Canons. Canon 46. "A Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, who admitteth the baptism or sacrifice of heretics, we command to be deposed. For what concord has Christ with Belial, or what part has a believer with an infidel?" Canon 47. "Let a Bishop or Presbyter, who baptizes anew one who hath true Baptism, or does not baptize one defiled by the ungodly, be deposed, as mocking the Cross and the Death of the Lord, (Rom. 6. 3.) or [In the second case] not distinguishing priests from false priests." Canon 68. "If any Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, receive a second imposition of hands from any one, let both him, and he who laid on hands, be deposed; unless he shew that he had imposition of hands from heretics; for neither can those baptized by such he believers, nor those who have imposition of hands from them be Clergy." Heretical baptism is accordingly rejected in the Greek Churches by S. Clement of Alexandria. (Strom. i. 19. fin. p. 137. ed. Sylb.) "strange waters," i. e. heretical baptism, not regarding it water belonging to herself [Wisdom] or genuine." In the third century S. Dionysius of Alexandria (ap. Euseb. H. E. vii.) speaks of the rejection of heretical baptism as an ancient tradition in Egypt or the East altogether; he states that he had "received from Heraclas, their Bishop of blessed memory," that those who having been baptized in the Church, fell away into heresy, "needed no second Baptism, for they had before received the Holy Spirit through it," and subjoins, (after a fuller discussion which Eusebius omits,) "I have learnt this also, that not they in Africa only have now brought in this practice,
ever been observed there, that we recognize one only Church of God, and account Baptism to belong only to the Holy Church. Of a truth, because some doubted of the baptism of such as, although they do not receive the prophets as we, yet seem to acknowledge the same Father and Son with us, very many of us, meeting together at Iconium, treated them most diligently, and set firm that all baptism whatever, out of the Church, was to be rejected." (Ep. up. Cypr. § 19.) In an earlier part of the Epistle § 6. he speaks of this Synod as having been held "some time before;" "all which, (some being in doubt on this matter,) we some time since (jus principium) being collected together in Iconium, a place in Phrygia, out of Galatia and Cilicia, and the other neighbouring provinces, established was to be held firmly and maintained against heretics." If Firmilian, in using the first person in each place, means that the Synod of Iconium was in his own time, and that he assisted in its decrees, (which seems probable,) it seems also, as though a distinction were to be made between the decrees of that Synod, and the tradition upon which it was founded. Its decree would then seem to be a particular application of the ancient practice; heretical baptism had never been acknowledged in the Eastern Church; but since the line between heresy and schism is sometimes indistinct, a doubt had arisen in the minds of some, as Firmilian states, and the Synod decided against all baptism given out of the Church. And this is, perhaps, the more probable, on account of the very grievous nature of the heresies, which harassed the Eastern Church, so that the lasting rents from her seem to have been caused by heresy rather than by schism. And Firmilian himself, towards the close of his Epistle, does seem to consider schismatical, a less clear case than heretical, baptism; "We have judged that those also are to be accounted unbaptized, whom these have baptized, who were once Bishops in the Catholic Church, and afterwards claimed to themselves the power of their clerical ordination. And this is observed among us, that whosoever come from them to us having been dipped, are, as being aliens and having obtained nothing, baptized among us with the one true Baptism of the Catholic Church, and obtain the regeneration of the life-giving laver. And yet there is much difference between him who sunk unwilling and overpowered by the constraining of persecution, (alluding perhaps to the occasion of the Novatian schism,) and him who, with merci-legious will, daringly rebels against the Church, or with impious voice blasphemes the Father and God of Christ, and the Creator of the whole world." If this were so, S. Dionysius and Firmilian in speaking of the Synod as "long ago," (ἐπὶ ἀρκετῷ, juxtaad) would mean, long before this present question was raised by Stephen, at the beginning of Firmilian's Epistle, Firmilian was distinguished as a Bishop, in the tenth year of Alexander Severus, i.e. 232. (Eus. vi. 26.) and so, twenty-four years before the question on Baptism was raised by Stephen in the West (256.) Firmilian's statement of the Eastern tradition would thus agree with the more explicit one of S. Basil in the same Diocese. (Ep. 188. ad Amphil. [Can. 1.] can. i.) He says "those of old decided to admit such Baptism.
Eastern tradition, as stated by S. Basil.

NOTE as no ways departed from the Faith. Whence they called some heresies, some schisms, some conventions—heresies, such as were wholly broken off, and estranged from the Faith itself; schisms, such as disagree as to certain ecclesiastical matters, and questions which may be healed; conventions, congregations formed by insubordinate Presbyters or Bishops, and disorganized laity. Thus, if one convicted of a fault were suspended from officiating, and would not submit to theCanon, but claimed to himself preeminence and the right to officiate, and certain leaving the Catholic Church went off with him, this was a convention; a schism were to hold differently from the Church as to Repentance; heresies are such as of the Manichees, Valentinians, Marcionites, and these same Pseudo-heretics; for their difference relates directly to the Faith itself toward God. It seemed good then to those from the beginning, wholly to annul the baptism of heretics, but admit that of those who separate, as being yet of the Church, but those in conventions to join on again to the Church, when amended by adequate repentance and conversion, and that so as oftentimes to admit to the same rank, after repentance, such as having order in the Church, went off with the insubordination. In the same place, S. Basil distinguishes from this tradition the decision of Firmilian as something of his own: “Nevertheless it seemed good to the ancients, Cyprian and his colleagues and our Firmilian, to subject all these one sentence—on the ground that the beginning of the separation took place through schism; but they who fell away from the Church, had no longer the grace of the Holy Spirit with them; for that by cutting off the connection, the transmission failed; they then who first departed received the laying on of hands from the fathers, and through the imposition of their hands, had the spiritual gift; but they who were rent off having become lay, had neither the power of baptizing, nor of ordaining, being unable any longer to impart the grace of the Holy Spirit to others, out of which they had fallen themselves.” It is remarkable in this respect, that Firmilian throughout his letter refers to “heretics,” except in the passages above cited, relating not to the tradition, but to the acts of the Synode; his principles extend further; but that which seems chiefly on his mind, (and in that of S. Cyprian also,) is, that Stephen had maintained the validity of all “heretical” baptism: that which he speaks against, even in the passage apparently alluded to by S. Basili, is “heretical” baptism: that which Stephen claims for Jewish baptism, of which he does go on to speak, and of which he speaks again in the de Sacr. ii. 1. § 2. In that place, however, it is remarkable that S. Ambrose uses the past, alluding to the washings of the Jewish ritual, and those blamed in the New Testament, whereas here he employs the present. “There were Jewish baptisms, but some superstitions, (those in the New Testament, Mark 7, 3-8.) some in a figure, (the Old Testament) “perfidia” (the word for “perfidia”) also belongs more appropriately to falsification of the faith than to rejection of it. But what seems to put it beyond all question, is, that the language is borrowed apparently from S. Cyprian, where he is speaking of the schism, and the interfering of the Eastern Church with the West, saying, “Now, all other heretics if they cut themselves off from the Church, [not the Cataphrygians, or Montanists only] can have no power or grace, inasmuch as all power and grace is deposited in the Church, where the elders preside, who have the power both of baptizing, and of laying on of hands, and of ordaining. For as a

This expression is explained by passages of S. Augustine and Optatus, quoted by the Benedictine editor of S. Basili, Opt. III 8, col. iv. 2. “That which is rent, is divided in part, not wholly; because we and you have one Church-life; though the minds of men are at strife, the Sacraments have no strife.” S. Aug. De Bapt. i. 3. They then (heretics and schismatics) in some things are with us; and wherein they are not with us, we exhort them that coming they would receive, or turning, receive back.

Rejection of heretical baptism after Council of Nice.

heretic may not ordain or lay on hands, so neither may be baptize, nor do any holy or spiritual act, as being an alien from the spiritual and deifying holiness.” This looks as if what Firmilian chiefly had been accustomed to and had most in his mind was “heretical” baptism; as it will often happen that the principles upon which we maintain a traditional truth, being our own, will go beyond the truth which we maintain.

Further witnesses for the rejection of heretical baptism in the Eastern Church are, in the Church of Jerusalem, S. Cyril, its Bishop, (Catech. Introd. Lect. § 7 p. 4 Craf. Trans.) S. Athanasius and S. Epiphanius, and even in the Western Church, (the practice of Milan in other points differing from that of Rome, S. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan.

S. Athanasius thus speaks, (Orat. 2. c. Ariann. § 42. t. p. 510 ed. Ben.) “But these [the Arians] risk the very fulness of Mystery, I mean of Baptism. For since this perfecting is conferred into the Name of the Father and the Son, but those acknowledge not the true Father because they deny That Which is derived of, and Consubstantial with Him; and deny again the true Son, and feign to themselves another, created out of things which were not, and name Him; how should not what they administer be wholly vain and profitless, having a semblance but nothing real as an aid to others, out of which they had fallen themselves.” It is remarkable in this respect, that Firmilian throughout his letter refers to “heretics,” except in the passages above cited, relating not to the tradition, but to the acts of the Synode; his principles extend further; but that which seems chiefly on his mind, (and in that of S. Cyprian also,) is, that Stephen had maintained the validity of all “heretical” baptism: that which he speaks against, even in the passage apparently alluded to by S. Basili, is “heretical” baptism: that which Stephen claims for Jewish baptism, of which he does go on to speak, and of which he speaks again in the de Sacr. ii. 1. § 2. In that place, however, it is remarkable that S. Ambrose uses the past, alluding to the washings of the Jewish ritual, and those blamed in the New Testament, whereas here he employs the present. “There were Jewish baptisms, but some superstitions, (those in the New Testament, Mark 7, 3-8.) some in a figure, (the Old Testament) “perfidia” (the word for “perfidia”) also belongs more appropriately to falsification of the faith than to rejection of it. But what seems to put it beyond all question, is, that the language is borrowed apparently from S. Cyprian, where he is speaking of the schism, and the interfering of the Eastern Church with the West, saying, “Now, all other heretics if they cut themselves off from the Church, [not the Cataphrygians, or Montanists only] can have no power or grace, inasmuch as all power and grace is deposited in the Church, where the elders preside, who have the power both of baptizing, and of laying on of hands, and of ordaining. For as a

* Launoy, who alleges the above, (de Notione Sacram. Planct. Diss. Confirm. p. 43.) cites also S. Ambrose, de Initidias [de Mystere] c. 4. “The baptism of the misbelieving (perfidorum) does not heal, does not cleanse, but defiles. This is questioned by the Benedictine Editor, who supposes that S. Ambrose is speaking of Jewish baptisms, of which he does go on to speak, and of which he speaks again in the de Sacr. ii. 1. § 2. In that place, however, it is remarkable that S. Ambrose uses the past, alluding to the washings of the Jewish ritual, and those blamed in the New Testament, whereas here he employs the present. “There were Jewish baptisms, but some superstitions, (those in the New Testament, Mark 7, 3-8.) some in a figure, (the Old Testament) “perfidia” (the word for “perfidia”) also belongs more appropriately to falsification of the faith than to rejection of it. But what seems to put it beyond all question, is, that the language is borrowed apparently from S. Cyprian, where he is speaking of the schism, and the interfering of the Eastern Church with the West, saying, “Now, all other heretics if they cut themselves off from the Church, [not the Cataphrygians, or Montanists only] can have no power or grace, inasmuch as all power and grace is deposited in the Church, where the elders preside, who have the power both of baptizing, and of laying on of hands, and of ordaining. For as a
mand to baptize, but saith first, ‘teach,’ then on this wise, ‘baptize in the Name of the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost;’ that through the teaching the Faith may be right, and with the Faith the perfecting of Baptism may be added. Many other heresies, moreover, which pronounce the Names only, but are not right-minded, as was said, nor have the sound Faith, make unprofitable the water which they also bestow, as wanting in godliness, so even that whoso is sprinkled by them, is rather defiled only, but are not right-minded, as was said, nor have the sound Faith, by them in ungodliness, than redeemed. Thus also the Heathen, although with the lips speaking of God, are charged with ungodliness, because they know not Him Who is indeed the True God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Thus the Manicheans and Phrygians, and the disciples of him (Paul) of Samosata, naming the Names, are not the less heretics: thus also in their order they also who think with Arius, although they rehearse what is written and say the Names, they, too, mock those who receive (Baptism) from them, being more ungodly far than other heresies.

The Romanist editor of S. Athanasius attempts to conform this with the Western view, in that S. Augustine says that Baptism out of the Church is profitless, tending only to condemnation; but it is distinctly the Greek view as opposed to the Western; for, 1, the Western held that all in which the sacred Names were pronounced was valid Baptism, though unprofitable out of the Church, whether in heresy or schism; the Eastern held, that Baptism, even if administered in the Sacred Names, was invalid and empty, if administered with a wrong belief as to Them, which is just what S. Athanasius here insists upon: 2. the instances which he gives, at least the Phrygians and Paulanists, are those rejected, as invalid, as being heretical.

The same is evinced by the principle upon which Epiphanius admits Arian Baptism. He speaks against the rashness of those, who “without the decision of an Ecumenical Council, venture to rebaptize those who come to them from the Arians, the matter not having been as yet, as I said, decided by the judgment of a Council, because the people continue unseparated until now, and that many are orthodox, but are feignedly joined to those who exercise the priesthood until a separation of such a blasphemous heresy take place, and then it will be decided concerning it.” (Adv. Haer. 1. 3. 1. Expos. Fid. Eccl. c. 13.)

S. Epiphanius, then,-blames the rejection of Arian baptism as being a private unauthorized act, and because the Arians were not yet formally put out of the Church, and many who were accounted such, were sound in the Faith, so that if their baptism were rejected, there would be risk of rejecting valid Baptism along with it; thereby, as well as by the last hint, showing that if they were altogether separated, so as to be purely heretics and deriving no benefit from what connection they still had with the Church, he would have thought their baptism altogether invalid. And this corresponds with S. Athanasius’ expression, “they risk the very fulness of the Mystery,” leaving some doubt, though expressing his own conviction, whereas of the other sects, who had been severed altogether as

**Extent of Eastern rule, and so difficulties in applying it.**

heretics, the Montanists, Paulanistes, Manichees, he declares the baptism altogether void.

The Greek rule, which rejected heretical Baptism, extended very widely, including under the term, “difference of Faith in God” not only such a disbelief as involved the rejection of the very doctrine of the Trinity, in whose Name they were baptized, but serious error as to the several Persons in the Trinity. Thus S. Basil declares that the baptism of the Encratites and others was to be rejected, because, although they used the form of sound words, by condemning wine and marriage they made God the author of evil. “The Encratites, and Saccopatori, and Apatotitices” [names assumed as if they were eminently ascetic, “the Abolism,” “Sackcloth-wearers,” “Renouncers,”] are [not] subjected to the same rule, as the Novatians, because as to these a canon has been published, though variously; but silence kept as to the others. We then rebaptize all such equally; and if among you rebaptizing is forbidden, as among the Romans for some reason of convenience (similias rule), yet let our rule prevail, for, since their heresy is a sort of off-shoot of the Marcionites, who abhor marriage and reject wine, and say that the creature of God is defiled, we do not receive them into the Church, unless they be baptized with our Baptism. For let them not say, “We have been baptized into Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,’ who under this form understand God to be the author of evil, according to the Marcionite and other heresies.” (Ep. 199. Can. 47.) In like way he rejects Montanist baptism, because they gave to Montanus and Priscilla the title of “The Paraclete,” and so virtually baptized to Montanus instead of the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity. “The Pepuzenes then are manifestly heretics. For they blasphemed against the Holy Ghost, wickedly and shamefully ascribing to Montanus and Priscilla the appellation of ‘The Paraclete.’ Whether then as making of men a god, they are condemned; or as guilty of contumely against the Holy Ghost, by comparing Him with men, and thus subject to eternal condemnation, in that blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is unpardonable. What reason then hath it, that their baptism should be accounted of, who baptize to the Father, the Son, and Montanus or Priscilla? For they who baptize into what has not been delivered to us, baptize not.”

The Eastern rule, in consequence of this very extent, had some difficulty; S. Dimythus’ distinction is indeed clear, in that heresy implied blasphemy against God, as in the case of Marcion against the Father, or the Arians against the Son, or the Montanists against the Holy Ghost, whereas the Novatian doctrine did not change men’s thoughts of God, but only their views of His dealings with men: yet the lines would often approach very close, for S. Cyprian accounts the Novatians heretics, as going against an article of the Creed; and when the doctrine (as in the case of the Encratites) did not so directly relate to the very Being of God, doubt might arise whether it were heresy or schism. The rule, then, was differently applied in different Bishoprics, and the Greek Church held that it had the power of enforcing re-baptizing or accepting the previous
Discernment vested in Church as to enforcing re-baptizing.

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Thus S. Basil expresses his surprise that the "nullity of Montanist baptism" should have "escaped the great Dionysius," "being well versed in the canons!" [probably, as being at a distance from the seat of the heresy;} "still," he adds, "we must guard against imitating his mistake. For how unreasonable it is, is at once manifest and evident to all, who have ever so little reasoning power."

Even so as to the Cathari or Novatians, although schismatics only, S. Basil does not speak decisively, but, at the outset, adopts the suggestion of Amphilochius, "thou hast well suggested, that the practice of each country should be followed, because they who then decided these points, held differently as to their baptism;" afterwards he says, "since it seemed good to some of those in Asia, out of a kindly regard to the people (ξυγαγεῖς οικίαι τῶν ἀλλιῶν) that their baptism should be received, be it received.

With regard to the Encratites, S. Basil says, "since nothing has been publicly decided about them, we ought to annul their baptism; and if any have received it of them, to baptize him when he comes to the Church. Should this however be likely to be injurious to the well-being of the whole, the practice must be adhered to, and the fathers who ordered things among us, be followed. For I have some fear lest, while we wish to make them more slow to baptize, we may by the rigour of our sentence place hinderance in the way of the saved. But if they respected our Baptism, let not this shame us out of our rule. For we are not bound to require them with the like, but to follow the canons precisely. But in any case, be it enacted, that they who come from their baptism receive the Chrism in presence of the faithful, and so approach to the Mysteries. I know we have received the brethren, Ixion and Saturninus, out of their orders to the Episcopal chair; so that we can no longer separate from the Church those joining to their orders, in that we have set forth a sort of Canon of communion with them, by receiving their Bishops."

S. Basil himself, then, in all cases leans to the stricter side as the side of propriety, but thinks that in these lighter cases, the strictness, in itself

Firmilian and Cyprian mainly object to heretical baptism. p. 289

desirable, may be dispensed with for some greater good. This may account perhaps for the apparent want of distinct rule in the Eastern Church, in their rejection or admission of the baptism of different heretics. Thus the baptism of the Cathari or Novatians was admitted by the Councils of Laodicea (can. 7), Constantinople 1. (can. 7.), as was also the Quarto-decimans at Laodicea and Constantinople; which last also admitted the Arian, Macedonian, and Apollinarists; rejecting that of "all other heretics," and by name that of the Montanists and Sabellians; the Montanists were also rejected at Laodicea (can. 8) and the Paulinists at Nice (can. 19.)

The Council in Trullo (A.D. 692) instances the Eunomians, Montanists, Sabellians, and Paulinists as among those who were to be baptized, without specifying whose baptism it accounted valid, (can. 95.)

S. Cyprian and Firmilian both have traces of the Greek rule, though they extend it further. Thus Firmilian uses the same instance as S. Basili, of the Montanist heretics: "It suffices to say briefly that they who hold not the true God the Father, cannot hold the truth of the Son or the Holy Spirit, according to which they also who are called Cathaphryges, and essay to maintain new prophecies, can have neither the Father nor the Son; of whom if we ask what Christ they preach, they will answer that they preach Him Who sent the Spirit by Montanus and Priscus. In whom when we perceive that there is a spirit not of truth but of error, we know that they who maintain a false prophecy against the faith of Christ, cannot have Christ." § 6.

In like way S. Cyprian, although he joins schismatics and heretics together, in the detail of his arguments dwells chiefly on heretical baptism, and his great earnestness in this question seems to have been called out by Stephen's broad declaration in favour not of schismatical, but of all heretical baptism; "from whatever heresy." Thus to Justinianus, § 4. Since I find it written in an Epistle, of which you transmit to me, that no enquiry is to be made who baptized, since the baptized person may receive remission of sins according to his belief, I thought this topic not to be passed over, especially when in the same Epistle, I observed mention to be made of Marcion also, saying that not even such as came from him were to be baptized, as appearing to have been already baptized in the Name of Jesus Christ. We ought therefore to consider the faith of those who believe out of the Church, whether according to that same faith they could obtain any grace. For if we have one Faith with heretics, there may be one grace also. If the same Father, the same Son, the same Holy Ghost, the same Church, is confessed by Patippassians, Anthropians, Valentinians, Appellitians; Ophites, Marcionites, and the other pests and swords and poisons for the destruction of the truth, then also may there

5 S. Augustine conjectures ("unde credendum est") that the Paulinist baptism was rejected because they did not retain the form of Baptism, which many other heretics, when departing from the Catholic Church, took with them and keep it." Innocent, Bishop of Rome, asserts it, (Ep. 22. ad Episc. Maced. c. 5.) This is however only applying the Latin rule to the Greek Church, and arguing that they acted upon it.
S. Cyprian's objections chiefly to maxim of Stephen.

Note on De Bapt.

be 'one Baptism,' if there is 'one Faith.' Of these S. Cyprian takes the case of Marcion mentioned in the letter, and having laid down as the rule, the Form of Baptism given by our Lord after the Resurrection, he says, "He conveys the Trinity, in whose sacrament the nations were to be baptized. Does then Marcion hold this Trinity? Does he maintain the same Father, the Creator, as we? Does he know the same Son, Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, who being the Word, was made flesh?' Who 'bore our sins,' Who by dying overcome death, Who first by Himself commenced 'the Resurrection of the flesh,' and shewed His disciples, that He had risen in the same flesh? For other is the faith with Marcion, yea and with the other heretics. - How then can he who is baptized among them seem to have obtained remission of sins and the grace of the Divine pardon through his faith, who hath not the truth of the Faith itself? For if, as some think, one could receive any thing out of the Church according to his faith, he hath assuredly received that which he believed. But believing what is false, he could not receive the true, but rather things adulterous and profane, like his belief?" and later, (9. 16.) "What then is it other than to become partaker with blaspheming heretics, to undertake to maintain, that he can receive remission of sins in the Name of Christ, who blasphemes and sins heavily against the Father and Lord and God of Christ? What then, what sort of thing is, that he who 'denieth the Son' of God, 'hath not the Father,' and he who denieth the Father hath the Son, when the Son Himself solemnly pronounceth, 'No one can come unto Me unless it was given him of the Father?' - Believeth then that Christ giveth remission to the impious and sacrilegious and blasphemous against His Father, and in Baptism remitteth sins to them, who are known, when baptized, to heap up the same blasphemies against the Person of the Father? - It is an execrable and detestable thing, which is by some asserted, that He Who threateneth that whose blasphemeth against the Holy Ghost shall be guilty of an eternal sin, should be said to sanctify in saving Baptism blasphemers against God the Father; and a little later, (§. 18.) "Wherefore we and heretics cannot have a common Baptism, since we have neither God the Father, nor the Son Christ, nor the Holy Ghost, nor the faith, nor the Church in common." In like way in the Epistle to Pompeius, (Ep. 73. § 7.) "Whereas then no heresy whatever, nor even any schism can know the sanctification of saving Baptism out of the Church, how is it that the harsh obduracy of our brother Stephen has burst forth so vehemently, as to affirm that even of the baptism of Marcion, of Valentinus again and Apelles and the other blasphemerers against God the Father, sons of God are born, and that remission of sins is given them in the Name of Jesus Christ, when they blaspheme against the Father and the Lord God Christ?" ["of Christ," as before.]

Thus far S. Cyprian speaks quite according to the tenor of the Greek rule; and even the rejection of Novatian baptism seems rather an extension of the application of that rule, than the adoption of a new one. "Heresy," according to S. Basil, was misbelief in the Blessed Trinity;

S. Cyprian acts on Greek rule, extending the term heresy.

according to S. Cyprian, it seems to have been rejection of any article of the Creed, and so obstinate rejection of the Church became heresy as well as schism. Thus the Council argues, (Ep. 69. ad Januar. &c. de Bapt. Heret.) "But the very interrogatory in Baptism is a witness of the truth. For when we say, 'Believeth thou in everlasting life and remission of sins through the holy Church?' we mean that remission of sins is not given except in the Church, but that among heretics, where there is no Church, sins cannot be forgiven. They then who affirm that heretics can baptize, let them either change the interrogatory, or maintain the truth, unless they assure also a Church to those, whom they contend to have had a baptism," and of Novatian himself, (Ep. 75. ad Magn. § 6.) "But if any object that Novatian holds the same rule as the Catholic Church, baptizes with the same Creed as we, knoweth the same God the Father, the same Son Christ, the same Holy Spirit, and on that account may claim the power of baptizing, because in the interrogatory of Baptism he seemeth not to differ from us, whosoever objecteth this, let him know, in the first instance, that we and schismatics have not one rule of the Creed, nor the same interrogatory. For when they say, 'Believeth thou remission of sins and life eternal through the holy Church?' they lie in the interrogatory, since they have not a Church. Then further by their own words, themselves confess that remission of sins cannot be given save through the holy Church; which not having, they shew that sins cannot be remitted among them." The origin of this modification of the Greek view (as it may be considered) is not known; we see it to be as old as Tertullian; S. Cyprian only states it to have been settled many years before him by a Council under Agrippinus; his date or the grounds upon which he went, we know not.

"This did Agrippinus, a man of excellent memory, with the rest of his co-Bishops, who at that time governed the Church of the Lord in the provinces of Africa and Numidia, set fast and establish by the well-weighed investigation of a common Council;' (Ep. 70. ad Quint. § 4.) and again, (Ep. 72. ad Juba. § 3.) "Among us it is no new or sudden thing, that we hold that they who from the heretics come to the Church, should be baptized, since it is now many years and a long period, since the Bishops assembling together with Agrippinus, a man of excellent memory, established this, and thenceforward to the present day have so many thousands of heretics in our provinces, being converted to the Church, not disdained or hesitated, yea rather have reasonably and readily embraced the reception of the grace of the life-giving Washing and saving Baptism." S. Cyprian does not, however, appeal to tradition; rather he is so fully persuaded that the African practice was that required by Holy Scripture, that he hesitates not to call that alleged by Stephen a "human tradition," as, of course, any must be which really opposed Holy Scripture. And herein we may see again, how the question of schismatical baptism was in
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S. Cyprian's mind incidental and subordinate to that of heretical; for the passages of Scripture, on which he maintains the rejection of the baptism, are those in which Scripture strongly rejects the heretics themselves. "If heretics are no otherwise named than as adversaries and antichrists, and are pronounced persons to be avoided, and perverse, and condemned of themselves, what manner of thing is this, that it is not to be thought that they be condemned by us, of whom it is certain by the Apostolic witness, that they are condemned of themselves? So that no one ought to impute to the Apostles, as though they had approved of the baptism of heretics or received them to communion without the Baptism of the Church, when the Apostles wrote such things of heretics, and this, when the more grievous heretical plagues had not burst out; for not as yet had Marcion of Pontus raised his head from Pontus—who, more shamelessly and rudely than the rest, formed his blasphemies against God the Father, the Creator.—Since then it is certain that more and worse heresies arose afterwards, and since in times past, it was no where commanded that the heretics receive imposition of hands only to repentance, and since 'baptism' is 'one' only, that with us, and within, and by the Divine mercy vouchsafed to the Church, what is that obduracy or that presumption of preferring a human tradition to the Divine ordinance?" (Ep. 73. ad Pomp. § 3.) and again, (ad Jubaean. § 13.) "But if we consider what the Apostles thought of heretics, we shall find that in all their Epistles they execrated, abhorred the sacrilegious pravity of heretics. For when they say that 'their word creepeth as doth a canker,' how can that 'word' give remission of sins, which 'like a canker' creepeth to the ears of the hearers? And when they say that 'righteousness hath no fellowship with unrighteousness,' light no communion with darkness,' how can either 'darkness' enlighten, or 'unrighteousness' justify? And when they say that they are 'not of God,' but are of the 'spirit of Anti-Christ,' how do they bear spiritual and Divine things, who are enemies of God, and whose breast the 'spirit of Anti-Christ' has possessed? Wherefore if, laying aside the errors of human contention, we go back with pure and holy faithfulness to the authority of the Gospel and tradition of the Apostles, we shall understand that they have no power as to the saving grace in the Church, who, scattering and opposing the Church of Christ, are by Christ Himself called 'adversaries,' by His Apostles, 'antichrists.'"

S. Cyprian then, declares the claim of Stephen for the Roman practice to be an Apostolic tradition to be erroneous; he speaks of it as "a practice which had crept in among certain." (ad Pomp. § 9.) as Firmilian adverts to other points in which the practice of Rome was no proof of genuine tradition; (§ 5.) S. Cyprian also seems to account for the absence of a tradition so strictly Apostolic, in that the case itself would scarcely occur in Apostolic times. (Ep. 70. ad Quinct. § 2.) and they say that in this they follow ancient practice when among the ancients heresy and schism were yet in their first beginnings, so that those involved therein were such as departed from the Church, and had been baptized in her, whom when they returned to the Church and performed penitence, there was then yet no need to baptize." "This we also," subjoins S. Cyprian, "observe to this day, so that for those, of whom it is known that they were baptized in the Church, and went over from us to the heretics, if afterward perceiving their sin—they return to the truth and to their original, imposition of hands to repentance sufficeth; so that, because it had been a sheep, the Shepherd may receive back this estranged and wandering sheep into His fold. But if he who cometh from the heretics, was not before baptized in the Church, but comes, being altogether an alien and profane, he is to be baptized that he may become a sheep, because there is one water in the holy Church, which maketh sheep." This is the same principle as Dionysius states that he had received from Heraclus, and this may have been, as S. Cyprian seems to suggest, the origin of the Roman practice, that it continued to apply to all cases what was the practice in all cases, so long as heresy was in its infancy, and the only heretics were such as had "gone out" (1 John 2. 19.) from the Church.

The principle of the Roman practice is contained in the few fragments of the Epistle of Stephen, Bp. of Rome, preserved in Firmilian and S. Cyprian; it is the same as that developed by S. Augustine, though its known date is much more modern than the Greek view, A. 296. It is, as before said, that the invocation of the Sacred Names with the use of water, constitutes valid Baptism, whatever may have been the mind of the officiating Priest; (a view at variance with their modern doctrine, that the "intention" of the Priest is essential to the efficacy of the Sacrament.) Firmilian says, (§ 8.) "That also is unreasonable that they hold that no enquiry is to be made who is the baptizer, because the baptized may obtain the grace, by the invocation of the Names of the Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." And this by virtue of that Invocation, (ib. § 15.) "But, he saith, the Name of Christ awaketh much to the sanctification of Baptism, so that whosoever is哪里over baptized in the Name of Christ forthwith obtains the grace of Christ." And S. Cyprian meets the same statement, "Or if they ascribe the effect of Baptism to the majesty of the Name, so that they who are wheresoever and howsoever baptized in the Name of Jesus Christ, are judged to be renewed and sanctified," (ad Pomp. § 5.) And this is again probably the meaning of Stephen, in the saying quoted by Firmilian, (§ 11.) "Of what sort is it that which Stephen will have to be, that to those who are baptized by heretics, there cometh the Presence and Holiness (sanctimoniam) of Christ?"

Two limitations of this view, which are afterwards found in S. Augustine, seem fairly to be supplied in this statement of Stephen. 1. That where he insists, that persons shall be received "from whatever heresy," he meant that the greatness of the heresy did not alone preclude their reception, provided that the holy words had been used; so that there is no ground for thinking that he would have admitted baptism, not in the name of Christianity, from which he derived its validity. 2. That he did not hold that the baptism was sufficient without being received into the Church, but that birth was then given, yet in order that it might grow up into life, those so born must be brought up in the Church. On this Firmilian says,
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Roman view established in West by Council of Aries;

Bellarmine (de Sacram. i. 26.) quotes S. Augustine, Ep. 46, (93 & 38.) ad Vincentius, as saying that S. Cyprian changed his views; S. Augustine only contended that he may have done so; but that at all events he did not (like the Donatists) make a schism. S. Jerome (c. Lucif. c. 25.) says that the Bishops of the Council of Carthage changed their practice and reversed the decree; but S. Augustine, on the spot, could not have been ignorant of this, nor, if true, would have failed to urge it.

See Launoy, Diss. de vera plenarii synodi sacra, and of its notions, and his defence of it. Before him, Sirmond took the same view Prov. ad Council, t. 2. c. 1. He is followed by the Benedictines on S. Aug. de Bapt. c. Donat. li. 9, note b. Tillenot (H. E. t. 4. Notes sur S. Cyprian Note 44.) states the difficulties fairly on both sides, and inclines to the opinion of a "very enlightened and wise person," that the Council of Aries was very little known in S. Augustine's time except as the practice founded on its decisions, that he being educated in the African Church, which, c. acted in obedience to it, thought that the authority to which the African Church referred, was that of a General Council, and that the more since it was not disputed by the Donatists, but without any definite know-

ledge of it. And certainly it is remarkable, as he observes, that S. Augustine, in general so precise, and so exact in this Council, though he does the Council of Nice (Ep. 116.) nor alleges its words, but quotes it vaguely as a Council "after the martyrdom of Cyprian, but before himself was born," de Bapt. c. Donat. li. 9. S. Augustine also quotes the Nicene Council by name on the very Canon in question to the Paulinists, de Harr. c. 44.

c. Lucif. fn. "The Nicene Council, which was a Catholic Council of Jesus Christ, might not again be interrogated as to that faith, nor again baptized.”

The letter, published by Balsamon, t. i. p. 1598, 9, and filled up by Possenti (Apparatus S. 1. t. 2. v. Timotheus) classes heretics thus, "Tascorugi Marcionites, Saschorpi, Apatistes [Encratites] (see S. Basil, supra p. 287.) Valentineans, or Basilidians, or Hermans, Nicolaitans, Montanistas, Pepuzens, Manichaeans, Eunomians or Anomoeans, Paulinists, Photianists, Sabelians, [Melitians,] Cyprians, Menandrians, Ebionites, Simonians (from Simon M.), Carpocratians, Saracens (Saturnins, Ephip.) and those derived from the impious Marcus, and Apelles, and Theodotus the tanner.

5. Numerous ap. Voss. de Bapt. Addend. v. 7. ad Disp. 20, who cites the following authors also.


7. Synod of 1838, Can. 17.

8. Donatus, who assumes that the Greek Church acted upon the Latin rule, (of which there is no trace in the Greek Church, but the contrary,) regard these Canons as contradictory; and

9. Simon, who opposes the Donatists' decision of that of Aries; the adherence of that Church become the more fixed, through the misapplication made by the Donatists of S. Cyprian's rule and authority: nor would she be tempted to violate the principles she had adopted, by the advantage taken by the Donatists, who represented that it was the safer side to receive their baptism, since the Church, by not rebaptizing, acknowledged its validity, whereas the Donatists, by rebaptizing, disallowed that of the Church. Adherence to her rule under this disadvantage would strengthen the Church's steadfastness in it. The validity then of all Baptism, wherein the right "matter" and "words" had been used, became henceforth the rule of the Latin Church, except that in the later times, the Roman Church has left it to her Bishops to dispense with their rule, when there seems to them "reasonable cause," and virtually (among ourselves at least) has adopted conditional rebaptizing as her rule; the Scotch branch of our Church has formally sanctioned a conditional Baptism, wherever the parties themselves entertain doubts of their schismatical baptism; and such is the growing practice in our own.

The Greek Church continued their rule, retaining the tradition both of the rule, and of the cases in which it had been enforced, without defining it in the same formal way as the Latin Church. The Council in Trullo (Quinque-sextetum) formally acknowledged as part of its code, not the Apostolic Canons only, but those of S. Basil, (Can. 2.) while in a subsequent Canon, (95) it speaks generally of heretics whose Baptism is accounted valid, i.e. according to the tradition of the Church, and of others whose Baptism is not accounted valid; but of these it mentions only some (see ab. p. 288.) The same is observable in the lists given by Timotheus Presbyter, (A. 500.) afterwards Patriarch of Constantinople, who divides heretics into three classes, according as they were 1) baptized on returning subsequently modified; Greek retained.

10. Unfortunately, the text is not entirely clear due to some sections being less legible. The content seems to refer to the establishment of the Roman view in the West by the Council of Aries and the role of Augustine and Jerome in this process. There is also mention of the Nicene Council's influence and the subsequent modifications to the baptismal rules by the Greek Church.

11. The decision of that of Aries; the adherence of that Church became the more fixed, through the misapplication made by the Donatists of S. Cyprian's rule and authority: nor would she be tempted to violate the principles she had adopted, by the advantage taken by the Donatists, who represented that it was the safer side to receive their baptism, since the Church, by not rebaptizing, acknowledged its validity, whereas the Donatists, by rebaptizing, disallowed that of the Church. Adherence to her rule under this disadvantage would strengthen the Church's steadfastness in it. The validity then of all Baptism, wherein the right "matter" and "words" had been used, became henceforth the rule of the Latin Church, except that in the later times, the Roman Church has left it to her Bishops to dispense with their rule, when there seems to them "reasonable cause," and virtually (among ourselves at least) has adopted conditional rebaptizing as her rule; the Scotch branch of our Church has formally sanctioned a conditional Baptism, wherever the parties themselves entertain doubts of their schismatical baptism; and such is the growing practice in our own.

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12. Having been interrogated as to the Trinity, according to the faith of the Greeks and doctrine of the Apostles, and confessed a good conscience toward God as to the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, might not again be interrogated as to that faith, nor again baptized.”

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What is the main point of view discussed in the text? The main point of view discussed in the text is the establishment of the Roman view in the West by the Council of Aries and the role of Augustine and Jerome in this process. It also mentions the subsequent modifications to the baptismal rules by the Greek Church.
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to the Church, or 2) received the Chri

errors. Yet we cannot see for the most part on what principle they are so distributed, but Timotheus asserts it to be trad

We then, considering all these things with the wise fathers, have been taught by them, that as the Catholic Church of old received, and as our practice is preserved in the patriarchates and metropolitan Churches, so we also ought to follow."

And this traditionary character of the rule is the more implied, in that heresies are enumerated, as falling under the different heads, which have for many centuries been extinct in the Church, and which would have been forgotten, had the Greek, like the Roman Church, proceeded on a precise well-defined line, and not rather on what had been done in former times.

The same classification is retained, and the same persons ranked in each class by Theodorus Studites, (A.D. 817.) who is less accurate however in details 9.

In later times, we find the Romanists complaining (Conc. Lat. iv. Can. 43.) that in times past "the Greeks presumed, with a rash boldness, even to re-baptize those who had been baptized by Latins, and some (as we have heard) still do not fear to do this." This the Greeks did, in conformity with their old practice, regarding the Latins as heretical as to the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity, in that they added Filioque to the Nicene Creed.

Possibly, the difference of the Greek and Roman practice may be accounted for (as far as conjecture may be allowed in a point so obscure) by the more grievous character of the heresies, with which the Greek Church was harassed; so that the original rule may have been to reject heretical, accept schismatical Baptism, (as S. Basil states it to have been in the East,) and this having been acted upon with regard to heretics in the East, which seems to be a continuance of the same dispensing power, implied by S. Basil.

9 He says the Marcionites, Tascodrugi, Manichees, and those who rank with them down to the Melchisedekites, twenty-five heresies, are baptized. The Tassaresdekatistes, Novatians, Arians, Macedonians, and Apollinarians, together five, receive the holy Chrism. But they who are neither baptized, nor receive the Chrism, but only anathematize their own and every other heresy, are the Meletians, Nestorians, Eutychians, and those classed with these down to the present heresy, which for the present is not numbered by me, on account of the many divisions of the Aechalh." Theodorus, however, applies the Latin rule, "the Apostolic Canon calls them heretics, who are not baptized or baptized not in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost;" instead of S. Basil's of the absence of sound faith in them.

Benefits of conditional form.
OF PRAYER.

[The different tone in which Tertullian speaks on the Shepherd of Hermas and on fasting in the De Oratone, (c. 16, 18.) and in his Montanist works, (De Pudic. c. 19, 20. and De Vej. c. 2.) is decisive that it was written before his fall, (see Lumper. c. 2. art. 3. §. 2. who adds other grounds not so valid; he thinks also that T. calls Hermas "Scripture," "almost Scripture," but wrongly, see c. 16.) S. Hilary also speaks of it, as written, while sound in the faith. "On the Sacrament of prayer, Cyprian, of holy memory, has freed us from the need of writing. Although Tertullian also wrote a most suitable treatise thereon; but the subsequent error of the man, deprived of authority even his approved writings." in Matt. c. 5. init.]

De I. The Spirit* of God, and the Word of God, and the Reason of God—Word of Reason, and Reason of Word, and Spirit of both—Jesus Christ our Lord hath ordained for us, the disciples of the New Testament, a new form of Prayer. For it was meet that, in this kind also, new wine should be laid up in new bottles, and a new piece seem to a new garment. But whatever had been in time past, hath been either changed, as circumcision; or fulfilled, as the rest of the law; or accomplished, as prophecy; or perfected, as Faith itself. The new grace of God hath fashioned anew all things from carnal to spiritual, in bringing in, over all, the Gospel, the abolisher of all the ancient bygone things. In which our Lord Jesus

* See note H. at the end of this treatise.

b i. e. our Lord is not only The Spirit and the Word and the Reason of God, but, when contemplated as The Reason, He is also The Word; as The Word, He is also The Reason; and as Both, Spirit, i. e. of the Very Essence of the Father, Who "is a Spirit." The words are "Sermo Rationis et Ratio Sermonis et Spiritus utrumque." (=strutrumque.Ratiunis et Sermonis.) Thus each clause corresponds to the preceding. Muratori, (Anecdot. iii. p. 6.) joins utrumque with what follows, but then "et spiritus" stands unconnected. Muratori supposes this to be a passage in which the Father is called Ratio and Sermo, as though "Sermo Rationis" were the same as S. Ambrose's "Verbum de Verbo," (see note H.) but the identity of the words "Verbum de Verbo," is the very peculiarity which, according to S. Ambrose, justifies the mode of speech.

Divine wisdom in brevity and fulness of the Lord's Prayer. 299

Christ hath been approved as the Spirit of God, and the Word of God, and the Reason of God: the Spirit, by which He prevailed; the Word, by which He taught; the Reason, by which He came. Thus, therefore, the Prayer framed by Christ hath been framed out of three things—the Word, by which it is expressed; the Spirit, by which alone it hath power; the Reason, by which it is conceived. John John 6, also had taught his disciples to pray; but all that was of John was a preparing of the way for Christ, until when Himself should have increased, (as the same John foretold that He must increase but himself decrease,) the whole work John 3, of the forerunner together with the Spirit Itself, should pass to the Lord. And therefore it doth not appear in what words John taught them to pray, because that earthly things have given place to heavenly. He that is of the earth, he saith, speaketh the things of the earth; and He that is of Heaven speaketh the things which He hath seen. John 3, 31.

And what is there that is of the Lord Christ, as is this instruction in prayer also, which is not heavenly? Let us consider then, blessed sirs, first, His heavenly wisdom in the commandment to pray in secret, wherein He both Mat. 6, exacted the faith of man, in surely believing that the eye i., and the ear of Almighty God are present under coverings, and even in secret places, and required also a modesty in faith, in offering his religious service to Him alone, Who, he trusteth, heareth and seeth everywhere: next, His wisdom in the next commandment, which though v. 7, it pertaineth in like manner to Faith and the modesty of Faith, that we should not think that God must be approached with a multitude of words, Who, we are sure, provideth for His own of His own accord, yet is this brevity, e., and (this formeth the third step in the said wisdom) upheld by the support of a large and blessed interpretation, and is as much expanded in meaning as it is compressed in words. For it hath embraced not only the proper offices of

e i. e. He, "in Whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily," "ratio quae venit" seems a necessary correction for "quo venit."

d see c. 9.

s See de Bapt. c. 10, and note.

f S. Cyprian de Orat. §. 2.
Our Father, confesses God as a Father and The Son and the Church.

Deut. 4:4; 8:12, almost every discourse of the Lord, every record of His rule of life, so that, in truth, there is comprehended in the Prayer a summary of the whole Gospel.

II. It beginneth with a testimony to God, and with the reward of Faith, when we say, OUR FATHER, WHICH ART IN HEAVEN. For herein we both pray to God, and commend the Faith whose reward it is thus to entitle Him. John 1:12. It is written, To them that believed on Him gave He power to be called the sons of God. And, indeed, the Lord hath very frequently proclaimed God to us as a Father; yea, Matt. 28:19, and hath taught us to call no man father upon earth, but Him only Whom we have in Heaven. Wherefore in thus praying we obey also a commandment. Happy they who acknowledge Him as a Father! This it is with which Israel is prophesied, when the Spirit calleth Heaven Is. 1:1-2, and earth to witness, saying, I have begotten children, and they have not acknowledged me. But, in calling Him Father, we entitle Him also God. This title is one both of affection and authority. Moreover, in the Father, the Son also is called upon; for, saith He, I and the Father are one. Nor is even our Mother Church passed by, that is, if in the Father and the Son be recognized the mother also, of whom it is that the names both of Father and Son exist. Under one kind then, or indeed one word, we both honour God with His own, and remember a commandment, and set a mark upon those that forget the Father.

III. The Name of God the Father had been disclosed to none. Even Moses, who had asked it of Himself, had heard in truth another name. To us it hath been revealed in the John 5:18. For now is the Son a new Name of the Father. I am (i. e. in Himself, the Name of God the Father implies the Son, Who is One with Him; with relation to us, it implies a mother, i. e. the Church; whence in S. Cypr. de Unit. c. 6. "he can no longer have God for a Father who had not the Church for a mother," and he paraphrases this passage, de Orat. Dom. § 6. p. 189. Oxf. Trans. the other parts of the Name of God the Father, ... Father who had not the Church for a mother." He santified Him and His Church.

1. S. Cyprian i. e. explains this of the Jews, with reference to S. John 8, 35. But, in calling Him Father, we entitle Him also God. This title is one both of affection and authority. Moreover, in the Father, the Son also is called upon; for, saith He, I and the Father are one. Nor is even our Church passed by, that is, if in the Father and the Son be recognized the mother also, of whom it is that the names both of Father and Son exist. Under one kind then, or indeed one word, we both honour God with His own, and remember a commandment, and set a mark upon those that forget the Father.

IV. Next to this clause we add, THY WILL BE DONE IN HEAVEN AND IN EARTH: not that any can hinder the doing of His will, and that we pray for Him that His will may have success, but we ask that His will may be done in all men. For, by a figurative interpretation of the flesh and the spirit, we are the Heaven and the Earth. Although even if it be to be understood simply, yet it is the sense of the petition the same, that in us, the will of God may be done in earth, to wit, that it may hereafter be done in Heaven also. And what doth God will, but that we should walk according to His rule? We ask therefore that He supply us with the substance and power of His will, that we may be saved both in Heaven and in Earth.

"Father of those who being sanctified by Him, and made again by a nativity of spiritual grace, have begun to be the sons of God." "suits. His Son and His Church.

"S. Cyprian i. e. explains this of the Jews, with reference to S. John 8, 35. But, in calling Him Father, we entitle Him also God. This title is one both of affection and authority. Moreover, in the Father, the Son also is called upon; for, saith He, I and the Father are one. Nor is even our Church passed by, that is, if in the Father and the Son be recognized the mother also, of whom it is that the names both of Father and Son exist. Under one kind then, or indeed one word, we both honour God with His own, and remember a commandment, and set a mark upon those that forget the Father.

"Hallowed be Thy Name," praise of God, prayer for us and for all. 301 come, saith He, in the Father's Name. And again:

Father, glorify Thy Name: and more plainly: I have manifested Thy Name unto men. We ask therefore that this Name may be Hallowed: not that it becomes men to wish well to God, as though there were Any Other alias from Whom it could be wished for Him, or He were hindered of it unless we wished. Meet indeed is it that God should be blessed in every place and time by every man, for the remembrance, ever due, of His benefits. But this too standeth in the place of blessing. And yet when hath not the Name of God been holy and sanctified by Himself, seeing that of Himself He sanctifieth all others? to Whom that company of angels round about rest not saying, Holy, Holy, Holy! In like manner therefore we also, looking to be angels, if we so deserve, even from hence learn that heavenly address to God, the office also of future glory. Thus much as respecteth the glory of God. On the other hand, as respecteth our own petition, when we say, HALLOWED BE THY NAME, we pray that it may be hallowed in us, who are in Him, and at the same time in all others also, whom the grace of God yet awaiteth, that we may in this also obey a commandment in praying for all, even for Mat. 5, 44. our enemies. And therefore stopping short in our expression, and not saying, be It hallowed in us," we say (in effect) be It hallowed in all.

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Deus, and in earth, seeing that the sum of His will is the salvation of those whom He hath adopted. That also is the will of God, which the Lord hath executed in preaching, in working, in suffering. For so hath He Himself declared, that He did not His own will, but the will of the Father. Without doubt the things which He did, they were the will of the Father, to the which, as to ensemplars, are we now called forth, that we may both preach, and work, and suffer, even unto death. The which that we may be able to fulfill, we have need of the will of God. Likewise when we say, Thy will be done, even in this we wish well to ourselves, because there is no evil in the will of God, even though there be somewhat contrariwise inflicted according to the deserts of each. By the very saying of this we premonish ourselves unto patience. The Lord also, when, by the reality of His Passion, He had now willed to shew, in His own flesh the weakness of the flesh, saith, Father, remove this cup,—and then remembering Himself—nevertheless, not My will, but Thine be done. He was Himself the Will and the Power of the Father, and yet, for the shewing forth of the patience which He owed, He committed Himself to the will of the Father.

V. Thy Kingdom come, likewise hath the same reference as hath also Thy will be done; to wit, in ourselves. For Prov. 31, when is God not a King; in Whose hand is the heart of all kings? But whatsoever we wish for ourselves, we divine to be His, and to Him attribute, what from Him we expect. Wherefore, if the present coming of the Lord's Kingdom pertains to the will of God, and to our earnest expectation, how pray some for a sort of prolonging of the world, when the close, a little sooner or later, of our own lives. S. Cyprian (de Mortal. c. 15. p. 253. 6. Gr. Tr.) uses the same language of individual continuance in life.

the Kingdom of God, which we pray may come, looketh to the consummation of the world? We desire to reign the sooner, and not to serve the longer. Even were it not prescribed in the Prayer about praying for the coming of the Kingdom, we should of our own accord put forth His word, pressing forward towards the apprehending of our hope. The souls of the martyrs cry unto the Lord reproachfully under the altar, How long, O Lord, dost Thou not avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? For doubtless the avenging of these is regulated by the end of the world. Yea, with all speed, O Lord, Thy Kingdom come! the prayer of the Christians, the confusion of the Heathen, the joy of the Angels, for which we strive, yea rather for which we pray.

VI. But how chieftly hath Divine Wisdom drawn up the order of the Prayer, that after heavenly things, that is, after the Name of God, the Will of God, and the Kingdom of God, it should give to the petition a place for earthly wants likewise! For the Lord had also declared, Seek ye first the Kingdom, and then these things also shall be added unto you. Although we may rather understand spiritually, Give us this Day our Daily Bread. For Christ is our Bread, because Christ is life, and bread is life. I am, saith He, the Bread John 6 of life: and a little above, The Bread is the Word of the living God Which cometh down from Heaven. Then again, because in the Bread is understood His Body: This is My Body. Wherefore in praying for daily bread, we pray to be
12, 22. Mat. 7, again: For after the rest do the Gentiles seek. And this again He impresseth by examples, cf. Mat. and treateth of in parables, when He saith, Doth a father take bread from his children, and give it unto dogs? And for He sheweth what sons may expect from a father.

Luke 11, 5. Moreover also that one, that knocked at the door by night, asked for bread. But with good cause hath He added, when his fruits were coming in, Heb. 4, the slaughter? The Lord knew that Himself only was ~ Mat. 18, 23. For He sheweth in the example of the whole parable looketh this way because this word also hath a carnal meaning, this cannot take bread from Gentiles seek. Matter He hath also applied the parable of that we be reckoned, as touching them, in very deed as a bull in like manner spare his own debtor, and, being accused before his lord, is Forgiven.

VIII. For the completing of this so brief Prayer, that we might pray, not only for the forgiveness, but also for the entire turning away of sins, He hath added, LEAD US NOT INTO TEMPTATION: that is, suffer us not to be led, to wit by him who tempteth. But God forbid that the Lord should be thought to tempt, as though He were ignorant concerning the faith of any man, or were consenting to its overthrow.

Both infirmity and malice are of the Devil. For even Abraham He had commanded to make an offering of his son, for the sake not of tempting, but of proving, his faith; that through him He might set forth an example of His own precept, wherein He would afterwards command that not even children must be accounted dearer than God. He Himself being tempted of the Devil, shewed who was the head and contriver of temptation. This passage He confirmeth by His after words, when He saith, Pray lest ye be tempted. And so they were tempted, in forsaking the Lord, who had given themselves to sleep rather than to prayer. ver. 40. With this correspondeth the clause, which interpreteth the meaning of Lead us not into temptation: for this is, But deliver us from Evil.

God tries, Satan tempts: 'deliver from evil,' i.e. from Satan. 305
To be offered in holiness, as to and through The Holy.

Religion is elsewhere called a way: and again that, when set in the way of Prayer, we should not approach the Father with anger. Next, the Lord, when enlarging the Law, doth in plain words add to murder anger against a brother, Mal. 5, alloweth not that it should quit itself even by an ill-word. 22. Even if one must needs be angry, it must not be beyond the going down of the sun, as the Apostle admonisheth, Eph. 4. But how rash a thing it is either to pass a day without prayer, while thou delayest to make satisfaction to a brother, or by persisting in wrath, to undo prayer!

XII. Nor ought the intention of Prayer to be free from anger only, but from all disorder of the mind whatever, being sent forth from such a spirit, as is The Spirit to Whom it is sent. For the defiled spirit cannot be acknowledged by The Holy Spirit, nor the gloomy by the joyful, nor the troubled by the free. No one entertaineth an adversary: no one admetteth any, save his own compeer.

XIII. But again what reason is there in entering upon Prayer with the hands indeed washed, but the spirit foul? whereas even to the hands spiritual cleanness is necessary, that they may be lifted up pure from deceit from murder, from cruelty, from witchcrafts, from idolatry, and the rest of those defilements, which, conceived by the spirit, are wrought by the operation of the hands. This is the true cleanness, not such as most men supersticiously care for, using water before all prayer, even to the washing of the whole body. This when I scrupulously enquired into, and sought after the reason of it, I found it to be a commemoration of the delivering up of the Lord. We adore the Lord, not deliver Him up. Nay, we ought even to act contrary to the example of him who delivered Him up, and not therefore to wash the hands, unless, for conscience sake, we wash away the defilement of the conversation of men.

1 S. Cypr. de Or. Dom. c. 5.
2 quas fundamenta accedentium de sideriorum, cod. Mediol. (containing the de oratione only) which so correspondeth with the cod. Agob. that it is probably derived from the same source.
3 t. e. from a brother, and so approach to God, recedere A. although the same hand corrects "accedere", "approach unto,"
4 The rite of early washing before private prayer is mentioned in the Ap. Const. 9, 30. of washing the hands before public prayer by S. Chrysostom frequently; Paulinus Evæbius, &c. see Bingham 2, 3. 6. S. Chrys. also speaks against it, like Tert., without inward purity, (Hom. 6 in 1 Tim.) see also Baron. Ann. t. i. p. 439. a, by Pilate to be crucified. The cod. Med. adds "Platum manus abluens" "a commemoration of Pilate's having washed his hands, for the delivering up of the Lord" [i. e. with a safe conscience]. It seems a gloss.
save where there is a bed: nay one will act contrary to the writing', if he sit down on a chair or a bench. Moreover seeing that the Heathen do likewise, in sitting down after praying to their puppets, it deserveth to be blamed in us, were it only that it is observed in the case of idols. To this is added a charge of irreverence also, to be understood even by the Gentiles, if they had any understanding. If indeed it be irreverent to sit under the eye, and directly in the eye, of him, whom thou especially reverest and veneratest, how much more exceedingly irre- ligious is that act under the eye of the Living God, the Angel of Prayer still standing by, unless we are reproaching God for that our prayer hath wearied us!

XVII. But in praying with modesty and humility, we shall the rather commend our prayers unto God, not even our hands being lifted up too high, but being lifted up with moderation and seemliness; not even our face being raised upward with boldness. For that Publican, who prayed humbled and abased, not only in his prayer but even in his countenance, went away justified rather than that most impudent Pharisee. Meet it is also that we do it subduing the tone of the voice: otherwise of what windpipes have we need, if we be heard according to our loudness?" But not of

-- Humility in gesture, voice, countenance, befitting prayer. 309

* Scripture. i. e. the Pastor itself, upon which they professed to act. Origen, in the same way, says, "provided however persons think that writing (scriptura) ought to be received," (Hom. 6. in Num.) In a corresponding place, (Hom. 1. in Ps. 37.) he substitutes the word "libellus," Hom. 38. in Luc., he has "hujusmodi scripturarum." S. Irenaeus indeed does quote it as Scripture (iv. 3.) probably ascribing to it the same degree of secondary inspiration, as the fathers and our homilies do to the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament. It is in a remarkable way, joined with those books as of the same character, by Origen de Princ. ii. 1. (where he speaks of both as Scripture) ii. 2. in Joh. t. 1. (as "divinely inspired"); by S. Athanasius Epist. Fest. 39. t. l. p. 693. ed. Beza; Kudius Expos. Synh. Ap.; S. Jerome Proli. Galeae. In the same sense, it is spoken of as "speaking divinely," Clem. Al. Strom. i. fin. p. 300. S. Athanasius de Incarn. §. 3. (though not canonical, de Decr. Nic. Syn. p. 15.) It was read in Churches (Eus. H. E. iii. 3.) in the East (S. Jerome Script. Ecol. Cat.)

* Find. Isthm. 6. 81. It was a law of Numa (Plutarch. in vit.) still followed in Plutarch's time, Id. Qumētī Rom. ap. Cotel. ad Herm. see also La Cerd. in Enā. ix. 4.

* "Hence the fathers observe that the 'loud crying' which the prophets sent forth to God was not of the lips but the eagerness of the soul." Theodor. ap. Murat. add S. Cypri. de Orat. c. 2. Basil. in Ps. 33. 16. Macarius Hom. 6. S. Aug. in Ps. 30. ἕναρ. 4. §. 10. "Loud crying to God is not with the voice but the heart. Many silent with their lips have cried aloud with their heart; many, noisy with their lips, could with heart turned away
Kiss of peace: fasting concealed abroad, known at home.

The voice but of the heart is God the hearer, as He is the sees. The demon of the Pythian oracle saith, 'I both understand the dumb, and hear him that speaketh not.' Do the ears of God wait for sound? How then could the prayer of Jonah from the inmost belly of the whale, through the bowels of so great a creature, out of the very bottomless depths, through so great a mass of waters, make its way to Heaven? What more shall they gain, who pray more loudly than others, save that they sting their neighbours? Nay, in publishing abroad their prayers, what do they less than if they should pray in public?

XVIII. Another custom hath now gained strength. They that are fasting, having prayed with their brethren, withdraw the kiss of peace, which is the seal of Prayer. For at what time should peace rather be exchanged with the brethren, than when prayer, the rather thereby commanded, ascendeth up, so that they, being made partakers of our deed, may now dare to treat with a brother touching their own peace? Of whatever sort be the action, it will not be better than the observance of that precept, wherein we are commanded to have our fasts in secret. For, by abstaining from the kiss, we are at once known to be fasting. But even if there be any reason in it, yet, that thou be not guilty touching this commandment, thou canst at home, if so it chance, delay thy peace with those amongst whom it is not possible that thy fast should be altogether secret. But in what other place soever thou canst hide thy action, thou oughtest to remember the commandment: so shalt thou satisfy both thy rule abroad, and thy custom at home. So obtain nothing. If then thou criest, cry within, where God heareth, comp. in Ps. 3. §. 4. Ps. 4. §. 5. Ps. 5. §. 8. &c. S. Hil. in Ps. 139. §. 2. "Prayer is intercoursed with God. Wherefore whether in whisper, or not even opening the lips, we speak with silence, we cry aloud within." Clem. Al. Strom. vii. 7. p. 306.

1 i. e. as Heralds explain it (Digr. ii. 4.) that our brethren partaking of the benefit of our prayer (and that, the more acceptable to God through fasting, coll. S. Cypr. de Orat. c. 27.) as sealed to them with the kiss of peace, may be the more encouraged to be at peace with others. Oratorio is used of the fast immediately afterwards and in the de Jejun. c. 8. 9. and by S. Cypr. i. c.

Fast of Good-Friday, weekly fast of Wednesday and Friday. Also on the Paschal Day, on which the strict observance of the fast is general, and as it were public, with good cause we lay aside the kiss, caring nothing about hiding that, which we are doing in common with all.

XIX. In like manner also most think, that on the days of stations they ought not to attend the prayers at the sacrifices, because, when the Body of the Lord hath been re-
of the word itself, what is a 'woman' from the earliest writings of the Sacred Records; for they there find that it is a name for the sex, not a class of the sex; if so be that God called Eve, who had not yet known a man, both woman and female. Wherefore Eve, while yet unmarried, was already Gen. 1, 27.2,2. entitled woman: this title was made common to the virgin also. And no wonder, that the Apostle, moved surely by the same Spirit by which, as all Divine Scripture, so also 2 Tim. that Book of Genesis was composed, hath, in putting woman, used the same word which, because of the instance of Eve unmarried, belongeth to the virgin also. All the other passages moreover sound not like it; for, by the very fact of his not having named virgins, (as in another place 5 where he teacheth concerning marriage,) he sufficiently declareth that the thing is said of every woman, and of the whole sex, and that there is no distinction made of the virgin: he doth not name her at all. For he, who elsewhere remembereth to make a distinction, to wit when the difference requireth it, (and he distinguisheth each class by denoting them by their proper titles,) where he distinguisheth not, in not naming each, wisheth no difference to be understood. What if it be the practice in the Greek language, in which the Apostle wrote his letters, to call women as well as females, that is γυναίκας, as φίλαι: Wherefore if this word be often  

4 The words feminam qua sexum generaliter, mulierem qua gradus sexus specialiter, "female" for the sex generally, 'woman' for the class of the sex specially,' have been omitted, as being probably a gloss, in that in their plainest sense they contradict the context, in which T. is shewing that "mulier" is used of the sex generally. Eve also did not at that time belong to the class, intended by "mulier" in its specific sense "woman," comp. de Virg. vel. c. 5. In the same book c. 4. T. speaks of both as generic terms, and contrasted with the specific terms, "married," "widow." "Naturales vocabulum est feminae. Naturalis vocabuli generale mulier. Generales etiam speciales, virgo vel cupida vel vidua, vel quot etiam etatis noninna ascendit."  

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1 Cor. i. 11. 6.  

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De Orat. IX. 29

Every woman include maidens, as "man" boys.

used for the name of the sex, which is by interpretation used for that which is a female, in saying 'γυνή,' he hath named the sex. And in the sex the virgin also is touched upon. But there is also a clear declaration: Every woman, saith he, that prayeth and prophesieth with her head uncovered, dishonoureth her head. What is every woman, but of every age, of every rank, of every condition? In saying every, he excepteth nothing of 'womankind,' as neither doth he of 'man' who is not to be veiled, for he saith in like manner every man. As therefore, in the male sex, under the name of man, the boy also is forbidden to be veiled, so also, in the female, under the name of woman, the virgin also is commanded to be veiled. In either sex equally let the younger age follow the rule of the elder: let the virgin age, of every rank, of every condition? In saying alone, that is already married, and dead to the virgin state, the female, under the name of man, neither are these included by name. Let the man and the boy be distinct, if the woman and the virgin be distinct. It is in truth because of the Angels that he saith they ought to be veiled, since the Angels fell from God because the daughters of men. Who then would contend that women alone, that is already married, and dead to the virgin state, were objects of desire, except it be that virgins cannot excel in beauty and find lovers? Yea, I am considering whether they did not desire virgins alone, when the Scripture saith the daughters of men, because it could have called them the wives of men, or women indifferently. That too which it saith, And they took them for wives, maketh for this, because such are taken for wives, to wit, such as are free: whereas it would have expressed it otherwise concerning such as are not free. They are free then as well through widowhood as through virginity; and so, by calling the sex generally daughters, it hath also mixed together the species in the genus. Also when he saith that nature itself? Cor. teacheth that women should be veiled, in that it hath given hair to women for a covering and an ornament, hath not the same covering and the same glory of the head been assigned to virgins also? If it be a shame for a woman to be shorn, ver. 6 it is equally so for a virgin. For those therefore, to whom one condition of the head is reckoned, one law also for the head is required, even for those virgins, whom their childhood excuseth, for from the first she is called a female. Finally, Israel also thus observeth the law. But if he observed it not, our law, enlarged and completed, would justify itself in the addition, in imposing the veil on virgins also. Let now that age be excuseth, which knoweth not its own sex: let it keep the privilege of its simplicity. For both Adam and Eve, when knowledge came to them, forthwith made coverings for themselves, because they had come to know. Yet surely in those, in whom childhood hath passed away, age ought to fulfil its duty, as to Nature, so also to Discipline. For both in their bodies and their functions they are transferred to the class of women. None is a virgin from the time when she is able to marry, since age, in her, hath already married its own husband, that is, time. But some one hath devoted herself to God. Forthwith from that moment she both refashioneth her hair, and changeth all her dress to the way of women. Let her therefore assert the whole character, and perform the whole part of a virgin. That which she hitherto for the sake of God, let her completely cover over. It concerneth us to commend that, which the grace of God worketh, to the knowledge of God alone, lest we get from man the amends which we hope from God. Why barest thou before God what thou hidest before men? Wilt thou be more bashful in the public way than in the Church? If it be the grace of God, and thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory, saith 1 Cor. 11. 13-14.
he, as if thou hadst not received it? Why, by vaunting of thyself, dost thou judge others? Dost thou, by thy glorying, invite others to good? Nay, but thou thyself art in peril of losing it, if thou gloryest, and thou drivest others upon the same perils. That is easily plucked away, which is taken up through vain-glorious display. Be veiled, O virgin, if virgin thou art, for thou oughtest to be ashamed. If thou art a virgin, subject not thyself to many eyes. Let none wonder at thy face: let none discover thy feint. Thou feignest well the married woman, if thou veilest thy head. Nay, thou art not thought to feign, for thou hast wedded Christ: to Him thou hast delivered up thy body. Act according to the rule of thy Husband. If He commandeth the married of others to be veiled, much more surely His own. But let no man think that she ought to be influenced by the rule of a predecessor. Many surrender to the custom of others their own sober judgment, and the strictness of it, so far as that these should not be compelled to be veiled. In any case it is fit that they who are of their own will remain virgins altogether. Nay, thou art not thought to feign, for thou hast wedded Christ: to Him thou hast delivered up thy body. Act according to the rule of thy Husband. If He commandeth the married of others to be veiled, much more surely His own. But let no man think that she ought to be influenced by the rule of a predecessor. Many surrender to the custom of others their own sober judgment, and the strictness of it, so far as that these should not be compelled to be veiled. In any case it is fit that they who are of their own will remain virgins altogether. Nay, thou art not thought to feign, for thou hast wedded Christ: to Him thou hast delivered up thy body. Act according to the rule of thy Husband. If He commandeth the married of others to be veiled, much more surely His own. But let no man think that she ought to be influenced by the rule of a predecessor. Many surrender to the custom of others their own sober judgment, and the strictness of it, so far as that these should not be compelled to be veiled. In any case it is fit that they who are of their own will remain virgins altogether.

No prayer kneeling at Easter and Pentecost; on fast-days, all. 1317

first bodily touch of a man, in the kiss and the right hand. For in them, all hath already married, age through ripeness, and flesh through age, and spirit through consciousness, and modesty through trial of the kiss, and hope through expectation, and mind through will. And Rebecca is sufficient instance for us, who, her spouse being shown her, veiled herself, married by the mere knowledge of him.

XXIII. As touching kneeling also, Prayer is subjected to a variation in the observance, through certain, a scanty few, who keep from their knees on the Sabbath. Which disagreement being exceedingly criminated in the Churches, the Lord will give grace that they may either yield, or hold their own opinion without offence to others. But we, as we have received, ought, on the day of the Lord's Resurrection alone, to keep from not only that, but every posture of painfulness, and to forbear offices, deferring even our business, Med. that we give no place to the Devil. Equally in the Eph. 4, period of Pentecost also, which is expended in the same solemnity of rejoicing. But on every day who would hesitate to prostrate himself before God at least in that first prayer, with which we enter upon the dawn? But on the Fasts and Stations no prayer must be observed without kneeling, and the other usual modes of humiliation. For we are not only praying, but deprecating, and making satisfaction unto God our Lord. Concerning the times of prayer there is nothing prescribed at all, save simply, to pray always and everywhere.

XXIV. But how every where, when we are forbidden in public? Every where, he saith, where opportunity, or even necessity, hath given occasion. For it is not accounted an act contrary to the commandment in the Apostles, who in the prison prayed and sang to God, the prisoners hearing Acts 16. 25.

1 See de vel. Virg. c. 3. 9. 11. 16. ad Ux. i. 4. de Exh. Cast. fin. de Res. Carn. c. 8. de Monog. c. 12. S. Ambrose remarks on the number of consecrated virgins in Africa and the East, de Virginit. c. 7. § 36. "Learn how many the Church of Alexandria and of the whole East and Africa is wont to consecrate yearly. Fewer of the human race are born here, than virgins are consecrated there," see on S. Aug. Conf. viii. 16. 8. p. 4 T. has the same argument on the same subject in the de Virg. vel. c. 1. where he contends (in favour of the Montanist revelations) that the articles of the Creed alone are immutable, in all other points, improvement is admissible, prescription no argument of truth. "Antecensoris" however need mean nothing more than some individual Bishop who preceded.

5 multi. Many, who have the power of regulating, i.e. the Bishops, give up their own better judgment to a contrary practice.

6 i.e. veiled; at least, virgins, who take the better course should not be hindered. So Dr. Routh. Mur. understands by "voluntaria," "they who of their own accord are virgins," which he explains to be such as are neither married in the world or to Christ, but were waiting for eardly marriage; but those are less "voluntaria" than those they are supposed to be opposed to, those who of their own will remain virgins altogether.

7 De Virg. vel. c. 11.
Prayer thrice a day to the Trinity, beside morning and evening.

Acts 15. restored the paralytic to his soundness. And though they stand simply without any precept for their observance, yet let it be thought good to establish any sort of presumption, which may both render more strict the admonition to pray, and, as it were by a law, force us away sometimes from our business to this service, (even as we read was the custom of the Eucharist in the presence of all.) The first pouring of the Holy Spirit on the assembled disciples was at the third hour. Peter on the day, in which he experienced the vision of the sixth, the seventh, the eighth, the ninth, than the rest in the Scriptures. The first pouring of the Spirit was, however, on the assembled disciples at the third hour. The hour shall come, (even as we read was the custom of every sort of prayer. For the refreshment and food of the spirit must be esteemed before those of the earth.)


Strangers to be greeted with prayer—prayer a sacrifice. 319

brother: thou hast seen thy Lord;* Specially a stranger, Heb. 13, lest perchance he be an angel. But neither do thou, when thyself entertained by the brethren, put earthly refreshments before heavenly. For straightway thy faith will be judged. Or how wilt thou say, according to the commandment, Peace be to this house, unless thou interchangest peace with those also, who are in the house?

XXVII. The more diligent in praying are wont in their prayers to subjoin Alleluia, and Psalms of that class, in the closing words of which those present respond. And most excellent, surely, is every custom, which by setting Ps. 16. 8. God before us and honouring Him, helpeth to bring unto Him, as our best victim, a well-enriched prayer.

XXVIII. For this is the spiritual victim which hath abolished the former sacrifices. To what purpose, saith He, Is. 1, is the multitude of your sacrifices unto Me? I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of lambs, and I will not have the blood of bulls and he-goats. For who hath required these things at your hands? What therefore God hath required, the Gospel teacheth. The hour shall come, John 4, saith He, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth. For God is a Spirit, and therefore He seeketh such to worship Him. We are the true worshippers, and the true priests, who praying in spirit, in spirit would offer up the prayer of God, His own and acceptable, as that which He hath required, which He hath provided for Himself. This, devoted from the whole heart, fed by Faith, adorned by Truth, through innocence un-
Prayer in O. T. frees from, inflicts, ill; in N. bears ill, does good.

De Orat. 1 K. 29.

blest, through chasteness clean, crowned by Love—we ought to lead up to the altar of God, amid Psalms and Hymns, with the train of good works, for that it shall obtain for us all things from God.

XXIX. For what hath God, Who requireth it, denied to the prayer that cometh of spirit and truth? We read, and we hear, and we believe how great are the proofs of its efficacy. Ancient Prayer indeed was wont to deliver both from fires, and from beasts, and from famine: and yet it had not received its form from Christ. But how much more largely doth the Christian Prayer—not place the angel of the moist wind in the midst of the fires, nor shut the lions’ mouths, nor carry over to the hungry the dinner of the countrymen, nor by a deputed grace turn away any sense of suffering, but—furnish with patience men while suffering, and feeling, and grieving; enlarge grace through virtue, that Faith may know what it obtaineth of the Lord, by understanding what it suffereth for the Name of God. Moreover, in time past, Prayer was wont to bring down plagues, rout the armies of enemies, hinder the blessing of rain. But now the prayer of righteousness turneth aside all the wrath of God, keepeth watch for enemies, entreateth for persecutors.

Is it wonderful that He knoweth how to wrest the waters from Heaven, which could obtain even its fires? It is Prayer alone which overcometh God. But Christ hath determined that it worketh no pathway of death, to recover the weak, heal the sick, cleanse save to call back the souls of the departed sins, repelleth temptations, quencheth persecutions, supporteth the weak-hearted, rejoiceth the strong of heart, doth strengthen such as do stand, to comfort and help the weak-hearted, to raise up them that fall.

Note H. p. 298.

The Divine Nature of our Lord is called “the Spirit” by many of the fathers, not as confusing Him with God the Holy Ghost, but because “God is a Spirit.” Again, God the Word took unto Him the human nature, and became flesh, through the Operation of the Holy Ghost, so that the man Christ Jesus was born, it may be said, by the Word through the Holy Ghost. Thirdly, we are told in the Old Testament that “the Word of the Lord came” to the Prophets, as well as that they “spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost;” and these are both united in the words, “the Spirit of Christ which was in them;” so that the fathers spake indifferently of the Word or the Spirit speaking in or by the Prophets. Fourthly, the
322 The Spirit, our Lord's Divine, opposed to His human Nature

Notes
The word may have been chosen purposely in order to express the Consob-
ion of the Persons of the Blessed Trinity. Under some of these heads fall the different passages, in which the fathers speak of the Divine
Nature of our Lord: as "it" or "the Spirit.

1. Thus it is used of a "Spiritual Nature," as opposed to flesh, by
S. Ignatius (Ep. ad Smyrn. Init. p. 34. see Bull def. Fide. Nic. i. 2. 5.) "in
the immaculate Spirit, the Word of God, greeting," and S. Hermas, (Socin.
The Son is the Holy Spirit," [i.e. the
Divine Nature], but the servant [the human nature] is the Son of God;
luce."

2. The second chief class is where the Word is said to be cause of the
birth of the Man Christ Jesus, as Holy Scripture itself says, "The Word
became flesh" by taking it, or "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee and
the Power of the Highest shall overshadow thee;" and these must be one
and the same; whence different fathers suppose that by the "Holy Spirit"
in S. Luke also is meant the Word, or by this the Third Person, and the
Second by the "Power of the Highest," our Lord being called "the Power
of God," 1 Cor. 1, 24.

Thus Justin M. (Apol. i. 33.) "That Spirit and that Power from God
we may not conceive of as anything else than the Word!" and
Hermas, l. c. §. 6. "That Holy Spirit, which was infused first of all in the body,
in which God should dwell," and perhaps S. Irenæus (5. 1. 3.) "not willing
to understand that the Holy Spirit came to Mary and the Power of the
Highest overshadowed her, wherefore also what was born is holy and
the Son of the Most High God, the Father of all, Who operated His
Incarnation and set forth a new generation." Tertullian himself (according
to the right reading cum virgo Maria a Verbo Dei praegnans) says, "When
the Virgin Mary was found with child from the Word of God," (adv. Jud.
c. 12.) as Zeno (2. Tr. 9. 1.) "Mary conceives of Him Whom she bears;" and
2. Tr. 8.) "the womb of Mary is enlarged not with seed but with the
Word," and on the text in S. Luke, (adv. Prax. c. 26.) "this Spirit of
God will be the Word. For as when John saith, 'the Word was made
flesh,' we understand the 'Spirit' also, when the 'Word' is mentioned, so
here also we acknowledge the Word also, under the Name of the Spirit." S.
and puts on flesh, being the Holy Spirit." S. Hilary, (de Trin. ii. 26.) "The
Holy Spirit coming from above sanctified the Virgin's womb, and breathing
therein ('for the Spirit breatheth where it listeth') mingled itself with the
that the Spirit, i.e. the Son of God, came to the Virgin, and came forth
Thence Son of God and of man."

The same doctrine (though not in the

being spoken of as "the Spirit," Mark 9. 3, 8; Rom. 1. 3. 4. 1 Tim. 3. 16.
Heb. 9. 14. 1 Pet. 3. 18-20, John 6. 63, col. 36. [add 1 Cor. 15, 46.]

The following passages are chiefly supplied by Bp. Bull, l. c. Gregor ad
Marc. 9. 3, 8. (who observes that this way of speaking was continued even after
the Arian and Macedonian heresies, as by Phaebeus and Epiphanius), the
Beneficentine Editors of S. Hilary, Prax. §. 57. p. xxii., xxv. and Bp. Kaye,
Tertullian, and Justin Martyr.
NOTES on the DE powerful and Creator of all, formeth for Himself as a Temple, a body in the Virgin." Probably from the same passage Theophilus of Antioch speaks of the Word being the Spirit of God, and the Beginning, and the Wisdom, and the Power of the Highest." (ad Aut. ii. 10.)

3. Justin M. speaks indifferently of the inspiration of the Prophets as derived from the Holy Spirit, — the Holy Spirit, — the Holy Spirit, — and the Holy Ghost, Apol. 1. 33. and 35, joining κρατωρικά and κατὰ τὸν Κρατῆν, Apol. ii. 10. Dial. § 49. 87. In like way Tertullian, adv. Marc. iv. 33. "For since in Essais even then Christ, being the Word and Spirit of the Creator, had foretold of John," iii. 6. "We being certain, that Christ always spake in the prophets, being the Spirit of the Creator, as the prophet attests, the Spirit of His Person, Christ the Lord," etc. and 16. "For Whose sake but the Spirit of the Creator which is Christ?"

4. The title seems to have been chosen to express the Consubstantiality of the Father and the Son. Thus S. Ambrose de Fil. Div. c. 5. (sp. Murat.) "But this is the meaning of the Name, that you may believe an Unity of Substance in the Father and the Son, although you cannot explain the thing itself which is unutterable; so that whether you say Light of Light, or Word of Word, or Spirit of Spirit, or Lord of Lord, whatever you may say of Him, you may believe the Father and Son of One Essence." And S. Epiphanius (Hær. 73. § 18.) "Wherefore through the Epistle to the Philippians, he taught us how the Father, John iv. 24; to The Father, Lam. iv. 40. So S. Cyril, Jeros. Cat. xvii. 34. S. Basil. c. Euom. iii. 3. de Sp. S. c. 19 init. S. Cyril. Alex. Thee. xiii. 1. Anastas. Sinaït. de Rect. Fid. dogm. Bibl. Patr. t. i. p. 298. ed. de La Bigne, quoted by Ruysz, l. c. Disp. 65. S. 2. § 2.

The Father—The Son the Living Will of the Father. 325

and His will is effective, and His will sufficeth to the being of things which receive being, but the Word is Effective and Creator, it hath no doubt that He is the living Will of The Father and His Substantial Energy, and true Word, in Whom all things have their being and are well-ordered." And Orat. 3. § 61. (ap. Petav. de Trin. 6. 8. 14.) that the Will of The Father is in The Son, according to that, "Of His will begat He us in the Word of truth." Therefore the Will of God, as to all things whether formed once for all or regenerated, is in the Word, in Whom He maketh and regenerateth what He hath determined. And this the Apostle signifies again, (1 Thess. 5. 14.) This is the Will of God in Christ Jesus towards you. But if His Will also is in Him, in Whom He maketh, how can He Himself also be in will and choice? For if He also, as ye say, is in Will, the Will concerning Him must needs be in some other Word, by Whom Himself also is, for it hath been shewn that the Will of God is not in things created, but in Him in Whom and through Whom all created things are."

And more explicitly § 63. "Being the Very Word of the Father, He excludeth any act of Will (μόρφωσις) before Himself, being Himself the living Will (σειστήν) of the Father, and Power and Worker of all things, which is most true. And this himself saith of Himself in Proverbs; Counsel (σειστήν) is Mine and safety; Mine is wisdom, Mine also strength. For was, Himself being 'Wisdom,' in which He 'prepared the heavens' and Himself being 'strength' and power, (for Christ is 'the Power of God, and the Wisdom of God,' he saith here, altering it a little, 'Mine is prudence, Mine also strength.' So when He saith, 'Mine is Counsel,' it is that He is the Living Counsel of the Father, as also we have learnt from the prophet, that He was called the 'Angel of mighty Counsel' (Is. 9. 6. LXX) and the Will of the Father." And S. Greg. Nyss. Or. 12. c. Enom. t. 2. p. 773, quoted by Petav. 6. 8. 21. "Hath The Father willed any thing, The Son also being in The Father, hath seen the will of The Father, yea rather Himself was the Will of The Father, For He Who hath all the things of The Father in Himself, there is nothing of The Father's, which He hath not; But if He hath in Himself all the things of The Father, yea rather hath The Father Himself also, assuredly with The Father and the things of the Father, He hath in Himself the whole will of The Father." S. Aug. de Trin. xv. 20. (ib. § 21.) "Some, to avoid calling the Only-Begotten Word the Son of the Counsel or the Will of God, have said that the same Word is Himself the Counsel or Will of The Father. Better in my judgment to call Him Counsel of Counsel, and Will of Will, like as Substance of Substance, Wisdom of Wisdom; lest according to that absurdity which we have already refuted, the Son be said to make The Father to have wisdom and will, if The Father have not in His own substance wisdom or will," which was followed by the Council of Toledo (A.D. 633), who said that "The Son is Will of Will" and that "secundum essentiam Voluntas genuit Voluntatem. Faustinus (c. Arian. c. 1. Bibl. PP. t. iv. lb.) "It is then piously said that the Son is the Will of The Father, as He is also the Wisdom of God"—what is the Will of God, but the Wisdom of God?
The Son is and hath the Will of The Father.

Notes

For in God Will is not one thing, Wisdom another." S. Cyril Alex.

De Orat. Thea. Ass. 7. t. 5. c. 1. p. 51. "If then the Word Who is in and of The Father is the wisdom and power of The Father, He it is in Whom He wills, and through Whom He worketh all things, how then was He begotten by will, in Whom the will of The Father is? For we must either feign another Wisdom, as ye say, or if there is no other, but He alone is the Wisdom of the Father, then He is the Will (δύναμις) also. For the Will of God is in Wisdom," p. 55. (ap. Petav. de Trin. 2. 5. 9.) "He had not then His being by will, as created things, but He was, as the Will of The Father, in Him, being the very Essence of Him Who begat Him," and de Trin. Dial. 5. ib. p. 555. "If then the will (δύναμις) be in these different things, and no right-minded person could think that it was thus with the Divine Nature, the Father is not Will, but being conceived of in His own Essence, hath His own Son, as His Coessential and Coeternal Will;" add Marius Victorinus (I. 1. adv. Arium. Bibl. Patr. t. 4. col. 200. 212. ap. Petav. 6. 8. 2.) S. Ambrose (de Fide, v. 17. §. 224. ib. §. 21.) prefers the form that the Son hath the Will of the Father; "Neither did Will nor Power precede The Son; for in what is He inferior, Who hath all things which The Father hath?" For He both received all things from The Father by virtue of the Generation, and expresseth The Father wholly by the glory of His Majesty."

Muratori, who cites or alludes to the above, (out of Petavius,) adds S. Clement, Origen, [ap. Pamp. Apol. pro. Orig. t. iv. p. 34. ed. de la Rue.] S. Jerome. Petavius himself cites also Cærellius (lib. adv. Max. c. 9. Bibl. PP. t. 4.) inferring thence, that The Father is neither greater nor anterior to The Son, "since The Father could not be without Will." Ruzy in I. S. Thomæ (from whom Petavius drew largely) adds Quæst. ad Orthod. ap. Just. M. q. 144 (Disp. 8. s. 7. n. 16.) Damascen. de Fide i. 18. (lib. n. 19.) Greg. Bæct. de Trin. (Disp. 58. s. 5. n. 14.)

OF PATIENCE.

Tillemon (H. E. T. 3. p. 362.) seems rightly to have inferred, that the "de Patience" was written by Tertullian while in the Church; 1) from its general calm subdued tone, so different from that of his Montanistic treatises; 2) from his allowing flight in persecution, c. 13. Lamper (art. iv.) contends that it is Montanistic on the following inadequate grounds; 1) that "the grace of the Divine Spirit" is the Paraclete; but it is only His ordinary aid to faithful Christians; 2) that he prefers widowhood to second marriage, c. 13; but so do all the Fathers except in case of necessity; 3) that he calls a second marriage adultery, c. 12; a wrong interpretation, see ib. 4) that he praises voluntary fasting, c. 13, but see ib. The peculiarity of the Montanists were not voluntary, but compulsory, additional fasts. The Catholics objected to them, that they did not leave them voluntary, 5) L. compares c. 12, "this patience waiteth for," &c. with the de Pudic. c. 1. ext. ; but there T. is speaking of second marriages as adultery in such sort as, to the last, to exclude from the Church those who contract them. There is no point of resemblance.

I. I confess to the Lord God it is with sufficient rashness, if it be not even shamelessness, that I venture to write concerning Patience, for the practice of which I am altogether unfit, being a man in whom is no good thing: whereas it is fitting that they who take in hand to set forth and commend any thing, should first be found themselves living in the practice of that thing, and should direct the energy, earnestness, boldness, of their admonitions by the example of their own conversation, so that their words blush not for the lack of their deeds. And I could wish that such blushing might bring its own remedy, so that the shame of not shewing forth in ourselves that which we go about to advise for others might school us into shewing it forth, were it not that the greatness of some good things, as well as of evils, so overbeareth our powers, that the grace of the Divine Spirit alone can work in us effectually for the comprehension and the performance of them. For that which is the most good is the most in the hands of God, and no other than He Who
Patience in the Incarnation, childhood and Ministry of X. 329

of the whole creation, to come alike to the worthy and the unworthy; bearing with those most unthankful nations, who worship the follies of their own craft, and the works of their own hands, and persecute His name, His household; bearing with covetousness, with iniquity, with wantonness, with the maliciousness which daily waxeth insolent, so that by His own patience He robbeth Himself; seeing that the greater part believe not in the Lord for this reason, because that for so long a time they have not known that He is wroth with the world.

Eccles.

III. And this instance indeed of Divine patience, being as it were afar off, may perchance be reckoned among those things which be too high for us. But what shall we say of that which hath in a manner been handled among men? John openly in the world? God suffereth Himself to be conceived in the womb of a mother, and abideth the time, and being born waiteth to grow up, and being grown up is not eager to be acknowledged, but putteth a further slight upon Himself, and is baptized by His own servant, and repelleth the attacks of the tempter by words only. When from the Lord He became the Master, teaching man to escape death, having well learned, for salvation's sake, the forgiving spirit of offended patience, He strove not, He is not, not quench.

For there was no lying voice in the Prophet, yea rather in the testimony of God Himself, Who put His own Spirit in His Son with perfection of patience. None that desired to cleave unto Him did He not receive; no man's table or house did He despise; yea, Himself ministered to the washing of His disciples' feet. He scorned not the sinners nor the publicans. He was not angry even with that city which would not receive Him, when even His disciples would have desired that fires from heaven should presently appear against a town so scornful. He healed the sick.

1 * Cypr. c. 4.
2 Jerome, Ep. 22, ad Eustoch. § 30.
3 * i.e. man's, docens hominem evadere mortem, ob salutem silect veniam of-fense patientem erudit. Rig. conjectures evidere ad salutem, silect.
4 * Aq. U. conjectures " aquam" as in the de Bapt. c. 9. aquam consequitur experit.
unthankful; He gave place to those that laid snares for Him. This were but little, if He had not had in His own company even His own betrayer, and yet did not determinately make 1 John 1:53. him known. But when He is delivered up, when He is led as a sheep to the slaughter, for so He openeth not His mouth more than the lamb when in the power of his shearer: He Mal. 26: at whose side, if He had desired it, legions of angels from Heaven would at one word have been present, approved not Matt. 26: at whose side, if He had desired it,--

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ver.

DIl

52.

7. him known. But when He is 53. Patience more than Hul;

the pleasure of patience. He is spit upon, is beaten, is the patience of the Lord was wounded. Wherefore also He the avenging sword of even a single disciple*. In Malchus the patience of the Lord was wounded. Wherefore also He cursed the works of the sword for ever after*, and, by the restoration of soundness to him whom He had not Himself hurt, He made satisfaction through Patience the mother of Mercy. I pass in silence the Crucifixion, for it was for that that He had come into the world; yet was there need of insults also that He might undergo death? But being about to depart, He desired to be filled to the full with the pleasure of patience. He is spit upon, is beaten, is mocked, is foully clothed, still more foully crowned. Wondrous constancy in patience! He Who had purposed to hide Himself in the form of man, followed none of the example of man's impatience! In this especially ought ye, O Pharisees, to have acknowledged the Lord; none among men could have worked patience such as this. Such and so great proofs,—whose greatness is with the nations indeed a diminishing, but with us is the cause and building up of Faith,—manifest clearly enough to those, to whom it is given to believe, not only by the discourses of the Lord in teaching, but by His sufferings in enduring, that patience is the nature of God, the effect and excellency of a sort of innate property.

IV. Wherefore if we see all good and well-disposed servants having their conversation according to the disposition of their Lord, (if indeed the art of deserving favour be obedience, and the rule of obedience a tractable subjection,) how much more ought we to be found in our behaviour according to the Lord! we, that is, who are the servants of the Living God, Whose judgment upon His people turneth not on the question between a shackle and a hat5, but on that between eternity of punishment and of salvation. For escaping which severity, or inviting which free goodness, there is need of a diligence in obedience great as are the things themselves which that severity threateneth, or that free goodness promiseth. And yet it is not only from men supported by their slavery, or owing us service in any other right, that we exact obedience, but even from the cattle, even from the beasts, knowing that they have been provided and given over for our use by the Lord. Shall these therefore, which God hath put in subjection to us, be better than ourselves in the rule of obedience? Finally these acknowledge those whom they obey: do we hesitate to listen to the Lord, to Whom Alone we are put in subjection? But how unjust, yea how unthankful is it, not to repay from thyself that, which through another's kindness thou gainest from others, unto Him through Whom thou gainest it! And no more will I say of the exercise of obedience due from us unto the Lord God. For a knowledge of God bringeth with it a sufficient understanding of the duties incumbent on it. Still that we may not seem to have thrown in this concerning obedience as a motive foreign to our subject, even obedience itself is derived from patience. An impatient man doth never obey, nor a patient man resist. Who therefore can treat too much at large of the goodness of that, which God the Lord of all good things, and the Manifester and Accepter of them, carried about with Him in His own self? to whom again can it be matter of doubt that every good thing ought, because it belongeth to God, to be followed after with all their mind by those who belong to God? whereby the question of patience is determined in brief, and as it were within the short summary of a rule.

V. Nevertheless the farther proceeding of a discussion on things necessary to the faith, is not idle, because not unprofitable. Much speaking, if indeed it be ever bad, is never bad in edifying. Wherefore if our discourse be of any good thing, the matter requireth that we should also

* The first the badge of slavery, the second of freedom. [Tr.]

8 others "edueentis" "of one who draw the sword."

9 See de Cor. c. 11. p. 176. 

1 non sermonibus modo in praeipu-

endo sed etiam passionalibus Domini sustinendo. Rig. conjecturas passionalibus in sustinendo, the cod. P. having Dom.
Impatience entered into fall of Satan and of man

Before Adam, not yet her husband, not yet bound to give ear to her? and so she maketh him aid in transmitting that which she had derived from the Evil One. Wherefore a second human being also perisheth through the impatience of the other, and presently he perisheth of himself through his own impatience likewise exercised in both cases, both as touching the warning of God and the craft of the Devil, not having patience to observe the one or to repel the other. Hence the judgment had its source from the same point as the crime: hence God began to be angry in that whereby man was first led to sin: hence patience first began in God in that whence His anger first arose, Who then, content with pronouncing a curse only, refrained from the violent execution of punishment against the Devil. Otherwise what sin is imputed to man as committed by him before that of impatience? He was innocent, and in the closest friendship with God, and the inhabitant of Paradise. But when once he yielded to impatience, he ceased to have his savour pleasing unto God: he ceased to be able to hear heavenly things. From thenceforward man given to the earth, and cast out from the sight of God, began to be an easy tool of Impatience for every thing which could offend God. For she, on being conceived of the seed of the Devil, straightway, through the fruitfulness of wickedness, brought forth Anger as her son, and trained him up, when brought forth, in her own arts. For the very thing, which had sunk Adam and Eve in the depths of death, taught their son also to begin with murder. I should without cause ascribe this to impatience, if that first slayer of a man, and first slayer of a brother, Cain, had borne with even mind, and without impatience, the rejection of his offerings by God: if he had not been angry with his brother: if in brief he had slain no one. Since therefore he could not kill unless he were angry, nor be angry unless he were impatient, he sheweth that that which he did through anger must be referred to that Impatience, by whom the anger was prompted. Through these things was the cradling, in a manner, of Impatience then first seen.

3 primus delinquere intraverat.
an infant. But how great her growth afterwards! and no wonder: for if she were the first to sin, it followeth that because she was the first, she is therefore the single, womb of all sin, pouring forth from her own spring the various streams of crime. As concerning murder I have done: but being at the first brought forth by anger, it layeth all other motives also, whatsoever it afterwards desired for itself, on impatience as its origin. For whether a man worketh this wickedness from enmity, or for the sake of gain, he must first become impatient of hatred or of covetousness. Whatever forceth men to act, unless they be impatient of it, cannot be wrought out in action. Who hath given way to adultery, without being impatient of lust? But even if the sale of their chastity is in women compelled by the price proffered, surely here is, according to the rule, a lack of patience for the contempt of gain. These are mentioned as the chief sins in the eyes of the Lord; so, to speak briefly, every sin is to be ascribed to impatience. Evil is the impatience of good. Every modest man is impatient of modesty, and the wicked of virtue, and the impious of piety, and the turbulent of peace. In order that each man may become evil, he must become unable to continue patiently in good. Such is the hydra of our sins! How can it but offend the Lord that hateth iniquity? Is it not plain that even Israel also ever sinned against God through impatience; from the time when forgetful of the heavenly arm, whereby they had been brought out from their afflictions in Egypt, they desired of Aaron gods to go before them; when they poured forth the offerings of their gold for the idol, because they bore impatiently the delay, so necessary, of Moses while conferring with God? After the raining down of manna for food, after the flowing of the water from the rock which followed them, they despair of the Lord, not enduring thirst for three days; for with this impatience also they are reproached by the Lord. And not to travel over each particular, they never perished otherwise than by sinning through impatience. But how came it that they laid hands upon the Prophets, but because they could not patiently bear to hear them? They laid them on the Lord Himself, because they could not even patiently bear to see Him.

**Patience, characteristic of Abraham's and Christian faith. 335**

But if they had begun to be patient, they would have been delivered.

VI. It is this then which both followeth and goeth before Faith. Briefly, Abraham believed in God, and by Him was accounted righteous, but it was his patience which proved Gen. 15, his Faith, when he was commanded to offer up his son, 6. I may not say for the trial but for the testimony, (in a figure,) of his Faith. But God knew him whom He had accounted righteous. A command so grievous, which even the Lord was not pleased to have fulfilled, he both heard with patience, and, if God had willed it, would have performed. With good reason therefore was he blessed, because he was also faithful: with good reason was he faithful, because he was also patient. Thus Faith illumined by Patience, having been sown among the nations through the Seed of Abraham, Which is Christ, and having brought in grace over the Law, appointed Patience as her helper for enlarging and fulfilling the Law, because this alone had been before wanting to the teaching of righteousness. For in times past they were wont to demand eye for eye and Ex. 21, tooth for tooth, and rendered with usury evil for evil; * Patience was not as yet, because neither was Faith, upon the earth. In fact, Impatience in the mean time availed itself of the opportunities of the Law. It was easy to do so, while the Lord and Master of Patience was away. But when He came afterwards and joined in one the grace of Faith with Patience, from that time it hath not been lawful to provoke even by a word, nor even to say thou fool, without danger of the judgment. Anger was forbidden, Mat. 5, passions restrained, the wantonness of the hand checked, the poison of the tongue taken away. The Law gained more than it lost, when Christ said, Love your enemies, bless Mat. 5, them which curse you, and pray for them which persecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in Heaven. Seest thou what a Father Patience gaineth for us? In this main commandment the whole rule of Patience is briefly comprehended, since it is not permitted to do evil even when it is deserved.

VII. But now while we are going through the causes of impatience, the other commandments also will fall into
Patience under losses taught by poverty of our Lord; their proper places. If the mind be disturbed by the loss of property, it is warned in almost every place in the Scriptures of the Lord to despise the world; nor is there added any more powerful exhortation to despise money, than the fact that the Lord Himself is found with no riches: He ever justifieth the poor and condemneth beforehand Luke 6, the rich. Thus did contempt of riches foreminister unto patience of losses, shewing by the rejection of wealth that the damage of it also ought not to be regarded. That therefore which we have no manner of need to seek after, because the Lord also sought not after it, we ought to bear the diminution of, or even its privation, without disquiet. The Spirit of the Lord hath declared by the Apostle, that therefore which we have no manner of need to seek after, the diminution of, or even its privation, without disquiet.

1 Tim. 6, 10. 6, the rich. Thus did contempt of riches foreminister unto patience of losses, shewing by the rejection of wealth that the damage of it also ought not to be regarded. That therefore which we have no manner of need to seek after, because the Lord also sought not after it, we ought to bear the diminution of, or even its privation, without disquiet. The Spirit of the Lord hath declared by the Apostle, that therefore which we have no manner of need to seek after, the diminution of, or even its privation, without disquiet.

337 He is not unwilling to give, who feareth not to lose. Besides, how shall he that hath two coats impart one of them to Luke 3, him that hath none, unless he be also one, who if a man take away his coat, can offer unto him his cloak also? How Matt. 5, shall we make to ourselves friends of Mammon, if we love Luke 16, him so much that we cannot bear to lose him? With the loss of him we shall be lost also. Why in this world do we find where we ought to lose? To exercise impatience Mat. 10, under all losses is the part of Heathens, who perchance prefer money to the soul: for indeed they do so when from the lust of lucre they engage in the gainful perils of merchandize by sea; when, for the sake of money, they hesitate not even in the forum to attempt what condemnation itself must dread; finally, when they hire themselves out for the games and for the camp; when, after the manner of brute beasts, they plunder in the highway. But it is meet that we, according to the difference which is betwixt us and them, lay down not our souls for money, but money for our souls' sake, either willingly in giving, or patiently in losing.

VIII. In this world we carry about us our very souls and bodies exposed to injury from all men, and under this injury we submit to be patient. Shall we be grieved by taking thought for things of lesser moment? Away with such defilement from the servant of Christ, that his patience, made ready for greater temptations, should fall away in trifling ones! If any shall try to provoke thee by open violence, the admonition of the Lord is at hand: To him Matt. 5, that smiteth thee on the face, saith Ho, turn the other cheek. Let his wickedness be wearied out by thy patience. Be the blow what it may, bound up with pain and insult, he will suffer an heavier one from the Lord. Thou beatest that wicked man the more by bearing with him, for he cf. Rom. shall be beaten by Him, for Whose sake thou bearest with 12, 39.

* Ita detrimentorum patientiae factum est, dum opulentiae præministravit; vel si detrimentum, sic manet a contempto of wealth furnish beforehand matter for Patience in the loss of it, i.e., taught man by anticipation how to bear its loss, [Tr.] or兮foreministered to Patientia its loss, i.e., how to lose it.
Impatience under loss of friends, want of faith.

339

sideration of the Apostle's warning must be preferred, who prophesied, Sorrow not for the sleep of any one, even as the Gentiles which have no hope. And with good cause. For if we believe that Christ rose again, we believe also in our own resurrection, for whose sakes He both died and rose again.

Wherefore since the resurrection of the dead is certain, grief for death is idle, and impatience in that grief is idle also. For why shouldst thou grieve, if thou believest that he hath perished? Why shouldst thou take it impatiently that he is withdrawn for a time, who, thou believest, will return again? That which thou thinkest to be death is but a departing on a journey. He that goeth before us is not to be mourned, but altogether to be longed for: and even this longing must be tempered with patience.

For why shouldst thou not bear with moderation that he hath departed, whom thou shalt presently follow? But impatience in such a matter augureth ill for our hope, and is a double dealing with our faith. Besides, we injure Christ, when, as each is called away by Him, we bear it impatiently, as though they were to be pitied. I have, Phil. 1, saith the Apostle, a desire to be taken and to be with Christ.

How much better doth he shew the desire of the Christians to be! Wherefore, if we impatiently mourn for others who have obtained this desire, we are unwilling to obtain it ourselves.

X. There is also another chief incentive to impatience, the lust of revenge, which busieth itself in deeds either of glory or of malice. But glory also is everywhere the same; and malice is never otherwise than hateful to the Lord, and in this instance especially so, when, being provoked by the malice of another, it carrieth itself beyond it in following out its revenge, and by returning evil, doubleth that which hath been already once committed. Revenge, in the eyes of Error, seemeth to be the solace of pain; in the eyes of assured Truth is convicted of maliciousness. For what difference is there between him that provoketh and him that is provoked, except that the one is convicted of evil-doing first, and the other

i.e. every where bad; as there adopts Urs.'s conjecture, sed et gloria, 'sed et odiosa.' Rig. utique ubique una" for "ubique una."
afterwards? Nevertheless, each is guilty of injuring a man before the Lord, Who forbiddeth and condemneth all wickedness. In evil doing, no account is taken of the order of actions, nor doth a different place [in that order] separate what a like nature maketh one. Wherefore the command is absolute, that evil must not be recompensed for evil. A like deed hath a like merit. How shall we observe fasti? And if in our disdainfulness, we shall not disdain revenge? And what honour shall we pay to the Lord God, if we shall take unto ourselves the free power of revenging ourselves? We, creatures of corruption, and earthen vessels that we are, are grievously offended with our own servants, who take upon themselves to avenge themselves on their fellow-servants; and those who offer their patience as a gift to ourselves, as remembering their own lowly and servile condition, and loving the right of masters to receive honour, we not only approve of, but render them even larger satisfaction than they would have claimed for themselves. And is our cause in any danger when thus committed to the Lord, so righteous in judgment, so powerful in execution? Why then do we believe that He is our judge, if not also our avenger? This He promiseth us that He will be, saying, Leave vengeance unto Me, and I will repay; that is, 'Leave your patience to me, and I will reward your patience.' For when He saith, Judge not, that ye be not judged, doth He not require patience? For who is he that will not judge another, save he who will be patient in not avenging himself? Who judgeth in order that he may pardon? And if he shall pardon, yet hath he taken care to have the patience of judging, and hath taken away the honour of the One and only Judge, that is, God. But with how many miscarriages is impatience of this sort wont to find fault? How often hath Revenge repented? How often hath its violence become worse than the things which caused it! For there is nothing undertaken with impatience which can be effected without violence; and there is nothing effected with violence which hath not met either a stumbling-block, or an overthrow, or hath gone headlong. Now, if thou avenge thyself too slightly, thou wilt be mad: if too abundantly, thou wilt be overburdened. What have I to do with revenge, the measure of which, through impatience of my pain, I am not able to regulate? But if I shall keep a guard over my patience, I shall suffer no pain; and if I shall suffer no pain, I shall desire no revenge.

XI. After having treated in order, according to my ability, these principal subjects of impatience, why should I ramble among the rest, such as are to be found at home and abroad? Wide and widely spread is the working of the Evil One, who darieth forth manifold excitements of the spirit, and these sometimes small, sometimes very great: but the small ones despise for their littleness; to the great ones, in proportion to their exceeding greatness, submit. Where the hurt is small, there is no need of impatience: but where the hurt is greater, there the medicine of patience is the more necessary for the hurt. Let us therefore strive to endure those things which are inflicted by the Evil one, that the rival zeal of our patience may mock the zeal of our adversary. But if there be some things which we ourselves bring upon ourselves, either through imprudence or even of our own accord, let us undergo with equal patience those things which we impute to ourselves. And if there be some things which we believe to be inflicted by the Lord, to Whom can we render our patience better than to the Lord? Nay, He teacheth us to rejoice moreover and to be glad, in that we are thought worthy of divine chastisement. As many as I love, saith He, I chasten. Oh! blessed is that servant, on whose amendment the Lord is bent; with whom He deigneth to be angry; whom He deceiveth not by hiding His admonitions from him! On every side therefore we are bound to the duty of exercising patience. Because wherever we come in quia interrete, the Lord called happy save those which are patient, when He saith, Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven? Surely no one is poor in spirit, except he be humble. And who can be humble except he be patient? because no one can abase himself without patience.
Patience needed to fulfill our Lord's commands; to penitence;

1. first, to bear the very act of abasement. Blessed, saith He, are they that weep and mourn. Who beareth such things without patience? Wherefore to such it is promised that they shall be comforted, and that they shall laugh. Blessed are the meek. Under this title it may not be that the impatient can at all be numbered. Likewise when He denotheth the peacemakers, under the same title of blessed, and calleth them the children of God, are the impatient akin to peace? A fool may understand this. But when He saith, Rejoice, and be exceeding glad, when men shall revile you and persecute you, for very great is your reward in Heaven, he surely doth not promise this exceeding gladness to impatience, for no one will be exceeding glad in adversity, except he have first despised it: no one will despise it, except he have exercised patience.

XII. As respecteth the rule of that peace, which is so pleasing unto God, who is there at all, that is of his own nature impatient, who will not to say, Who, is there at all, that is of his own nature impatient, who will not to say, He surely doth not promise this exceeding gladness to impatience, for no one will be exceeding glad in adversity, except he have first despised it: no one will despise it, except he have exercised patience.

Who, whiles he is in the way with his adversary to the altar, except first by being reconciled with his brother, he returneth to patience? If the sun go down upon our wrath, we are in danger. We may not continue for even one day without patience. And since it directeth every kind of wholesome discipline, what wonder if it administer also to repentance, which is wont to come to the succour of the fallen! when, in a separation between man and wife, (for some cause, that is, for which it is lawful either for a man or a woman to persevere in continuing in a state of widowhood,) this Patience waiteth for, desireth, urgeth, their salvation, as for those who will one day begin to repent. How much good doth it confer on both! the one it hindereth from adultery, the other it amendmenteth. In the same manner it is present also in those holy examples of patience in the Lord's parables. It is the patience of the shepherd which seeketh and findeth the sheep which was gone astray: for Impatience might easily despise that one sheep. But through Patience he undertaketh the labour of the search, yea, and moreover carrieth on his shoulders the deserted offender, a patient bearer of his burden. Again, it is the patience of the Father which both receiveth, and clotheth, and feedeth the prodigal son, and excuseth him to the impatience of his angry brother. He therefore which had been lost is saved, because he began to repent. His repentance is not lost, because it meeteth with patience. For by whose rules save those of Patience, is Charity instructed, that chief mystery of the Faith, that treasure of the Christian name which the Apostle commendeth with all the power of the Holy Spirit? Charity, saith he, suffereth long: therefore she useth Patience. She is kind: Patience doeth no unkindness. She envieth not: this indeed properly belongeth to Patience. She savour eth not of wantonness: she hath derived her modesty from Patience. She is not puffed up, doth not insult: for this belongeth not to Patience. And she seeketh not her own, sheareth with her own, so she may profit another. Nor is she easily provoked: for otherwise what would she have left for Impatience to do? Wherefore, saith he, Charity beareth all things, endureth all things: that is, because she is patient. With good cause therefore she shall never fail: for all other things shall be cleared away, brought to a close. Tongues, Knowledge, Prophecies, are exhausted: Faith, Hope, Charity, abide: Faith, which the patience of
De Christ hath produced; Hope, which the patience of man
XII. waiteth for; Charity, which Patience accompanyeth, God
being its Master.

XIII. Thus far then I have spoken of Patience, as simple and uniform, and situate only in the mind, while I labour for it in many ways in the body also, that I may win the Lord, seeing that it hath been shewn forth by the Lord Himself in the holy exercise of the body also, if indeed the master mind easily shareth with that wherein it dwelleth, the inspirations of the Spirit. What then is the working of Patience in the body? In the first place the afflicting of the flesh, an offering propitiating the Lord by the sacrifice of humiliation, when it offereth up to the Lord filthy garments with fasting, and in the flesh itself. But when at last it is brought forth to the blessed trial, to the opportunity of the second baptism, to the very ascending up to the seat of God, there no patience is of more value than that of the body. If the spirit is willing, yet the flesh is weak without Mat. 26, patience, wherein lieth the safety of the spirit, as also of the flesh itself. But when the Lord saith this concerning the flesh, declaring that it is weak, He sheweth what is needful for strengthening it, namely, patience against the whole array of evils contrived for the overthrow of faith, or for its punishment, in order that it may bear, with all perseverance, the stripes, the fire, the cross, the wild beasts, the sword, which things the Prophets and Apostles by enduring overcame.

XIV. In this strength of patience Essaias is seen asunder, Heb. 11, and ceaseth not to speak concerning the Lord: Stephen is stoned, and asketh forgiveness for his enemies. Oh! how Acts 7, exceeding blessed is he also, who against the whole power of the Devil worked out in full every sort of patience! whom neither the driving away of his herds, nor all that abundance of cattle nor his sons taken away by a single blow of ruin, nor finally the torment of his body in its wounded state, deprived of his patience, the integritas which he devoted to the Lord: whom the Devil smote with all his might in vain! For he was not moved away by so many afflictions from his reverence of God, but he was set as an example for us, and James 5, a testimony of the working-out of patience, both in the spirit and in the flesh, both in the mind and in the body: so that we may neither sink under the damage of our worldly goods, nor the loss of those most dear to us, nor even the afflictions of our own bodies. How did God in this man build up a trophy over the Devil! how did He set up His banner over the adversary of His glory! when this man, in reply to all the mass of tidings brought to him, uttered nothing from the mass of tidings brought to him, uttered nothing from
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346Patience lays up -witItGod; (tids (tU obedience; hm'porl1'aitj

Abode ofHol.Y SPIRIT,. Christian and heatJwlt patience. 347

his mouth save thanks to God! when he denounced Z his wife

nance serene and mild, a forehead smooth, contracted with no
wrinkle of grief or of anger, her brows evenly and cheerfully
relaxed, her eyes cast down in humility,11ot in melancholy.
H er mouth beareth the seal of honourable silence. Her
colour is such as those have who are free from care and
crime. Her head is often shaken at the Devil, and her smile
defieth him. For the.~est,her clothing about her bosom is
white and closely fitted to the body, as being neither puffed
out nor ruffled'. For she sitteth on the throne of that most I inquie· d an d gentIS"
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tatur
k lU
e pInt, Wh·
0 IS not ID
0 f t h e restored
whirlwind, nor in the blackness of the cloud, but belongeth
to the soft calm, clear and single, such as Elias saw Him at 2 Kings
the third time. For where God is, there also is His foster- ~~: 11.
child, to wit, Patience. 'When therefore the Spirit of God
descendeth, Patience, never divided from Him, accompanieth,
Him. If we receive her not together with the Spirit, will
He abide with us always? Nay, I know not whether He
would continue any longer. Without His companion and
handmaid, He must needs be grieved at every place and
time. Whatsoever His enemy inflicteth He cannot endure
alone, lacking the instrument of endurance. This is the way,
this the rule, these the works of an heav~nly and tl1ile, that is
a Christian, patience; not like the patience of the nations of
the earth false and shameful. For that the Devil might
rival the Lord in this thing also, as if altogether on an
equality with Him, (save that the difference between the
evil and the good is on a par with their greatness,) he hath
taught his people also a patience of their own: such an one
I mean as subjecteth to the power of their wives, husbands
who have soJd themselves for a dowry, or are driving the
trade of pimps; which, in hunting after bereaved persons,
beareth all the toil of a forced courtesy with false pretences
of feeling: such a patience as putteth under an insulting
patronage! those who labour for their belly, by the sub- 2.p~.tro­
jection of their liberty to their gluttony 3. Such pursuits of~~~:~~cct
patience do the Gentiles know, and they seize upon the 3 gulm
name of so good a thing for their foul deeds. They live rcstrwect
with patience towards rivals, and rich men, and such as
bid them to feasts; with impatience towards God alone.
But no matter for their and their master's patience, which

i~f4, already wearied out with affiictions, and advising a wicked
Job 2,9. remedy!

Well! God was rejoiced. Welll the Evil one
was cut asunder, while Job was wiping away with great
patience the filthy discharge from his boils, while he was
Job 7,5. bringing back, in mockery, the worms, which broke out
from them, into the same holes and pastures in his peiforated ~
flesh. Wherefore this labourer for the victory of God, having
Eph. 6, beaten back all tlLe darts of his temptations by the coat of
16.
mail and the shield of patience, presently both recovered
from God the soundness of his body, and had in possession
Job 42, twice as much as he had lost; and, if he had wished that bis
10.
sons should be restored, he would have been again called
their father. But he had rather they should be given back
2 Tiro. to him at that·Day. Having full confidence in the Lord, he
4, 8.
deferred a joy so great to another season. He endured this
voluntary bereavement, that he ·might not live without some.
kind of patience.
XV. Thus is God an abundantly sufficient depository of
Patience. If thou placest a wrong in His hands, He is an
avenger; if a loss, He is a restorer; if pain, He is a physician; if death, He is the Resu1·rection. What a licence
hath Patience, in having God for her debtor! And not
without cause: for she observeth all His pleasure, she interposeth her aid in all His commands. She fortifieth Faith,
guideth Peace, assisteth Charity, instructeth Humility,
waiteth for Penitence, setteth her mark upon Confession,
ruleth the flesh, preserveth the spirit, bridleth the tongue, \
restraineth the hand, tl'eadeth temptations under foot, driveth
away offences, perfecteth martyrdoms, consoleth the poor,
ordereth the rich, straineth not the weak, wasteth not the
strong, delighteth the believer, inviteth the heathen, comPhile- mendeth the servant to his master, his master to God;
mono
adometh the woman, approveth the man; . is loved in the
boy, praised in the young man, respected in the old; is
beautiful in every sex, in evClY age. Come now, let us
describe her form and her demeanour. She hath a counte.. As an object of God's di~pleasure,
a foraminoslB. Rig. conjecblres reCor(exsecraretur)j "Coolish" (Job 2, la.) in mosm, P • .&c. having reformasse.
Scripture signifying" ungodly."


Hope of the resurrection ground of patience.

Of repentance.

I. The men of this world, such as we ourselves also were in time past, blind without the light of the Lord, know, as far as nature teacheth, that repentance is a certain affection of the mind, which ariseth from dislike of some worse opinion: but from the reason of the thing they are as far distant as from the Author of reason Himself. For reason is a thing of God; seeing that God, the Creator of all things, hath provided, hath disposed, hath ordained nothing without reason, and hath willed that nothing should be handled and understood save by reason. All therefore who are ignorant of God, must needs be ignorant of the thing which is His; for no treasure is ever opened to strangers. Wherefore, floating through the whole business of life without the pilotage of reason, they know not how to avoid the storm that hangeth over the world. But how unreasonably they

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"Apol. c. 18." is a conjecture of Rhen. "Prioris," "of some adopted by others."
Men by nature repent of good, more than of evil.

I. Demean themselves in the act of penitence it will suffice to make plain by this one fact, that they apply it even to their good deeds. They repent them of their faith, love, simplicity, patience, compassion. According as an act hath met with ingratitude, they curse themselves because they have done a good deed, and they fix in their heart that sort of repentance chiefly, which is employed upon the best acts, taking care to remember never again to perform any good service: on repentance for evil deeds, on the contrary, they lay but a light stress. In fact, they more readily sin through this same repentance, than act rightly by its means.

II. But if they acted with a right apprehension of God, and hence of reason also, they would first weigh the merits of repentance, and would never use it as an aggravation of the change from the better to the worse: finally, they would regulate the limit of their repentance, because they would have reached the limit of their sin also, that is, by fearing the Lord. But where there is no fear, there is therefore no amendment; and where there is no amendment, repentance is of necessity vain, because it wanteth its proper fruit, unto which God hath sown it, that is, unto the salvation of man. For God, after so many and so great sins of human rashness, beginning in Adam the first of human kind, after that man had been condemned together with his portion in this world, after that he had been cast out from Paradise, and made subject to death, when He had hasted back to His own mercy, from henceforth He made a solemn beginning of repentance in His own self, in rescinding the sentence of His former wrath, covenanting to pardon him who was His own work and image. Wherefore also He gathered together

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*Of repentance as to almsgiving, the Devil is the author,* Quenst., ad Antioch. q. 83. S. Jerome, Ep. 147. ad Sab. imitatur T. 1 *in perpetuum acta penitentiae.* S. Ambrose de Pcenit. ii. 9. "they who perform penitence, should of this only not repent, lest they perform penitence of their very penitence." These seem to have asked to do penitence for things evil, to do it for things good.

*ad argumentum* "as a ground."

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Repentance prepares for Faith and for abode of The Spirit. 351

a people unto Himself, and cherished them with many gifts of His goodness, and though He so often found them most unthankful, He ever exhorted them to repentance, and sent forth the voices of all the prophets in prophecy: promising them presently His grace, the light of which He would in the last days pour forth by His Spirit upon the whole world; Joel 2, He commanded that *the baptism of repentance should go* Luke 3, beforehand, that, by the seal of repentance, He might fit beforehand those, whom He called by grace unto the promise appointed unto the seed of Abraham. John is not silent Mat. 3, hereupon: ‘Begin,’ saith he, ‘to repent, for now shall 2. Salvation come nigh unto the nations,’ that is, the Lord that bringeth salvation, according to the promise of God; to whom he, fore-ministering, appointed repentance, set over the work of purifying minds; that whatsoever former error had defiled, whatsoever within the heart of man ignorance had polluted, this repentance *sweeping,* and scouring, and casting out doors, might make ready the *house of the heart,* thus cleansed, for the Holy Spirit that should come after, whither He might willingly *enter in* with heavenly graces. The title of these good gifts is one, The salvation of man, the abolition of former sins having gone before. This is the cause of repentance, this its task, tending the work of divine mercy; in that it hath been man’s profit, God’s service. But the inward character of repentance, which through knowledge of the Lord we learn, maintaineth one determinate shape, such that violent hands, so to speak, are never to be laid upon good works or thoughts. For God doth not sanction the reprobation of such things as be good as being His own, whereof since He is the Author and Defender, He must therefore needs be also the Acceptor; and if the Acceptor, then also the Rewarder. Away then with the ingratitude of men, if it compel repentance even for good works: away with their gratitude also, if the desire of gaining this be a motive for doing good. Both are earthly, mortal. For how little is the gain, if thou dost good to a grateful, or the loss if to an ungrateful, man!
A good work hath God for a debtor, as also hath an evil one; for the judge recompenseth in every cause. But since God sitteth over us as a Judge to exact and to maintain that righteousness, which is most dear to Him, and, with a view to this, establisheth the entire sum of His law, is it to be doubted that, as in all our acts, so, in the cause of repentance also, righteousness must be fulfilled unto God? which indeed can then be fulfilled, if it be employed only in the case of sins. Moreover none but an evil work deserveth to be called a sin, nor doth any one sin by doing good: but if he sinneth not, why doth he meddle with the repentance of sinners? why doth he lay upon his own goodness an office proper to evil doing? if he doth not sin, why doth he meddle with the repentance of sinners? why doth he lay upon his own goodness an office proper to evil doing? So it cometh to pass that, when any thing is used where it ought not, it is neglected where it ought.

III. The occasion therefore requireth me to note what those things are, for which repentance seemeth to be just and due, that is, which are to be accounted sin: yet this may seem superfluous, for, when the Lord is known, the spirit looked upon by its Author, maketh its way, of itself, to a knowledge of the truth, and, being admitted to the Lord's commands, is straightway taught by them that that is to be accounted sin, which God forbiddeth. For since it is granted that God is some great Good, Him being good, surely nought else than evil could displease, because between things contrary to each other there is no agreement. Nevertheless it shall not irk to state briefly that of sins, some are carnal, that is, of the body, and some spiritual. For since man is made up of this union of two substances, he doth not sin except in those parts whereof he is made. But because the body and the spirit are two things, these sins do not therefore differ: on the contrary, they are rather of the same nature, because these two things make up one; lest any should distinguish between their sins according to the difference of the two substances, so as to esteem one lighter or heavier than another. For both the flesh and the spirit are things of God, the one moulded by His hand, the other made perfect by His Spirit. Seeing then that they equally pertain to the Lord, whatever in them sinneth, equally offendeth God. Canst thou distinguish between the acts of the flesh and those of the spirit? between which there is both in life, and in death, and in the resurrection, so much union and fellowship, that at that Day they shall be raised together either for life or for condemnation, because doubtless they have equally sinned or lived innocent. Thus much I would premise, that we may understand that, if any sin be committed, no less necessity for repentance attacheth to either part of man than to both: both have a common guilt, and a common Judge, that is God; they have therefore also a common cure in repentance. Hence they are named spiritual and bodily, because every sin is either in deed or in thought; so that that which is in deed is bodily, because a deed can be seen and handled even as a body; but that which is in thought is spiritual, because a spirit is neither seen nor comprehended: whereby it is shewn that sins not only of deed, but of will also, must be avoided, and must be cleansed by repentance. For although the littleness of man judgeth only by deed, because it is no match for the covert of the will, we may not therefore be careless of the sins of this will before God also. God is sufficient unto all things. Nothing, whencever any sin at all cometh, is removed from His sight. Because He is not ignorant of it, neither doth He pass it by without determining to bring it into judgment. He is not one that dissembleth and dealeth falsely with His own knowledge. How when the will is the source of the deed? for I heed not what are imputed to chance, or necessity, or ignorance; which being excepted, it remaineth that sin is not committed save by the will. Seeing then that it is the source of the deed, ought it not to be the first to be punished, inasmuch as it was the first to sin? not being moreover acquitted of the sin, even when any hindrance preventeth its commission; for the will to sin is imputed to the will, and it cannot be excused on account of a failure in the performance, having fulfilled that which was its own work. Finally, after what manner doth the Lord shew that
Repentance a good, since God commands, attests by oath. 355

bring thee onwards to the haven of Divine mercy. Seize the opportunity of unlooked-for happiness; so that thou, the creature that wast once nothing in the sight of God, save a drop in a bucket, and the dust of the threshing-floor, Is. 40, 16, and the vessel of the potter, mayest henceforth become that Rom. 9, tree which is planted by the waters, and withereth not in its 21, leaves, and bringeth forth its fruits in due season, which Ps. 1, 3, shall not see the fire nor the axe. Repent of thine errors, to having found the truth. Repent that thou hast loved the things which God loveth not, since even we ourselves do not suffer our own petty menials not to hate the things by which we are offended; for the nature of obedience consisteth in a sameness of feelings. For setting forth particularly the good of repentance, the materials are large, and therefore must be committed to great eloquence. But we, according to our narrow powers, impress one truth, that that which God commandeth is good and is best. I account it boldness to reason about the good of a Divine command; for it is not because it is good that we ought to obey, but because God hath commanded it 4. For the rendering of obedience, the first cause is the majesty of the Divine power. The authority of Him That commandeth is before the profit of him that serveth. Is it good to repent or no? Why considerest thou? God commandeth it. But He doth not only command, but exhorteth likewise. He inviteth us by a reward, salvation; swearing also, saying, I live, He desirer that we should believe Him. O happy we, for whose sake God sweareth! O most miserable, if we believe not the Lord 4 even when He sweareth! That therefore which God so much commandeth, which He even after the manner of men attesteth by an oath, we ought surely to approach and to guard with the greatest seriousness, that, abiding in

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against the Lord. Doth he not—it is perilous even to speak it, but for the sake of edifying it must be brought forward—doth he not set the Devil over the Lord? For he seemeth to have made comparison between them, who hath known both, and to have pronounced a solemn judgment that he is the better, whose he hath chosen to be again. He therefore that had begun to make satisfaction to God by repenting of his sins, will make satisfaction to the Devil by again repenting of his repentance, and will be so much the more hateful to God, as he is acceptable to His enemy. But some say that God is content, if he be reverenced in the heart and the mind, though this be not done in the outward act; and that so they sin without prejudice to their fear of God and their faith; that is, that they desile the marriage-bed without prejudice to their chastity, mix poison for a parent without prejudice to their filial love. So also then will they themselves be thrust into hell-fire without prejudice to their pardon, when they sin without prejudice to their godly fear. Here is the first example of their perverseness: because they fear, they sin! if they feared not, I suppose they would not sin! He therefore that would not offend God, let him not reverence Him with Whose fear. See below, c. 8. 9. 

After Baptism.

357 Affections cannot be right without holy action.

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V. For this I say, that the repentance which, being by the grace of God shewn and commanded us, bringeth us again into favour with the Lord, when once it hath been known and undertaken by us, we ought never again to rescind by a repetition of the sin. Now indeed no pretence of ignorance pleadeth for thee, because having come to the knowledge of the Lord, and having received His commandments, and finally, having fulfilled the work of repentance for thy sins, thou betakest thyself to those sins again. Wherefore the farther thou art removed from ignorance, the more closely dost thou cleave to wilful disobedience. For if thou didst therefore once repent of having sinned, because thou hadst begun to fear the Lord, why hast thou chosen to annul that, which thou didst undertake on account of thy fear, unless it be that thou hast ceased to fear? for no other thing, save wilful disobedience, overthroweth fear. Seeing that no exception protecteth from punishment even those who know not the Lord, because that God, being clearly manifested and to be understood even of His heavenly gifts themselves, may not be unknown,) the assurance of Divine grace, we may thence be able to abide also in its fruit and benefit.

VI. Whatsoever argument therefore my poor wit hath endeavoured to furnish for laying hold on repentance once for all, and ever after retaining it, pointeth indeed at all who are given to the Lord, as those who seek salvation entirely in earning the favour of God; but it especially presseth upon Those novices, who are just now beginning to bedew their ears with the speech of the Lord, and who as Deut. iii. 29, 30. creep about uncertainly: and they say indeed that they have renounced their former doings, and take upon themselves repentance*, but neglect to make it fast; for the very closing

* On acts of repentance before Baptism, see ab. de Bapt. c. ult. p. 279, and note t. and on the Lent fast as preparatory, S. Chrys. Hom. 10. in Matt. 3. §. 6. and S. Leo Serm. de Quadr. 5. c. 3.

‡ See below, c. 8. 9. 10. and Note K at the end of this treatise.
of their desires doth of itself call them back a while to desire something of their former doings; as fruits, which are already
turning sour or bitter from age, do in some one part still court their proper charms. Besides this, a presumption upon Baptism bringeth in all the evil of delaying and turning back from repentance: for being assured of the undoubted pardon of their sins, they steal to themselves the time which interveneth, and make it rather a day of grace for sinning than a training not to sin. How foolish, moreover, how [unjust], not to fulfil repentance, and still to expect the pardon of sins! that is, not to pay the price, and yet to stretch forth the hand for the merchandize! For at this price the Lord hath determined to grant His forgiveness: by the payment of this repentance He promiseth that freedom from punishment shall be re-purchased. This price, which they covenant to receive, lest it be cut, or scraped, or of false metal, we believe that the Lord also will first test our repentance, when about to grant us so great a reward, to wit, that of everlasting life. But (thou wilt say) let us put off our actual repentance until that time. It shall then, I suppose, be seen that we are amended, when we are absolved. By no means. But it must be when, pending the pardon, punishment is before our eyes: when we have not yet earned our deliverance, that we may be able to earn it: when God is threatening, not when He is pardoning. For what servant, if thy hand findeth that of his own doing hath been changed into a free man, chargeth himself with his theses and desertions? What soldier, when he hath been discharged from his camp, maketh satisfaction for his brands? The sinner ought to bemoan himself before he is forgiven, for the time for his repentance is the same with that of his danger and his fear. Nor do I deny that the good gift of God, that is, the blotting out of sins, is entirely secured to those, who are about to enter into the water; but that it may be their lot to attain thereunto, it is for this that they must labour. For who will furnish to thee, a man so unhappily repenting, one single sprinkling of any water? It is easy for thee to come thither by stealth, and for him who is set over this business to be cheated by thy affirmations. But God provideth for His own treasure, and suffereth not the unworthy to creep into it. What, in fact, doth he say? There is nothing covered, which Luke 12, shall not be revealed. Whatever darkness thou shalt spread over thy deeds, God is Light. Some, however, thus think, that God must needs perform what He hath promised, even to the unworthy; and they make His free bounty a bounden service. But if He granteth to us the likeness of death Rom. 6, from necessity, He therefore doeth it unwillingly: for who alloweth that gift to continue, which he hath bestowed unwillingly? For do not many afterwards fall away? is not that gift taken away from many? These are they in truth who creep in unawares, and who, having undertaken the engagement to repent, are building up the sand an house that shall fall. Let no one therefore flatter himself, because he is numbered among the young classes of "Hearders," as though on that account he hath even now a licence to sin. As soon as thou knowest the Lord, fear Him: as soon as thou hast seen Him, give Him reverence. But what doth it profit that thou knowest Him, when thou abidest in the same things, as when heretofore ignorant of Him? And what distinguisheth thee from a full servant of God? Is there one Christ for the Baptized, another for the Hearers? Have they a different hope, or reward? a different fear of judgment? a different need of repentance? That laver is the
Reverence due to Baptism; fear instrument of repentance.

De... sealing of faith, which faith beginneth with the faithfulness of repentance, and is commended thereby. We are not washed in order that we may cease from sinning, but because we have ceased, because we have already been washed in heart. For this is the first baptism of the Hearer, namely, an entire fear of God; and next, from the time when thou turnest thy thoughts towards the Lord, a sound faith, a conscience that hath once for all embraced repentance. But if we cease from sinning from the time of our washing, we put on innocence of necessity, not of free-will. Whether then of the two is the more excellent in goodness, he that is not permitted, or he that liketh not, to sin? he that is commanded, or he that is delighted, to be free from sin? If then no one, who is devoted to the Lord, is to cease from sinning, unless bound by his Baptism, neither let us keep our hands from stealing, unless the hardness of bars resisteth us: nor refrain our eyes from the lusts of fornication, unless hindered by those who guard the persons. But if any one be thus minded, I know not whether, when he is baptized, he doth not sorrow more for having ceased from sin, than rejoice for having escaped from it. Wherefore it is fitting that Hearers desire Baptism, not take it to themselves too soon. For he that desireth it, treateth it with honour: he that taketh it too soon, with disdain. In the one there appeareth modesty, in the other petulance: the one satisfieth, the other neglecteth it: the one desireth to deserve the gift, but the other miseth it: the one desireth it sometimes deceiveth: for it promiseth the work of repentance, because he was afraid to receive the gift. But the other presumeth, when he promised it to himself, having forsooth no anxiety, could have no fear, and so neither fulfilled the work of repentance, because he was without the instrument of repentance, that is, fear. Presumption is a part of immodesty: it puffeth up the asker, despiseth the Giver. Wherefore it sometimes deceiveth: for it promiseth the thing before it be due, whereby he who is to give it, is ever offended.

Christians ought not to need again an, entire repentance. 361

VII. So far, O Lord Christ, may it happen unto Thy servants to speak and to hear concerning the rule of repentance, as it behoveth not the hearers to sin: or let them henceforth know nothing of repentance, nothing need it. I am loath to subjoin any mention of the second (yea and the last) hope, least, in treating of a benefit of repentance yet in reserve, I seem to shew that there is yet room for sinning. Far be it from any one so to understand me, as though, because a door is still open to repentance, it is therefore open to sin; and as though the abundance of Divine mercy gave a licence to human recklessness. Let no one therefore be the less, because God is the more, good; sinning as oft as he is forgiven. Otherwise he shall find an end of escaping, when he hath not found an end of sinning. We have escaped once: suffice it to have exposed ourselves thus far to dangers, though we think that we shall again escape. Men for the most part, when delivered from shipwreck, renounce thenceforward both the ship and the sea, and by remembering the danger, honour the good gift of God, that is, their own preservation. I commend their fear, I love their modesty: they would not a second time be a burden on the Divine mercy: they are afraid of seeming to tread under foot that which they have already obtained: they shun, with assuredly a righteous care, to make trial a second time of that of which they have once learned to fear. The end therefore of their venturousness is the proof of their fear: but fear in man is honour unto God. But yet that most stubborn Adversary never suffereth his malice to rest, but then rageth the most when
he perceiveth that man is wholly set free; then kindleth the most, when he is being quenched. Grieve and wail he needs must, when forgiveness of sins hath been granted, because so many of the works of death in man are destroyed, and so many records of his former condemnation effaced. He grieveth, because he that was a sinner, but now a servant of Christ, shall judge him and his angels. Wherefore he watcheth, he attacketh, he besetteth him, if by any means he may strike his eyes by carnal lust, or ensnare his mind by worldly allurements, or overthrow his faith by fear of earthly power, or turn him aside from the sure way by perverse traditions. He is not wanting in offences, nor in temptations. Wherefore God seeing beforehand these his pains, although the door of pardon be shut, and the bar of Baptism interposed, hath yet suffered some opening to remain. He hath placed in the porch a second repentance, which may open unto them that knock, but now for once only, because now for the second time, and never again, because at the last time in vain. And is not even this once enough? Thou hast what thou didst not now deserve, for thou hast lost that which with thyself thankful to the Lord, if thou refuses not that which the Lord offereth thee. Thou hast One to Whom thou mayest make satisfaction, and Him willing to be satisfied.

VIII. If thou doubtest this, consider what the Spirit saith Rev. 2, unto the Churches. To the Ephesians He imputeth that they had left their first love: those of Thyatira He reproacheth with fornication and the eating of things sacrificed unto idols: the Sardians He accuseth of works not perfect: those of Pergamos He reproveth as teachers of perverse doctrines: those of Laodicea He upbraideth as trusting in riches: and yet he admoniseth all these to repent, and that even with threatenings. But He would not threaten the impenitent, if He would not pardon the penitent. This might be doubtful, if He had not in other places also shewn forth this abundance of His mercy. Saith He not, that will have mercy rather than sacrifice. The heavens Hos. 6, rejoice, and the angels that are therein, at the repentance of a woman lost a piece of Luke 15, man. Ho! sinner, be of good cheer: thou seest where there is joy at thy return. What mean those lessons given us in the parables of the Lord? that a woman lost a piece of Luke 15, state before the second repentance, as if he had said, Thou deservest punishment; by Baptism thou receivest remission of it; thou hast lost what thou receivest; thou hast what thou deservest (i. e. liability to punishment). If God give thee then where-with thou mayest restore what thou hast lost (a fourth state), be thankful." &c.

In Par. 8, 15, 20, Phot. 8, 20, &c., the word "restoration after a relapse, blaming it as contrary to the rule of the Church. Learning that in certain Churches in Spain persons do penance for their sins not according to the Canon, but most disgracefully, so that so often as it pleaseth them to sin, they demand to be reconciled by the Presbyter, therefore He saith unto them, repent, ye execrable presumption." &c. Thereby, however, was not excluded the acceptability of such with God; only the Church left them to His mercy, and urged them to have recourse to it; but did not venture herself again to interfere. Aug. Ep. 1. c. (see Morinus de Pœnit. 1. c. 27, n. 2.) The theory among Schoolmen that although there was only one public reconciliation, penitents were privately restored, is but a vain attempt to reconcile the ancient with the relaxed modern practice. (see Morin. 1. c.) As a Montanist, Tertullian denied the power of the Church to restore even once, after the more grievous sins, (de pudic. &c.:) and this was maintained by Hermas as implying the same, Morinus observes, is implied by the title given to "penitence," a second plank after Baptism," (see Sch. c. 4. n. 1.) as implying that there was no third. It was made a charge against S. Cyprian (though unfounded), that he made the terms of reconciliation too light, offering pardon, as often as any one repented, (see Phot. Bibl. cod. 50.) The third Council of Toledo (A.D.580,) Can. xi. condemns any restoration after a release, blaming it as contrary to the rule of the Church. "Learning that in certain Churches in Spain persons do penance for their sins not according to the Canon, but most disgracefully, so that so often as it pleaseth them to sin, they demand to be reconciled by the Presbyter, therefore He saith unto them, repent, ye execrable presumption." &c. Thereby, however, was not excluded the acceptability of such with God; only the Church left them to His mercy, and urged them to have recourse to it; but did not venture herself again to interfere. Aug. Ep. 1. c. (see Morinus de Pœnit. 1. c. 27, n. 2.) The theory among Schoolmen that although there was only one public reconciliation, penitents were privately restored, is but an attempt to reconcile the ancient with the relaxed modern practice. (see Morin. 1. c.) As a Montanist, Tertullian denied the power of the Church to restore even once, after the more grievous sins, (de pudic. &c.) and this was maintained by Hermas as implying the same, Morinus observes, is implied by the title given to "penitence," a second plank after Baptism," (see Sch. c. 4. n. 1.) as implying that there was no third. It was made a charge against S. Cyprian (though unfounded), that he made the terms of reconciliation too light, offering pardon, as often as any one repented, (see Phot. Bibl. cod. 50.) The third Council of Toledo (A.D.580,) Can. xi. condemns any restoration after a release, blaming it as contrary to the rule of the Church. "Learning that in certain Churches in Spain persons do penance for their sins not according to the Canon, but most disgracefully, so that so often as it pleaseth them to sin, they demand to be reconciled by the Presbyter, therefore He saith unto them, repent, ye execrable presumption." &c. Thereby, however, was not excluded the acceptability of such with God; only the Church left them to His mercy, and urged them to have recourse to it; but did not venture herself again to interfere. Aug. Ep. 1. c. (see Morinus de Pœnit. 1. c. 27, n. 2.) The theory among Schoolmen that although there was only one public reconciliation, penitents were privately restored, is but an attempt to reconcile the ancient with the relaxed modern practice. (see Morin. 1. c.) As a Montanist, Tertullian denied the power of the Church to restore even once, after the more grievous sins, (de pudic. &c.) and this was maintained by Hermas as implying the same, Morinus observes, is implied by the title given to "penitence," a second plank after Baptism," (see Sch. c. 4. n. 1.) as implying that there was no third. It was made a charge against S. Cyprian (though unfounded), that he made the terms of reconciliation too light, offering pardon, as often as any one repented, (see Phot. Bibl. cod. 50.) The third Council of Toledo (A.D.580,) Can. xi. condemns any restoration after a release, blaming it as contrary to the rule of the Church. "Learning that in certain Churches in Spain persons do penance for their sins not according to the Canon, but most disgracefully, so that so often as it pleaseth them to sin, they demand to be reconciled by the Presbyter, therefore He saith unto them, repent, ye execrable presumption." &c. Thereby, however, was not excluded the acceptability of such with God; only the Church left them to His mercy, and urged them to have recourse to it; but did not venture herself again to interfere.

Hopes given to penitents in our Lord's threats & parables. 363 thout didst receive. If the kindness of God granteth thee wherewith thou mayest restore that which thou hadst lost, be thankful even for the renewal, how much more for the enlargement of the good gift: for to restore, is greater than to give, since it is more grievous to lose, than never to have received at all. But the mind is not to be forthwith cut down and overwhelmed with despair, if any one become a debtor for a second repentance. Let him indeed be loath to sin again, but let him not be loath to repent again: let him be loath to peril himself again, but not to be again delivered. Let none be ashamed. If the sickness be renewed, the medicine must be renewed. Thou wilt shew thyself thankful to the Lord, if thou refusest not that which the Lord offereth thee. Thou hast offended, but thou mayest yet be reconciled. Thou hast One to Whom thou mayest make satisfaction, and Him willing to be satisfied.

1. Prenite, XI. 7. If thou doubtest this, consider what the Spirit saith Rev. 2, unto the Churches. To the Ephesians He imputeth that they had left their first love: those of Thyatira He reproacheth with fornication and the eating of things sacrificed unto idols: the Sardians He accuseth of works not perfect: those of Pergamos He reproveth as teachers of perverse doctrines: those of Laodicea He upbraideth as trusting in riches: and yet he admoniseth all these to repent, and that even with threatenings. But He would not threaten the impenitent, if He would not pardon the penitent. This might be doubtful, if He had not in other places also shewn forth this abundance of His mercy. Saith He not, that will have mercy rather than sacrifice. The heavens Hos. 6, rejoice, and the angels that are therein, at the repentance of a woman lost a piece of Luke 15, man. Ho! sinner, be of good cheer: thou seest where there is joy at thy return. What mean those lessons given us in the parables of the Lord? that a woman lost a piece of Luke 15, state before the second repentance, as if he had said, Thou deservest punishment; by Baptism thou receivest remission of it; thou hast lost what thou receivest; thou hast what thou deservest (i. e. liability to punishment). If God give thee then where-with thou mayest restore what thou hast lost (a fourth state), be thankful," &c. 

money, and sought it again, and found it, and called her friends to rejoice with her: is it not an emblem of the rest, stored sinner? A shepherd also hath one sheep that wandereth, but the whole flock is not more precious than that one: that one is sought for: that one is desired in the stead of all, and at last is found and carried back on the shoulders of the shepherd Himself, for it had toiled much in wandering. Nor will I pass by in silence that most gentle father, who calleth back his prodigal son, and when, after his return, the father, who calleth back his prodigal son, and when, after his return, the son said, 'I am no more worthy to be called Thy son:' and the father saith unto him, 'For this my son was dead, and was dead, and was buried, and is now alive, and is now risen.' For this my son was dead, and was dead, and was buried, and is now alive, and is now risen. All the more straightened is the sinner, when he repenteth, willingly receiveth him, killeth the fatted calf, adorneth his rejoicing with a feast. And wherefore not? for He had found the son whom He had lost, and had felt that he, whom He had gained, was the more precious. Whom are we to understand by this father? verily it is God: none so much a father, none so fatherly in love. Thee, therefore, His own son, though thou hast wasted that which thou hast received from Him, though thou hast returned naked, yet because thou hast returned, He will receive, and will rejoice more for thy return than for the ground before the presbyters, and to fall on his knees before the beloved of God; to enjoin all the brethren to bear the message of his prayer for mercy. All these things dooth Confession, that it may commend repentance; that by fearing danger it may honour God; that, by judging of itself, the sinner, it may act in the stead of God's wrath, and that, by means of temporal affliction, it may—-I will not say frustrate, but—discharge the eternal penalties. When therefore it casteth down a man, it rather raiseth him up: when it maketh him filthy, it rendereth him the more clean: when it accuseth, it excuseth: when it condemneth, it absolveth. In the measure in which thou sparest not thyself, in the same, be assured, will God spare thee.\footnote{1} Cyrus, de laps. o. pen. \footnote{2} Euseb. H. E. v. ult. Basil. in Ps. 29. §. 3. Ambros. de laps. virg. o. 9. §. 40. S. Greg. Nyss. de penit. circ. fin. ap. Hier. Digr. ii. 4. \footnote{3} Iapadio. The Greek fathers used ὑποκάθισκον in the same way, Basil. ad Greg. Theol. ap. Hier. Chrys. Hom. 3. ad Pop. Ant. §. 2. in prof. Epic. Flav. Tert. de anima. c. 9. petitiones delegans. Zeno. Vener. preces allegare. \footnote{4} See Ambr. de laps. virg. §. 8. S. Chrysostom. Hom. 6. in 2 Tim. c. 2. ν. fin. of alms: "See how great is the loving-kindness of God, He hath not given thee to redeem temporal, He hath, eternal punishment." Leo. Serm. x. (de collect. v.) 16. "Alms efficac sin, destroy death, and extinguish the punishment of eternal fire." Pomerius, de vit. contempl. ii. 7. "If they be their own judges, and avengers as it were of their own iniquity, exercise on themselves here the voluntary punishment of a most severe animadversion, they shall change eternal torments for temporal punishments, and with tears flowing from true compassion of heart, shall extinguish the burnings of everlasting fire." Add. Pacian. Parares. ad penit. fin. \footnote{5} "The fouler, the fairer," S. Jerome, of the penitent-woman in the Gospel, Ep. 54. ad Furiam, §. 7. \footnote{6} "'The Lord is nigh unto them of a broken heart.' The breaking of the heart is pity, humility. Whose bruises himself is angry with himself. Let him have his own wrath upon him, that he may have his own mercy; have himself as a judge, that he may have His as a defender." Aug. in Ps. 74. §. 2. and Serm. 278. c. 12. "If thou beginnest to judge thyself, be not disconsolated with thyself, God will come to have mercy on thee. If thou wilt to punish thyself, He will spare. He who performeth penitence well, is his own chastener. He must be severe to himself, that God how practised; the true penitent his own chastener. 365
366 No shame to confess before Xians, sympathizing as one body.

De Poenit. X. I presume, however, that men for the most part either shun, or put off from day to day, this work, as an open exposure of themselves, being more mindful of their shame than of their health; like those who having contracted some malady* in the more delicate parts of the body, avoid making their physicians privat to it, and so perish with their bashfulness. It is forsooth intolerable to modesty to make satisfaction unto their offended Lord! to be restored to the health which they have wasted away! Brave art thou in thy modesty truly! bearing an open front in sinning, and a bashful one in praying for pardon! I allow no place to shame, when I gain the more by losing it, when it, in a manner, itself exhorteth man, saying, ' care not for me; it were better that I should perish instead of thee.' Certainly its peril is then, if ever, grievous, when it standeth in the presence of those, who will insult it with mocking speech, where one is exalted by another's abasement, where men climb upwards by stepping on the fallen. But among brethren and fellow-servants, with whom there is one hope, one fear, one joy, one suffering, because there is One Spirit from One Lord and Father, why regardest thou thine own shame, as though they rejoiced over thy fall, as if they rejoiced over the hurt of one of its members: cannot rejoice in the hurt of one of its members: because there is one joy, one suffering, because there is one heart, one spirit, one body, one passion. It is forsooth intolerable to modesty to make satisfaction unto their offended Lord! It is a miserable thing to come thus to confession. Yes, for by sin we are brought unto misery; but when we are to repent, the misery ceaseth, for it hath become healthful. Is it better to be damned in secret, than absolved openly? It is a miserable thing to be cut, and to be burnt with the cautery, and to be tormented with the corrosiveness of any powder. Nevertheless those things, which heal by unpleasant means, excuse likewise, by the benefit of the cure, their own offensiveness, and recommend the infliction of present pain by the gratefulness of the future profit.

XI. What if, besides the shame, which they think of the chief import, they shrink from the inconveniences of the body also, because they are bound to live unwatch'd, filthy, and without pleasure, in rough sackcloth and horrid ashes, and with a countenance wan with fasting? Doth it then become us to put up prayers for our sins in purple and Tyrian colours? Ho! fetch me a bodkin for dividing the hair, and powder for cleansing the teeth, and some double-pointed instrument of iron or brass for trimming the nails: if there be any thing which produceth a false whiteness or a forced redness, let him rub it upon the lips or cheeks. Besides this, let him seek out the most delicate baths in sequestered spots in gardens, or near the sea: let him add to his expenditure: let him get together fatlings of monstrous growth: let him refine old wines: and when anyone shall ask, 'I have sinned against God, and am in danger of perishing everlasting': and therefore am I anxious, and I pine away and torture myself, that I may reconcile unto myself that God Whom I have offended by my sin.' But those, who take upon themselves to sue for the holding of some public office*
If slow to do penance, think of Hell-fire.

XII. If thou drawest back from confession, consider in thine heart that hell-fire which confession shall quench for thee, and first imagine to thyself the greatness of the punishment, that thou mayest not doubt concerning the adoption of the remedy. What think we of that storehouse of everlasting fire, when some of its petty vents shoot up such violence of flame, that the neighbouring cities either are no longer, or are daily expecting the same end for themselves? The proudest mountains are clef at asunder in giving birth to the fire engendered within, and, (which proveth to us the eternity of the judgment,) though they be asunder, though they be devoured, yet do they never come to an end. Meanwhile, who will not regard these inflictions on the mountains as examples of the judgment which threateneth us? who will not agree that these sparks are a kind of missiles and skirmishing arrows from some vast and immeasurable fire. When therefore thou knowest that, after that first protection of the Baptism ordained by the Lord, thou hast yet in Confession a second aid against hell-fire, why dost thou neglect thy salvation? why delay to enter on that, which thou knowest will heal thee? Even dumb and unreasoning creatures know at the proper season the medicines which are given them from God. The stag pierced with an arrow knoweth that, to force out from the wound the point of the weapon and its barbs that cannot be drawn back, he must heal himself with dittany. The swallow, if it blindeth its young, knoweth how to give them sight again with its own swallow-wort. Shall the sinner, knowing that confession hath been ordained by the Lord for his restoration, pass over that which restored the king of Babylon to his kingdom? For long time had he offered unto the Lord the sacrifice of repentance, fulfilling the work of confession in the filthiness of seven years, with his nails growing wild after the manner of an eagle's, and his undressed hair wearing the roughness of the lion. O horrid treatment! Him, at whom men shuddered, God received. But on the other hand, the Egyptian governor, who, pursuing the once afflicted people of God, long denied to their Lord, rushed onward to the battle after the warning of so many plagues, when the sea divided, which that people alone were permitted to pass through, perished in the waves rolling back again. For he had cast aside repentance, and its attendant, confession. Why should I say more of these two planks (I may call them) for saving men, caring more for the work of my pen, than the duty of my conscience? For since I am a sinner with a universe kind of brands and born against heaven, I cannot easily be silent upon that, concerning which even Adam, the author both of the race of man, and of his sin against the Lord, now restored by confession to his own paradise, is not silent.

Note K. page 357.

The words satisfacere, satisfacio, when used of works of repentance, have not, in the fathers, any technical sense, as in recent Romish theology, as though the sinner any how made satisfaction to the Divine justice; they simply mean "make amends," and are used of such outward acts of contrition as, being opposed to the former sins, serve to express and deepen the repentance for them, and thereby turn away the Divine wrath. Thus Eustius (a Romanist) states it to be equivalent to "penitence," and adopts it.

* Pacian Parens. v. 6n.
* See Apol. c. 48, p. 101, 2.

Nebuch. and Pharooh types of penitence and impetence. 360
“Satisfaction” penitential asking of pardon,

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the explanation of that word in the de ver. et fals. penit. c. 8. § 22. (sp. Aug. t. 6. App. p. 236.) "Penitence [word which he says] among the ancients is very often used for satisfaction is a certain voluntary ‘revenge’ of one grieving, punishing in himself what he grieves that he has committed;” although he gives us a fuller explanation, “Satisfaction is the desire of appeasing God, being offended, by voluntary self-chastisement,” or “voluntary self-chastisement or punishment as a sort of compensation of the injury done by sin,” in 4. Sent. dist. 15. § 9. Heralds (Digr. ii. 4.) illustrates the use from classic authors, “The Latins spoke of ‘satisfying’ (satisficare) when any one besought him whom he had offended, and confessed his fault in such wise as to signify that he was exceeding sorry for it, and wished it had not been done, which Terence eloquently calls ‘to pay with words,’ because ‘satisfying’ stands in lieu of payment. Wherefore that satisfaction which was rendered to him who had been offended, and wherewith he was content, came in the place of punishment, and did away the offence. Of which very many examples occur in the best writers, especially that most signal one in which Amphitryo in Plautus ‘satisfies’ the offended, Heralds (Digr. ii. 4.) adds, quoting the same instance: Alc. "In this very same meaning the holy Fathers used this word on the same subject. For they held, that God being offended and not weeping the offence, (satisfacere) to have sinned and not to make amends, (satisfacere) to have made amends (satisfecerit) to God, whoso by repentance for his deed, makes peace (satisfactionibus) and imploring the mercy of God,” Ep. 65. (64.) to have sinned and not to make amends, (satisfacere) to have offended and not weep the offences," (de Laps. § 19. p. 173. Oxf. Tr.) or if any have more prevailed on Him by his satisfactions, if he have appeased His anger by due entreaty, "if you shall make most full amends that Christ, so shewing that He does not think of them as paid to the Father," (Ep. 85. p. 134.) then they come to the full time of making peace (satisfactionis), Ep. 64. (59.) init. add de Unit. Ecli. § 16. p. 145. Oxf. Tr. and de Laps. fin. “who shall thus have made amends (satisfecerit) to God, whose repentance for his deed, &c.” or of the qualities which make up true repentance, “whose penitence you shall see most approach to making amends; satisfactioni proximam, Ep. 15. (11.) to the Martyrs.” He speaks also of those “amends” being made to Christ, so shewing that He does not think of them as paid to the justice of God, but as putting us in such a frame of mind as Christ can intercede for, God pardon; (“They.”) [such as interceded to obtain a premature restoration of the lapsed] “intercede that Christ, Who declares that He will deny those who deny Him, be not won by prayers and satisfactions,” Ep. 59. (55.) p. 134. “if you shall make most full amends to God and His Christ,” Ep. 66. (69.) see also above, from Ep. 11.) He also uses it, as altogether equivalent to “appease, soften the anger of God,” having said (Is. 58.) that neither by prayers and fastings could they make use of penitential actions not punitive; toward our Lord.

S. Cyp. c. 11. “[propitiating God by faith and humiliation. For by nothing is God so gained as by bearing hardness; and mercy is bestowed upon tears.]” This result, which these writers draw from the word itself, is yet more established by the context in which it is used by the Fathers. For it is used in connection with all those habits of mind or actions, which express contrition, without having in themselves any thing punitive, much less any payment to the Divine Justice. Thus S. Cyprian urges to “the prayer by which amends is made,” (preeem satisfactionis de Laps. § 11. p. 162. Oxf. Tr.) “If He laboured and watched and prayed for us and our offences, how much more ought we to be earnest in prayer, and first pray the Lord Himself, and then through Him make amends to the Father,” Ep. 11. (56.) he speaks of being reconciled by “satisfaction” (ib. § 19. p. 172.) of “tears which make amends to God” (satisfaciendum Deo fletibus, Ep. 31. (26.) p. 64.) “This is to take pains, that offences be not redeemed by satisfactions and due bewailings, that wounds be not washed away by tears,” Ep. 59. (55.) p. 134. he frequently joins “satisfaction” with “prayer” as equivalent to it; “in making amends to God and deprecating,” Ep. 17. (12.) “continuing in making peace (satisfactionibus) and imploring the mercy of God,” Ep. 65. (64.) to have sinned and not to make amends, (satisfacere) to have offended and not weep the offences,” (de Laps. § 19. p. 173. Oxf. Tr.) or if any have more prevailed on Him by his satisfactions, if he have appeased His anger by due entreaty, “if they come [to the Church] with prayers and satisfactions, be they heard,” Ep. 59. (55.) fin. and these combined with alms—“may by their prayers and works appease (satisfacere) God, as a merciful Father,” Ep. 16. (10.) Elsewhere, he uses “satisfaction” as altogether equivalent to “repentance;”—“they must come to a right understanding of themselves and make amends,” Ep. 3. (55.) fin. “declining to perform penitence and make amends to God,” Ep. 43. (40.) fin. “the appointed and full time of making peace” (satisfactionis), Ep. 64. (59.) init. add de Unit. Ecli. § 16. p. 145. Oxf. Tr. and de Laps. fin. “who shall thus have made amends (satisfecerit) to God, whose repentance for his deed, &c.”—or of the qualities which make up true repentance, “whose penitence you shall see most approach to making amends; satisfactioni proximam, Ep. 15. (11.) to the Martyrs.” He speaks also of those “amends” being made to Christ, so shewing that He does not think of them as paid to the justice of God, but as putting us in such a frame of mind as Christ can intercede for, God pardon; (“They.”) [such as interceded to obtain a premature restoration of the lapsed] “intercede that Christ, Who declares that He will deny those who deny Him, be not won by prayers and satisfactions,” Ep. 59. (55.) p. 134. “if you shall make most full amends to God and His Christ,” Ep. 66. (69.) see also above, from Ep. 11.) He also uses it, as altogether equivalent to “appease, soften the anger of God,” having said (Is. 58.) that neither by prayers and fastings could they make
Satisfaction by the Lord's Prayer, alms-deeds, the Church

Satisfaction for sins, (satisfaction pro delictis,) nor by lying in sackcloth and ashes, could they soften the anger of God, (from Dei lenity,) he, at the last, having shewed that God could be appeased (pacisci) by alms-deeds alone, added, and

In like way, S. Augustine uses "satisfaction" in the case of lighter sins of infirmity, the remedy for which is the daily petition for forgiveness in the Lord's prayer, and this in the same place in which he speaks of "satisfaction" for greater sins proportioned to the offence, shewing that in this case also he is not thinking of any compensation to God's justice, but of acts of penance, which he says, "must be committed daily, and daily be bought off by alms-deeds. For the life must be amended, and God by alms-deeds is to be propitiated for past sins, not to be bought in a manner, to allow these things to be continually committed with impunity. For He hath given no man a license to sin,' although in His mercy He blotteth out past sins, if corrected by words nor any other signs comes forth to the knowledge of others, being consumed in common, whether punitive or no, and whereas there be no further, by adding nothing to your former sins, by saying also humbly and with tears, 'Father, we have sinned,' (Ep. de Pompit. init. S. Leo refers the efficacy of "satisfaction" to its effects on the penitent, in that he speaks of persons being "cleansed by the healthful satisfaction of penitence," (Ep. 108. ad Theod. add Ep. 189. ad Niece. c. 5. Ep. 167. ad Rust. inq. 14.) "which," he adds, "is to be appreciated not so much by length of time, as by compunction of heart," (Ep. ad Niece. S. Ambrose in one place uses "satisfaction" as equivalent to "verbal confession," in the original sense of the word, (as pointed out by Jer.) "making amends by used of confession; repentance without punitive acts. 373 acknowledging a fault." "Peter grieved and wept, because, being man, he went astray. I find not, what he said; I find, that he wept. I read of his tears; of his making satisfaction I read not." Lib. I. ch. 5. "He also uses it as altogether equivalent to repentance, or making peace with God, in cases of imminent danger, which precluded the use of long and laborious penances; "To those who in extremities, and under the pressure of urgent peril, earnestly desire the succour of penitence, and of reconciliation shortly thereupon, neither is satisfaction to be forbidden nor reconciliation to be denied, because we can prescribe neither measures nor periods to the mercy of God, Who interposes no intervals between conversion and pardon," (Ep. ad Thed. c. 8.) and shortly after, for what is here called "satisfaction," we have "tears and groans," or "penitence," "we ought not to neglect the tears and groans of those who accuse themselves, believing as we do that the very feeling of repentance is derived from God, as the Apostle says, 2 Tim. 2. 25.) and thereon he again uses the word satisfaction, c. 5. "that he defer not to turn to God from day to day, nor set for himself a period of satisfaction at the close of his life, because it is perilous for human frailty and ignorance, to reserve itself to the uncertain space of a few hours, and whereas it may by a fuller satisfaction obtain forgiveness, choose that narrow period, wherein space can scarcely be found either for the confession of the penitent, or the reconciliation of the priest." Cassian uses it altogether of acts whereby a person becomes reconciled to God, and of his reconciliation, Coll. xx. 5. "A sign of amends having been made and pardon given," ("satisfactionis et indulgentiae") "establisheth the completion of making amends, and the grace of remission," xx. 7. "that he has attained to the completion of satisfaction, and to be accounted meet for forgiveness," (indulgentia merito.) Maximus uses it as equivalent to penitential acts, "He is not blamed, who having with wandering heart and slippery steps long gone aside from the path of salvation, laboured to become whole (redintegrare se) with God by the sorrowful amends of penitence, as is read in the 50th Psalm, 'A broken and contrite heart God despieth not.'" Gennadius says, "The 'satisfaction' of penitence is to cut off the causes of sins, and not to allow entrance to their suggestions," (de Dogm. Ecl. c. 54. ap. Aug.) A Latin translation of S. Chrysostom, received in Gratian, substitutes "satisfaction" for the simple term "repentance;" "though any cannot exhibit a complete repentance," in Gratian, "repentance;" (ib. 6.) He does not send away empty even that which is for a brief space," (ad Theod. Laps. 1. c. 6. quoted by Gratian de Pompit. Dist. 3. c. 88.) S. Gregory the Great, using the word "revenge" (2 Cor. 7. 11.) in the same sense, in like way speaks of its effects, solely with reference to its effect on the penitent, (I. 6. in 1 Reg. c. 2. § 33.) "What availas it to confess iniquities, if the affliction of penitence follow not the confession of the lips? For three things are to be considered in every true penitent, conversion of the mind, confession of the mouth, and revenge for the sin. This third sort is as a necessary medicine; that so the impostume of guilt, pricked by confession,
Self-affliction turns away the wrath of God

The sign of true confession [conversion?] is not in the confession of the mouth, but in the affliction of penitence. For then do we see that a sinner is well converted, when by a worthy austerity of affliction, he strives to efface what in speech he confesses. Whence John Baptist rebuking the ill-converted Jews, who flocked to him, says, ‘O generation of vipers—Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of repentance.’” Isidore, (vi. u.l.) after speaking of sin being “purged by satisfaction,” adds as a formal explanation of “satisfaction,” “Satisfaction is to shut out the causes and suggestions of sins, and not again to repeat sins.”

But although it is clear, on the one hand, that “satisfaction” is used by the Latin Fathers in no technical term, and there is no corresponding term in the Greek, yet it is equally plain that self-affliction, in token of displeasure at one’s sins, and as a means of keeping up that displeasure, was held by the Ancient Church to be acceptable to God, and turn away His wrath; and this truth they derived from S. Paul’s mention of “revenge” as a part of penitence, (2 Cor. 7, 11.) or his exhortation, “Judge yourselves, brethren, that ye be not judged of the Lord,” or God’s acceptance of the self-affliction of Ahab and the Ninevites, see above, c. p. 365. and n. m. o. S. Cypr. de Laps. §. 21. 22. p. 175. Oxz. Tr. S. Ambrose de Punit. ii. 10. §. 96. de Laps. Virg. Cons. c. e. §. 35—38, where he speaks also of amends being thus made: “If the sinner spare not himself, he will be spared by God. And if in this short space of life he shall have balanced the pains of hell which shall be for ever, he shall free himself from eternal judgment. A great wound needeth a deep and lengthened process of healing; and great wickedness requir eth great amends,” (satisfactionem.) Thus S. Jerome describes the repentance of Paulina, Ep. 108. ad Eutucht. §. 15. “On my frequently admonishing her to spare her eyes that she might keep them for the reading of the Gospel, she was wont to say, ‘The face must be befouled, which against God’s command I often painted; the body must be afflicted which was wholly given to pleas, long laughter must be balanced by continual weeping; soft linen and silks most costly must be exchanged for the roughness of hair-cloth. I who pleased my husband and the world, now desire to please Christ.’” And in a very aggravated case of exceeding sin, he relates, “I exhorted thee to do penance, to lie in hair-cloth and ashes, to betake thyself to solitude, to live in a monastery, to implore the mercy of God by continual weeping.” Epiphanius Expos. Fid. Cath. c. 22. speaks of the fasts of the Church as “a confession to our salvation of the Passion of the Lord which He underwent for us,” and, “that our fasts may be acceptable to God for our sins.”

He says also, “He who after Baptism runneth into more grievous sin, hath a second cure, not of such eminence as the first, yet not cast off from life. The Divine word annul eth not then the reward of those who till penitence,” Hier. 59. c. 2. And since this chastisement was a part of repentance, it followed (as an instinctive feeling implies) that it should be proportioned to the sin.

Thus S. Augustine, Serm. 351. c. 4. “The third sort of penitence is that to be undergone for the sins contained in the Decalogue, of which the Apostle says, ‘They who do such things, shall not inherit the kingdom of God.’ In this penitence then, every one ought to exercise on himself a greater severity, that judged by himself, he be not judged of the Lord, as the same Apostle says, 1 Cor. 11, 31.” And Serm. 278. (al. de div. 34.) c. 12. “All past things are forgiven to the converted; but some things in this life are so grievous and deadly, that they are not remitted, except through the most vehement trouble of humiliation of heart, and contrition of spirit, and tribulation of penitence.” These are remitted by the keys of the Church. For if thou beginnest to judge thyself, to be displeased with thyself,” &c. ab. p. 365. n. o. see S. Cypr. de Laps. v. fin. Cler. Rom. Ep. 30. ad Cypr. §. 4. “be not the medicine less than the wound, nor the remedies lighter than the disease.”

S. Ambrose de Virg. laps. c. 8. §. 36. “How great or what sort of penitence, thinkest thou, is necessary? Such as shall equal or exceed your sins. A mighty wound needeth a profound and lengthened cure. A mighty wickedness needeth mighty amends;” and de punit. §. 2. “Whoso hath heaped up the offence, heap he up also the penitence. For mightier sins are washed away by mightier tears.” S. Greg. Naz. Orat. 39. §. 19. “If he (Novatus) received not those who repeated not, he did well; for neither do I receive those who bowed down, or who do not proportion their correction to their sins.”

S. Basil, Hom. in verba Attend. in ipsi, §. 4. T. 2. p. 19. “Take heed to thyself, that in proportion to the fault thou admit also the restoration from the remedy. Great and grievous is the sin; thou hast need of much confession,” (see Note L.) of bitter tears, of intense watching, of an unbroken fast. Is the offence light and bearable; be the penitence also proportioned. Only take heed to thyself, that thou know thy mind’s health and disease.”

And Theodoret. Hser. Fab. v. 25. de penit. fin. (against the Novatians.) “The wounds therefore received after Baptism are also curable; but not so that remission should be given as before, through faith alone, but through many tears, lamentations, and weepings, and fasting, and praying, and toil, proportioned to the greatness of the sin committed.”

Since this is so, there must be an inherent fitness in it, i. e. it must have some reference to the Divine attributes; and this S. Augustine states in respect of the Divine truth; that since God has said that sin shall not go unpunished, the sinner must punish himself if he would escape the punishment of the Lord. Thus on Ps. 50. (11.) v. 6. “Thou hast loved truth,”
the penitent humbles himself before God;" confession is rather incidentally involved in it, (in that such a course could not be entered upon without it,) than an integral part of it, or required for its own sake. In the whole description of exomologesis which follows, confession is not even mentioned; it is wholly taken up with penitential actions; a public bewailing of sins, not a private confession of them. T. expressly terms it " the act of the discipline of humbling, &c. " a misery," wretchedness," c. 10; in the de Orat. c. 7. it is bewailing sins before God; in the de Penitentia itself (c. ult.) it is the seven-years' humiliation and suffering of the king of Babylon. (comp. de Pat. c. 13.) In like way, in the places quoted by Bellarmine (de Penit. iii. 6. § 1.) S. Irenæus (1. 13. (9. § 5.) speaks of an adulteress, who " having been converted, continued the whole period (of her life) in a state of penitence; an inspection, and so altogether distinct from private confession. (Ep. 12. Pam. 17. Fell. ad pleb.) "For when in lesser offences, [than total desert of faith,] which are not committed [directly] against God, penitence is performed for a due period, and the exomologesis takes place, after examination of the life of him who performs penitence, nor can any such come to the communion, before hands be laid upon him by the Bishop and Clergy, &c." (add Ep. 50. Fell. 16. Pam. ad Cler. Ep. 4. Fell. 62. Pam. ad Pompon.)

As the fathers ever thought that Penitence is a pang and smart, whereby sinners are pierced through consciousness of their offences against God, so they always used this term exomologesis when they wished to express the outward gestures, as of weeping, groaning, accusing themselves, and the like, as practised by penitents." Athanas. Obs. ii. 96.

i. Having finished the penitence, they were led from the porch to the middle of the Church, when the Bishop placed them before the Presbyters, Deacons, widows, and people, where they again lay on the ground, bewailing their offences, kept gently, commending themselves to the prayers of all, solemnly vowing never to relapse into the same. And after this last act frequently entitled Exomologesis by the fathers, as containing in itself many acts, expressive of grief for the fault committed, in the same way as every action, and the whole mode of the penitents' life, while performing penitence, is sometimes called 'Exomologesis;' but because those acts, during the performing of penitence, were sometimes for a long period, the word 'Exomologesis' is often found used for the first acts in performing penitence." Albani, i.e. his present life, whether it accords with his profession. Bellarmine, (de penit. iii. 7. § 2.) neglecting the context, infers from this, "such confession of sins as lays open the [previous] life of the penitent so that it may be thoroughly inspected," and this "of divine right. But the "inspection of the life" is in S. Cyprian, distinct from the "confession;" it relates to the present conduct of the penitent, not to the past acts for which he is doing penitence, much less to the whole outward, and least of all to the inward, life of the penitent. Of "divine right" nothing is said.

Note L. on the term exomologesis, p. 364.

Tertullian declares the term 'exomologesis' to be more appropriate than the Latin "confession," and as such, has been adopted by Latin writers. It is then, on this ground alone, not mere confession, and T. presently explains it to be the acts of public penance. Confession comes in chiefly as acknowledgment to God, ("we acknowledge our sin to the Lord,") leading to acts of penitential discipline, and repentance, whereby God is appeased. It is then a "course of public penance, whereby..."
Exomologesis acts implying detestation of sin:

Notes on the absolute necessity of Confession, page 367.

The point at issue between the Romanists and ourselves, as to Confession, relates, (as themselves admit,) not to its general advantage, or its

Note M. on the absolute necessity of Confession, page 367.

fasting with almsgiving.' But how shall a lengthened exomologesis aid him, who is lying in extremities? But he will wear his flesh with hair-cloth, and defile it with dust and ashes, so that the hardness of his present austerities may compensate for the softness of past pleasure? But when shall he do these so great things, shut out, as he is, by his approaching end, from doing even slight things?" (Adv. Avarit. i. 10.) The Council of Laodicea uses the term of the whole course of penitence. "As to those, who sin by divers offences, and persevere in the prayer of confession (παρεμολογίας) and repentance, and turn perfectly from the evil ways, a period of repentance being assigned to such, proportioned to the offence, let him be admitted to Communion through the mercies and goodness of God." (Can. 2.) Isidore vii. ult. explains it of confession to God only, "Exomologesis, is that wherewith we confess our offences to the Lord, not as though He were ignorant, from Whose knowledge nothing is hid." S. Chrysostom remarks the word alternately with repentance (παρεμολογία) as equivalent to it; "Let us also then imitate him (John Baptist), and laying aside luxury and excess, change to an abstemious life. For now [Passion week] is the time of Confession, both for the baptized and unbaptized: for the one, that, having repented, they may obtain the Holy Mysteries; the other, that having in Baptism washed away their sins, they may with a pure conscience approach the Table. For it cannot, cannot, be, that people should at one and the same time be in confession and in luxury. Forsake we then this soft and relaxed life.—If you cannot do this, [live like John Baptist,] let us, even while dwelling in cities, exhibit repentance.—Wherefore we have need of large confession and many tears;—but although they [Our sins] be unworthy of pardon, let us repent, and we shall obtain a crown. But repentance I call, not only to forsake the former ills, but, (which is better,;) to shew forth what is good." (Hom. 10. in Matt. § 5.) He speaks of it also as what he could not impose, only exhort to. "What then? saith one, bestow thou be another? I bid not, but I counsel and exhort." In another place he uses it, in the same way, of the confession of the Paschal week, and since what he joins with it, relates to the whole Church, it seems certain that he means the confession and detestation of sin on the part of the whole Church to God; if not, it must have been the last act of penitents expressing publicly a general abhorrence of their sins; for their preliminary confession was now long past. "Since by the grace of God we have come to this great week, it becomes us now especially to urge on the course of our fasting, and to make our prayers fuller, and to shew forth a large diligence about good works, abundant almsgiving, gentleness, mildness, and all other virtues, that with these good works, coming Day, we may share the mercy of the Lord." (Hom. 30. in Gen. init.)

378 Exomologesis acts implying detestation of sin:

Let her perform a full penitence—afterwards the exomologesis made, let her be restored to the Church." S. Cyprian has in two places the entire order in nearly the same words, 1) penitence, 2) exomologesis, 3) imposition of hands, 4) communion, Ep. 10, (Pam. 16. Fell.) ad Clerum. Ep. 11, (Pam. 15. Fell.) ad mart. "before penitence has been performed, before exomologesis of this most grievous and extreme sin, before hands have been laid upon them by the Bishop and Clergy to repentance, they dare to offer for them and give the Eucharist." The last three occur (the state of penitence being presupposed) Ep. 15. Pam. 20. Fell. ad Cler. Rom. fin. Ep. 15. Pam. 15. Fell. ad Cler. Corbh. 14. Pam. 19. Fell. ad eod. "if they should begin to sink under any weakness or danger, having made the exomologesis, and hands having by you been laid on them in penitence, let them be transmitted to the Lord with the peace promised them by the Martyr." The Roman clergy, (Ep. 31. Pam. 30. Fell. fin.) as Albaspinus observes, (Obs. ii. 26.) substitute for the term, the expression of detestation and grief for the sin, and so explain it; "that they, the immediate approach of whose life's close admits of no delay, having performed penitence, and often professed their detestation of their deeds, if by tears, by groans, by weeping, they give signs of a grieved and truly penitent mind, then at length, when in human sight there is no hope of life, may with caution and anxiety be bestowed," [i.e. absolved and admitted to Communion.] In two other places, S. Cyprian uses the term of the humble acknowledgment of sin; in the one case, of "The three children," a general confession only to God, (de Laps. c. 19. p. 173. Oxif. Tr.) in the other, a public bewailing of sins, and sharing in public penitence by those who had been less guilty than others. (ib. c. 18. p. 171.) In another place (Ep. 55. Fell. 52. Pam. ad Antonian. fin.) he uses "confession," "exomologesis," and "penitence," apparently as equivalent. "And because there is no confession in hell, (Ps. 6, &c.) nor can there be any exomologesis there, they who repent with their whole heart, and entreat, ought for the time to be received into the Church." Elsewhere he expresses the same by the word "penitence," ad Demetrian. fin. Pacian follows Tert. in the use of the word, of Nebuchadnezzar (parum. ad pontit. p. 317.) in speaking of "the remedies of penitence and the very acts of exomologesis." (ib. p. 318.) Salvian (Ep. 9. ad Salon. p. 213. ed. Baluz.) joins together exomologesis and satisfacito as equivalent; and in speaking of a death-bed repentance, denies that either could be practised there, (whereas oral confession continually is,) and throughout, like T., speaks of acts: "When shall he mourn, who has lost the days for mourning? When shall he reconcile himself, (satisfacito,) who has lost the time of reconciling? He will forsooth betake himself to long fasts? This is something, if it be united with almsgiving, according to that, 'Good is

Abbreviations:
- Albasp. notes, the words "abate the load of their minds," mean, not that they deposited their sins in the hand of the priest, but that through repentance they freed the conscience from scruple, and the burden of having offended God by their thoughts.
- The term confession here is taken from the Παρεμολογία. It is then no ground (with Albasp.) to think that they mean "confession," as the first, from "exomologesis" as the final confession in act.
Confession in the fathers always relates to public penitence.

Notes on the desirableness of public confession before the whole Church, or the great difficulty of true penitence often without it, or the duty of individuals to comply with it, if the Church requires it; but it is whether confession to be so essential to absolution that the benefits of absolution cannot be had without it. Thus Tournely says even of Protestant bodies. "The question is not whether the confession which is made to man be useful and to be recommended, for this they both praise and commend; but it is whether it be free or, of Divine right and command, necessary." (q. 9, art. 2. t. 1. p. 315.) Accordingly it is not the question whether a Church has a right to impose it upon its members, but whether a Church of its own, has a right to dispense with it. The Roman Church, as well as our own, confesses that her practice is not the same as that of the ancient Church, and that, if the times would bear it, it would be desirable to restore it; only the Roman Church claims that, having changed every thing besides, characteristic of the ancient discipline, she has preserved its essentials, and that what she has preserved is essential. Public penitence implied confession before man, in part also to the Priest, who had to decide whether certain cases required a course of public penance or no; it implied that the penitent at the close of his public penitence, and before his re-admission to Communion, should bewail his sins before the Priest, in presence of the congregation, and receive absolution from him; since also this was the prescribed discipline of the Church, one who withdrew himself from it for a while from public penance, which must needs be published, all produced; produced by him who is both the accuser of sin and the instigator, for he now instigates us to sin, he also, when we have sinned, accuses. If then we anticipate him in life, and are ourselves our own accusers, we escape the malice of the Devil, our enemy and accuser, for so the Prophet elsewhere says, 'tell thou thine iniquities before [thou hast sinned], that thou mayest be justified;' and David also in the same Spirit saith in the Psalms, 'I made bare mine iniquity, and hid not my sin.' 1) The confession relates not to man but to God, as appears from the Scriptures quoted. 2) as far as it does involve acknowledgment of public penance, or no for secret sins.

1) The confession relates not to man but to God, as appears from the Scriptures quoted. 2) as far as it does involve acknowledgment of public penance, or no for secret sins.

The confessions mentioned by Irenæus are acts of public penance for grievous sin, heretical teaching, and adultery, (see ab. note L p. 377.)

Origen refers to public penance, and that as a painful remedy for sin. "There is yet a seventh remission of sin, although hard and laborious through penitence, when the sinner washeth his bed with his tears, and his tears become his bread day and night, and when he shrinks not from showing to the priests of the Lord his sin, and to seek a remedy according to Ps. 31, [32.] 5. and Jus. 5. 14;" for in a corresponding description shortly after, he describes a public penance after the manner of Tertullian, "But if in the bitterness of thy weeping thou shalt be overwhelmed with grief, tears, and lamentation, if thou make lean thy flesh and dry it up by fasting and much abstinence," &c. (see de Pos. c. 9.) In like way in the next passage, Hom. 3. in Lev. § 4. (on Lev. 5. 5. 1) If he have sinned in any of these things, let him declare the sin which he hath sinned.)

"There is herein a wonderful mystery. For [in the Day of Judgment] things of every kind are to be uttered, and all which we have done is to be manifested; if we have done any thing in secret, if in words only, or even within the secret places of our thoughts we have committed it, all must needs be published, all produced; produced by him who is both the accuser of sin and the instigator, for he now instigates us to sin, he also, when we have sinned, accuses. If then we anticipate him in life, and are ourselves our own accusers, we escape the malice of the Devil, our enemy and accuser, for so the Prophet elsewhere says, 'tell thou thine iniquities before [thou hast sinned], that thou mayest be justified;' and David also in the same Spirit saith in the Psalms, 'I made bare mine iniquity, and hid not my sin.'"

The third passage in Origen (whether his or no, even Bellarmine doubts, "auctor Hom. 2. in Ps. 57,"") relates to taking advice whether public penance be performed or no for secret sins. "See what Divine Scripture teacheth us, that we must not hide sin within. For they too, who are oppressed by undigested food or phlegm, if they eject it, are relieved; so they who have sinned, if they conceal and retain the sin within them, are oppressed within and almost suffocated by the phlegm or humour of sin; but if he become his own accuser, while he accuses himself and confesses, he at the same time both ejecteth the sin, and digesteth the whole cause of..."
Notes on De Penance

Confession and Penitence

Not only to whom thou owestest to confess thy sin; prove first the physician, to whom thou shouldest set forth the causes of thy sickness, who knoweth how to be weak with the weak, to weep with the weeping, who is trained in sympathy and compassionating, that so thou mayest do and follow whatever counsel be given, who shall first shew himself a skilful and compassionate physician; if he perceive that thy sickness is such as ought to be published in the congregation of the whole Church, that so others may be edified thereby, and thyself readily cured, this must be prescribed with much deliberation, and on the very experienced advice of such a Physician."

It is plain that the writer is not speaking of the prudence and sympathy necessary in any spiritual adviser, but of the extraordinary skill and tenderness necessary in one who is to advise in such a case as this. Again in the sequel it appears that the confession is to be made, not for its own sake, but with the view of putting the sinner on a course of life whereby the sin may be healed; it relates also to sins which should exclude from Communion. "It is good that he who transgresses, be not secure, nor entertain no anxiety, as one who hath not, thinking not how to blot out his sin. If some spot or ulcer arise in thy body, thou art anxious and seekest diligently what remedy shall be applied, how the former soundness may be restored to the body;—when thy soul is sick and oppressed with the languor of sins art thou secure, despisest and settest at nought? God in thine heart? and seekest diligently what remedy shall be applied, how the former security, nor entertain no anxiety."

In the first (iv. 17.) he says, "the Church of God, willing in His everlasting lovingkindness to provide for our life and salvation, in the other with the Novatian heresy, which denied it. In the first (iv. 17.) he says, "God, willing in His everlasting lovingkindness to provide for our life and salvation, of the Body of Christ, to produce a terror of deep fear, whereby all might for the time be restrained, He promised the immovable judgment of Apostolic severity, that whom they bound on earth, i. e. left tied in the bonds of their sins, and whom they loosed, i. e. by Confession received into saving pardon, these, on the terms of the Apostolic sentence, should in heaven also be either bound or loosed." S. Basil, in the two passages quoted, is simply answering the question, "when sins are to be laid open, to whom should they be laid open?" he answers, "to one experienced in the disease (as our Church "some learned Minister in God's word.") de Reg. brev. q. 229. "Whether forbidden actions ought to be laid open to all, or to whom, and of what sort?" ANSW. "The discovering of sins has the same rules as the making known of bodily ailments. As then men do not reveal the ailments of the body to all, but to those skilled in their cure, so also the discovering of sins ought to be made to those able to cure them, as is written, ' ye are strong, bear the infirmities of the weak,' i. e. by care remove them." In the other passage (q. 288.) the point of enquiry is still more explicitly worded, "He..."
who will then confess his sins, ought to confess them to all, or to any chance persons, or to whom?" In the answer the object is distinctly stated to be, to obtain advice. "The end of God's love is the sinner's con-
version—since then the mode of repentance must be suited to the sin, and there must be 'fruits worthy of repentance,' it is necessary to confess the sins to those entrusted with the oracles of God." This advice of S. Basil corresponds with the then known discipline of the Greek Church, in which the public penitentiary decided, whether sins were to be openly confessed or no.

S. Ambrose (de Penit. ii. 6.) contrasts confession with impenitence, "If thou wilt be justified, confess thine offence. For humble confession loseth the bonds of sins." This he says in contrast with such as 'make a boast of their innocence, and by justifying themselves are the more bur-
thened.' The words being God's words, there is (as Daillé observes) no ground to think that confession to man is here spoken of; and indeed the Benedictines admit it to be probable that there is none.

In the other place (ib. S. 10.) he speaks of such as having taken the previous steps for public confession, drew back from it. The benefit obtained by the public confession, he, like T., places in the humiliation attending public penance, and the prayers of the people. "Very many, out of fear of future punishment, conscious of their sins, seek admission to penitence, and having obtained it, are drawn back by the shame of public ground to think that confession to man is here spoken of; and indeed the

Benedictines admit it to be probable that there is none.

In the other place (ib. S. 10.) he speaks of such as having taken the previous steps for public confession, drew back from it. The benefit obtained by the public confession, he, like T., places in the humiliation attending public penance, and the prayers of the people. "Very many, out of fear of future punishment, conscious of their sins, seek admission to penitence, and having obtained it, are drawn back by the shame of public entreaty. Will any one endure that thou shouldst be ashamed to ask of God, who art not ashamed to ask men? that thou be ashamed to supplicate from Whom thou art not hid, when thou art not ashamed to confess thy sins to man, from whom thou art hid?"

A third place, quoted by Card. Perron, (ap. Daillé, iii. 11.) relates to those who did public penance for secret sins of such guilt as to be excluded from Communion. It does not at all imply that this punishment was compulsory; S. Ambrose is only contending against the Novatians, that they who took it on themselves should not lose the fruit of their deep, and it should seem voluntary, penitence. "If then say, having hidden sins, do yet for Christ's sake [apparently, not compelled] zealously perform peni-
tence, how does he receive a reward, if Communion is not restored to him? I will that the criminal hope for pardon, seek it with tears, with groans, with the weepings of the whole people; let him entreat pardon: and if twice or thrice his communion be deferred, let him think that he entreated too remissly; let him increase his tears; let him return afterwards more pitiable; let him hold the Feet in his arms, kiss Them, wash Them with his tears, nor let Them go, that the Lord Jesus may say of him, 'his many sins are forgiven, because he loved much.' I know some who in penitence furrowed their countenance with tears, traced their cheeks with continued weepings, laid their body on the ground to be trodden on by all, and in a breathing body, did, by the woe countenance of fastings, exhibit the appearance of death." (de Penit. I. 16.) All this relates to the severity of public penitence; and Romanists themselves admit, that "by no Ecclesi­astical law was there imposed a necessity of publicly declaring secret sins." (Tournel. de Penit. q. 6. art. 4. p. 450.) This therefore was voluntary.

The practice of S. Ambrose, as related by Paulinus, in his life, plainly refers (like the passages in S. Basil and S. Ambrose himself) to such as consulted him with a view to public penance. "Whenever any one con-

fessed his falls to him in order to perform penitence, he so went as to force the other also to weep. For he seemed to be cast down with him who had been cast down. The nature of the offences, which they confessed to him, he uttered to none but God only, with Whom he interceded." The specific

offence for which public penance was done, was in many cases certainly not published.

S. Gregory of Nyssa in one place (Ep. ad Letoium Init.) does not speak of confession at all [only a Latin version], but of the reception of penitents at Easter. "It were well on this day to bring unto God not those only who by regeneration are transmuted through the grace of the Laver, but those also who through repentance and conversion from dead works again return to the living way, and to guide these to the saving hope whence they were estranged through sin." In another place, (de Penit. §. pen. et ult. t. 2. p. 173-5.) he (like the preceding Fathers of the fourth century) recommends at once public penance in order to gain the prayers of the people, and disclosure to the priest, that he may, prescribe the fitting remedies. But the whole relates to public penance; it is addressed to those "who need conversion" and were separated from the Communion. Such are exhorted to follow the example of the penitent sinner of the Gospel, in her humility, and as furnishing "a rule of penitence," in that she "shrank not from the multitude of those sitting at meat, she who mourned her sins thus publicly and manifestly, how much more in private!" Among other points, he censures them for retaining the ordinary mode of life, cheerfulness in mien, the same dress, long sleep, distractions of business and thought, and contrasts the pains to regain the favour of an earthly king, how people are ill at ease, mourning, and by the wasting and habit of their countenance, shew the depth of their sorrow," i. e. he blames them for retaining what was laid aside in public penance, omitting what was practised in it; and then after exhorting to a change of life, he tells them how the sile lay on a narrow pallet, severed from all worldly concerns and enjoyments, fed on bread and water, is with his physi-
cians night and day; he exhorts the penitent, "Afflict thyself as much as thou canst; seek also the grief of like-minded brethren to aid thee to be freed; show me thy bitter and abundant tears, that I may mingle mine; take also the priest as partner of thy affliction as a father; be of good courage toward him who begat thee as to God, more than toward earthly parents. Shew him without shame the things hidden. Bare the secret
NOTE.


do take care of both thy modesty and thy guilty of sins, refuse to perform penitence; you, I say, not wounded conscience. The sick, when wise, dread not the physicians. The passages quoted are, timid; after sin, bashful; who blush not to sin and blush to confess; who lay open their sores and swellings, tell what is to be applied, are disgusted of Nebuchadnezzar. S. Chrysostome must have required their confession. But S. Chrys. is speaking only of laying on no heavier burthens than men can bear; not of proportioning the penance to a person's sins, (which alone would require this full confession,) but of not imposing in any case, what he foresees the offender will draw back from. The context itself implies that confession was not absolutely required. For S. Chrys. is contrasting the office of pastors of sheep and of men; shepherds know the diseases of their sheep, and could subject them to what process of cure they would; pastors could do neither. "First of all it is not easy for man to know the sicknesses of man, for 'no one knoweth the things of a man save the spirit of a man which is in him.' How then can one apply the cure to a disease, the nature whereof he knows not, and often cannot tell whether he be diseased or no? And when it has become manifest, then it gives him yet greater difficulty. For he cannot apply the remedy to all with the same power, as the shepherd to his flock; for in their case he may tie up, and debar from food, and canister, and cut; but the power of receiving the remedy lies not with him who administers it, but rather with the sick." This could not have been written, when the duty of confessing all the most secret sins to the priest was recognized.

Bellarmine's other passage is, [Hom. 34. al. 33. in Joann. c. 3.] "In our sins let us not be ashamed of man, but let us, as we ought, fear God, Who now also seeth what is done, and will punish then those who repent not now," and, "Hast thou done or thought any wickedness, and hidest it from man? but from God thou hidest it not. But for all this thou carest not; for the eyes of men, this is thy only fear." "I exhort therefore, although none see what we do, that each of us should enter into his own conscience, and set thought as a judge over himself, and bring before him all his offences. And if he would not be publicly exposed on the fearful Day, let him apply the remedies of repentance and heal his wounds." But this last extract rather shews (as Daillé observes) that S. Chrys., here as elsewhere, was referring men only to their own consciences, of their applying remedies for their own sins. And these he goes on to describe; first, to break off the sin, secondly, to cultivate the opposite grace. "Hast thou robbed and made unlawful gains? cease from rapine, and apply almsgiving to the wound. Hast thou committed fornication? cease from it, and apply chastity to the wound. Hast thou spoken evil of thy brother, and injured him? cease evil-speaking, and apply kindness. And so let us do severally to all our offences, and not pass them by." S. Chrys. also is not speaking of persons shrinking from taking shame by public confession, but of such as are withheld from sin by fear of man, not of God; and who therefore withhold sin, so soon as man's eye is withdrawn. "Whose regardeth the shame of man only, and is not ashamed to do any wickedness when God seeth," &c. and, "He who shall judge, we fear not; but those who cannot hurt us, of these we stand in awe, and fear shame from them." The contrast is not between confessing to God only, (which S. Chrys. encourages, see below,) and not confessing to man, but fearing man and not fearing God. Greg. of Valentia (ap. Daillé) quotes another passage, which may shew how similar passages need not apply to private confession to man. (Hom. 20. in Gen. § 3.) "He who has done these things [grievous sin] if he would use the assistance of conscience for his need, and hasten to confess his sin, and shew his sore to the Physician, Who healeth and reproacheth not, and converse with Him alone, none knowing, and tell all exactly, he shall soon amend his falls. For confession of sins is the efficacing of offences." The words in themselves, (the more, when compared with other language of S. Chrys.) imply Who the Physician is, Who alone can "heal," but S. Chrys. goes on to speak of the offensiveness of refusing to confess to Him Who knoweth accurately all our offences; "Who knoweth all things before they are," "Who requireth of us nothing heavy and grievous, but only a broken heart, the
and Grifian; the two homilies quoted by Bellarmine are also spurious; the former is acknowledged to be so by many, and the Benedictines who produce parallels out of S. Augustine for most of the homily, adduce none for c. 1., where the passage occurs, (Hom. 253. App. olim 12. inter 50.) However, even it speaks not of private, but of public, confession, for it begins, "We are admonished—to confess our sins—not only to God, but also to the saints and those who fear God," [i. e. Christian people], and in like way the other (Serm. 393. which is very unlike S. Augustine) relates to sins, whereby any has "violated the Sacrament by living ill and profligately, and so has been removed from the Church," and to persons, who delayed performing penitence and being reconciled, until their death-bed. S. Augustine does speak strongly against persons trusting to a private, but it is in contrast with the severe discipline of public, penitence. He is addressing adulterers, and urging them to do penance in the Church, that they might obtain the prayers of the Church. "If ye have defiled yourselves—do penance, as it is done in the Church, that the Church may pray for you. Let no one say, 'I do it secretly, I do it in the presence of God; God knoweth, Whose pardon I hope for, that I do it in my heart.' Is it then said without ground, 'What ye loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven'"? Were the keys given groundlessly to the Church? do we set at nought the Gospel, set at nought the words of Christ?" As Daillé has further noticed, the text which S. Augustine alleged from Job, "If I blushed to confess before the people my sins," his words, "blushes to kneel to receive the blessing of God," as well as the example of Theodolus, refer to public penance: S. Augustine is warning against the self-deceit which shrank from public humiliation, and neglected or despised the absolution given thereupon through the power of the keys.

From his commentary on Psalm 66, Bellarmine quotes the following, "Be downcast, before thou hast confessed; having confessed, exult; now shalt thou be healed. While thou confessest not, thy conscience collected foul matter; the imposthume swelled, distressed thee, gave thee no rest; the Physician foments it with words, sometimes cuts it, employs the healing knife, rebuking by tribulation. Acknowledge thou the hand of the Physician; confess; let all the foul matter go forth in confession; now exult, now rejoice; what remains will readily be healed." Bellarmine argues, "all foul matter signifies all sins," so that "in the judgment of Augustine, all sins were to be laid open in confession." But to whom? The whole context in S. Aug., before and after, is of confession to God, and to Him only. S. Aug. is commenting on the words, "Sing unto the Lord all the earth; let the people confess to Thee, O Lord." He says, "The very singing is confession; confession of thy sins and of the power of God. Confess thy iniquity; confess the grace of God. Accuse thyself, glorify Him; blame thyself, praise Him; that He, when He cometh, may find thee thine own chastener, and shew Himself thy Saviour." Again he asks, "Fearest thou to confess to God, that confessing He may not condemn thee?" then contrasting confession before man's tribunal and before God, "if robbers...
fears not to take shame before men, seems to be praiseworthy, yet because the sins of all are not of such sort, that they who ask to do penitence, fear not their being published, let so unadvisable a custom be done away, lest many be kept from the remedies of penitence; either being ashamed of, or fearing that actions, for which they may be punished by the laws, should be discovered to their enemies. For that confession suflices, which is made first to God, then to the priest also, who draweth near to pray for the sins of the penitents. For so at length may more be stirred up to penitence, if the sins confessed by the penitents (penitentia confitentis) be not published in the ears of the people. (Ep. 130. al. 80. ad Episc. Camp. fec. fin.)

Of this S. Bellarmine quotes only the sentence, which speaks of a direction to the priest alone sufficing; but S. Leo is neither arguing for the substitution of private for public penance, (as now in the Roman Church,) nor for the confession of all sins, but only maintaining the ancient practice as to public discipline, and preventing an additional burden being laid upon those who did penitence publicly.

The other passage of S. Leo is in answer to Theodorus thus enquiring, what the rule of the Church prescribed as to the order of penitents. S. Leo answers thus: The manifold mercy of God in such wise succours man in his falls, that not only by the grace of Baptism, but also by the medicine of penitence, the hope of eternal life is restored; so that they who have violated the gift of regeneration, condemning themselves by their own sentence, may come to the remission of their crimes (criminum), the succour of the Divine goodness being so ordered, that the forgiveness of God cannot be obtained but through the suppliance of the priest. For the Mediator between God and man, the Man Christ Jesus, hath delivered his power to those set over the Church, that they should admit to the doing of penitence, those who confess, and when cleansed by a healthful satisfaction, should, through the door of reconciliation, admit them to the participation of the Sacraments. Ep. 108. (al. 91.) ad Theod. c. 1.

Bellarmine argues thus: That S. Leo is speaking of secret confession, and that, of all even secret sins, is clear, both from the former passages, and in that the priests could not appoint the doing of the bedding penitence, without an accurate knowledge of all sins; but (as Daillé observes, i. 18.) all the language of S. Leo relates to public penance, and such sins for which penitence was then done. The enquiry of Theodorus relates to these alone; the answer speaks of those only which "violated the gift of regeneration;" of grievous sins, which shut out the sinner from the communion of the Church; it relates to his restoration to that communion, not to the confession of those who continued in it, and whose sins did not exclude them from it.

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Daillé notices besides, (after Arnald, part 2. de la fievre, Comm. c. 4. p. 201 sqq.) that the word 'crimes' in S. Augustine and others signifies 'sins for which public penance was done,' (see e. g. Ep. 157. ad Hilas. c. 3.) Arnald quotes also Aug. Tract. 41.
the fourth century, nor the fifth, is necessary to examine further; it exhibits the system of public discipline in that period, and shows that, in the latter part of it from the fourth century, grievous sins were privately laid open to the priest, with a view to his assigning a course of public penance proportionate to them. Throughout, there is nothing corresponding with the modern practice of the Church of Rome, established by the Council of Trent, to be held as a Divine ordinance, under pain of anathema. On the contrary, the sins so to be confessed were of a very grievous kind, such as were to be blotted out through a long and painful course of public penance, sins which excluded from Communion, and for a time even from presence at the prayers, and into which if the absolved penitent relapsed there was no second remission open to him, but he remained until the end of his life excommunicate. The penance allotted to them was prescribed by Canons; and sins which did not fall under these Canons were neither confessed nor made subject of penance. This S. Gregory of Nyssa (Ep. ad Letoium, can. 6.) expressly says of “avarice.” “The other sort of ‘idolatry,’ for so the Divine Apostle calls ‘covetousness,’ I know not how it was overlooked by our fathers and left without any remedy prescribed (ἀναθήματα),” whence it happens that this malady abounds very much in the Church, and even when writing with the severity of a Montanist, no one troubles those, whence it happens that this malady abounds very much in the Church, and even when writing with the severity of a Montanist, no one troubles those, whether they be brought to the Clergy, whether they be defiled with such sort of idolatry.” [i.e. when they are accused of other sins, that they may be put out of the Church, and so their life becomes the subject of examination, no one inquires as to this.] “But as to these things, since they have been passed by by our fathers,—we think it sufficient to heal them, as we best may, by the word of teaching, purging by the word these pestilential diseases of covetousness.” But, besides the Canons, the fathers themselves explain what they mean by “capital” sins, showing that their distinction between “capital” and “venial” is not the same as that of “mortal” and “venial” in the Roman Church. Thus Tertullian (de Past. c. 19.) enumerates as such “murder, idolatry, fraud, denial of the faith, blasphemy, adultery, and fornication, and any other violation of the temple of God,” and even when writing with the severity of a Montanist, he classes as venial “unjust anger beyond the going down of the sun, or laying hands on rash swearings, or breaking a covenant, or lying either out of shame or necessity.” In another place, (c. Marc. iv. 9.) he reckons “seven spots of capital offences, Idolatry, blasphemy, adultery, fornication, false-witness, fraud.” Above, de Idol. c. 1. p. 220. He counts “idolatry, murder, adultery, fornication, fraud,” as “swallowing up salvation,” and separates from them, apparently, “covetousness of the world, lasciviousnesses and drunkenness, injustice, vanity, lying.” Origin (Hom. 2. in Jud. § 5.) distinguishes sins into two classes, one for which public penance was done, and there were already come forth, and there was public exposure, and the death of the flesh (mental sins) came under the cognizance of God only, and the sinner is by Him at last excommunicated, by the withdrawal of His Holy Spirit. “We for whom these things are written ought to know, that if we sin against the Lord, and worship as God the lusts of our mind and of the flesh, we also are delivered and by apostolic authority given over into the hands of Satan. Hear himself saying of him who had sinned, ‘I have given,’ &c. (1 Cor. 5. 5.) Thou seest that not only by His Apostles did God deliver offenders into the hands of the enemy, but by those also who preside over the Church, and have the power not only of loosing but of binding, sinners are given for the destruction of the flesh, when for their sins they are separated from the body of Christ. And, as seems to me, men now also are from the Church delivered into the power of Satan, 1) as we said above, when his offence is manifest to the Church, and by the priests he is expelled from the Church, that being noted of all, he may be ashamed, and on his conversion what follows, may belong to him, ‘that the spirit may be saved in the Day of the Lord!’ 2) when his sin is not manifest to men, but God Who seeth in secret, perceiving his mind and soul serving vices and passions, and in his heart not only the love of the world, but avarice also, or lust, or vain-glory, or the like, the Lord Himself delivers such one to Satan. How? He departs from his mind, and turns away, and fleshes his evil thoughts, and unworthy desires, and leaves the house of his heart empty.” S. Cyprian de Pat. c. 9. recants three chief classes, “adultery, fraud, homicide.” Paulan (Parsen. ad Pontif. p. 315.) and others, idolatry, murder, fornication, as founded on Acts xv. (see above, note A on Apol. fin. p. 100.) S. Augustinus (Tract. 12. in Joann. s. ult.) counts “murders, thefts, adulteries,” and contrasts with them, “what seem slight sins of the tongue or of the thoughts, or want of moderation in things lawful.” Elsewhere, explaining Tit. i. 7. he classes as “crimes” “from which every Christian should be free,” (as opposed to venial sins) “murder, adultery, any uncleanness of fornication, theft, fraud, sacrilege, and the rest of that sort.” Tract 41. in Joann. Ep. 185. ad Bonif. In Hom. 392. de Util. person. § 8. he gives as instances, “murders, sacrilege, adulteries,” and this with reference to public penance and confession. “There remaineth a third sort of penitence. It is a heavier and more munificent penitence, to which they who are subject are those properly called ‘penitents’ in the Church, being severed also from partaking of the Sacrament of the altar, lest by receiving unworthily, they eat and drink judgment to themselves. That penitence then is munificent. The wound is grievous; perhaps adultery has been committed, perhaps murder, perhaps some sacrilege; a grievous thing, a grievous wound, deadly, mortal; but the Physician is Almighty. Now then after the deed has been suggested, entertained, consented to, perpetrated, like a four days’ corpse he stinketh; but not even him hath the Lord forsaken, but hath cried, ‘Lazarus, come forth.’ The weight of the tomb hath yielded to the voice of mercy; death hath yielded to life; he is who is from beneath to Him above. Lazarus is raised; hath come forth from the tomb; and was bound, as men are in the confession of sin, while performing penitence. They have done already come forth, and there was public exposure, and the death of the flesh (mental sins) they would not confess. The very act of confession is to come forth from the hidden place of darkness. But what saith the Lord to the Church? What ye loose on earth, shall be loosed also in heaven.” Accordingly, when Lazarus came forth, because the Lord fulfilled the goodness of
394 S. Augustine requires confession of great acts of sin only;

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His mercy, to bring forth to confession the dead, buried, stinking, the 395 ministry of the Church fulfils the rest; ‘Loose him and let him go.’

**Penit.** Here we have the whole course of fall and recovery: sin, grievous, by which a man becomes as a putrid corpse, with no power to rise again; the voice of Christ awakening him and giving him life, by giving him repentance, whereby he publicly confesses and bewails his sin, absolution ‘freeing him from the bonds of the sins which he had committed.’ But no Romanist would contend that all the sins which his Church calls “deadly” take away life wholly, as S. Augustine here describes. In another place, (as Dallé observes, iv. 20.) S. Augustine distinguishes from the sins figured by this death of Lazarus, sins of concupiscence, of those “who have the sin within the heart, not as yet in deed;” and these, having sinned within, are, he says, like Jarius’ daughter, raised within. “This resurrection of the dead soul takes place within, in the secret places of the conscience.” (Serm. 98. In Luc. vii. § 5.) Sins of concupiscence were then, according to S. Augustine, healed, without confession, within the soul by Christ Himself. Yet confession of these is expressly required by the Council of Trent, and they form the dangerous part of the Roman confession. In another place, S. Augustine equally limits the remission through confession and penance to great crimes, great overt acts of sin.

“Those whom you see do penance, have committed great crimes, either adulteries, or some enormous deeds; for if their sins were only light, the daily Prayer would suffice to blot out them. 265. ad Seleucian. who in all Churches are properly called penitents.” The use of the Lord’s Prayer, recurs de Fid.: et op. 2 sqq. (add on this last Ench. c. 70. 71.) In the de Fid. et Op. c. 19, he identifies again, “mortal” with such as “subject to excommunication.” “Even they who think that the rest are readily compensated by alms, yet doubt not that there are three sins deadly and to be punished by excommunication, usury, libel, homicide.”

On this ground alone, then, it would be clear, that when S. Augustine (Serm. 351. de util. penit.) speaks of this third sort of penitence as relating to the sins against the Decalogue, (c. 4. § 7.) he means, as in other places, palpable overt acts of sin, not those committed in thought only; and this the more, since he explains himself by reference to Gal. 5, 21, where St. Paul is speaking of overt sins of the flesh. “The third performance of penitence is that which is to be undergone for those sins contained in the Decalogue of the Law; and of which the Apostle says, ‘They who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.’” They

**sin, remitted on public penance, or else by the Lord’s prayer. 305** are also, again, sins involving excommunication by ecclesiastical discipline, and it is the subjection to this discipline which he is recommending.

Lastly, let such a sentence issue from the mind itself, that a person judge himself unworthy to partake of the Body and Blood of the Lord; so that he who dreads lest by the final sentence of the Supreme Judge he be severed from the kingdom of heaven, by the ecclesiastical discipline severed for the time from the Sacrament of the heavenly Bread.” In the de Dono Perseverantiae, e. 4. he, as well as S. Cyprian, on whom he is commenting, identifies sins which exclude from the Body of Christ and from “His body, which is the Church,” as though those only should be excluded from the one which shut out from the other. S. Cyprian’s words are, “This bread we pray may be daily given us, lest who are in Christ, and daily receive the Eucharist, as the food of salvation, be, through the intervention of some heavier sin, separated from the body of Christ, while, held back and not communicating, we are forbidden the heavenly bread.” S. Augustine’s comment; These words of the holy man of God shew, that the saints pray for perseverance from the Lord, when with this view they say, ‘Give us this day our daily Bread,’ that they be not separated from the body of Christ, but remain in that holiness, whereby they are guilty of no sin, whereby they may deserve to be separated from it.” The same is stated by a class of persons, anxious for daily communion amid daily infirmities, spoken of by S. Augustine, Ep. 34. ad Jannar. c. 39. “But if the sins be not so great that a person ought to be excommunicated, he ought not to separate himself from the daily medicine of the Body of the Lord.”

Such then being the sins which were the subjects of S. Augustine’s “Third sort of penitence,” he is a distinct witness that in his day, no confession was required of any other. For the three sorts of remission upon penitence, upon which he so often insists, are, 1) in Baptism, for the sins of the previous life; 2) by the daily use of the Lord’s prayer with fasting and alms, for ‘penitents,” with the same sort of diurnal incursion; and, 3) public penitence. Serm. 351. § 2 sqq. 352. § 2 sqq. Ep. ad Seleuc. l. c. &c.

This use of the Lord’s prayer he sets forth as in itself a sufficient cleansing for the Holy Communion, (accordingly without any distinct confession.) “For sins incident to men and bearable, and the more frequent because the less, God hath established in the Church now in the season of mercy, a daily medicine that we should say, ‘Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors,’ that with face cleansed through these words we may approach to the Altar; with face cleansed through these words, we

S. Thomas (Summa. 3 p. q. 90. art. ult.) following this distinction, regards the three sorts of penitence, as 1) birth to a new life, 2) restoration of one decayed, 3) change to greater perfection. ‘There is a threefold change of penitence is that which belongs to the repentance of mortal sins after Baptism. The 2d change is by the reformation of the past life, when now decayed, and this belongs to the repentance of moral sins after Baptism. The 3d change is to a more perfect operation of the regeneration of life, and this belongs to the repentance for venial sins, which are remitted through some fervent act of charity, as said above.”
396 S. Cyprian and Origen—modified confession not requisite.

**Notes on Dr. Perrin.** Again he makes this very act the confession whereby a man is cleansed, and still in contrast with great overt sins. "Thou who speakest, art thou 'without spot or wrinkle'? What dost thou here in the Church, which saith, 'Forgive us our debts'?" She confesseth that she hath debts to be remitted. They who confess not, are not therefore without them, but therefore will not have them remitted. Confession heals us, and a heedful life, a humble life, prayer with faith, contrition of heart, tears unfeigned flowing from the source of our hearts, that the sins, which we cannot without, be forgiven us. Confession I say as the Apostle John saith, 'If we confess our sins,' &c. But, because I say we cannot be here without sin, we may not commit murders or adulteries, or other death-bringing sins, which slay at one blow. These things doth not the Christian, who hath a good faith and good hope; but those only which are wiped away with the daily sponge of prayer. Let us say daily, humbly, and devoutly, 'Forgive us our debts,' yet so as to do what follows, 'as we also forgive our debtors.'" (Serm. 181 fin.) Again he speaks of it, as in a manner our daily Baptism for sins of infirmity, and so washing them out without further confession; "What the Apostle says of the 'washing of water by the word,' is so to be taken, that by the same washing of regeneration and word of sanctification all the ill of regenerate men are cleansed and healed; not only the sins which are at once altogether remitted in Baptism, but those also afterwards contracted by human ignorance and infirmity; not, that Baptism be repeated as often as men sin, but that by the fact that it is once given, there is obtained for the faithful, pardon of all sins both before and after. For what would penitence avail either before Baptism, unless Baptism followed, or after, unless it preceded?" In the prayer too of the Lord, who is our daily cleansing, with what fruit, what effect, would men say, 'Forgive us our trespasses,' unless they who said it, were baptized?" (de Nupt. et Concup. i. 33. add op. imp. c. Jul. ii. 212. de Pecce. Mer. iii. fin. de Perf. Just. Hom. c. 8. § 18.)

It is plain from these passages that S. Augustine knew of no other confession, than that of great sins, for which men were excommunicated, and that lesser sins he believed to be remitted on daily confession to God only, in His Son's words by us as members of His Son.

Other of the passages also, adduced from Bellarmine, so far from proving the indispensible necessity of confession, do, in fact, furnish arguments of the contrary; thus, the way in which S. Cyprian (de Laps. c. 4.) praised those who did penance for, and therewith confessed, the thought of denying the faith, implies that they were not eclesiastically bound so to do. Origen, again, many ways implies the absence of any such discipline; 1) In the very difficulty which gives rise to one of the statements, quoted by Dr. Perrin. It is in reference to the different sacrifices appointed in the law, for sin: "But perhaps some Hearers in the Church will say, The ancients were better off than we, in that various sacrifices were provided whereby pardon was granted to sinners. With us there is only one forgiveness of sin, which is at the beginning given through the grace of Baptism.

**Origen—many cures for sin, confession in public penance only.**

After this no mercy or freedom is allowed to the sinner." For, (as Daillé argues, iii. 7.) such a difficulty never could have existed, had the discipline of the ancient Church been such as that of the Roman now, wherein a second Sacrament is provided for the remission of the sins committed after Baptism, and any one, daily confessing, may be daily and that plenarily absolved. The difficulty implies that the remedy was at least indefinite or rare, not distinct and frequent, like the Sacrifices of the Old Law. 2) Origen meets the difficulty first by admitting the fact: "It is fitting that a severe discipline should belong to the Christian, for whom Christ died." 3) In setting forth the remedies, which God had laid up in the New Covenant, he speaks of them as so many ways in which forgiveness might be had for sin, and this as corresponding to the different Sacraments of the Old. "Thou hast heard how many sacrifices there are for sin in the Law. Hear now how many remissions of sins there are in the Gospel. The 1st is that, whereby we are baptized to the remission of sins. The 2d in the suffering of martyrdom. The 3d that given for almsgiving, for the Saviour saith, 'but give alms, and behold all things are clean unto you.' The 4th that, whereby we also forgive our brethren their sins, for thus saith our Lord and Saviour Himself, 'if ye forgive your brethren from the heart their trespasses, your Heavenly Father will also forgive you your trespasses.'" The 5th is when one turneth a sinner from the error of his way, (S. Jas v. 19, 20.) A 6th is also through the abundance of love, as also the Lord Himself saith, "Verily I say unto you, 'her sins, being many, are remitted to her, because she loved much.'" And then follows the 7th, the laborious and painful course of public penitence, in which alone confession is spoken of.

Since then the remission of sins in there is promised, upon our Lord's own words in the plenarily, to the weakness of mind or actions spoken of, and to the absence of faith, a severe discipline should belong to the Christian, for whom Christ died; that given for almsgiving, for the Saviour saith, 'but give alms, and behold all things are clean unto you.' The 4th that, whereby we also forgive our brethren their sins, for thus saith our Lord and Saviour Himself, 'if ye forgive your brethren from the heart their trespasses, your Heavenly Father will also forgive you your trespasses.'" The 5th is when one turneth a sinner from the error of his way, (S. Jas v. 19, 20.) A 6th is also through the abundance of love, as also the Lord Himself saith, "Verily I say unto you, 'her sins, being many, are remitted to her, because she loved much.'" And then follows the 7th, the laborious and painful course of public penitence, in which alone confession is spoken of.
is made at all. Then also it suffices that the absence of any one does not destroy the value of another in itself; almsgiving is sufficient without the presence of brethren, if any one, as may often be, have need to find forgiveness, without almsgiving, if any one have nothing to give; and so on. It is not the mere absence of any of these means, but the presence of some positive quality, in itself offensive to God, which would vitiate the rest; as, if any were unforgiving, churlish, unloving, &c.; else Origen, presupposing of course "an honest and true heart," states each of these ways to be appointed means whereby God severally forgave sins, as He did through the several sacrifices under the law. Origen sums up, by parallelising, that He means severally with the sacrifices; but as those means were not all offered together, so it is plain that he did not suppose these means to be necessarily required together; almsgiving, forgiveness of brethren, exceeding love, conversion of a sinner, if existing in such degree as to be indeed sacrifices to God, had, Origen states, the promise of forgiveness of sin annexed to them. In the same way, the several means pointed out in Holy Scripture for effecting past sin, are inexcusable, as separate, by S. Chrysostome and Cassian. It has been above remarked, how S. Gregory of Nyssa, in the Epistle quoted in proof of private penance, expressly leaves cases for which public penance had not been assigned, to be 'healed by the word of teaching only.' S. Chrysostome also in the passages cited to prove private confession, shews that the sins of the people were unknown to the priests. But besides these, there is other distinct evidence that confession was not regarded as essential to remission. This is chiefly furnished by S. Chrysostome, who yet, as alleged by Bellarmine, recommends public penitence, and himself enforced it; still he most distinctly alleges that confession to God suffices for forgiveness, and this so repeatedly, and so strongly, as to leave no question as to his meaning. Certainly no words could be used, which should exclude any other meaning, if his do not. Thus he says, "Not this alone is wondrous, that He remits us our sins, but that He does not reveal, nor make them manifest or open, nor compel us to come forward and speak out our transgressions, but bids us plead before Him Alone and confess to Him;" (he uses the very technical word ἐπαθροφόρος,) again, "confess to God Alone thy sins;" against Thee only have I sinned, and done evil before Thee, and the sin is forgiven," (Hom. de Pœnit. 3. (ol. 9.) t. ii. p. 300.) and after contrasting the willingness with which men would even with shame confess to an earthly judge, "despite the shame through longing for safety," he adds, "but here this is not so, but He remits the sins also, and compels not to parade them in the presence of others, but seeks this thing only, that he who enjoyeth the benefit, should learn the greatness of the gift. How then is it not preposterous, if when, wherein He benefits us, He is satisfied with the testimony from us alone, where in we serve Him, seek to have others as witnesses, and do any thing for display?" (Catech. 2. ad illum. 5. 4. 1. p. 240. col. Hom. 21. ad Pop. Ant.) This language he uses in other places as even with reference to grievous sins, fornication or adultery, "if he [the sinner] will converse alone with Him, no one knowing, and will utter every thing accurately, he shall soon repair his offences." (Hom. 20. in Gen.) and putting the words in the very mouth of God, "I compel thee not," He saith, "to come into the midst of a theatre, surrounded by many witnesses. Tell Me Alone thy sin apart, that I may heal the sore, and free from the pain." (Hom. 4. de Lex. 5. 4. 4. t. ii. p. 785.) Again, in a passage remarkable for acknowledging what Romanists seem to forget, that there is shame in confessing sin at all, even though man be not by, if any but realize what his defilements are, and how holy God is; "But thou art ashamed and blushing to utter thy sins; nay, but even it necessary to utter these things before men and display them, not even thus shouldst thou be ashamed; (for sin, not, to confess sin, is...

S. Chrysostome—Confession to God Alone sufficeth. 399

upbraideth not sins, but remitteth sins on confession. But thou hesitatest.

Again, in the examination of transgressions in the thoughts of conscience. Be the judgment-seat unwitnessed. Let God Alone see thee confessing, God Who upbraideth not sins, but remitteth sins on confession. But thou hesitatest even thus, and drawest back? I know that conscience endures not the memory of its own transgressions. For if we come to recall our transgressions, the mind starts, like an untamed, ungoverned, colt. But hold it to, rein, soothe it with the hand, pacify it, persuade it, that if it confess not now, it shall confess there, where the punishment is greater, the exhibition fuller; here the judgment-seat is without witnesses, and thou who hast sinned, judgest thyself; there every thing will be done in the midst of the theatre of the whole world, unless we anticipate it here, and efface them." (Hom. non esse ad gratiam concionand. §. 3. t. 2. p. 663.) Again, (speaking of the approach to the Lord's Table,) "Wherefore he (the Apostle) says, 'Let each prove himself, and then let him come, and he biddeth us not prove ourselves, the one to the other, but each himself, making the Judgment-seat private, the proof unwitnessed."' (Hom. 28. in Phil.) In another place (Hom. de Penit. 2. init. ol. de Penit. Achaeb t. ii. p. 297.) he words it differently, that he requires nothing else but confession to God; "Hast thou sinned? say to God, 'I have sinned;' what toll is there herein? what long course? what difficulty to say the word, 'I have sinned?' For unless thou confess thyself a sinner, hast thou the devil as accuser? Be beforehand, and take from him his prerogative, to accuse. Why then art thou not beforehand with him, uttering the sin and blotting it out, knowing that thou hast an accuser who cannot keep silence? Thou hast sinned; enter the Church; say unto, God, 'I have sinned;' I ask of thee nothing else but only this: for Holy Scripture says, 'tell thou first thy sins, that thou mayest be justified;' tell thy sin that thou mayest be free from thy sin." In another (Hom. 31. in Hebr. §. 3.) he expresses it, that confession in thought suffices; "Let us persuade ourselves that we have sinned. Let us not say so with the tongue only, but with the mind; let us not call ourselves only sinners, but let us also count up our sins, recounting each severally. I tell thee not, expose thyself to public show, nor accuse thyself to others, but I counsel thee to obey the Prophet who saith, 'Reveal thy way unto the Lord; confess thy sins to the Judge; praying, if not with the tongue, yet with the memory, and so obtain mercy.' Again, in the same contrast with 'a theatre and 'witnesses," he says, 'Within, in the conscience, none being present except the All-seeing God, enter into judgment and examination of sins, and reviewing thy whole life bring thy sins into the judgment of thy mind; correct thy transgressions; and thus with a pure conscience, touch the Holy Table and partake of the Holy Sacrifice." (Hom. de Penit. 6. (ol. 8.) fin. t. 2. p. 326.) Again, as he exhorted to confess "to God, Who upbraideth not," so also as "to Him Who already knoweth," (which could not be said of confession to God in presence of a priest,) "If this Lamech declined not to confess the murders he had com-

mitted, how should we be objects of pardon if we will not confess our sins to Him Who accurately knoweth all our transgressions? For doth He wish to learn because He knoweth not? He Who knoweth all things before they are, requireth confession from us, not because He knoweth not, but willing, at once, that we through the Confession, should come to a sense of our offences, and shew forth our thankfulness." (Hom. in Gen 1. c.) And to obviate all doubt he contrasts this confession with that to a single fellow-servant. "Nothing is so destructive to sin, as to accuse and condemn it with repentance and tears. Hast thou condemned the sin; thou hast put off the burden. And who saith so? God Himself, Who judgeth. 'Tell thou first thy sins, that thou mayest be justified.' For why art thou ashamed and blushing, to tell thy sins? Tellest thou to man, that he may reproach thee? Confessest thou to thy fellow-servant, that he may make a show of thee? Thou shewest the wound to the Lord, Who careth for thee, The Friend, The Physician. For though thouittest not, is He ignorant, Who knew, even before it was done? Why then not tell it? Does sin, on thy confession, become more burdensome? Nay, but milder and lighter. And He therefore bids thee tell, not to punishment but to pardon thee; not that He may Himself know the sin (for how should He Who knoweth?) but that thou mayest learn what a debt He pardonneth." (Hom. 4. in Laz. I. c. p. 758.) This also S. Chrysostome sets forth as the provision of the whole tenor of life, continual confession of sin, as he elsewhere (Hom. 31. in Hebr. 12. c. 2.) dwells on the necessity of holding it continually in remembrance, "Wherefore I exhort and beseech and entreat you to confess (apoplystein) unto God continually. I do not bring thee into any theatre of thy fellow-servants, nor compel thee to reveal thy sins to men; unfold thy conscience to God, and to Him shew thy wounds, and of Him ask the remedies; shew them to Him who reproacheth not, but that thou mayest learn what a debt He pardonneth." (Hom. 3. in Laz. I. c. p. 758.) Accordingly, one Romanist writer boldly pronounces all these passages spurious; and (since they are unquestionable) another of great name, Petavius, condemns them as "being uttered in a declamatory way to the ignorant multitude for the sake of impressiveness." But certainly, poor as such an excuse would be for what, according to Romanists, is false teaching, the passages are too numerous and too uniform, to admit of it; they manifestly contain
402 Language of Cassian, S. Ambrose, S. Hilary, S. Augustine,

Notes S. Chrysostome's settled teaching, and Petavius condemns them as 
De Penit.
on De Penit.

The statements of S. Chrysostome do not stand alone; in his comment 
Confession.
on our Lord's prayer, there is a remarkable parallel with S. Augustine, in 

that he also speaks of that prayer, as the means of obtaining forgiveness of 

sins, which occurs so continually in S. Augustine: "Since even after the 

washing of regeneration, we fall into sin, here too showing His great 

loving-kindness, He bids us for the remission of these sins to approach 

"debtors." Seest 

All-merciful God, and say thus, 'Forgive us our debts as we also forgive our 

sins, which occurs so continually in 

washing 

beforehand with the accuser, by accusing ourselves [not of necessity 

does not mean to 

have the notions of modern Romanists on the absolute necessity of 

the state after death, where there is no confession, 

remarkably corresponding with 

not confess with the lips, that I be 

in the very heart, closing my 

I need of many words for confession; for the groans of my heart sufficed 

factionem], but what cannot be excused, can be washed away. Let tears 

Tears express the fault without alarm; tears confess the sin, without 

injuring bashfulness; tears obtain the pardon they ask not for. Peter 

wept most bitterly, that with tears he might wash out his offence. Do 

then also, if thou wouldest obtain pardon, wash out thy fault with tears."

in Luc. 1. 10. c. 32. Bellarmine's answer to this relates only to the case of 

* Brought together by Daillé, (iv. 33.) 

S. Basil, inconsistent with necessity of confession. 403

S. Peter, that "at that time Sacramental Confession was not instituted;" 

that S. Peter's tears were in fact a confession of his fault, since our Lord 

knew it: but the force of the passage is in the case being made our own; 

tears can confess sin only to one who knows it; but men know not our sin 

for the most part; therefore they are confession to God only, and, on such 

confession, S. Ambrose says, He remitteth our sin. This is, in fact, 

admitted by Bellarmine when he says, "All this is to be taken of Con-

fession made to God, or even to man who knows the crime.

The tears also are plainly a confession to Him, from Whom they obtain 

pardon, i.e. to God. S. Augustine (on Ps. 31. 5. § 16.) has the same 

contrast as others, between confession and concealment, but, from the lan-

guage itself, as well as from the passage commented upon, it is clear that 

the confession insisted on is to God only, "I acknowledged my sin, and 

my unrighteousness I hid not." This is what I said long since; 'seek 

not thou to hide, and God hideth.' "Blessed are they whose unrighteous-

esses are forgiven and their sins covered." Who hide sins, are bowed; 

but he bared them that they might be hid. What means 'hid not'? I had 

long-time been silent. What now, 'I said'? Somewhat contrary to that 

silence. 'I said.' What saidst thou? 'I will declare my unrighteousness 

against myself to the Lord, and Thou forgavest the iniquity of my heart.' "I 
said." What saidst thou? he does not as yet declare; he promises that he 

will declare, and He at onceforgives. Take heed, brethren: it is a great 

thing; he said, 'I will declare;' he said not, 'I acknowledged my 

gavest,' he said, 'I will declare, and Thou forgavest;' for by his very 
saying, 'I will declare,' he shews that he had not as yet declared with his 
mouth, but with his heart. This very saying, 'I will declare,' is to declare, 
therefore 'Thou also forgavest the iniquity of my heart.' My confession 

had not as yet come to my mouth; for I had said, 'I will declare against 

myself,' but God heard the voice of my heart. My voice was not yet on 

my lips, but the ear of God was already in my heart. 'Thou forgavest the 
iniquity of my heart, because' 'I said, I will declare,' "

In this passage, S. Augustine is not speaking of confession to man one 
way or the other; but one who thought it essential, would not have written 
thus of forgiveness being immediate upon confession to God only.

Besides the above, there are two other classes of positive testimony, (ad-
duced by Daillé,) which prove that "confession" in the ancient Church, did 
not relate to offences, incidental to all Christians, but to certain deeper sins 
only; and consequently that confession was not of universal obligation. 
The latter consists of passages, in which the fathers say, that Confession was 
not necessary previous to Communion; the 2d of such, in which they state 
that they were unacquainted with the sins of their people.

Of the first, the testimonies are, S. Clem. Alex. Strom. 1. 1. "Both 
these [teachers and hearers] must needs examine themselves, the one whether 
he be fit to speak, and leave treatises behind him; the other whether he 
be entitled to hear and read. According as some, having divided the Eu-
charist, as is usual, allow each individual of the people to take his por-
Conscience not required previous to the Holy Communion.

Notes. For conscience is the best guide to take or avoid rightly. But its greatest foundation is a right life, with fitting instruction.” (The leaving each one to determine to take his own portion seems to have been used as a sort of symbol, that he must judge himself, whether he be fit.) Origen, on the words “Jesus lift up His eyes,” leaves it to the responsibility of each, whether he will take upon himself that penance which excludes from the Holy Eucharist, or partake of it. “If any one oppose the case of the publican, who would not so much as lift up his eyes to heaven, but smote upon his breast, and said, God be merciful to me a sinner,” we must say to him, that as this ‘sorrow according to God, which worketh repentance unto salvation not to be repented of,’ is not by all and at all times to be undertaken, but only by those, and by all those, who have done things worthy of such sorrow—so, perhaps, it fittest not for all, not to will to lift up the eyes, or to stand afar off. But let each judge himself as to such things, and so not only eat of that Bread and drink of that Cup, but lift up his eyes also, and raise them aloft in prayer; submitting himself and so not only eat of that Bread and drink of that Cup, but lift up his eyes also, and raise them aloft in prayer; submitting himself to God, and humbling himself to Him.” (In Joann. t. 28. § 4. t. 4. p. 372.) S. Chrysostome again expressly; “if we do this [reconcile ourselves with our brethren], we shall be able with a pure conscience to approach His Holy and awful Table, and to utter boldly those words joined to our prayers, (those admitted know what I mean); wherefore I leave to every one’s conscience, how, fulfilling that command, we may at that fearful moment utter these things with boldness.” (Hom. 27. in Gen.) It almost amounts to the same sort of evidence, that S. Chrysostome, enumerating with much detail, how they who have their “conscience filled with sins,” may, within the five days remaining, become fit for the Holy Communion, does not mention confession; he does not suggest that they should unloose to the priest “the very heavy burden” which he supposed some to “bear upon them.” (Hom. de B. Philogon. § 4.) S. Augustine, in like way, leaves it entirely to the conscience of his hearers, whether they will approach the Holy Table or no; “Considering your several degrees, and adhering to what ye have professed, approach ye to the Flesh of the Lord, approach to the Blood of the Lord. Whose proved himself not to be such, let him not approach. Be ye rather prickled by my words.” (Serm. 132. § 4.) Ambrosiaster: (ad loc.) “He teaches, that with devoted mind and fear we must approach to the Communion, that the mind may know it oweth reverence to Him, to receive Whose Body he approaches. For this be ought to judge with himself, that it is the Lord, Whose Blood he in a mystery drinks, which is a witness of the lovingkindness of God.” And the author of the Quest. ex V. et N. Test. (q. 102. ap. Aug. t. 3. p. 98. App.) answers the Novatian objection, “Why do they give the Body of Christ to those whom they know to be sinners?” “As though the same could be accusers and judges! For if they [the sinners] be accused and manifested, they can be cut out,” and alleging our Lord’s bearing with Judas, “we must employ this instance, in proof, that we may not cast out, who is not publicly detected.” Pelagius (ad loc.) is a witness of the prevailing prac-

Priests ignorant of the sins of their people.

tice; and the more as he affected strictness. He paraphrases, “First the conscience is to be thoroughly examined, whether it reprove us in any thing, and so ought we to offer or communicate.” (ad loc.)

The other class of passages has been noted out of S. Chrysostome, S. Augustine, Innocent I. and S. Leo. (Daillé iv. 12.) One strong statement of S. Chrysostome has already occurred; (see ab. p. 386.) Again, in the same work, expressly on the duties of the priesthood, after elucidating the necessity of sowing daily, that at least by continual practice of doctrine might abide with the priests; and, mentioning some hindrances to its coming to the very surface, he adds, “but of sins, not the very smallest proportion can become manifest to them, [the priests]; for how should they, where most they know not even by face?” (de Sac. 6. 4.) It need scarcely be said how different a modern Romanist treatise on the priesthood must needs be. Again: “since the priests do not know all sinners and those who partake of the mysteries unworthily, God oftentimes doth this, and delivereth them to Satan.” (Hom. 5. in 1 Tim. § 3.) and “since many, full of innumerable evils, when they see the festival approach, dismiss them, as though driven by the very day, touch the sacred mysteries; which persons, so minded, should not even see, such of them as are manifest to us, we will ourselves assuredly exclude: but those who are unknown to us, we will leave to God, Who knoweth the hidden things of every man’s heart.” (Hom. in eos qui absunt divinis off. § 4. (de Bapt. Christi, t. ii. p. 373.) add Hom. i. adv. Jud. § 4. “Believe me, I will rather lay down my head, than overlook any who are thus disordered, if I see it; but if I know it not, God will surely forgive me.” S. Augustine (Serm. 392. ad conjug.) and Innocent I. (Ep. 3. al. 2.) both speak of the sins of adulterers becoming known to them by the accusation of their wives, and of their not knowing them in any other way. S. Leo (de quadr. Serm. 5. c. 3.) speaks of those “who passed well-nigh the whole period of the year carelessly or negligently; and warns such, out of the love he owes them, not to flatter themselves, because the consciences of individuals cannot be open to us; whereas no hidden places separate from the eyes of God, Who seeth all things at once; nor are thoughts and actions only, but what is about to be done and thought, known to him.”

Even negative evidence has much weight, when the materials are adequate; if under parallel circumstances equally detailed, and in a sufficient number of instances, mention is uniformly made of a religious practice at one period, while it is omitted at another, it does imply a different view as to the virtue of the practice. Religious persons would not, without some adequate ground, uniformly neglect at one period, what was practised at another; and such ground is furnished by the different view of the Church respecting it; at the one time, when recommended by the Church, they performed it; if at another they neglect it, when obedience to the Church was equally recognised as a duty, it would be, because the Church did not require it. The instances, then, being in each case very numerous, the absence of any mention of confession in the early Church under the following circumstances, does, when contrasted with the uniform mention of it in
Collateral evidence implying absence of confession, of old.

Notes on Dr. Paimé p. 141: "secret confession has, among the modern Latins, a chief place in the religious acts of all the faithful; clergy, monks, lay; princes, private persons; nobles, people; men and women; but no where in the Ancient Church" (D. iv. 3.) "especially at the close of life, as a bounden duty, it is universal among the moderns, unknown among the ancients?" (ib. c. 5.) "or in sudden perils, as sickness, wars, shipwrecks, journeys, &c.?" (c. 6.) "in persecution or by Martyrs?" (c. 7.) "at great festivals?" (c. 8.) and certainly the details are given so fully, that it is inconceivable, that the practice of confession should have been so uniformly mentioned with praise in the later, and wholly omitted in the earlier Church, had the practice of the earlier been the same as that of the later.

An argument of the same sort is deduced from the body of writings, the great number and variety of questions and discussions, to which the modern confession has given rise, and from its very nature must give rise. (D. iv. 14.) It again is inconceivable that with the large remains of antiquity which we have, and the notices of lost works, there should be no vestige of any thing corresponding to all this, had the practice which occasioned it, existed.

Another, and unquestionable, ground has been furnished (D. iv. 40.) by the different use of the word "penitent" and "penitence" at different periods; in the early Church, it signified in itself public penitents. (as above, Conc. Carth. p. 390. S. Augustine, p. 393. Conc. Tolet. (A. 400.) On. 2.) From the 8th to the 13th" the nature of the penitence is distinguished by the addition "public" or "private," then "public" penitence being wholly disputed, the terms again ceased to be distinguished by any addition, and as in the first period, when used alone, it signified "public," so now, "private" "penitence" or "penitent." This variation would not have existed, had the modern private penitence existed in the early Church.

Dallé has shown further that the "necessity" of confession remained an open question to a later period. P. Lombard (himself holding it to be necessary) says, "Some think it sufficient, if confession be made to God only, without the judgment of the priest, or confession to the Church, (Sent. L. iv. dist. 17.) Gratian says nearly the same, but leaves the question undecided, saying that there were "wise and religious men on both sides." (de Ponnit. dist. i. c. 89.) Auricular confession is still unknown to the sects, parted at an early period from the Greek Communion, the Ethiopians, Thomas' Christians, Babylonians, Armenians, Jacobites. (D. iv. 1.) It appears also that in the time of Theodosius, our Archbishop, it was not in the Greek Church itself.

Confessionsalutary in degeneracy of the Church, not essential.

Although, however, it is certain from the above evidence, that the early Church had no obligatory confession, except that of overt acts of sin, with a view to public penitence, and consequently that confession, as now practised in the Roman Communion, is not essential to the validity of the general exercise of the power of the keys, still, as a matter of discipline it belongs, especially to the Christian prudence of any Church to imitate or lay aside; it does not follow that because it was not practised in the early Church, it may not be a salutary check in the degraded state in which the Church now is; if a Church have it, it should not be looked upon as a burthen, but as a privilege, as must any check upon our self-willed, forgetful, ways be; if a Church have laid it aside, there is no ground for misgiving, as though it had parted with any thing essential to the benefits of absolution, so that individuals do not omit the "works meet for repentance," self-abstention, almsgiving, prayer; and these three remedies S. Augustine speaks of, as instruments for the cleansing even of our daily, lighter sins. "Weak is human nature, which can be slain even by the smallest animals. Such also are small sins; ye observe that they are small; beware of them, because they are many. How exceeding small are grains of sand! Yet if too much sand be put into a vessel, it sinks it that it be lost. How small are drops of rain! Fill they not rivers, and cast down houses? Therefore despise them not. But ye will say, 'Who can be without them?' That thou mayest not say so, because none can so often to a gracious God, seeing our frailty, set some contrary remedies. What remedies? Alms, fasting, prayer, these are three. But that thou mayest

Latinis, is more likely to have noted the Greek practice than a later Latin; rather, it appears to have been disdained to some extent. In the latter part, there are also two omissions, which betray themselves as designed; for the text, as it stands in Gratian,

expresses the Greek and the ancient by the operation of physicians. The words in italic mark a distinction between the two sorts of confession; by omitting them, it is made to appear that all sin is to be confessed to the Priest; and they were omitted doubtless, as contrary to the subsequent practice of the Church. The very way in which the last clause now runs, in itself betrays the omission. "Dues nangue salutis et sanitatis auctore et largitor set quorum opera..."

For God is the author and giver of salvation and holiness, very often gives the medicine of His repentance [i. e. which He bestows] by an invisible minister. Very often by the operation of physicians. The incursion of physicians; no one would ever have constructed such a sentence; but that clause in which the verb stood, "it was" having been omitted, est was substituted, and Autor and Nautor were changed into predicates.
408 Remedies for sins without confession to man.

Notes
on De
Punit.

Confes-
sion.

408 Remedies for sins without confession to man.

Notes on De Punit. Confession.

speak truth in prayer [" as we forgive," &c.] thou must fulfill the measure of perfect alms. What are these? That whereof thou hast abundantly, thou givest to him who hath not, and when any injure thee, forgivest him." (Serm. 9. § 17.) Again and with the same metaphor of the ship sunk though slowly filled: "What is to clear out the water, other than, by good works, by groaning, fasting, giving, forgiving, to provide that sins sink it not?" add Ep. ad Seleucian. fin. de Perf. Just. Hom. c. 8. § 18.

THE FIRST BOOK TO HIS WIFE.

[I]t is clear that Tertullian wrote the two books "to his wife" before his fall; since in both he admits of a second marriage, (i. 7, 8. ii. throughout,) which excluded from the Montunist communion, (de Pud. c. 1 fin.) he allows also of flight in persecution, as the least of two evils, (i. 3.) The two Treatises were written nearly at the same time, (ii. init.) and if, as S. Jerome says, he fell into his schism in middle life, early in life. The very commencement of this book "Jam hinc providere" implies that he was providing for what, humanely speaking, seemed at a distance. No date is furnished by the fact that Christians were then liable to punishment, if informed against, (i. 5—7.) since this was equally the case, whether in times of public persecution or its intermission.

I have judged it meet, best-beloved fellow-servant in the Lord, to provide, even at this time, for the course which thou must follow after my departure from the world, if I should be called away before thee; and that thou mayest observe that which I have provided, to commit it to thy trust. For in worldly matters we are sufficiently active, and will that the good of each of us be cared for. If for such things we give directions, why should we not be bound to provide the more for our future in things divine and heavenly, and in a manner to antedate our legacy, our admonition namely and representation of such things as are accounted to pertain to immortal goods and an heavenly inheritance. God only grant that thou mayest be able to receive in full this gift of my admonition and my confidence committed to thee; to Him be honour, glory, brightness, dignity, and power, both now and for evermore. Amen. I charge thee therefore, with what added from V. continuency thou mayest, after my departure renounce marriage; not that thou wilt confer, on that head, any good

* talibus talibus—I suppose this may be defended by the analogous word qualis-qualis—it seems a sort of contemptuous expression. (Tr.) So Cod. Ag. Rig. proposes tabulas "writings," needlessly. In the older Edd. V. & D. the second "talibus" was omitted.

* i. e. make it public, (as he does here,) before our decease.

" In allusion to the Julian and Papian laws, which in certain cases only allowed the widowed to inherit the whole property of the deceased; comp. de Monog. c. 16. Rig.
410 Unity of marriage recommended in its institution;

An Xux. upon me, save in what thou shalt profit thyself. Besides to
Christians after their departure from the world no restoration of
marriage is promised in the day of Resurrection, being, as
they are, translated to the quality and holiness of angels. 
Wherefore there is no care which is of the jealousy of the
flesh. Even she, who, they would have it, had married
seven brethren in succession, shall not, according to the
Lord's declaration, offend one of so many husbands on the
Day of Resurrection, nor doth any man wait for her to put her
to shame. The question of the Sadducees hath given place
to the judgment of the Lord. Think not that it is to pre-
serve thy body untouched for myself, that I am even now
insisting the advice to remain a widow, suspicious because
of the pain of being slighted. No debasing pleasure shall then
be resumed between us. For God promiseth not to His
people things so vain, so impure. But whether what we
advise shall be profitable, for thee, or for any other woman
belonging to God, this we may thoroughly discuss.

II. We deny not, indeed, that the union of man and woman
is blessed by God as the means of propagating the human
kind, and devised for replenishing the globe, and furnishing
the world, and thence permitted; yet, but once. For both
Adam was the one husband of Eve, and Eve was his one
wife, one woman, one rib. In truth, among our ancestors,
even the Patriarchs themselves, it was lawful not only to
marry, but even to have many marriages at once. Concubines,
etour, and even the Patriarchs themselves, it was lawful not only to
marry, but even to have many marriages at once. Concubines,
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etour, and even the Patriarchs themselves, it was lawful not only to
marry, but even to have many marriages at once. Concubines,
Things permitted not the best.

IV. But the flesh, we read, is weak; and with this we

sooth ourselves the more largely. Yet we read also that the spirit is strong; for both are placed in the same sentence. The flesh is an earthly, but the spirit an heavenly, material. Why therefore do we, too prone to excuse ourselves, put forth in our defence the things which are weak in us, and guard not those which are strong? Why may not the earthly yield to the heavenly? If the spirit be stronger than the flesh, because it is also of higher birth, it is through our own fault that we follow the weaker. For to those, who are separated from marriage, two kinds of human weakness make marriage necessary. The first indeed most powerful, which cometh of the lust of the flesh; the next, of the lust of the world. But each must be renounced by us, the servants of God, who renounce both luxury and ambition. The lust of the flesh advocate the functions of mature age, demandeth to reap the fruits of beauty, glorieth in its shame, saith that a husband...
Marriage for worldly ends un-Christian.

An Ux. other lust, of the world, hath for its causes, vain-glory, covetousness, ambition, insufficiency; by means of which it triumpheth up this necessity for marriage, promising heavenly things truly! to lord it in another's household, to rest upon another's wealth, to extort finery from another's store, to lay out moneys which thou dost not feel! These be far from the Matt. 6, faithful, who take no thought for sustaining life, except we distrust the promise of God, and His care and providence,

ver. 28. Who clotheth the lilies of the field with so much beauty, ver. 27. Who feedeth the fowls of the air without toil of theirs, Who ver. 25. forbidst us to take thought for the meat and raiment of the morrow; assuring us that He knoweth what each one of

His servants hath need of: not indeed the burdensome necklace, not the tedious garment, not a multitude of Gallic or German porters, which things light up the pomp of marriage, but that sufficiency which befitteth modesty and chastity. Presume, I beseech thee, that thou needest nothing, if thou attendest upon the Lord; yea, that thou hast all things, if thou hast the Lord, Whose are all things. Think upon heavenly, and thou wilt despise earthly things. V. For a widowhood ratified before the Lord nothing more is needed than to persevere. Men indeed make for themselves new excuses for marriage in their anxiety for descendents, and the pleasure, so bitter, of children. With us is needed than to persevere. Men indeed make

for the desire of gain. And yet that blindness in those days subsisted long before the ends of the world. What then will the case be, if He now forbid us those things which were of old hateful in the eyes of God, and the Day of Judgment. And yet that blindness in those days subsisted long before the ends of the world. What then will the case be, if He now forbid us those things which were of old hateful in the eyes of God? The time, saith He, is short: it remaineth that they that have wives live as though they had none. The time, saith He, is short: it remaineth that they that have wives live as though they had none.

Children, an additional risk to salvation.

of God! for we are secure enough about our own salvation, so that we have leisure for children! We must seek for burdens, which are avoided by most even of the Heathen, which have laws even to encourage them, which are annihilated by unnatural murders, to us, finally, especially grievous, as being dangerous to faith. Why did the Lord prophesy, Woe to them that are with child, and to them that give suck, unless because He testifieth that the encumbrance of children would be an hindrance in that Day of discom­
currence? surely because he would lay marriage to their charge. But this will not pertain to widows: they will start forth unencumbered at the first trump of the angel: they will freely bear any pressure and persecution, no burden of marriage swelling in their womb, none in their bosom.

Therefore whether marriage be for the sake of the flesh, or of the world, or of having descendents, not one of those necessitites belongeth to the servants of God, so as that I should not be content to have once yielded to some one of them, and by one marriage to have compounded for every desire of this sort. Let us marry daily, and, marrying, be overtaken, like Sodom and Gomorrah, by that Day of fear. For there they were not purely engaged in marriage and traffic only, but when He saith, they married, they bought, He denoteth the very vices which are most notable, of the flesh, and the world, which call men off the most from divine exercises, the one through the pleasure of wantonness, the other through the desire of gain. And yet that blindness in those days subsisted long before the ends of the world. What then will the case be, if He now forbid us those things which were of old hateful in the eyes of God? The time, saith He, is short: it remaineth that they that have wives live as though they had none.

* or "watch over," as Virg. defensò incubat suo. [Tr.] Incubare seems to have the same sense as the "incumbere" of the Edd., which is a gloss in Te, Edd.; [it] that out of an expense, which thouallest not, things should come to thee, [for, since the construction is harsh, the preceding infinitives being personified,] to extort finery at the expense of another which thou dost not feel to come upon thee." [Tr.] This being flat, and A. having cedere, omitting in te, Rig. conjectures, a. q. n. a. edere.

et cura et providentia are omitted by A. alone, and thence by Rig.

so A. which is favoured by another reading, mulos, and corresponds with Clem. Al. Pedag. iii. 4 (ap. Rig.) et ferebo increberem acro urbe, whereas else the reading G. atque R. V. 3. ap. Pam.) "not Gallic countenances (figures) or German porters," is more like T.'s broken style.

The jura trium liberorum, &c. Juv. Ix. 87-90.


The Day of Judgment, in which the saints will be freed from the chains of death. utique nuptias impugurate Ed. V. D. de utique nuptias impugnate A. which Rig. corrects into nuptiae.

t Tertullian blends the first and second fulfilment of the prophecy, (Matt. xxi.) the straits of the Church in this world, (of which the destruction of Jerusalem was an eminent instance,) and the Day of Judgment. Alacrity amid trouble here, was an earnest of "boldness," (aevus, Gal. ii. 28.) persecutions, or the end of the world, Apol. c. 92, &c. and latter part of this c.

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VI. But if when they have, they are bound to do away with what they have, how much more, when they have not, are they forbidden to seek again that which they have not! so that she whose husband is departed from the world, may forthwith enjoin rest to her sex by abstinence from marriage, which very many of the heathen women devote as an offering to the memory of their most dear husbands. When any thing seemeth difficult, let us remember others who are undergoing things more difficult. For how many are there, who directly after the laver put a seal upon their flesh? how many also, who, by a like consent between themselves, cancel the debt of marriage, eunuchs of their own accord, through desire of the kingdom of heaven? But if, while marriage remaineth, abstinence be endured, how much rather when it is taken away! For I suppose it more difficult that that which remaineth should be abandoned, than that which is lost should not be longed after. An hard matter truly, and sufficiently arduous, is the continency of an holy woman, after the departure of her husband, for the sake of God, when the Heathen endure it for their own Satan, in the priesthood both of virgins and of widows! At Rome indeed they who deal, with the image of that unquenchable fire, tending the tokens of their own punishment shared with the dragon himself, are of the class of virgins. At the town of Aegium a virgin is allotted to Achaean Juno; and they who are phrenzied at Delphi know not marriage. Besides we know that widows attend upon the African Ceres, allured from their marriage by a most hard forgetfulness. For not only do they quit their husbands yet remaining alive, but even introduce others to them in their own place, (they no doubt smiling on it,) refusing themselves all contact, even to the kiss of their sons: and yet, during possession, do they persevere in this rule of widowhood, which shutteth out the comforts even of an holy affection. These things the Devil teacheth his own, a Val. Max. ii. 7. "Those who were content with one marriage, they honoured with the crown of chastity—accounting the multiplication of marriages a sign of a sort of lawless unrestrainedness." alluding to "the seal" as a title of Baptism, comp. de Cult. Fem. i. 9.  

and is obeyed. He challengeth doubtless, as though on equal terms, the servants of God by the continency of his own. Even the priests of Hell are continent. For he hath found how to destroy men even in good pursuits; and it maketh no matter to him that some perish through indulgence, others through continency.

VII. To us continency hath been set forth by the Lord of salvation as a preparation for eternity; as a testimony of Faith; as a commendation of that flesh, which must be furnished by the putting on hereafter of incorruption; last of all, as a waiting upon the will of God: for besides these things I warn thee to reflect that no one is taken out of the world save by the will of God, if not even a leaf falleth from a tree without the will of God. The Same That bringeth us in, must needs also take us out of the world. Wherefore, the husband being dead by the will of God, the marriage also is dead by the will of God. Why shouldst thou restore that to which God hath put an end? Why, by renewing the bondage of marriage, disclaimst thou the liberty offered to thee? Art thou bound, saith he, by marriage? seek not to be 1 Cor. loosed. Art thou loosed from marriage? seek not to be bound. For though thou sinnest not in marrying again, yet he saith that trouble in the flesh followeth. Wherefore let us love, ver. 28. as much as we can, the opportunity of continency: as soon as it offereth itself, let us drink it in, that we may follow, in widowhood, which that we could not in marriage. The occasion must be embraced, which taketh away that which necessity demanded. How much second marriages detract from the Faith, how much they hinder holiness, the discipline of the Church and the rule of the Apostle declareth, when he suffereth not the twice-married to preside; when he Titus 1, suffereth not a widow, unless the wife of one man, to be, Tim. taken into the number; for the altar of God must be set, thr forth clean. All this beauty of the Church is made up of holiness. Among the heathen there is the priesthood of widows, and celibacy. According to the rivalry of the Devil, it is unlawful for their chief priest, a king of this world, to
Excellence and safeguard of widowhood.

I. marry a second time. How pleasing to God is holiness, when even His enemy affecteth it! not surely as being akin to any thing good, but as insultingly affecting the things which are pleasing to the Lord God.

VIII. For as touching the honour which widowhood hath with God, it is briefly comprehended in one word of His, spoken by the Prophet, Do justly to the widow and the fatherless, and come, let us reason together, saith the Lord. These two titles, laid open to Divine compassion in proportion as they are destitute of human aid, the Father of all taketh on Him to defend. See how he, who doeth good to the widow, is held in equal esteem with the widow herself, whose advocate shall reason with the Lord! The gift, methinks, is not for virgins only. Although the perfect purity in them, and their entire holiness, shal be most closely beheld the face of God, yet the widow hath a somewhat harder task, because it is easy not to desire that which thou knowest not, and to turn away from that which thou never hadst to regret. More glorious the continence, which hath a sense of its own right, which knoweth that whereof it taketh heed. The virgin may be deemed the happier, but the widow is the more striveing: the one, because she hath ever had the good, the other because she hath gained the good for herself. In the one grace, in the other virtue, is crowned. For some things are of God's bounty, some of our own working out. Such as are freely given by God are ruled by the grace proper to them; such as are aimed at by man are achieved by study. Study, then, for obtaining the virtue of continency, modesty, which ministereth to shame; industry, which dealeth not with trifles; thriftiness, which despiseth the world. Follow after company and conversations worthy of God, remembering that verse, sanctified by the Apostle,

1. Cor. 15. 53. "Ill company good manners doth corrupt." (Menander.)

1 Tim. 5. 12. Tatlers, idlers, wine-bibbers, busy-bodies, gossips, especially hinder the purpose of widowhood. Through tattling creep in words adverse to modesty; through idleness they draw them off from strictness; through wine-bibbing they instil every evil; through busy- pry ing they convey a rivalry in lust. Not one of this sort of women knoweth how to speak of the good of marrying but once: for their God, as saith the Apostle, is Phil. 3, their belly, and so too is the purtenance of the belly. These things I now commend unto thee, dearest fellow-servant, which it hath been superfluous indeed to treat of after the Apostle; yet which shall be to thee a comfort too, because in them thou wilt, if so it shall happen, oft renew the memory of me.

Note N, on page 417.

There seems to have been some difference of view between the Churches of Asia and the rest, on the interpretation, or at least the application, of the Apostolic direction, 1 Tim. 3. 1. the Asiatic Churches, apparently understanding the Apostle to forbid those to be ordained, who had had more than one wife at once, whether in consequence of the divorces, which our Lord forbids, and by forbidding implies to have existed, or (among heathens) of actual polygamy, however rare; the rest taking the words "husband of one wife" in their strict sense, one who had not in any way had more than one. Of the Asiatic interpretation there is a little direct proof; for S. Chrysostom, who gives it when explaining 1 Tim. (Hom. 10. init.) mentioning also the other, inculcates the other exclusively, on Tit. 1. (Hom. 2.) S. Jerome mentions the interpretation, as held by some, (ad Tit. 1.) perhaps referring to S. Chrysostom himself; Theodoret mentions it only. But it was probably the basis of the Asiatic practice, which Theodoret attests, when (Ep. 110. ad Domn.) he justifies his consecration of Irenaeus, by the existing custom. "As to the matter of digamy, we have followed those before us. " "We have followed the custom, and me, distinguished and far-famed for their knowledge and life." As instances, he names Alexander of blessed and holy memory, who ruled this Apostolic see, [Antioch,] the most blessed Acacius Bishop of Beroea, and the blessed Praylius." [Bishop of Jerusalem.] He mentions also that it was done at the recommendation of the Bishops of Phocinia, and approved and praised by Proclus, Bishop of Constantinople, the chief bishop of Pontus, and all those of Palestine; and that no doubt had been raised about it. On the other hand, Tertullian, (de Monog. c. 11.) Origen, (Hom. 17. in Luc. fin.) S. Ambrose, (de Off. i. ul. 4. 297. and Ep. 63. ad Verecill. §. 63.) S. Jerome, (adv. Jovin. i. 14. 34. 35. "he who has had, not who has one wife," Ep. 123. ad Ageruch. c. 6. ad Tit. i. 6.) S. Augustine, (de bono Conj. c. 18.) S. Epiphanius, (Hær. 59. §. 4.) Innocent I., (Ep. 3. cl. 82. ad Sym. Tolet.)
some such (quibus fuerint numerosa conjugia) had been admitted indiscreetly to holy Orders."

Some extend this to those whose first or even both marriages had been before Baptism, on the ground that the Apostle's rule was peremptory, and such marriage, not being a sin, was not effaced by Baptism; so S. Ambrose, l. c. followed by Innocent I. l. c. S. Aug. refers to the exposition of S. Ambrose as acute, but still only as a private opinion, "they who have thought (cessauerunt) that not even he, who as a catechumen or a heathen had a second wife, is to be ordained." The milder side is taken by S. Jerome, Ep. 69. ad Ocean. § 2, 3. where he reports, "of such ordinances the whole world is full; I do not say of Presbyters, nor of the inferior grade; I come to Bishops, whom if I would name severally, the number would exceed that of the Synod of Ariminum!" (300, for which, however, he was censured by Chrysogonus, a follower of Rufinus, Apol. I. c. Ruf. fin.) Again, on Tit. 1, 6. he treats this extension of the prohibition "rather as superstitious than true." Tertullian, even as a Montanist, admits the same principle, de Monog. c. 11. "a second husband will not be imputed, because after embracing the faith, he is the first." The rule appears to have been gradually enforced in the Western Church, for Tertullian though he mentions that some twice-married Bishops had been deposed, (de Exhort. Cast. c. 7.) taunts the Church with being full of such; "How many twice-married preside among you, forsooth insulting the Apostle;" (de Monog. c. 12.) "and S. Leo, (Ep. 4. ad Episc. per Camp. &c. c. 2.) mentions that some such (quibus fuerit numerosa conjugia) had been admitted indiscriminately to holy Orders." Aquinas, (Quodl. iv. art. 13.) Durand, (in Sent. iv. d. 37. g. 4.) Vasquez, (in 3 P. T. 3. disp. 24. c. 25.) quoted by Bp. Taylor, (Rule of Conscience, iii. 4. rule 20. § 30.) also declare it "only to be a constitution of the Church," which the Pope may dispense with; and, as has been observed, the permission of such marriages is no greater departure from the letter of Scripture on the one side than the dispensing with a married Clergy on the other.

THE SECOND BOOK TO HIS WIFE.

I. I have but just now, best-beloved fellow-servant in the Lord, traced out for thee, as well as I was able, what course should be followed by an holy* woman, when her husband is, by whatever hap, taken away. Let us now turn to the next best counsel, out of regard to human infirmity, the examples of certain women warning us, who, when by divorce, or an husband's death, an occasion of continency is offered, have not only thrown away the opportunity of so great a good, but, even in marrying, have not chosen to remember the rule, that first and chiefly they should marry in the Lord*. Wherefore my mind hath been troubled, lest I, i. Cor. 7, who lately exhorted thee to stedfast keeping unto one husband and unto widowhood, may now, by the mention of marriage, make the removal of the caution a downfall unto thee. But if thou art perfect in wisdom, surely thou must therein observe that which is the more profitable. But because this most important purpose of life is difficult and not without its necessities, I have abated somewhat: nor ver. 37. should I have had reasons for referring to thee on this point also, had I not found herein a weightier anxiety. For in

* i. e. a Christian, as in c. 2. 3. 6. and i. 6.

See Note O, at the end of this Treatise.

† for in the same manner of life, in what manner of life, as Rig., who thinks T. too strict. The Fathers quote to the same purpose, 2 Cor. 6. 14 sqq. Gen 24. 1. Kings 11. Est. 10. Tob. 6. Marriage with a heathen was forbidden by the first Council of Nicaea, can. 11. and that of Ellicott, can. 19.; it is mentioned as one cause of the decay of Christian life, by S. Cypri. de Lapa. c. 4. is warned against by S. Amb. Ep. 19. ad Vigil. 1. 8. in Luc. init. add de Abr. ii. 9.
An Un. proportion as the continency, which ministereth to widowhood, is great, doth the not enduring it seem pardonable. For in things difficult pardon is easy. But as to marry in the Lord is practicable, as being within our power, so much the more culpable is it not to obey what thou canst. To this is added that the Apostle, as touching widows indeed and the unmarried, adviseth that they so remain, when he adjicit. addeth, But I would that all would persevere according to my example; but, as touching marrying in the Lord, when he saith, only in the Lord, he no longer adviseth, but plainly commandeth. Wherefore, in this instance especially, if we obey not, we are in peril. Because one may neglect a thing advised more safely than a thing commanded: for the one couneth of counsel, and is proposed to the will; but the other is derived from power, and is tied to necessity: in the proportion as the continency, which ministereth to

The word is taken by the Holy Spirit from S. Matt. 5:31, as below, c. 7. [Tr.

Marriage with Heathen to be continued, not contracted. Heathens. According to the very words themselves, "If any believer," saith he, "have an unbelieving wife," he saith not, "take an unbelieving wife!" he sheweth that one already in the married state with an unbelieving woman, and afterwards converted by the grace of God, ought to continue with his wife; to wit for this reason, lest any, having obtained Faith, should think that he ought to be divorced from a woman now an alien, and, in some sense, a stranger. Eph. 2, wherefore he subjoineth also the reason, that we are called in peace to the Lord God; and that the unbeliever may, through use of marriage, be gained by the believer. This very clause too proveth that this must so be understood: ver. 17. As every one, saith he, is called by the Lord, so let him abide. Now Heathens, methinks, not believers, are called. But if he had declared absolutely concerning the marriage of believers only, he had permitted the saints to marry indiscriminately. But if he had permitted this, he would never have subjoined a declaration so different, and so contrary to his own permission, saying, A woman, if her husband be dead, is at liberty: let her marry whom she will: only in the Lord. Here surely is no question to be made: for that, concerning which a question might have been made, the Spirit hath declared. Lest we should make an ill use of that which He saith, Let her marry whom she will, He hath added, only in the Lord, that is, in the Name of the Lord, which is, doubtless, to a Christian. That Holy Spirit therefore, who had rather that widows and the unmarried should abide in their integrity, Who exhorteth us to the example of himself, prescribeth no other mode of repeating ver. 7, marriage, save in the Lord. To this condition alone doth He allow the loss of continency. Only, saith He, in the Lord. He hath added a weight to His own law, only: with whatever tone and manner thou shalt pronounce that word, it is weighty: it both commandeth and adviseth, both teacheth and exhorteth, both asketh and threateneth. 'Tis a
II. useth God to speak, that thou mayest understand at once, obey at once. For he that may not understand that the Apostle hath, in this kind of marriage which he forbiddeth, provided against many dangers and wounds to the Faith, and hath first of all guarded against the defilement of holy flesh by Heathen flesh? At this point some one saith, 'What difference then between him who is chosen by the Lord, when married to an Heathen, and one long ago, that is, before marriage, believing, so that they should not equally take care for their own flesh? whereas the one is forbidden marriage with an unbeliever, the other commanded to continue in it! Why, if we be defiled by an Heathen, is not the one loosed, even as the other is not bound?' I will answer, if the Spirit shall permit, first of all alleging that the Lord rather approveth that marriage should not be contracted, than in any case dissolved; finally, He forbidth divorce, saving for the cause of fornication, but commendeth continency. Let then the one have the necessity of abiding, the other moreover the power of not even marrying.

III. Then if, according to the Scripture, they that are found by faith in marriage with an Heathen, are therefore not defiled, because with themselves others also become sanctified; without doubt they, who before marriage were sanctified, if they be joined with strange flesh, cannot sanctify that wherewith they were not found. But the grace of God sanctifieth that which it hath found. So S. Jerome adv Jov. i. 10. So S. Isidore (Etym. vi. ult.) says, some distinguished "statio" and "jejunium," that the "statio" was the observance of certain days and seasons with fasting; days, as the Wednesday and Friday in each week; seasons, as the days in which the Bridegroom was taken away, or the Apostolic institution of Lent; and the "jejunium" was voluntary fasts.

1 Cor. 5, according to the letters of the Apostle, who saith, that with such an one we must not eat. Or shall we in that Day produce our marriage-deeds before the Judgment-seat of the Lord, and allege that which He Himself hath forbidden? That which is forbidden is not adultery; is not fornication!

1 Cor. 6, less joineth the members of Christ with the members of an harlot. As far as my knowledge serveth, we are not our own, but bought with a price: and with what price? the Blood of God. In hurting therefore that flesh, we hurt Him most nearly. What meant he, who said that to marry a stranger was indeed a sin, but a very little one? whereas, in any case, setting aside the wrong done to the flesh which pertaineth to the Lord, every wilful sin is, in the Lord, a great one. For as was his power of avoiding it, so is the weight of the charge of contumacy upon him. Let us now review the other dangers, or, as I have said, wounds to faith, provided against by the Apostle, most hurtful not only to the flesh, but also to the spirit itself. For who can doubt that faith is day by day effaced through intercourse with unbelievers? Evil communications corrupt good manners: how much more living together, and unbridled familiarity! Every believing woman must needs obey God. And how can she serve two masters? the Lord and an husband, add, Matt. 6, 24. But no matter after what fashion she pay her duties to her husband: the Lord assuredly she cannot satisfy according to His rule, while she hath at her side a servant of the devil, a minister to his own lord in hindering the pursuits and offices of believers: so that, if a station is to be kept, the husband engageth her all day to the baths; if

424 Marriage continued, sanctifies Heathen; contracted,

425 defiles Christian, and the temple of God.
Ad Ur. a fast to be observed, the husband on the same day holdeth a feast; if a procession to be made, never doth household business fall more upon her hands. And who would allow his wife, for the sake of visiting the brethren, to go from street to street the round of strange, and indeed all the poorer, cottages? Who will willingly bear her to be parted from his side, by the meetings at night, if her duty so call? Finally, who will without heed endure her being away all night at the solemnities of Easter? Who, without his own suspicions, will let her go to that feast of the Lord which they defame? Who will suffer her to creep into a prison to kiss the chains of a martyr? Yea, and to meet any of the brethren for the kiss? to offer water for the sainted feet? to seize on their meat, their cup? to long for them, to have them in their thoughts? If a stranger brother come to her, what lodging in an alien's house? If a present is to be made to any, the barn, the storehouse are closed against her. We will not be ignorant of a thing who beareth with it: or, if it be lacking, if whenever you have occasion, you are to go out (procedent) without a groan? without a suspicious doubt whether it be good or bad? Will you escape notice when you signest thy bed, thy little body? when with thy breath thou blowest away any thing unclean? when thou risest even in the night to pray? and wilt thou not be thought to be working somewhat of sorcery? Will not thy husband know what thou tastest in secret before all food? and if he knoweth it to be bread, will he not believe it to be that which is reported? And will any man, not knowing the reason, simply bear with these things? without a groan? without a suspicious doubt whether it be bread or a charm? Some do bear with them: but that they may trample on, that they may mock such women, whose secrets they reserve for the danger which they believe will come; in case they be haply vexed. They bear with those whose dowries they may, by bringing up their name against them, make the price of silence, being ready, that is, to go to law before the executioner as the judge. The which most women not foreseeing have been wont to discover either in the extortion of property, or the breach of faith.

With the sign of the Cross: see de Cor. c. 3. and note f. 

Corpusculum. A term of endearment as from a husband. [Tr.]

See de Idol. c. 11. p. 295. and note k.

See Apol. c. 39. p. 83, and note z. 


Christian practices, suspicious to the Heathen.

commandeth both, to work for the Lord both without the of Mat. knowledge of another, and without grievance to ourselves, it cf.2 Cor. mattereth not on which side thou sinnest, whether in respect of thy husband's knowledge, if he bear with thee, or in the afflicting of thine own self, if, not bearing with thee, he be shunned. Do not, saith He, cast your pearls before swine, Mat. 7, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again, and overthrow us also. Your pearls are the notes of even your daily conversation. The more thou shalt take care to hide them, the more suspected wilt thou make them, and the more needful to guard against heathen curiosity. Wilt thou escape notice when thou signest thy bed, thy little body? when with thy breath thou blowest away any thing unclean? when thou risest even in the night to pray? and wilt thou not be thought to be working somewhat of sorcery? Will not thy husband know what thou tastest in secret before all food? and if he knoweth it to be bread, will he not believe it to be that which is reported? And will any man, not knowing the reason, simply bear with these things? without a groan? without a suspicious doubt whether it be bread or a charm? Some do bear with them: but that they may trample on, that they may mock such women, whose secrets they reserve for the danger which they believe will come; in case they be haply vexed. They bear with those whose dowries they may, by bringing up their name against them, make the price of silence, being ready, that is, to go to law before the executioner as the judge. The which most women not foreseeing have been wont to discover either in the extortion of property, or the breach of faith.

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See Apol. c. 3. p. 5, and note g. to "an apostate, tradition, the people were not dismissed until midnight, looking for the coming of Christ." S. Jer. in S. Matt. c. 25. The Churches were so lighted that it seemed as day. Greg. Naz. Or. 45. in Pasch. §. 2. et 18. in Patr. ej. Greg. Nys. Orat. Pasch. in E. c. 5. p. 382. Eus. de Vit. Const. in S. see Kor­tholt de Cal. Pag. c. 16. §. 11. 12.

See Apol. c. 6. 7.

See above, de Orat. c. 18. This rite, which was universal at the Holy Communion, in the Ancient Church (see Bingham, 15. 3. 8.) appears to have taken place, at first, without distinction of sexes; hence caution is given about it by S. Athanas., Legat. §. 32, who quotes from an apocryphal book. "The kiss of love, or rather of reverence, must be given with such great care, as that if it be ever so little defined by thought, it excludes us from eternal life." S. Clemens Alex. also insists on its being "mythic," and says, "on evils arising from its pro­fanation." Patr. ill. 11. fin.

S. Jerome alludes to this, as his own practice. Apol. c. Nuff. l. 3. §. 17.

See below, c. 8. [Tr.]
God softens the difficulties He appoints, not what we choose. 429

himself the less, knoweth less, enquireth less. He hath come to be sensible of great things, hath seen proofs, knoweth that she hath become a better woman: thus himself also is, through fear, an aspirant after God. Thus are men of this sort the more easily gained, to whom the grace of God hath become familiar. But it is another thing voluntarily and of one's own accord to come down unto things forbidden. Things which do not please the Lord assuredly offend the Lord, assuredly are brought in by the Evil one. This is the proof of it, that the Christian Name pleaseth the woeuor's only. Therefore there are found those who abhor not such, that they may destroy them, snatch them away, shut them out from the Faith. Thou hast a reason why thou mayest not doubt that no such marriage runneth its course prosperously, while it is joined together by the Evil one, but condemned by the Lord.

VIII. Hereupon let us enquire whether it be rightly so, as though we were in very truth censors of the Divine judgments! Do not, even among the Heathens, all the severest masters, and the most tenacious of discipline, forbid their servants to make marriages out of doors? to wit lest they break bounds for wantonness' sake, desert their duties, bring forth their master's cheer for strangers. Have they not moreover enacted that those may be claimed for slaves, who have continued in cohabitation with another's slaves, after warning from their masters? Shall earthly discipline be held stricter than heavenly rules? so that Heathens indeed when joined unto strangers lose their liberty, while our own join unto themselves the slaves of the Devil and continue in their condition? They will deny forsooth that they have been warned by the Lord, through His Apostle! On what can I lay hold as the cause of this madness, save the weak-

of holiness; the heathen, Satan's slave, before the Holy Spirit in the Christian. Virtus seems to have a two-fold sense, virtue and power, or in one, the might of virtue, as derived from the Presence of the Holy Ghost.

k i. e. Satan for the time (while they are woeuors) suppresses in such the hatred they bear to the Christian Name, that getting these women into their power, they may persecute them more severely afterwards.
Christian poverty a better dowry than wealth.

I. Indeed is the most found in the wealthier sort: for in proportion as any is rich, and puffed up with the name of matron, doth she require a more capacious house for her burthens, as a field wherein ambition may run its course. In the eyes of such the Churches are vile. Hardly shall the rich be in the house of God, and if any such be there, hardly the unmarried rich. What then can they do? Whence, save from the Devil, can they fetch an husband able to keep their sedan, and their mules, and their hair-curlers of outlandish height? A Christian, though rich, may not perchance furnish these things. I beseech thee, set before thee the examples of Heathens. There very many noble in birth, and rich in property, are everywhere joined with the greater dowry out of the goods of him, who is rich in property, are everywhere joined with the unmanied rich. What then can they of that marriage, which the Church joineath together, and the Oblation confirmeth, and the blessing sealeth, the angels report, the Father ratifieth? for not even on earth do sons many rightly and lawfully without the consent of their fathers. What an union is that of two believers, of one hope, one vow, one discipline, the same service! Both brethren, both fellow-servants! no distinction of spirit and slaves, (a thing despicable in the estimation of all men,) provided only that they have those from whom they fear no hindrance to their own liberty. Doth a Christian believer dislike to marry a believer inferior in fortune, when she will be more enriched in a poor husband? For if the kingdoms of Heaven pertain to the poor because they do not to the rich, the rich will gain the more in the poor, will be dowered with the greater dowry out of the goods of him, who is rich in God. Let her be on his level in the earth, who in the heavens perchance shall not be so. Must she doubt, and enquire, and ever and anon deliberate whether he be sufficient for the dowry she hath brought, to whom God hath committed His own riches? How can we find words to describe the happiness of that marriage, which the Church joineth together, and the Oblation confirmeth, and the blessing sealeth, the angels report, the Father ratifieth? for not even on the earth do sons marry rightly and lawfully without the consent of their fathers. What an union is that of two believers, of one hope, one vow, one discipline, the same service! Both brethren, both fellow-servants! no distinction of spirit

1 Nonnullas se libertatis et servis suis constant, omnium hominum existimationes despicientes, dummodo (at modo Edd.) habeant a quibus nullum impedi-

Blessedness of Christian marriage.

or of flesh, but really twin in one flesh! Where the flesh Mark is one, one also is the spirit. 'Together they pray, together fall down, and together pass their fasts; teaching one another, exhorting one another, waiting on one another. Both are Heb.10, together in the Church of God, together in the Feast of God, together in straits, in persecutions, in refreshments. Neither hideth from the other, neither shunneth the other, neither is a burden to the other. Freely the sick is visited, the needy supported. Alms without torture, sacrifices without scruple, daily diligence without hindrance! No stealthy signing, no hurried salutation, no silent benediction! Psalms and hymns resound between the two, and they provoke one another Heb.10, which shall sing the best to his God. Such things Christ were seeing and hearing rejoiceth. To these He sendeth His John14, peace. Where two are, there is Himself also: where Him Mat.18, self also is, there also the Evil one is not. These are the things which that word of the Apostle hath left to be under:-"Cor.7, stood by us under its brevity. Of these things put thyself in mind, if need shall be. By these turn thyself away from the examples of certain women." It is not lawful for believers Cor.10,33, to marry otherwise: it is not expedient.

Note O, on page 421.

Tertullian here, not less explicitly because incidentally, allows of marriage after divorce. Only, here, from the context, it appears that it is marriage of a woman, who has divorced her husband, not been divorced by him. The same is implied in the adv. Marc. iv. 34. 'That marriage abideth which is not duly severed. To marry, while a marriage abideth, is adultery. Thus, if He conditionally prohibited to put away a wife, He did not wholly prohibit it; and what He did not wholly prohibit, He permitted in other cases, in which the cause for which He prohibited it, no longer exists.' i.e. Marriage was not to be severed by man, he was not to "put away his wife, for the sake of marrying another:" (ib.) but if the marriage was severed by God, through death, or ipso facto broken through adultery, so that they ceased to be one, in either case alike it ceased. A new marriage was adultery, only while the former endured; and it endured until it was duly severed; but since adultery of the divorced was such a severance, a new marriage, according to T.'s argument,
432 Opinions as to the re-marriage of one lawfully divorcing;

I. ceas not to be adultery. It is remarkeable that Pamellus and others explain away this testimony of Tertullian, being opposed to the Roman practice, by reference to the treatise de Monog. c. 9. 10. written against the Church, and because he there does not allow of the marriage of the divorcing party, infer that neither does he here; forgetting, that he there rejects second marriage altogether, even of the widower, which he here admits. Epiphanius (Harr. 59. c. 4. quoted by Bingham, 22. 2. 12.) allows remarriage, in case of the marriage being dissolved by adultery; the Apostolic Constit. (iii. 1.) speak of "one who has lost her husband by death or any other occasion, having the gift of widowhood," and declares her "blessed" if she abide by herself," implying plainly that if she had not the gift, she might marry; Ambrosiaster (in 1 Cor. 7. 15.) allows remarriage when the heathen party departed, as being sin against the Author of marriage, but he thinks that in the case of adultery, 1 Cor. 7. 11, permits it to the man only. S. Jerome Ep. 55. ad Amand. §. 3. thinks it forbidden to the woman by Rom. 7. and 1 Cor. 7. 39.; but in that he mentions as remarkable, (Ep. 77. ad Ocean. de morte Fabio,;) that one did penance for it, this, (as Bingham observes,) does not seem to have been then required; himself also calls it "a fault" only, (§. 3, 4.) excuses it on the ground of "necessity," calls the marriage "the shadow of a miserable marriage." S. Basil Ep. Can. i. can. 9. thinks the man pardonable, and his second wife not to be condemned, but that the woman is prohibited by the custom of the Church. Origen mentions that even some Bishops permitted it in the case of women, but regards it as a concession to infirmity, as contrary to the letter of Rom. 7. 3. 1 Cor. 7. 39. (in Matt. 19. 8. Tom. xlv. §. 23.) Laetanarius Insti. vi. 23 fn. thinks Scripture admits it in the case of the man, (about the woman he is silent;) as do the Conc. Venetic. (A. 465.) can. 2. the [so-called] Synod. S. Patricici, can. 26. the Synod. Roman. under Leo IV. (A. 863.) can. 36. Bituric. (A. 1031.) can. 16. Lemovic. ii. can. 15. quoted by Coteler. Patr. Ap. i. p. 88. The law ascribed to Constantine, permitting it in three cases only, (ib.) perhaps had the sanction of the Church; although the later civil laws were laxer than those of the Church; the 1st Council of Aries (A. 312.) advises against remarriage in such cases, does not forbid it; S. Augustine dissuades from it, but thinks it a venial error; on the other hand it is peremptorily called adultery by Hermas, Pastor. ii. 4. Innocent i. Ep. 6. ad Exup. c. 6. S. Jerome in Matt. 19. 9. Yet in a case of extreme sin of the husband, it was allowed even to women, in a decree attributed to Pope Zachary, (ap. Gratian Caus. 32. q. 7. c. 23. Bingham i. c.) but taken from the Pomerentiata ap. Burchard. i. 19. c. 5. and by the Council of Vermerie, (A. 753.) can. 18. by Pope Gregory III. (A. 726.) to a man, even in the case of infirmity only. (ib. c. 18. and note, ed. Richter.) The Council of Vermerie (can. 10.) allowed it to men in an aggravated case only, (ib.) The Council of Trent (Sess. 24. can. 7.) does not directly anathematize those who hold that "marriage is dissolved by adultery;" but those who say "that the Church erred in teaching that it was not," Coteler. (l. c.) states it to be "still held by the Greeks and Armenians that adultery

of the divorced. 433
ON PRESCRIPTION AGAINST HERETICS.

De [The whole tenor of the “de Prescriptione Haereticorum” certainly is such, as makes it difficult to think that it could have been written by one, who had himself separated from the Church. The force of this argument can hardly be represented by particular expressions; the colour cast over the whole is a yet stronger indication. Besides this general ground, however, there is the distinct declaration that the promise of the Comforter was fulfilled at the day of Pentecost, and so, that no further revelation was to be expected, (c. 22) which is directly opposed to Montanism. Certainly the language here and in the Monog. c. 2, is very different: here, he says, “The Lord had indeed once said, ‘I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now;’ yet when He adds, ’When He, the Spirit of truth, shall come, He shall lead you into all truth,’ He shews that they were ignorant of nothing who He promised should attain all truth through the Spirit of truth, and accordingly He fulfilled the promise, the Acts of the Apostles proving the descent of the Holy Spirit.” There, “Is it admissible that the Paraclete should have taught anything which can either be accounted new against Catholic tradition, or把她 borne against the light lead of the Lord?” The Lord Himself has pronounced as to both. For when He says, “I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now;’ when the Holy Spirit shall come, He shall lead you into all truth,” He sufficiently says forth that He will guide to things which may both be accounted new, as never before published, and in a deep and abstruse manner, as being on that account not published. The Paraclete, having many things to teach, which the Lord deferred for Him, as before defined,” &c. Tertullian makes out his consistency to himself, in that as a Montanist, he still contended that the “rule of faith” is to be retained, that the Paraclete would teach nothing against it, and that the heretical and “opposed spirit appears from the difference of teaching,” first adulterating the rule of faith, and so the order of discipline.” But it still remains, that quoting the same two texts, he here, without any restriction, declares them to have been completely fulfilled at the Day of Pentecost, while, as a Montanist, he looks chiefly to a fulfillment after two hundred years, in his own time. 2) Then, he does not argue simply from the priority of Catholic truth, but appeals to it, as embodied in the Church, and addsuces the Apostolic succession in proof of it. (c. 20, 29-30, 32, 36, 37.) He would hardly have framed his rule thus, when he had declared against the Church. 3) Then, he so connects revelation with the Incarnation as to require that they who claimed to be instruments of a fresh revelation, should shew that our Lord had again been manifest in the flesh, and had conferred on them power to work the same miracles as Himself; (c. 30.) yet Montanus did not claim to work miracles, only to have ecstatic visions. 4) Again, he here explains the continued office of the Holy Ghost, as “Christi Vicarius,” to be to retain the truth which He had taught through the Apostles (c. 28.) in the de Virg. Vel. c. 1. using the same title, he declares it to be, gradually to enlarge the truth so delivered. “Since the Lord therefore sent the Comforter, that insomuch as human infirmity could not receive all things once, the discipline might gradually be guided and ordered and brought to perfection by that Viceroyent of the Lord, The Holy Spirit.”

5) It is remarked (By Kaye's Tertullian, p. 51) that “some mention of the Paraclete would probably have been introduced into the short summary of the faith given, c. 13. as is the case in the de Virg. Vel. c. 1.” Whereas the mention here is only of the ordinary guidance of believers, ("He sent the vicarious power of the Holy Spirit, who should lead believers") there he speaks only of his developing guidance of the Church. 6) It is supposed that S. Augustine refers to the Appendix to this book, (adv. omnes Hereses, c. 22.) “Tertullian went over to the Pnygrians whom he had before overthrown.” (de Herr. 86.)

This seems to me also probable, and the adv. omnes Hereses, though an imperfect sketch, bears, I think, here and there, the stamp of Tertullian's vivid way of characterizing principles. In this case, the work itself must, of course, be written before his Montanism, since in the Appendix he condemns it. The only ground, on the other side, of any account, is that in the first book against Marcion, which he certainly wrote as a Montanist, (c. 28.) he is thought to refer to this tract as not yet written. His words (c. 1.) are, “In so far will that which is brought in subsequently be accounted heresy, in as far as what was delivered in times past from the beginning will be held to be true. But another brief treatise will maintain this position against heretics, that they may be confuted even without considering their doctrines, as being ruled to be such, through their novelty. Now, so far as any trial of strength is to be admitted, I will, for the time (interim), lest the uniform calling-in of this compendious argument from prescription should be imputed to want of confidence. first set forth the rule of the opponent, &c.” In itself, this language might equally apply to a work written or unwritten; the words "for the time" may mean as well, "waiving this ground for the present." On the other hand, the passage implies that the argument from prescription had been already urged (as some would think) to satisfy, and so it seems probable that this book had been already written. He fears lest the continuance of the same line of defence might be misinterpreted, (he makes the same apology here, c. 16.) and so waiving this vantage-ground for the time, he takes the lower ground of entering into the details of the actual heretical system. Then also the obvious meaning of the close of this book is, that this was a general introduction to all the treatises against particular heresies; as indeed they all, probably, except the adv. Hermogenes, as to which there is no proof either way, but which was subsequent to this, were written while he was a Montanist."

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I. The state of the present times calletth for this admonition also from us, that we ought not to wonder about these heresies, either that they are, for they were foretold as about to be, or that they overturn the faith of some, for to this end are they, in order that Faith, by having whereabouts it may be tried, may have also whereabouts it may be proved. 1 Cor. 11, 19. Vainly therefore and without due thought are very many offended by this very thing, namely, that heresies have so much power. How much would they have, if they were not? When a thing hath attained to this, that in any case it is, it hath a final cause, on account of which it is: this obtained a power through the means of which it is, so that it is not possible that it should not be.

Heresy to be avoided, not marvelled at: strong, when faith weak

II. To instance briefly, we do not wonder as touching a fever, which, among other deadly and painful ends, is appointed for the destruction of man, either that it existeth, or that it destroyeth a man, for to this end it existeth. Wherefore, as touching heresies, which are brought into being for the weakening and destruction of Faith, if we are alarmed because they have this power, we must first be alarmed because they have this being; for in that they have a being, they have a power, and in that they have a power, they have a being. But again a fever, as being, what it is known to be, an evil both as respecteth its final cause, and as respecteth its power, we rather detest than wonder at; and, as much as in us lieth, we guard against it, not having the abolition of it in our power. But as to heresies, which bring upon men eternal death, and the burning of a mightier fire, some would rather wonder that they have this power than avoid their having it, though they have the power of avoiding it. But they would have no force, if men would not wonder that they have so much force. For either in that they wonder, they become subjects for the stumbling-block, or because they stumble they therefore wonder, as though it came from some truth in them, that they have so much force. For either in that they wonder, or because they stumble they therefore wonder, as whether or not it be that heresies are very strong with those who are not strong in Faith. In a contest of boxers and gladiators, a man for the most part conquereth, not because he is strong, or cannot be conquered, but because he, who is conquered, was a man of no strength: and so this very conqueror, being afterwards matched against a right lusty man, is also conquered and retrostant. In like manner heresies derive what strength they have from the weaknesses of certain men; having no strength, if they encounter a faith of right strong Faith. In a contest of boxers and gladiators, a man of no strength, if they encounter a faith of right good strength, shall not be conquered, but because he, who is conquered, was a man of no strength: and so this very conqueror, being afterwards matched against a right lusty man, is also conquered and retrostant. In like manner heresies derive what strength they have from the weaknesses of certain men; having no strength, if they encounter a faith of right good strength.

III. This weaker sort of men indeed are wont to build themselves up unto their fall, by means of certain individuals who have been caught by heresy. How cometh it (say they) that such and such a man, the most faithful, the most prudent, and the most practised in the Church, have gone over to that side? Who, when he saith this, doth not himself make answer to himself, that they ought not to be accounted prudent, or faithful, or practised men, whom heresies have been able to change? This too is a wonder, I suppose, that one, who hath in time past been approved, should afterwards fall away! Why, Saul, a good man above others, is afterwards subverted by envy. David, a good man after the Lord's heart, is afterwards guilty of murder! Sam. and adultery. Solomon, gifted by the Lord with all grace and wisdom, is enticed to idolatry by women. For to the Son of God alone was it reserved to continue to the end without sin. Why then, if a bishop, if a deacon, if a widow, if a virgin, if a doctor, if even a martyr shall have fallen from the right rule, shall heresies on that account be thought to have truth on their side? Do we test the creed by the persons, or the persons by the creed? None is wise save a believer; none is great save a Christian; but none is a Christian, save he who endureth even to the end. Thou, as a man, knowest each man outwardly: thou thinkest that he is a believer; none is great save a Christian; but none is a Christian, save he who endureth even to the end. Thou, as a man, knowest each man outwardly: thou thinkest that he is a believer; none is great save a Christian; but none is a Christian, save he who endureth even to the end.

Others suppose T. here to quote 2 Chron. 16, 9. "The eyes of the Lord run to and fro throughout the whole earth," (Tr.)
De Pasch. 438

Warnings against heresy imply that men would thereby fall.

whether "they also would go away." It is a less matter, if certain, as Phygellus, and Hermogenes, and Pheletus, and Hymenæus left His Apostle also: the betrayer of Christ was himself of the number of the Apostles. Do we wonder concerning His Churches, if they be forsaken by some, seeing that those things shew us to be Christians, which we suffer after the example of Christ Himself? They went out from us, saith he, but they were not of us. If they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us.

IV. But rather let us remember, as well the declarations of the Lord, as the letters of the Apostles, which have both declared to us that heresies should be, and determined beforehand that they must be avoided: and as we are not alarmed at their existence, so let us not wonder that they have power to do that, on account of which they are to be avoided. The Lord teacheth that many ravening wolves shall come in sheep's clothing. What are these sheep's clothings, but the outward surface of the Christian name? What are these ravening wolves, but those thoughts and deceitful spirits, which lurk within to infest the flock of Christ? Who are false prophets, but false preachers? Who false apostles, but spurious evangelists? Who Antichrists, but rebels against Christ? At this day there are heresies not less attacking the Church through perversity and false apostles, than Antichrist will in that day pursue her with cruelty of persecutions; save that persecution maketh martyrs besides, heresy apostates only. And therefore need was that there should be heresies, that all such as were approved might be made manifest, as well those who were stedfast in persecutions, as those who did not fly off unto heresies. For he doth not direct that those should be accounted approved, who change the faith into heresy, as they perversely interpret it in their own favour, because he hath said in another place, Prove all things; hold fast that which is good; as if it were not possible, after proving all things ill, to fall, through error, upon the choice of some ill.

1 Thess. 5. 21. 3. (where the Greek Text has them; in 1. 6, they occur in the old Lat. Transl. also) by S. Cyprian, (Ep. 59, 55, Pam. 62 Cornfin.) S. Ambrose, (de Abr. ii. 6, and seven other places, see Sabatier ad loc.) S. Augustine, (Ep. 45, ad Glor. &c. initi. Ambro. in Ep. 43, ad loc.) and several other Latin Fathers. In St. Jerome ad loc. they have been inserted in the text, but his commentary implies that he had them not; "There is read in Latin MSS. (which Athanasius also approved as true,)" 1 After a first and second edition, 1 e. that it sufficed not that he who had been corrupted by some error should be reformed or admonished once only; &c." This however often happens in MSS. that citations from S. Cyprian, Test. iii. 78. S. Leo, Serm. 96. c. Eut. which now have the addition. For Athanasius in St. Jerome, one corrects Anastasius; S. Athanasius, as the other did "prove all things," represented it as indifferent what result people came to, so they were "fully persuaded in their own minds," or as though people were not responsible for their conceptions.

Further pleas for heresy refuted.

V. Moreover, if he chideth dissensions and divisions, which without controversy are evils, he immediately addeth heresies also. That which he joineth with evils, he doth less confesseth to be an evil, and indeed the greater, since he saith that he believed as touching divisions and dissensions for this reason, because he knew that there must be also 1 Cor. heresies. For he sheweth that, in beholding a more grievous 1 Cor. evil, he easily believed as touching lighter ones: not surely that he believed as touching those evils, because heresies were good, but because he would forewarn them, that they ought not to wonder concerning temptations even of a more serious stamp, which he said tended to make manifest all those who were approved, that is, those, whom they were not able to pervert to ill. Finally, if the sense of the whole section point to the keeping of unity, and the restraining of divisions, and if heresies separate men from unity no less than divisions and dissensions, without doubt he placeth heresies also in the same predicament of reproach, in which he placeth divisions and dissensions. And by this he maketh not those to be approved, who have turned aside unto heresies, seeing that he specially rebuketh them that they may turn aside from such sort, teaching that all speak 1 Cor. 1, the same thing, and be in the same mind, which also heresies allow not.

VI. And of this no more, if this be the same Paul, who elsewhere also, writing to the Galatians, numbereth heresies among the wicked works of the flesh; and who adviseth Gal. 5, Titus that a man that is an heretic, after the first rebuke 1 Tit. 3, must be rejected, seeing that he that is such, is perverted Tit. 3. 11.
Heresy, the choosing other doctrines than those delivered.

De Praæc. 

and sinneth, as being condemned of himself. But in almost every Epistle besides, when he urgeth them about avoiding false doctrines, he censureth heresies, the works whereof are false doctrines. They are named by a Greek word 'heresies' in the sense of 'choice,' which a man exerciseth either to establish or to adopt them: wherefore also he hath called the heretic condemned of himself, because he hath chosen for himself even that wherein he is condemned. But for us it is not lawful to bring in any doctrine of our own choice, as neither is it to choose that which any one hath brought in of his own choice. We have for our authority the Apostles of the Lord, who did not even themselves choose any thing of their own will to bring in, but faithfully delivered over to the nations the Religion which they had received from Christ. Wherefore, though an angel from heaven should preach any other Gospel, he would be called by us accursed. The Holy Spirit had even then foreseen that there should be in a certain virgin, Philumene, an angel of deceit, transforming himself into an angel of light; induced by whose miracles and tricks, Apelles induced a new heresy.

1 Tim. VII. These are the doctrines of men and of devils, gendered, for itching ears, of the spirit of the wisdom of this world, which the Lord calling foolishness, hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound even Philosophy itself. For such is the material of the wisdom of this world, the rash interpreter of the Nature of God, and of the order by Him established. Finally, heresies themselves are tricked out by Philosophy. Hence the Eons, and I know not what infinite forms, and the trinity of man according which they immersed themselves, (ib. c. 6. see also c. 7. Tert. c. Valent. c. 17. 24.—26. B. Apol. c. 33.) who says that they regarded Cain, Abel, and Seth, as types of these three classes.

Philosophy and disputativeness parents of heresy. 441

ing to Valentinus: he was of the school of Plato. Hence the god of Marcion, more excellent by reason of his indolence: he came of the Stoics. And the doctrine that the soul dieth is maintained from the Epicureans. And the denial of the restoration of the body is taken from the united school of all the Philosophers. And where matter is made equal with God, there is the doctrine of Zeno: and where ought is alleged concerning a god consisting of fire, there cometh in Heraclitus. The same matter is turned and twisted by the heretics and by the philosophers, the same questions are involved: Whence cometh evil? and wherefore? and whence man? and how? and, what Valentinus hath lately propounded, whence God? to wit, from an exercise of Mind and from an abortive birth. Wretched Aristotle! who hath taught them the dialectic art, cunning in building up and pulling down, using many shifts in sentences, making forced guesses at truth, stiff in arguments, busy in raising contentsions, contrary even to itself, dealing backwards and forwards with every subject, so as really to deal with none. Hence those fables and endless genealogies, and words that spread like a canker, from which the Apostle restraining us, testifieth of philosophy by name, that it ought to be shunned, writing to the Colossians, Beware lest any one beguile you through Col. 2,3.
All our Lord's words are forth; some, principles, not commands.

for that the words which follow, also pertain to the Jews is manifest: Knock, and it shall be opened unto you. The Mat. 7, Jews had been in past times in the presence of God: afterwards, being cast out because of their sins, they began to be shut out from God. But the Gentiles never were in the presence of God, except as a drop from a bucket, and as Is. 40, dust from the threshing-floor, and were ever without the door. How then shall he, who was ever without the door, knock at the place where he never was? what door doth he know, where he was never either received or cast out? Doth not he rather knock, and doth not he rather know the door, who knoweth that he was once within, and that he hath been cast out of doors? Again, Ask, and ye shall receive, per Mat. 7, taineth to him who knew from Whom he must ask, from Whom also something had been promised, to wit, from the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, of Whom the nations knew no more than they did of any promise from Him. And therefore He spake to Israel: I am not sent, saith He, Mat. 15, but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel. He had not as yet cast to dogs the children's bread. He had not as yet ver. 26, commanded them to go into the way of the Gentiles; for it Mat. 10, was in the end that He taught them to go and teach and baptize the nations, and that they should presently receive the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, Who should guide them into John 16, all truth. And this therefore tendeth hitherwards. But if the Apostles, appointed the teachers of the Gentiles, were themselves to obtain a Teacher in the Comforter, the saying, Seek, and ye shall find, was much more out of place as respecteth us, to whom the doctrine was to present itself, of itself, through the Apostles, as it did to the Apostles through the Holy Spirit. All the sayings indeed of the Lord were set forth for all: they have passed down to us through the ears of the Jews; but most of them, being directed towards particular persons, form for us not a special admonition but an example.

IX. I now of my own accord quit this ground. Be it that the precept, Seek, and ye shall find, was spoken to all. Yet even then it is right to set the meaning of the words against

* i.e. not a specific command but a principle.
Search is for definite truth, to be rested in, when found. De

[Text continues on page 445]
446 Search must be within, and not contraven e, the rule of Faith.

because none will ever open to him, for he knocketh there where there is no one. No matter for him, who is ever asking, because none will ever hear, for he asketh from one who heareth not.

XII. For ourselves, even though we ought to be seeking up to this time and at all times, yet where ought we seek? Among the heretics? where all is foreign and opposite to our rule, "the rule of Faith" (as cont. Maximin. Arian. i. 27) argues that it is not proved by Holy Scripture; for though it established the pre-existence of the Son against the Photinians, yet the Arians used it as an argument of His inequality with the Father, as though The Father was invisible, The Son not. Yet, as both these fathers show, it clearly implies that The Son, being as God, equally invisible with The Father, was pleased to manifest Himself in the invisible. In the same sense, Tertullian terms the terms proba, probit, probasto, adv. Prax. x. 7. 8. ex cessit, Apol. c. 21. (above, p. 46.) Bp. Bull, in explaining the doctrine, uses the term "non erat Ejus prius non existens producendus creatu ras," (l. e. 3. 10. 7.) So all purely Catholic antiquity. See Tert. again, c. Jud. of Adv. Prax. c. 14. and 16. de Carno Christi. c. 6. adv. Marc. i. 27. iii. 6. S. Justin. Martyr. Dial. c. Tryph. §. 46, 48, 50, 63, 125. S. Irenæus 4. 6. 2. S. Theophilus ad Aut. ii. 33. S. Clem. Al. Pedag. i. 7. and 11. Orig. c. Cels. iii. 14. iv. 6. vi. 78. Novat. de Trin. c. 35—27. S. Athanas. Orat. c. Arian. i. 41. iii. 19—16. S. Hil. in Ps. 69, §. 11. de Trin. iv. 23. et ii. 11. sqq. xii. 46. 47. Theodoret. Quest. 68. in Gen. Philast. Hær. 84. S. Chryse. Hymn. Serm. 30. Pope. Const. in Hæb. 7. S. Ambros. de Sp. S. i. 4. init. S. Aug. Ep. 146. (cd. 99.) ad Eun. §. 17. S. Leo. Epif. v. 22. §§. 29. Maxim. quoted by Bp. Bull, Def. Fid. Nic. i. 1. 3—8. ii. 4—6. and Grabe Anot. ii. 4. S. Cyril Jer. x. 6. 7. xii. 16. It was acknowledged in the Creed of Eudosius, &c. ap. Athan. de Syn. §. 26. p. 114. Oxfr. Tr. Elsewhere, however, S. Ambrose (ad Luc. i. 1. 11. quoted by S. Aug. Ep. 147. c. 14. ad Paulin. §. 77 sqq.) speaks doubtfully, and St. Augustine himself seems to oppose it, (as cont. Maximin. Arian. ii. 27.)

XIII. Now the rule of faith— that we may at this point confess what it is that we maintain—is that whereby it is believed that there is in any wise but One God, and no other than the Creator of the world, Who, by His own Word first of all sent forth, brought all things out of nothing: that this

Word is called His Son, Who, with the Name of God, was in divers manners seen by the Patriarchs; ever heard in the Prophets, brought down at last by the Spirit and the Power of God the Father into the Virgin Mary, made flesh in her womb, and, being born of her, appeared under the character of Jesus Christ: that thenceforth He preached a new law, and a new promise of the Kingdom of Heaven; worked miracles; was nailed to the cross; rose again the third day; was taken up to Heaven, and sat down at the right hand of the Father; sent in His stead the power of the Holy Spirit, to work upon believers; and that He shall come with glory to take the saints to the enjoyment of eternal life, and of the heavenly promises, and to condemn the ungodly to everlasting fire, having caused the resurrection of both classes to take place, with the restoration of their bodies.

XIV. This rule, taught, as will be proved, by Christ, hath no questions raised upon it amongst us, save those which heresies introduce, and which make men heretics. But so long as its form remaineth in its own proper order, thou mayest seek as much as thou listest, and discuss, and exhaust all thy longing after curious enquiry; if any thing seem to thee either to hang in doubt or to be dimly seen through darkness, there is doubtless some brother, a doctor
Heretics not to be allowed to argue from Scripture, as another's. 449 points, which they said ought to be questions, then ought we so to account of them, that they may know that we deny, not Christ, but them. For in that they are yet seeking, they have not as yet laid hold; and in that they have not laid hold, they have not as yet believed; and in that they have not as yet believed, they are not Christians. But when they do indeed hold a thing and believe it, and yet, in order that they may maintain it, say that it must be enquired into,—before they maintain it, they deny that which, by making it matter of enquiry, they confess that they do not as yet believe. Those therefore who are not Christians even in their own eyes, how much less in ours! What must the faith be, which those argue for, who come to us by means of deceit? What the truth, which those support who introduce it with a lie?

XV. But these very persons treat of the Scriptures, and argue out of the Scriptures. Why! could they possibly speak of the things of the Faith, except from the records of the Faith? We come therefore to the question before us. For this we were ordering, and this we were preparing, in this prelatory discourse, that we might henceforward begin to battle the point on which the adversaries challenge us. They put forth the Scriptures, and by this their boldness they forthwith move some: but in the actual battle they weary the strong, catch the weak, send away the wavering with a doubt. The first and chief step, therefore, which we take against them, is that of not admitting them to any discussion touching the Scriptures. If in these be that strength of theirs, in order that they may be able to possess them, it ought to be considered to whom the possession of the Scriptures belongeth, that he may not be admitted to it, to whom it doth in no wise belong.
Heretics mutilate or distort Scripture.

XVI. It might be that I advanced this, prompted by distrust of my cause, or from a desire of entering on the debate in some other way, were there not a clear reason for it; first and chiefly, that our Faith owed obedience to the Apostle, when he forbiddeth us to enter upon questions, to lend our ears to new sayings, to deal with an heretic after the first admonition", not after disputation. Thus hath he forbidden disputation, in noting admonition as the cause for dealing with an heretic, and the first, for this reason, namely, because he is not a Christian; that it may not be thought that he should be reproved, like a Christian, once and again, and before two or three witnesses, seeing that he ought to be reproved for the very cause for which he ought not to be questioned with. The next reason is because a discussion of the Scriptures can avail nothing except to lead, in some sort, to a sheer turning of the stomach or of the brain.

XVII. This heresy doth not receive certain of the Scriptures", and whatever it doth receive, by adding to them and diminishing from them, it turneth about according to the plan of its own purpose: and if it receiveth, it doth not in fact receive them, and if, to a certain extent, it furniseth them entire, nevertheless, by devising different expositions of them. And that in this I do not charge them falsely, whose wills may know. For if any one, having brought together their copies, would examine them by each other, he would find that they greatly vary. Thus, those ofAscetics vary from those of Theodotus. And we may have abundance of them, because their disciples eagerly note down (in the genuine Gospels) what either of these has corrected, i.e. defaced. Again, those of Hermopolis agree not with these, those of Apollonius not even with themselves. For we can compare what they first prepared with their subsequent additional perversions, and find that they far from harmonize. Neither can they deny that this is their own daring deed, inasmuch as they are written by their own hand, and they did not so receive the Scriptures from those by whom they were instructed in the Faith, nor can they produce any copies, whence they transcribed them.

Arguing from Scripture convicts not he that is a heretic, but perplexes the weak.

it perverseth them. An adulation by the sense imposed is as much opposed to the truth as a corruption by the pen. Their various presumptions must needs be lofty to recognise those things whereby they are refuted. They rely on what they have falsely trumped up, or have derived from some ambiguity. What wilt thou gain, O man most practised in the Scriptures, when, if thou affirmest any thing, it is denied, and, on the other hand, if thou deniest any thing, it is affirmed? And thou indeed wilt lose nothing, but thy breath in the dispute, gain nothing, but vexation from their blasphemy.

XVIII. But be, if any such there be, for whose sake thou enterest into a discussion of the Scriptures, that thou mayest strengthen him when wavering, will he incline the more to the truth or to heresies? Being moved by the very fact that he seeth that thou hast advanced not a whit, being on an equal footing in denying and affirming, on a different side, yet questionless, in a like position, he will depart, rendered more uncertain by the contest, not knowing which to judge the heresy. It is their part, too, surely to retort these things upon us. For they also, who in like manner affirm that the truth is with them, must needs say that the corruptions of the Scriptures and the falsities in the expositions of them have been rather introduced by us.

XIX. To the Scriptures therefore we must not appeal; nor must we try the issue on points, on which the victory is

" see a. c. 6.
* S. Irenæus, i. 28. (29.) 4. states that, (in his time,) Marcion alone of heretics mutilated the Scriptures; S. Cyril Jer. vi. 16. xvi. 7. that he was the first; Origen answers Celsius, that he "knew of none who altered the Gospel except the followers of Marcion, Valentinus, and perhaps those of Lucanus," (c. Celsius ii. 27.) He like Tert. argues against them as newly sprung up, "they who change the Gospel, and bring in, as additions to the teaching willed by Jesus, strange heresies, are not to be imputed to true Christianity." In this proceeding, however, the heretics mutually convicted each other, and bore witness to the Church; for since each omitted what was opposed to his own heresy, left what did not, their witness agreed not in what they omitted, and collectively they attested the whole, the one accrediting what the other imputing. Thus S. Augustine, Ep. ad Areth. c. 16. notice this as a difference between the Priscillianists and the Manichees. The Priscillianists pretended to receive the Scriptures, but allegorised them. S. Irenæus, (3. 12. 11.) having spoken of the Marcionite mutilations of Holy Scripture, says, "all the rest, who are pulled up with science falsely so called, admit the Scriptures, but pervert their interpretation, as we have shown in the first book." Apocryphal writings, as the Psalms of Valentinus, de Carne Christi, c. 17. 19. 30. comp. S. Iren. 3. 11. 9.
* 4 "If it of some who follow after what is said well, to what themselves have devised ill." The very rejection of books or parts of the books of Holy Scripture by the heretics implied a charge of falsification by the Church; only they mutually refuted each other; see p. 460, not. n.
either none, or doubtful, or too little doubtful. For though the debate on the Scriptures should not so turn out, as to place each party on an equal footing, the order of things would require that this question should be first proposed, which is now the only one to be discussed, 'To whom belongeth the very Faith; whose are the Scriptures; by whom, and through whom, and when, and to whom was that rule delivered whereby men become Christians.' For wherever both the true Christian rule and Faith shall be shewn to be, there will be the true Scriptures, and the true expositions, and all the true Christian traditions.

XX. Christ Jesus our Lord, (may He suffer me for the moment so to speak,) Whosoever He be, of Whatsoever God the Son, of whatsoever substance both Man and God, of whatsoever faith the Teacher, of whatsoever reward the Promiser, did Himself while He lived in the world, declare what He had been, of what He was, what He was, what He was, of what will of His Father be, there will be the truth of the Gos-

...
Dr. Newcome.

XXI. On this principle therefore we shape our rule: that, if the Lord Jesus Christ sent the Apostles to preach, no others ought to be received as preachers than those whom Christ appointed: for no man knoweth the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son hath revealed Him. Neither doth the Son seem to have revealed Him to any other than to the Apostles, whom He sent to preach, to wit that which He revealed unto them. Now what they did preach, that is, what Christ did reveal unto them, I will here also rule, must be proved in no other way than by those same Churches which the Apostles themselves founded; themselves, I say, by preaching to them as well vivâ voce (as men say), as afterwards by Epistles. If these things be so, it becometh forthwith manifest that all doctrine, which agreeeth with these Apostolic Churches, the wombs and originals of the faith, must be accounted true, as without doubt containing that which the Churches have received from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ, Christ from God: and that all other doctrine must be judged at once to be false, which savoureth things contrary to the truth of the Churches, and of the Apostles, and of Christ, and of God. It remaineth therefore that we shew whether this our doctrine, the rule of which we have above declared, be derived from the tradition of the Apostles, and from this very fact, whether the other doctrines come of falsehood. We have communion with the Apostolic Churches, because we have no doctrine differing from them. This is evidence of truth.

XXII. But since the proof of this is so short, that, if it be brought forward at once, there would be no farther question to be treated of, let us for a while, as though it were not brought forward by us, give place to the other party, if they think that they can do any thing towards invalidating this rule. They are wont to say that 'the Apostles did not know all things,' being moved by the same madness whereby they turn about again and say that 'the Apostles did indeed know all things, but did not deliver all things to all': in either case subjecting Christ to reproach, in that He sent Apostles with either too little instruction or too little simplicity. Who then of sound mind can believe that they were ignorant of any thing, whom the Lord appointed as masters, keeping them undivided in attendance, in divinity, in companionship; to whom when they were alone, He expounded all those secrets, which were not permitted to understant? Was any thing hidden from Peter, who was called the rock, whereon the Church should be built, who obtained the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and, in the power of loosing and binding in heaven and on earth? Was any thing moreover hidden from John, the most beloved of the Lord, who leaned upon His breast, to whom alone He spake all things? Of what would He have those be ignorant to whom He manifested His glory, and Moses and Elias, and, also He spake in the very words of the Father from heaven, not as He spake to them, but He sent to whom? Wherefore they were ignorant of that which they were sent to proclaim in every word, in all the Scriptures; and also were ignorant, to whom even after His resurrection He shewed the things of the apostles, that they might say, 'We have proved the doctrine of the Apostles that they spake the truth of the Holy Spirit.'

1 reliquin restored
2 nulla restored

454 Doctrine of Apostolic Churches the test of truth.

455 No truth kept back from the Apostles.

rule. They are wont to say that 'the Apostles did not know all things,' being moved by the same madness whereby they turn about again and say that 'the Apostles did indeed know all things, but did not deliver all things to all': in either case subjecting Christ to reproach, in that He sent Apostles with either too little instruction or too little simplicity. Who then of sound mind can believe that they were ignorant of any thing, whom the Lord appointed as masters, keeping them undivided in attendance, in divinity, in companionship; to whom when they were alone, He expounded all those secrets, which were not permitted to understand? Was any thing hidden from Peter, who was called the rock, whereon the Church should be built, who obtained the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and, in the power of loosing and binding in heaven and on earth? Was any thing moreover hidden from John, the most beloved of the Lord, who leaned upon His breast, to whom alone He spake all things? Of what would He have those be ignorant to whom He manifested His glory, and Moses and Elias, and, also He spake in the very words of the Father from heaven, not as He spake to them, but He sent to whom? Wherefore they were ignorant of that which they were sent to proclaim in every word, in all the Scriptures; and also were ignorant, to whom even after His resurrection He shewed the things of the apostles, that they might say, 'We have proved the doctrine of the Apostles that they spake the truth of the Holy Spirit.'

1 S. Iren. 3. 3. 11. ult., 12. 7.
2 S. Iren. 3. 5.
3 Exh. ad Cast. c. 4. "The Apostles having it plenarily in the works of prophecy, and of working of miracles, and in the evidences of tongues, not particularly, as others." comp. S. Iren. 3. 1.
4 Scorp. p. 12.
5 "I. e. through him." So T. explains himself, de Public. c. 21. see further, Note Q, at the end of this Treatise.
6 See Note R, at the end.
456 Agreement of S. Paul, whom the heretics alleged, with the rest.

receive not, can neither be of the Holy Spirit, seeing that they cannot acknowledge that the Holy Spirit hath yet been sent to the disciples; nor can they even maintain themselves to be the Church, seeing that they have not wherewithal to prove when and with what beginnings this body was established. For they are well content to have no proofs of those things which they do maintain, lest there be let in at the same time exposures of those things which they speak falsely.

XXIII. They allege, therefore, in order to fix some charge of ignorance on the Apostles, that Peter, and they who were with him, were rebuked by Paul. 'Something therefore,' say they, 'was wanting in them;' that they may build hereupon this also, that a fuller knowledge might have been afterwards added, such as came to Paul, who rebuked those who went before him. Here also I say to those who set aside the Acts of the Apostles, 'You must first shew who this Paul was, and what before he was an Apostle, and how an Apostle,' inasmuch as they make the greatest use of him in other questions also. For though he himself declares that he became from a persecutor an Apostle, this sufficeth not for any that believeth only on examination.

and preaching. For they too would not have wondered at his becoming a preacher from being a persecutor, if he had preached anything contrary to them, nor to each other. God was hereby preached than the Creator, no other Christ than the Son of Mary, no other hope than the Resurrection.

XXIV. I am not good enough, or rather I am not bad enough, to set the Apostles the one against the other. But since these most perverse persons put forward this rebuke to the end that they may render suspected the doctrine before delivered, I will make answer as it were for order to give an example of submission to S. Paul's rebuke, and so give it the more weight. S. Cyril also, with his own view, adv. Marc. iv. 3. In order to avoid blaming so great an Apostle, S. Clemens Alex. Hypotyp. v. ap. Eus. H. E. 1. 12. supposed that the Cephas or Peter in the Ep. to the Gal. was another of the same name as this Apostle; so others, ap. Gregory M. in Ezek. i. i. Hom. 6. §. 10. S. Jerome says, The Marcionites, who received only Luke's Gospel in the mutilated form, and ten of St. Paul's Epistles, adv. Marc. iv. 5. Epiph. Harr. 42. §. 6. 'If even herein (the subject of the Ep. to the Gal.) the Acts of the Apostles agree with Paul, it appears straightway why ye reject them; namely, as preaching no other God than the Creator, nor Christ from any other than the Creator; inasmuch as neither is the promise of the Holy Spirit proved to have been fulfilled, except by the document of the Acts.' adv. Marc. v. 2.

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2 Sed nec Ecclenstam se defendere, A. V. 'The Edd. Ante-Rig. have 'se dignavit adhæret us se defendere.' Rig. struck out se also.

3 S. Iren. 3. 13. and 14. Perhaps also this may be one meaning of 2 Pet. 3. 16. 'as in Gal. 3. 17. 'have put on Christ.'

S. Peter not blamed by S. Paul for error in teaching. 457

as he himself relateth, he went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, Gal. 1, to wit, because of his office, and by right of a common faith and preaching. For they too would not have wondered at his becoming a preacher from being a persecutor, if he had preached anything contrary to them, nor would they have moreover glorified God, for the coming of His enemy Paul ver. 24. unto them. Wherefore also they gave the right hand to Gal., the sign of concord and fellowship, and appointed among themselves a distribution of office, not a division of the Gospel; that each should preach, not a different Gospel, but to different persons, Peter to the circumcision, Paul to the heathen. But if Peter was reproved because, after having lived with the Gentiles, he separated himself from their company out of respect for persons, surely this was a ver. 12. fault in his conversation, not in his preaching. For no other God was thereby preached than the Creator, no other Christ than the Son of Mary, no other hope than the Resurrection.

8 adv. Marc. v. 3. 
9 Marcionite heresies, see below, c. 26.
Peter, that Paul himself said that he was made all things to all men, to the Jews a Jew, to those who were not Jews not a Jew, that he might gain all. And so they were wont, according to the times, persons, and reasons concerned, to reprove certain things, which they themselves as much approved according to the times, persons, and reasons concerned. It is as though Peter too should reprove Paul, because, forbidding circumcision, he himself circumcision Timothy. Away with those who pass judgment on Apostles.

Well that Peter is made equal to Paul even in his martyrdom! But although Paul was caught up to the third Heaven, and, carried into Paradise, there heard certain things, these cannot be thought to be such as to make him more fully instructed to teach some other doctrine, seeing that such was the nature of them, that they might be disclosed to no man. But if a something transpired 1 so as to be known of any one, and any heresy declareth that it followeth this, either Paul is guilty of betraying his secret, or it must be shewn that some other also was afterwards caught up into Paradise, to whom it was permitted to speak out those things, which for Paul it was not lawful to utter.

XXV. But, as we have said, there is the same senselessness, when they confess indeed that the Apostles were ignorant of nothing, and did not preach doctrines differing the one from the other, but yet will have it that they did not reveal all things to all men, for that they committed some blamed, that Barnabas also was led into the same dissimulation, who shall resent that this is denied to him, which the chief of the Apostles had not? 2


"If any approve not of this explanation, according to which it is shewn that on the one hand Peter sinned not, nor on the other did Paul rebuke unbecomingly an elder, he is bound to explain how Paul consistently blamed in another what he did himself," S. Jer. in loc. and more at length Ep. 119, ad Aug. § 8—11. S. Aug. answers, 1 It was with the same dissembling that the Apostle Paul either circumcised Timothy, or himself performed some sacred offices after the Jewish ritual; but with that liberty of opinion where-with he maintained that circumcision neither benefited the Gentiles, nor injured the Jews. Whence he laid down that neither should those be constrained to the practice of the Jews, nor the Jews be held back from that of their fathers. (1 Cor. 7, 18.)—With this liberty did Paul observe the ritual of his fathers, guarding and warning against this only, that it should not be thought that Christian salvation was null without it. But Peter, by his disimulation, compelled the Gentiles to Judaism, as though salvation was in Judaism, as the words of Paul shew, 'Why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as Jews?' For they had not been compelled, had they not seen him observe it, as though salvation could not be had without it. 2 de Menab., § 8. 3 c. 22.

S. Paul openly committed his whole doctrine to Timothy. 450

things openly and to all the world, other some secretly and to a few; because Paul used this expression also to Timothy, O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust; and, 1 Tim. 4, again, that good thing, which was committed unto thee, keep. 2 Tim. 1, What was this secret committed to him, that it should be accounted another doctrine? Was it a part of that charge of which he said, This charge I commit unto thee, son? 1 Tim. 1, Timothy? and of that commandment, of which he saith, 2 Tim. 1, give thee charge in the sight of God, Who quickeneth all things, and Jesus Christ, Who before Pontius Pilate witnessed a good confession, keep the commandment? But what was the commandment and what the charge? From that which is written before and after, it is plainly seen, not that some dark hint touching a more secret doctrine was given in these words, but rather that it was urged upon him not to admit any other doctrine than that which he had heard from the Apostle himself, and (as I think) openly, before many witnesses, as he saith. By which many witnesses if they will not have it that the Church is meant, it mattereth nothing, since nothing can be secret, which was brought forward before many witnesses. Nor again, because he would have him commit these things to faithful men, who, 2 Tim. 2, shall be able to teach others also, is this to be understood as a proof of any hidden Gospel. For when he saith, these things, he speaketh of things concerning which he was at the time writing: but of hidden things, as being absent in the thoughts within, he would have said, not these but those. XXVI. Moreover it followed that to whom he committed the ministration of the Gospel he would give this command besides, that it should not be ministered 1 every where nor without discretion, according to the word of the Lord, that he should not cast a pearl before swine, nor that which is holy unto dogs. The Lord spake openly, without any hint of any hidden mystery. He had Himself commanded that what they heard in darkness and in secret, they should hide without utterance, that is, one word of His.
460 The Apostles taught the whole truth to the whole Church.

He Himself taught that a candle was not wont to be thrust away under a bushel, but to be placed on a candlestick, that it may give light unto all that are in the house. These things the Apostles either neglected, or very ill understood, if they fulfilled them not, hiding somewhat of the light, that is, of the word of God, and the mystery of Christ. They feared, I am well assured, no one; neither the violence of the Jews nor of the Gentiles. Much more then would they, who were not silent in the synagogues and in the public places, preach freely in the Church. Yea they would not have been able either to convert the Jews, or to bring in the Gentiles. they wished should be believed of them. Much less would they have kept back any thing from Churches already believing, that they might commit it privately to a few other persons. Although, even if they did discourse of certain things among their household friends, so to speak, yet it is not to be believed that they were such things as would bring in another rule of faith, differing from and contrary to that which the Catholic Churches published to the world: so that they should speak of one God in the Church, another in the private house; and should describe one substance of Christ openly, another in secret; should declare one hope of the resurrection before all, another before the few: seeing that they themselves, in their own Epistles, besought men that they would all speak one and the same thing, and that there should be no divisions and dissensions in the Church, because they, whether Paul or others, preached the same things. And besides, they remembered, Let your communication be yea, yea: nay, nay: whatsoever is more than this cometh of evil; to wit, that they should not handle the Gospel in different ways.

XXVII. If therefore it is not to be believed either that the Apostles were ignorant of the fulness of the doctrine, or that they did not make known to all the whole order of the rule of faith, let us see whether perchance the Apostles taught it simply and fully, but the Churches, through their own fault.

1 Cor. 1. 10. Mat. 5. 37. Luke 1. 1.

Inconceivable, that the whole Church should agree in error. 461 received it otherwise than the Apostles set it forth. All these incentives to curious doubt thou mayest find put forward by the heretics. They remember that the Churches were rebuked by the Apostle, O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you? and, ye did run so well: who hindereth you? And the very commencement of the Epistle, I marvel Gal.1.6, that ye are so soon removed from Him, that called His own in grace, unto another Gospel. Likewise that which was written to the Corinthians, that they were yet carnal, and to 1 Cor.3, be fed with milk, not being yet able to bear meat: who thought that they knew somewhat, when they knew nothing 1 Cor.8.

Well then: be it that all have erred; that the Apostle also was deceived in the testimony he gave in favour of some; that the Holy Spirit had regard to no one of them so to guide it into truth, although for this sent by Christ, asked of the Father, that He might be the Teacher of truth; that He, the Steward of God, the Deputy of Christ, neglected His office, suffering the Churches the while to understand differently, to believe differently, that which He Himself preached by the Apostles—is it probable that so many Churches, and so great, should have gone astray into the same Faith? Never is there one result among many chances: the error in the doctrine of the Churches must needs have varied. But where one and the same thing is found amongst many, this is not error but tradition. Let any one then dare to say that those were in error who delivered it.

XXIX. In whatever way the error came, error, I suppose,

1 S. Iren. 3. 12. 4. 13. a Catholicae, A. V. y, Catholice, Edd. Ante-Rig. "which they published

2 See above, c. 23. fin.

7 Rom. 1. 8. 15. 14. 16. 19. Eph. 1. 16. Phil. 1. 3—5. Col. 1. 4—8. 1 Thess. 1. 9. 10. 2 Thess. 1. 5. 4. x Until the heretics arose, to correct the error, see c. 28. beg. z Nullus inter mullos eventus unus exitus. Variasse debeat error doctrine Ecclesiarum. The interpunction is Dr. Bouth's. The reading of Gel. Pam. A. V. γ, except that A. omits "unus exitus," (probably from the Apocalypse) Gel. Pam. have exitus.
De Re praecedenti.

reigned as long as there were no heresies. Truth waited for
XIV, 30.
free. Meanwhile the Gospel was wrongly preached; men
wrongly believed; so many thousands of thousands were
wrongly baptized; so many works of faith were wrongly
wrought; so many miracles, so many gifts wrongly in
operation; so many priest-chooses, so many mysteries* wrongly
executed: finally, so many martyrs wrongly crowned! Or
if it were not wrongly and to no purpose, what shall we
say of this, that the things of God were going forward before
it was known of what God they were? that there were
Christians before Christ was found? heresy before true
document? whereas in all things the truth goeth before its
copy, the likeness cometh after the reality. But it is suf-
ficiently absurd that what came first in doctrine should be
declared beforehand that men must beware of heresies which
might be hereafter. It was written to a Church of this
document, ye to the doctrine itself writeth to its own Church,
though an angel from Heaven preach any other Gospel
than that which we have preached, let him be accursed.

XXX. Where then was Marcion, the ship-owner of Pontus,
the zealous disciple of Stoicism? where was Valentinus, the
follower of Platonism? for it is agreed that they lived, not
so long ago, in the reign, speaking generally, of Antoninus,
and that at first they believed in the doctrine of the Catholic
Church, in the Church of Rome, under the episcopate of the
blessed Eleutherus, until, by reason of their ever restless
curiosity, with which they infected* even the brethren, being
once and again expelled* (Marcion indeed with the 200

sentesces which he had brought into the Church's) and being
at last condemn'd to the banishment of a perpetual separa-
tion, they sowed abroad the poisons of their doctrines.

Afterwards, when Marcion, having professed penitence, agreed
to the terms offered him, that he should receive
reconciliation, on condition that he brought back* to the
Church the rest also* whom he had trained up for perdition,* quoque
he was prevented by death. For it must needs be that there
should be heresies; and yet heresies are not on that account 1 Cor.
good, because it was necessary that they should exist.
As if it were not necessary that evil also should exist! For
it was necessary even that the Lord should be betrayed, but
woe to the betrayer! lest any one should on this ground Mark
also defend heresies. If we must needs examine the
genealogy of Apelles also, he is as far from being an ancient
as Marcion his instructor and trainer; but going back from
the continency of a Marcionite,* and falling away to a
woman, he retired from the presence of his most holy master
to Alexandria. Thence returning after certain years in no
wise improved, save only that he was no longer a Marcionite,
he offended another woman, that Philumene, (whom we have
before introduced to notice,*) a virgin, but afterwards herself
also a monstrous prostitute, by the workings of whose evil
spirit being beguiled, he wrote* "the revelations" which he
learned from her. There are yet living in the world those who
remember them, even their own disciples and successors, so
that they may not deny that they* were of a later date. Although, besides this, they are convicted by their works as the Lord
hath said. For if Marcion separated the New Testament from
the Old, he is later than that which he separated, because he could

1 Ead. 3. 2. 3. 4. 33.
2 Gal. i. 6.
3 Mysteria, A. V. ministeria (offices)
Ead. Below, (c. 40. ini.) V. substi-
tutes "ministeria" for "mysteria."
4 The same argument from the pri-
ority of the true doctrine occurs in the de
Carne Christi, c. 2. adv. Marc. 1. 1.
and ib. 1. iv. 5. v. 19. adv. Herm.
c. 1. adv. Prax. c. 2. S. Iren. 3. 2.
17. Eus. H. E. v. 27. Firmilian, Ep. 76. ad
inip. Epiph. 75. c. 6. (ap. Lop.)
S. Alban. de Cone. Arm. 3. 4. p. 78.
Oxf. Tr. and note o. Orat. c. Arian.
5 §. 6. p. 191. ib.
6 Justin M. speaks of Marcion as
still alive and teaching, in the eleventh
7 Qua fratres quoque vitabant, Ead.
ante-Rig. V. 7. quam—vitabant: A.
"which the brethren themselves shun-
ned." Ead. Below, (c. 40. ini.) V.
8 S. Irenæus (3. 4. 3.) mentions the
relapses of Cledon, and his final depa-

ture from the Church, (Adversus haeres,
the old Latin Translation speaks of his ex-
pulsion, abstinent est.)
9 "The Gospel of Luke, which we
have, is so truly older than Marcion,
that Marcion himself too once believed
it, at which time also in the first fervour
of his faith, he cast in his money into the
Catholic Church, which was soon
after cast forth with himself, after he
fell away from our truth into heresy.
adv. Marc. iv. 4.
10 The same is urged upon Novatian
by Dionysius Alex. (Eus. H. E. v. 46.)
They who did so were uniformly received
back; Cyprian, Ep. 55. ad Anton. quoted
see Cornelius ap. Cypr. Ep. 49. (ap.
Lup.)
11 Marcion forbidding marriage, (c.
33.) baptised only the "unmarried or
separated," adv. Marc. i. 29. iv. 11.
34. see adv. omn. Hier. c. 7.
12 Apelles held but one First Prin-
ciple, and that our Lord had a real, not
a phantastic, body, yet one taken from
the elements, so denying the Incarna-
tion.
13 C. 6.
464 New doctrines unauthentic, unless Christ come anew.

No heretics claim Apostolic succession. 465

stand good against all the latter heresies, which have no conscientious ground of confidence, whereon to claim the truth for their own side.

XXXII. But if there be any heresies, which venture to
plant themselves in the midst of the age of the Apostles,
that they may therefore be thought to have been handed
down from the Apostles, because they existed under the
Apostles, we may say, let them then make known the
originals of their Churches; let them unfold the roll of their
Bishops so coming down in succession from the beginning,
that their first Bishop had for his ordainer and predecessor
some one of the Apostles, or of Apostolic men, so he were
one that continued stedfast with the Apostles. For in this
manner do the Apostolic Churches reckon their origin:
as the Church of Smyrna recounteth that Polycarp was placed
there by John; as that of Rome doth that Clement was in
like manner ordained by Peter. Just so can the rest also
shew those, whom, being appointed by the Apostles to the
Episcopate, they have as transmitters of the Apostolic seed:

1 Iren. 3. 3. 4. "And Polycarp,
having not only been taught by Apostles
and conversed with many of those who saw our Lord, but by Apostles also
been made Bishop in Asia, in the
Church at Smyrna, whom in our earliest
years we too saw, for he endured long,
and in extreme old age departed this
life, yielding his testimony [i.e. a mar-
tyry], most gloriously and nobly, taught
uniformly those things, which also he
learnt from the Apostles, which also he
delivered to the Church, which also
alone are true." 1

2 S. Jerome (de Vir. Ill. c. 15.) states
this to be the ordinary Latin opinion
that Clement was the second Bishop,
following the Apostle Peter." The
opinion here has been founded on the
Ep. to S. James, under his name, (if
this be so old,) in which he is made to
speak of himself as ordained by S. Peter.
No other extant writer places him as
the immediate successor of S. Peter;
most as the third Bishop (exclusive of
S. Peter, or the fourth inclusive,) after
Lucus and Anacletus, S. Irenæus, 3. 3.
Ep. c. 4, c. 6, 4, 3, 14, and
S. Jerome, i. c. ReU. pref. ad Recogn.
(Cotelier. i. 496.;) Ruffinus also
implies that this was a prevailing opini
on, in that he mentions that some naked
how the statement in the Ep. ad Jac.
was consistent with the fact, that Lucus
and Cletus were Bishops at Rome be-
fore Clement, the fact being regarded
without doubt. Others, the Const. Apost.
(viii. 45.) S. Augustine (Ep. 53, ad Gen.)
and Optatus, i. c. 3. same him as
second after Lucus and before Anacletus.
It is observable that S. Jerome also
names him as the successor of S. Peter,
omitting the other two as less eminent;
and so Tertullian also may mean that
he was ordained by S. Peter, although
not as his first successor. Epiphanius
leaves it doubtful whether he were con-
secrated by S. Peter or by Cletus, but
says that the succession was unques-
tionable. (see further, Tillemont, H. E.
t. 2. note 1. sur S. Clementt.) Cletus is
but an abridged name of Anacletus.
The only ancient writer who makes
them two, is the author of the Carm.
adv. Marc. iii. fin. A Greek transla-
tion of Jerome de Vir. Ill. has "Cletus"
for the Anacletus of the Latin. (not. ad
loc. ed. Vallere)

1 The same argument from the Apo-
stolic succession occurs in S. Irenæus,
3. 1, 2, 3. and 4. 21. Orig. de Princ.
Pref. §. 2. Optat. 1. 10. ii. S. Jerome

Dr.

not separate save that which was united. Being therefore
united before that it was separated, when it was afterwards
separated, it shews that the separator was later. So also
Valentinus, differently expounding, and amending doubtless,
for this very reason sheweth that whatsoever he amendeth, as
being faulty before, was before. These men we name as the
most remarkable and the most frequent corrupters of the
truth. But Nigidius (who he be I know not) and Hermogenes,
and many others, still walk perverting the ways of God. I
wish they would shew me by what authority they have
come forward. If they preach another God, why use they
the things, and the books, and the names of that God,
against Whom they preach? if the same God, why in
another way? Let them prove themselves to be new
Apostles, let them say that Christ came down a second time,
that He taught in person a second time, was a second time
crucified, a second time dead, a second time raised again:
for thus is He wont to make Apostles, and besides to give
them the power of working the same miracles, which Himself
also worked. I would therefore that their mighty works
also should be brought forward; though I acknowledge
their mightiest work, whereby they vie with the Apostle by
contraries: for those raised men to life
also should be brought forward: though
they wish

1 qui omitted

2 Cupio
466 Church Apostolic in descent & doctrine, Heresies in neither.

Let the heretics invent something of the same sort; for after blasphemy what is withheld from them? But even though they invent it, they will advance never a step: for their doctrine, when compared with that of the Apostles, will of itself declare, by the difference and contrariety between them, that it had neither any Apostle for its author, nor any Apostolic man: because, as the Apostles would not have taught things differing from each other, so neither would Apostolic men have set forth things contrary to the Apostles, unless those who learned from Apostles preached a different doctrine! To this test then they will be challenged by those Churches, which although they can bring forward as their founder no one of the Apostles or of Apostolic men, as being of much later date, and indeed being founded daily, nevertheless, since they agree in the same faith, are by reason of their consanguinity in doctrine counted not the less Apostolical. So let all heresies, when challenged by our Churches to both these tests, prove themselves apostolical in whatever way they think themselves so to be. But in truth they neither are so, nor can they prove themselves to be what they are not, nor are they received into union and communion by Churches in any way apostolical, to wit, because they are in no way apostolical, by reason of the difference of the sacred mystery which they teach.

XXXIII. To these arguments I add the review of the doctrines themselves, which existed at that time under the Apostles, and were by the same Apostles both brought to light and denounced. For so too will they be the more easily exposed, when they are proved either to have existed at that very time, or to have derived their origin from those, which at that very time did exist. Paul, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, noteth some that denied and doubted of the resurrection. This opinion belongeth properly to the Sadducees, Marcion adopteth a part of it, and Apelles, and Valentinus, and whoever else there be that interfere with the resurrection of the flesh. In writing also to the Galatians, he inveigheth against those, who observe and maintain circumcision and the law: this is the heresy of Hebion. In 1 Cor. 15, 12, 16, 19.

1 Cor. 15, 12, 16, 19.

In that they had risen from the death of ignorance; this they supposed they obtained through faith in the Lord when in Baptism they put Him on. 1 Cor. 15, 19. They call him, speaking of his Substance, athen tην κάλυπτις καθαρόν, soter to βαπτίζων, 1 John 4, 3. They say that in the invisible and unutterable height there is a perfect Eon, foreexisting: and him they call Proarche and Propator and Byborhe. Iren. 1, 1. To him, upon whom they have to be alone, they yet assign a second person, in him and with him, Enoia, whom also they moreover call Charis and Sige. 1 John 4, 3. The same testify to the resurrection was past already: this the Valen. 2 Tim. 2, 18.

Existing heresies already condemned in Scripture.

instructing Timothy, he setteth a reproach likewise upon such as forbid to marry: so teach Marcion and Apelles his followers. In the same manner he toucheth those, who said, that the resurrection was past already: this the Valen. 2 Tim. 2, 18.
also counted among idolatries, and was condemned in Simon himself by the Apostle Peter.

XXXIV. These are, as I think, the different kinds of corrupt doctrines, which, we learn from the Apostles themselves, existed under the Apostles: and yet we find, among so many varieties of perverse teachings, no one school, which mooted any controversy respecting God as the Creator of all things. No one ventured to surmise a second God. Men doubted more readily concerning the Son than concerning the Father, until Marcion introduced, besides the Creator, another God of goodness only; and Apelles made some glorious angel of the higher God, the Creator, the God of the law and of Israel, affirming that he consisted of fire; and Valentinus scattered about his Eons, and traced the fault of one Eon down to the first production of God the Creator. To these alone, and to these first, was the truth of the Divine Nature revealed, who obtained forsooth greater privilege and larger grace from the Devil, who in this also wished to rival God, that he might by poisonous doctrines make (what the Lord hath said cannot be) the disciples above their Master. Let therefore the whole body of heresies choose their times for themselves,—which were when,—so the unimportance be granted of the which were when, they being not of the truth! Surely those which were not named by the Apostles could not have existed under the Apostles: for if they had, they too would have been named, that they too might be repressed. But those which did exist under the Apostles, are, in being named, condemned. Whether therefore those same heresies, which under the Apostles were in a rough form, be now somewhat more polished, they draw thence their condemnation: or whether those indeed were different, but others rising up afterwards adopted a portion of opinion from them, in sharing with these their doctrine they must needs share also their condemnation, according to the precedent of that definite rule, which was before laid down, touching the later date, whereby, although they had no part in the condemned doctrines, they would be condemned at once on the ground of their age alone, being so much the more corrupt, as not being even named by the Apostles. Whereby it doth the more certainly appear that they are those, which even then were announced as about to come.

XXXV. Challenged by us according to these rules and refuted, let all heresies—whether those which are after, or those which are coeval with the Apostles, so long as they differ from them; whether generally or specially noted by them, so long as they are fore-condemned by them—dare themselves also to allege any rules of this kind against our Religion. For if they deny its truth, they are bound to prove that it also is heresy, refuted by the same rule whereby they themselves also are refuted; and at the same time to shew where that truth must be sought, which is already proved is not with them. Our system is not later, nay, it is earlier than all. This will be evidence of truth, which every where holdeth the first place of the region of the Romans. The ancient City of Rome should have the chief authority, so as to govern carefully all things in Egypt let the Bishop of Alexandria have care. In like way also assess Antioch and in other provinces let their special privileges be re-
Apostolic Churches. the voice of the Apostles.

in which their own authentic writings are read, speaking with the voice of each, and making the face of each present to the eye. Is Achaia near to thee? thou hast Corinth. If thou art not far from Macedonia, thou hast Philippis, thou hast the Thessalonians. If thou canst travel into Asia, thou hast Ephesus. But if thou art near to Italy, thou hast Rome, where we also have an authority close at hand. What an happy Church is that! on which the Apostles poured out all their doctrine, with their blood: where Peter tained to the Metropolitan Churches, and in Ruffinus, H. E. x. 6. "And that in Alexandria and the city of Rome, the ancient usage be retained that the one take care for Egypt, the other for the contiguous Churches, (suscipenda rationum Ecclesiarum.) The expression "authentic literature" might certainly signify the "original" i. e. the "autograph" as opposed to "transcripts," as authentic tables, as the Roman, Institutionum in Ulpia. ff. Fa. Euseb. lib. ult. ff. de Test. ap. P. A. "Greco authentico," (de Monog. c. 11.) the "original Greek," as opposed to the Latin translation. The context, however, implies nothing more than the original Greek, "echoing the voice of each," nor does the argument turn on their having these Epistles, addressed to them, but on their being Apostolic Churches, of which this was a proof. Aug. de Doct. Christ. ii. 8. "In the canonical Scriptures follow we the authority of the majority of Catholic Churches, among which are such which were cemented worthy to have Apostolic see and receive Epistles." The "authentic literature" may also be opposed to the mutilated copies among the heretics, as he says of Cerdon, of the Apostles Paul he receives neither all the "prisces," nor their whole. adv. omn. Her. c. 51.

Apostolic Churches. the voice of the Apostles.

1. Africa not having any Apostolic Church, that has received the Gospel from Italy, comp. adv. Marc. iv. 5. What the Romans, close at hand, in like way as referring to Rome, are more recent Churches, in its neighbourhood, not themselves financial. (C. Supp. 3.) "To this Church, on account of its higher original (poliorum principis), &c., see Iren. i. 31. 1, 2, principalis, &c., and 8. 14. 1. and 21. 1.) all Churches must have recourse, i. e. the faithful who are on all sides." In each case, it is as the deposit of traditions that it is appealed to, not as having authority. Innocent I. (Ep. 25. ad Dezent. § 2.) still claims deference for the Roman deposit of truth only, and on the same ground. Who knows not or observes not, that what has been delivered by Peter, the chief of the Apostles, to the Roman Church, and is kept until now, ought to be retained by all; nor ought anything to be brought in, or superinduced thereon, which hath no authority, or secrecy to derive its authority from the succession of the Roman Church as the successor of both, neither being regarded as Bishop of Rome in a proper sense, (see Barrow on the Supremacy of the Pope, Supp. 3. 4.) Again S. 1. 1. "When Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome same time." So Dionysius of Corinth, (ap. Eos. H. E. ii. 25.) writing to the Romans, "Ye have found and blessed the episcopal succession so valuable, again united the planting of the Romans and Corinthians, which was by the hands of Peter and Paul." When both came to our Corinth, and planting us, both alike taught; and alike going to hand forth the succession, having taught together, they gave their testimony [by martyrdom], about the same time. Eusebius (H. E. iv. 1.) says, "Alexander receives the Episcopate fifth in succession from Peter," (exclusive of both.) S. Epiphanius (Harr. 27. § 6.) places both as joint Bishops at the head of the Roman succession; accounts for the varying accounts as to succession, that it might be that, in the lifetime of the Apostles, Peter and Paul, other Bishops [Linus and Clemens], might have been appointed, on account of their frequent absence, that Clement might have been compelled to take the Episcopate after the death of the holy Peter and Paul," see Barrow i. c. Supp. 3. § 10. p. 145. Paulinus (Ferist. ii. 437. xii. 39.) still derives its eminence from both Apostles, although calling it the chair of Peter; Paulina and Eusebius add that the blessed Peter and Paul are eminent among all the Apostles, and excel by a special prerogative of their own. But of them, which is to be preferred to the other, one knows not. For I suppose precedents and reasons especially are equal in their suffering—and where endured they martyrdom? In the city of Rome, which is the chief and head among the nations; that, where washed the head of superstition, there should repose the prints, Origen finds his value, and more chiefs of the Gentiles dwell, there should the chiefs of the Church die." (On the equality of S. Paul with S. Peter, see also S. Ambrose de Sp. S. ii. fin. Ambroscaster ad Gal. 2. 11. S. Cyril Jer. vi. 16. and others ap. Barrow i. c. Supp. 1. p. 124, 5.) S. Augustine, who often refers to Rome as the depository of sound doctrine, yet refers to it in no other way, than he does to Jerusalem, both being witness to Apostolic doctrine, which they had received from Apostles, as Petil. ii. 21. "But be it that all throughout the whole world are hands, yet as most likely imposters, what hath the chair of the Roman Church aggraved thee, where Peter, which Anastasius now sits, or that of the Church of Jerusalem in which James sat, and in which S. Paul now sits, with whom we are bound in Catholic unity, and from whom you in wicked phrenzy have separated?"

1. See above, c. 23 and 26.
and thence drinketh in her faith. That faith she sealeth with water, clotheth with the Holy Spirit, feedeth with the Eucharist, exhorteth to martyrdom, and so receiveth no one in opposition to this teaching. This is that teaching, which I do not now say foretold that heresies should come, but from which heresies proceeded forth. But these were not of her, from the time when they began to be against her. Even from the seed of the cultivated, rich, necessary olive, the rough wild-olive ariseth: even from the kernel of the most delightful and most sweet fig springeth the empty and useless wild-fig. So also heresies are of our fruit, not of our kind, of the seed of truth, but, through falsehood, wild.

XXXVII. If these things be so, so that the truth be adjudged to belong to us as many as walk according to this rule, which the Churches have handed down from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ, Christ from God, the reasonableness of our proposition is manifest, which determineth that heretics are not to be allowed to enter upon an appeal to the Scriptures, whom we prove, without the Scriptures, to have no concern with the Scriptures. For if they be heretics, they cannot be Christians, in that they have not from Christ that, which following according to their own choosing, they admit the name of heretics. Therefore, not being Christians, they can have no right to Christian writings. To such it may be justly said, who are ye? when and whence came ye? not being mine, what do ye in that which is mine? In brief, by what right dost thou, Marcion, cut down my wood? by what licence dost thou, Valentinus, turn the course of my waters? by what power dost thou, Apelles, remove my landmarks? This is my possession. Why do ye the rest sow and feed here at your own pleasure? It is my possession; I have held it of old; I held it first: I have a sure title down from the first owners themselves, whose the estate was. I am the heir of the Apostles. As

they provided by their own testament, as they committed it in trust, as they have adjured, so I hold it. You, assuredly, have ever disinheriteth and renounced, as aliens, as enemies. But why are heretics aliens and enemies to the Apostles, if not from the difference of doctrine, which each at his own pleasure hath either brought forward or received in contradiction to the Apostles?

XXXVIII. The corruption therefore both of the Scriptures and of the expositions of them must be thither referred, where difference of doctrine is found. Those, who had the purpose of teaching differently, necessity compelled to dispose differently the means whereby they taught. For they could not otherwise have taught in a different way, unless they held in a different way the means whereby they taught. As they could not have succeeded in corrupting the doctrine without corrupting its instruments, so the genuine doctrine could not have come to us, and from us, without the genuineness of those means whereby the doctrine is handled. For what is there in our Scriptures contadictory to ourselves? What have we introduced of our own that we should, by taking away, or adding, or changing, remedy any detected contrariety to what was in the Scriptures? What are we, that are the Scriptures from their beginning: of them were we, before that any thing existed contrary to that which we are. For, in a word, what was there in being before that these quam were interpolated by us? But since every interpolation must be believed to be the later,—as coming of rivalry, its essential cause, which is never either prior to, or of one household with, that which it rivalleth,—it is quite as incredible to any man of sense that we should be thought to have introduced a corrupt text into the Scriptures, who are from the first, and by their own testament, as they committed it in trust, as they have adjured, so I hold it. You, assuredly, have ever disinheriteth and renounced, as aliens, as enemies. But why are heretics aliens and enemies to the Apostles, if not from the difference of doctrine, which each at his own pleasure hath either brought forward or received in contradiction to the Apostles?

1 Ecclese-rule, which the Churches have handed down from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ, Christ from God, the reasonableness of our proposition is manifest, which determineth that heretics are not to be allowed to enter upon an appeal to the Scriptures, whom we prove, without the Scriptures, to have no concern with the Scriptures. For if they be heretics, they cannot be Christians, in that they have not from Christ that, which following according to their own choosing, they admit the name of heretics. Therefore, not being Christians, they can have no right to Christian writings. To such it may be justly said, who are ye? when and whence came ye? not being mine, what do ye in that which is mine? In brief, by what right dost thou, Marcion, cut down my wood? by what licence dost thou, Valentinus, turn the course of my waters? by what power dost thou, Apelles, remove my landmarks? This is my possession. Why do ye the rest sow and feed here at your own pleasure? It is my possession; I have held it of old; I held it first: I have a sure title down from the first owners themselves, whose the estate was. I am the heir of the Apostles. As

1 Sec de Bap t. c. 13. p. 327. (comp. c. 6. p. 262. and note m.) de Monog. c. 7.
3 admittunt, i.e. in following out their own choice (aliorum) they both receive and admit the name of heretics.
4 Marcion mutilating the Scriptures, Valentinus perverting them.
since he made havoc of the Scriptures to suit his own
matter". But Valentinus spared them, because he did not
invent Scriptures to fit his matter, but matter to fit the
Scriptures: and yet he took away more and added more,
in taking away the proper meanings of each particular word,
and in adding systems of things not to be found therein.

XXXIX. These are the arts of spiritual wickednesses with
Eph. 6, which
12.
1 Cor.
11, 19. the
that
I,
18.

in taking away the proper meanings of each particular word,
and in adding systems of things not to be found therein.

Ye know or may know that bread and a cup of water are placed in the
sacred rites of him who is initiated,"[to Mithra]. Justin, M. Apol. i. §. 66.
Jel. Firmicus gives an account of mysteries, which are supposed to be
Mithra's, though he does not state it.
There one lamented as dead is spoken
as of alive. It is not a resurrection,
but comes as near as the errors of hea-
thenism as to matter permitted. "Let
us set forth another symbol—whereof
we must detail the whole order, that all
can see, that the law ordained by God
may see, that the law ordained by God
has been pervasively imitated and cor-
rupted by Satan. On a night, an image
is placed on a bier, and is bewailed in measured dirges.
Then when they haveainted themselves with the
fiendish mourning, light is brought in.
Then the faces of all the mourners are
anointed by the priest, after which he
whispers in a slow murmur. 'Cheer
ye, initiated, the god being saved, for
we shall have out of toils deliverance'!

Why didst thou the hopeless ones re-
joice?—The death of thy god is known,
his life appeareth not, nor hath any
divine oracle declared his resurrection,
nor did he shew himself to men after
death, that he might be believed in; he
shewed by instances beforehand that he would
do it. Then burst an idol, bewails
an idol, bringest forth an idol from the
sepulchre, and, hapless one, having
done this, rejoice." deErr. Prof. Rel.
p. 45, 6.

Satan, in Heathen, perverts things, in heresies, words of God. 475
and, if I yet remember right, Mithra there seal eth his soldiers
in their foreheads: he celebrateth also the oblation of bread
and introduceth a representation of the resurrection
What shall we say
also of his confining the chief priest to marriage with one
only? He too hath his virgins: he too hath his self-
restraining ones. But if we turn over in our minds the
superstitions of Num. Pompeilus, if we consider his priestly
offices, badges, and privileges, if his sacrificial services, and
the instruments and vessels of the sacrifices themselves, and
the curious niceties of the expiations and vows, hath not the
Devil manifestly imitated that strictness which is in the
Jewish Law? He therefore that hath so emulously pretended
to set forth, in the concerns of idolatry, the very things
wherewith the mysteries of Christ are ministered, that same
being surely, and in the same spirit, hath longed and haste
been able to adapt to a profane and rival faith the documents
also of divine things and of the holy things of Christians,
interpretation from interpretation, words from words, parables
from parables. And therefore none ought to doubt either
that spiritual wickednesses, from whence also come heresies,
were brought in by the devil, or that heresies are nothing
distant from idolatry, seeing that they are of the same
author and of the same work as idolatry. They, either
XLII. But what shall I say concerning the ministry of the word, seeing that their business is, not to convert the heathens, but to subvert our own people? This is the glory which they rather catch at, if perchance they may work 1 the fall of those that stand, not the raising up of those that are fallen: since their very work cometh not of the building up of their own, but of the pulling down of the truth. They undermine ours that they may build their own. Take away from them their railing against the law of Moses, and the Prophets, and God the Creator, they have not a word to 2
utter. So it cometh to pass that they more easily effect the ruin of standing buildings, than the building of fallen ruins. In these works alone do they act humbly, and smoothly, and submissively. But they feel no reverence even towards their own chiefs. And this is why there are commonly no schisms amongst heretics, because, when there are any, they appear not: for schism is their very unity. I speak falsely, if they do not differ among themselves even from their own rules, seeing that each forthwith mouldeth, according to his own pleasure, the things which he hath received, even as he, who delivered them to him, framed them according to his own pleasure. The progress of the matter is a confession of its nature, and of the manner of its birth. The same thing was allowed to the Valentinians, as to Valentinus, the same to the Marcionites as to Marcion, namely, to change the faith according to their own pleasure. Finally, all heresies, when thoroughly examined, are found in many things to differ from their own founders. Most of these have not even Churches; without a mother, without a settlement, destitute of a belief, outcasts, they all for themselves as it were, they wander far and wide. 

XLIII. Infamous also are the dealings of the heretics with sorcerers very many, with mountebanks, with astrologers, with philosophers, to wit, such as are given to curious

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**476 Recklessness, mutual tolerance, and disorders of Heretics.**

De Planc. Han. Xvit. 41.

imagine another God in opposition to the Creator, or if they confess One Creator, they argue Him to be other than He really is. Wherefore every falsehood which they utter concerning God, is, in some sort, a kind of idolatry.'

XLII. I will not omit a description also of the very conversation of heretics, how foolish it is, how earthly, how human: without seriousness, without authority, without discipline, as according with their faith. In the first place, it is doubtful who is a catechumen, who a believer: they have all access alike, they hear alike, they pray alike. Even if heathens come in upon them, they will cast that which is holy unto dogs, and pears, false though they be, before swine. They will have the overthrow of discipline to be simplicity; and the care of it amongst us they call pandering. They huddle up a peace also with all every where. For it maketh no matter to them, although they hold different doctrines, so long as they conspire together in their siege against the one thing, Truth. All are puffed up: all promise knowledge. Their Catechumens are perfected before they are taught. Even the heretic women, how wanton are they! who dare to teach, to dispute, to enact exorcisms to simple; and the care of it amongst us they call pandering. At one time they place in office novices, at another men tied to the world, at another apostates from us, that they may bind them to themselves by vain-glory, since they cannot by truth. No where is promotion reader than in the camp of rebels, where, even to be there, is a merit. Wherefore one man is Bishop to-day, another to-morrow; to-day Deacon, who to-morrow will be Layman; Reader: to-day Presbyter, who to-morrow will be Layman; for even to laymen they commit the priestly offices.

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1 See de Bapt. c. 1. and not f. and c. 17. and not g.
2 Can. Ap. c. 71. al. 80. "It is not right to choose presently for a Bishop, one who hath come from the Heathen and been baptized, or from a disgraceful life." S. Jerome, Ep. ad Ocean. fin. Innocent. 1. Ep. 12, ad Aurel.
3 l. c. having secular employments.
4 adv. Valen. c. 1. "it hath no terror of discipline."
5 see S. Hil. de Trin. vii. 4.
6 Deo,
7 vel natao quadammodo genus est idolatria." This is the reading not of the cod. Ag. only, but "parity of the Val. partly of the MS. Angl." in Pam. Gel. also has "genus est idol." Rhen. had de Deo, vel natao quadammodo sexus est idol. (only in ed. 4. variaio for sex nata.) It is thought that "sexus" may have reference to the male and female :)ons. [P 0 even that clashing, in a manner, of the kinds of sex is of idolatry." Tr.]

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1 S. Iren. 1. 21. 1. and 5. 26. (30.)
2 S. Athan. de Synod. § 20.
3 Hence the saying "Wasps too form tribes, Marcionites too form Churches," describing the strangeness and uselessness, not as Gibbon their number.
4 As though he had said 'themselves are their all.' (Tr.) and so, as looking to themselves alone, living to themselves, left to themselves, forsaking the Church and forsaken of God.
5 Iren. 1. 13. 29. 24. 30. 2. 2. Epiph. Harr. 27. § 3. 4.
questions. They every where remember, *seek, and ye shall find.* Thus the quality of their faith may be judged even from the nature of their conversation: their discipline is the index of their doctrine. They deny that God is to be feared: therefore all things are free to them, and without control. But where is God not feared, save where He is not? Where God is not, neither is there any truth. Where there is no truth, with good reason is there such discipline as theirs. But where God is, there is *fear* towards God, which is the *beginning of wisdom.* Where there is fear towards God, there is a goodly gravity, and an awe-stricken diligence, and an anxious carefulness, and admission well-considered, and communion well-advised, and promotion well-deserved, and religious submission, and devotion in attendance, and modesty in going-forth, and union in the Church, and God in every thing.

XLIV. Hence these proofs of a closer discipline amongst us are additional evidence of truth, to turn aside from which befiteth none who remembereth that judgment to come, *when we must all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ,* to give an account, in the first place, of our faith itself.

ib. 11. 2. What then will they say, who have defiled with the adultery of heresy the virgin committed unto them by Christ?

They will allege, I trow, that no warning was ever given them by Him, or by His Apostles, about adverse and perverted doctrines, nor any rule about avoiding and abhorring them! Let them acknowledge that the fault is with themselves rather than with those, who prepared us so long beforehand. They will add moreover divers things touching the authority of each particular heretical teacher: that these more than any confirmed the truth of their doctrine, that they raised the dead, healed the sick, foretold things to come, so that they deserved to be thought Apostles! As if this also were not written, that many should come who should work even the greatest miracles, in defence of the deceit of the corrupt preaching. These therefore shall deserve pardon! while those who, remembering the warnings of the Lord and the Apostles, have stood fast, entire in the faith, will, I suppose, be in danger respecting their pardon, when the Lord answereth, 'I plainly foretold that there should be teachers of false doctrine in My name, and in that of the Prophets and Apostles likewise; and I charged My disciples also to preach the same thing to you. To My Apostles I committed once for all the Gospel, and the doctrine according to that same rule: but when ye believed it not, it was My pleasure afterwards to change some things therein. I had promised the resurrection of the flesh also, but I afterwards considered that I might not be able to fulfil it. I had shewn that I was born of a virgin, but this afterwards was a base thing in My sight. I had called Him My Father, Who maketh the sun and the rain, but another and a better Father hath adopted Me. I had forbidden you to lend your ear to heretics, but I was in the wrong.' Such may be the thoughts of those who go out of the right course, and guard not against the danger whereby the true faith is perilled.

XLV. And now indeed I have argued against all heresies in general, that they ought to be forbidden by fixed, and just, and necessary rules, to bring Scripture into their disuse.
The apparent variations in the Apostles' Creed as recited or alluded to by different Fathers or Churches, has been made a ground for denying its Apostolicity, and even the identity of the Creed in the different Churches. Thus Vossius regards the Apostles', as the Roman, Creed; and seems to look upon the Eastern Creed as formed independently of it. Yet, on comparing the several forms of the Creed, it seems impossible that they could have harmonized as they do, unless they had had some common original; the variation is in words, not in the articles of faith selected; mostly it is apparent, not real; the Creed being recited more or less fully according to the object of the father who recites it, so in another. The utmost, which these variations prove, is, that these were not added by the particular Churches in which they appear, of their own mind, but were a part of a larger traditionary Creed, which the Church had everywhere, but did not at once embody. And, in the first instance, it must be observed, 1) that scarcely any of what remain were formal statements of the whole Creed, but recitals of it with a view to existing heresies. The expositions of that of Jerusalem by S. Cyril, that of Aquileia by Ruffinus, and that of Africa by S. Augustine, alone have the appearance of formal Creeds. That of Asia Minor as recited by Eusebius at Nicea, (Sozom. i. 8.) ends with the article on The Holy Ghost, his only object being to give the received confession of the Trinity. Marcellus of Ancyra, rehearsing, as it seems, the Creed of Galatia, ("this faith having both received from Holy Scriptures, and been taught by our forefathers in God,") has the last clauses, but omits the words "The Father," ("I believe in God Almighty") Epiph. Hær. 72. c. 3. Arius and Eusobius (ap. Sozom. i. 20.) interweave the last clauses, and have even the word "Catholic," but omit "The forgiveness of sins." The same is the case as to the Creed of Origen, though, in parts, much expanded, (de Princ. init.) the full Anti-Nicene Creed of Gregory Thaumaturgus, (Bingh. 10. 5. 5.) that of Lucian, (if his) (ib. § 6.) and of Eustathius, &c. (Sozom. i. 12.) of Sirmium, (ib. ii. 30.) of S. Basil, (de Fide, c. 4.) Caesarian, (de Incarn. i. 6.) reciting the Creed of Antioch, rehearse only the two first divisions of the Creed. The Author of the Dial. c. Marc. ap. Orig. though probably posterior to the Council of Nice, (see Pref. Benez.) gives a compendium, containing the Apostles of the Nicene Creed, yet else presenting only certain chief Articles of the Faith, presupposing the rest. "I believe there is one God, the Creator and Maker of all things, and God the Word, Who is of Him, Consustantial, Coeternal, Who in the last times took man of Mary, Who was also crucified and rose from the dead. I believe also in the Holy Ghost, Coeternal." (init.) The Nicene Creed itself closes with the words, "I believe in the Holy Ghost," not certainly as not having the other articles, but the fathers of the Nicene Council, having for their object to oppose heresy as to the Son only, stop short with the words which complete the confession of the Trinity. The remaining part is left to be supplied out of the existing Creeds, as it occurred in the contemporary Arian Creeds. (Bingham, 10. 6. 14.) S. Ireneæus and Tertullian give in great measure the words, but still are incorporating the Creed into their own discourse. 2) Not only in these cases, but even
Abridged forms of the Creed used at Baptism.

The first supposed omission is that of the clause "Maker of heaven and earth." This is inferred to have been wanting in the Roman Creed, because S. Leo recites it thus, (Ep. 28. [col. 10.] c. 2) [Eutyches] "ought at least to have listened thoughtfully to the common and unvarying confession, which the whole multitude of believers confessed, that it believes in God the Father Almighty, and in Christ Jesus, His Only-begotten Son, our Lord, Who was born of The Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary," by which three enumerations the devices of almost all heretics are undone." Yet since S. Leo was not reciting the whole Creed, but only so much as in itself refuted the heresy of Eutyches, it is as likely that he omitted what did not bear upon his immediate object, thus bringing together more vividly that wherein the doctrine impugned was contained. Again, the same has been inferred because Novatian begins thus, "The Rule of Truth requires that, first of all, we believe in God the Father and Lord Almighty, i.e. the All-perfect Creator of all things, Who h ung the heaven in its glorious height, and compacted the earth," &c. as though he would not have added it, as an explanation, if it had been part of the original Creed. But neither is Novatian reciting the Creed in a formal, but rather in a paraphrastic, way, and on the contrary it would appear that mention of the Creation was made in the Creed to which he was referring (the Roman), in that he mentions it thus, and sums up this part, "This God then we acknowledge and know the Creator of all things." (c. 3.)

It seems more probable that the clause was wanting in the Creed of Aquileia, since Ruffinus is professing to explain the Creed, "following that order which we received in the Church of Aquileia in the grace of Baptism." He certainly neither mentions nor comments on the words yet on the other hand, neither does he remark any difference herein from the Eastern Church, with which he does compare this article; and yet we know from S. Cyril Jerus. from whom he took much of his commentary, that there was a clause here speaking of the Creation. Further we know that there was such a clause in the African Creed, since Tertullian alludes to it here and in the de Vel. Virg. c. 1. "mundi conditorum;" and he asserts more largely, (adv. Marc. c. 21.) "You will find no Church of Apostolic origin, which doth not make Christians in the Name of the Creator," (quod in Creator Christianizat.) S. Cyprian also, referring to the formula of Baptism, asks, "Does he [Marcion] maintain the Same Father, the Creator, as we?" (Ep. 73. ad Jubaian.) S. Augustine equally, who himself has, in one place, (Serm. 215.) "Creator of all things," in two others (Serm. 212. 214.) does not mention any such clause formally as part of the Creed, but presently adds, "Creator of things visible and invisible," "made all creatures visible and invisible," &c. as he afterwards often introduces the articles of the Creed which he is explaining, not formally, but blended with his own Comment. Again, in the statement of "the Catholic faith" prefixed to the Lib. Imp. de Gen. ad lit. (c. 1.) he begins, "It is this, that God the Father Almighty made and formed all creation [there follows "visible and invisible"] through His Only-begotten Son," &c. But in a fifth place, (de Fid. et Symb.) though
Creeds, in which the Creation is confessed.

Notes: he speaks of the Creation, he uses no words of the Creed, which yet it is clear he had. In like way Chrysologus omits it in every place, (Serm. 57-62. B. P. vii. 889 sqq.) and takes no notice of it in his comment, yet the ground manifestly was to connect more closely the Doctrine of the Co-eternal Existence of The Father and The Son. Among the heretics, having been mentioned in the 5 Antioch Confessions, and the 1st of Sirinium, it is omitted in Serm. 2. and at Nice, inserted at Seleuc. (S. Ath. de Syn. § 23. p. 106 sqq. Oxf. Tr.) and by Aecius, (Socr. ii. 40.) and Pseudo-Sard. S. Hil. de Syn. § 34.

The Creation is distinctly mentioned in the Gallican Creed, (S. Iren. i. 10. "In one God the Father Almighty, Who made heaven and earth and the sea, and all things therein,") by Origine (de Princ. Prof.) Adamant. (Dial. c. Marc. ap. Orig. T. 1) the Apost. Constitut. (vii. 41.) the Jerusalem, (S. Cyril Jer. "Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things both visible and invisible,") Epiph. (Anc. fin.) and more concisely in the Asiatic Ante-Nicene Creed rehearsed in the Council by Eusebius as that "received from the Bishops, before him, both in the Catechising, and when he received Baptism," (Socr. 1. 10. "Maker of all things both visible and invisible.") In the Church of Antioch, (as recited by Cassian,) "Maker of all creatures visible and invisible." S. Basil has simply "of Whom are all things," (Serm. de Fid. § 4.) and Eustathius, &c. (ap. Socr. iv. 12.) By Aries and Eusebius, Eus. Ant. 4. Macrost, it is mentioned in the second place in the Nicene Creed, of the Son; with respect to Whom the creation of " things visible and invisible" is confessed in Ant. 1. 4. "all things in heaven and earth and the sea, and all things therein," Macr. Pseudo-Sard. Serm. 1. And so S. Basil, "by Whom all things were made, visible and invisible, and in Whom all things subsist."

There being then distinct mention of the Creation in the Creeds of Gaul, Asia Minor, Jerusalem, it is probable that it occurred also in the others, although it might be considered to be involved in the word "Almighty," which as S. Augustine remarks (de Fid. et Symb. § 2.) contains more than the confession of a creation of some, since who admitted this, yet denied that God could have created out of nothing.

In like way, another clause " dead" occurs in Tertullian, adv. Prax. (c. 2. "suffered, dead, and buried,") yet here and in the de Vel. Virg.

It occurs also in a Gallican Sacramentary of the end of the 7th century, Ass. ii. 42. It is omitted by Marcellus, l.c. (but the translation is evidently abridged here, see above, p. 481.) by Maximus of Turin in Trad. Symb. Bibli. P. T. vi. p. 42. but also in the Creed in Anglo-Saxon characters, A. 703. (Usner. de Symb. p. 6.) and in one of the same date (perhaps translated from it) appended to a Græco-Lat. MS. of the Acts (ib. 8. 6.) in that of Etherius and Beatus of Spain against Elipand, (but this in other places also is not recited verbatim, thus it has " one Lord and God," and "once again from the dead," the remission of all sins." ap. Usner. de Symb. p. 10. 11.)

Conversely, the 1st Eusebian confession at Antioch omits the word "Almighty." " We have learnt from the beginning, to believe in One God the God of the Universe, the Creator and Fore-disposer of all things, spiritual and sensible." (S. Ath. de Syn. § 22.)

It occurs also in the Creed of Sirium, Tertullian, ap. Ath. de Syn. § 28. Ant. Macrostich. ib. § 36.

Clauses "Dead" & "the Life Everlasting" in original Creed.

c. 1. The Death and Burial are included in the Crucifixion, as also in S. Irenaeus (i. 10. "and the Passion,") the Creed of Asia Minor (" Who suffered,") Jerusalem, (" He was crucified.") Venantius Fortunatus, (who was yet copying from Ruffinus, and from him has the "descent into hell,")

"Death" only is so included in that of Aquileia, Marcellus, Aecius, Eustathius, Eus., Ruffinus, S. Augustine, Antioch. ap. Cassian, Maximus Taur., Chrysol., Old Saxon Creed, Ancient Latin ap. Blanch. Enarr. (which yet has the "descent into hell.") Pseudo-Ath. (see Welch, p. 74.) Faund. (Def. 3 Capp.) Roft. "crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried." S. Aug. "crucified and buried," 1. th. Imp. de Gen. ad lit. e. 1. Serm. 212. and S. 214. c. 7. de Fid. et Symb. § 11. and in one place and in commenting, Serm. 213. 3. in commenting, Serm. 215. c. 5. (where the word "mortalis" seems to have been added to the text,) yet Chrysologus while the words were not in his text, introduces in his brief commentary the word Passion in five discourses, (Serm. 57-60, 62.) So also in the Gallican Sacramentary, (Ass. ii. 42.) "suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified and buried." A yet more remarkable instance perhaps is S. Jerome's apparent assertion, that the Creed ended with the "Resurrection of the Flesh," omitting consequently the Life Everlasting," adv. Joann. Jeros. §. 28. "In the creed of our faith and hope, which, delivered by the Apostles, is not written with paper and ink, but on the fleshly tables of the heart, after the confession of the Creed and the unity of the Church, the whole mystery of Christian doctrine is concluded in the Resurrection of the Flesh;" and Ruffinus in commenting on the Creeds of Aquileia does not mention this same article, but says in the like way, "But these last words, which declare the resurrection of the flesh, closes with a succinct brevity the sum of all perfection," and proceeds to vindicate that doctrine against the cavils of philosophy, dwelling entirely upon it.

Yet we know that this clause formed part of the Creed of Jerusalem, where S. Jerome was writing, ("And in the life everlasting," S. Cyril. Lect. 18. § 28.) as also in that of S. Irenaeus, an Asiatic Creed, (i. 10.) Marcellus, Bp. of Ancyra, (i. c.) the Apostolical Constitutions, (vii. 41.) the African in Tertullian in this place, and S. Cyprian, Ep. 69. ad Magn. "When they say, Believest thou in remission of sins and life eternal through the Church?" Ep. 70. Synod. ad Januar. where the two first clauses are transposed. In S. Augustine, Serm. 214. fin. they are interwoven in the discourses, "How shall we doubt that He will give our soul and flesh eternal life, &c." and (according to the formula preserved in S. Cyprian, Serm. 215. fin. "that you may be able to attain remission of sins, and resurrection of the flesh, and life everlasting, through the One true and holy Catholic Church, in which is known Father, Son, and Holy
This agreement in doctrine amid apparent variation is the more illustrated by the agreement in omitting two clauses, which are later insertions in the Creed, the "descend into Hell," and the "Communion of Saints." The doctrine, as was known to the Ancient Church, else it could not have been of course, was involved in the Creed before its separation from the Apostles' Creed; it is mentioned in the summary of teaching attributed to Thaddæus, which is cast in the mould of the Apostles' Creed (Eus. H. E. i. fin.) it is mentioned by S. Cyril of Jerusalem both in his summary of the Creed (Ep. 39, Ox. Tr.) and on the article of His Resurrection of the Creed (S. Epiphanius, (Anacrep. 9. i. p. 155.) (xiv. 10. 5.) as also by S. Epiphanius, (Anacrep. 99. c. 2.) Yet it is omitted by Sozomen and S. Augustine, as also by S. Cyril (ib. Serm. 61.) and in Chrysologus (Serm. 212, 214) the clause being interwoven with the discourse, it occurs Serm. 213, 215, and de Fid. et Symb. 

1 In like way the words "from the dead" are omitted in Serm. 58—62. occur S. 57. They are omitted also in the Vet. Lat. ap. Blanck. S. Aug. 486 "Life Everlasting" involved in "Resurrection of the Flesh."
The word "Catholic" again occurs in the Eastern, where the first heresies arose, not originally in the Western. Until heretics also claimed to be Churches, there was no occasion for that body, which held the one Faith, to designate itself as "the Holy Church spread throughout all the world." Yet it was no new term, but in the Greek Church occurs from the first; S. Ignatius (Ep. ad Smyrn. § 8.), the Church of Smyrna of the time of S. Polycarp, (Eus. H. E. iv. 15), S. Clem. Al. (Strom. vii. 17. p. 325, Syll. "we affirm that the ancient and Catholic Church is one only, collecting into the unity of one faith according to her own testaments, or rather one testament in different dispensations, by the will of The One God, through The One Lord") the Creeds of Jerusalem, of Alexandrin, (Theod. H. E. i. 4.) that of Arius and Eusebius, (see Bp. Pearson, Art. 9. not. c. e,) the Apostolic Constitutions. The Creed of S. Ephrem has the fuller and later form of the Nicene Creed, "One Catholic and Apostolic Church." In the Latin Creeds, on the other hand, it is so uniformly omitted that it hardly seems likely that it formed part of the original. So in Tert. (adv. Marc. v. 4.) S. Cyprian, (see above, p. 485) S. Jerome, (adv. Lucif. § 12.) "Believeth thou the Holy Church? Believeth thou the remission of sins?" S. Augustine, Serm. 213. c. 7. 214. In Serm. 215. it is added in the second place, in the de Fid. et Symb. § 21. as an explanation, "utique catholicam;" in the de Ag. Christ. c. 29. "sancta Ecclesia quae una Catholica est;" and de Gen. 4. 5. there is added, "And in one Lord." So in "the Oriental Creeds, as (as quoted by Ruffinus,) in S. Ireneus, and in that of Jerusalem, by the Father to be bom of the Virgin, and de de Syod. q. § 3. q. 42.) and the Ambrosian, (ib. 46.) in Crysyl. (Serm. 58-61. It occurs in the text Serm. 57, but not in the Comment, and is probably an addition,) in Marcellus of Ancyra, in the baptismal Creed, in the 8th cent., Etherius and Beatus adv. Elip. The identity of the Creed, even in its more enlarged form, may perhaps become more the apparent, by setting down those clauses which were incorporated into the Universal Creed by the Council of Nice, and noting the traces of them in the earlier Creeds. It will thus appear that in no case was any new language adopted, and that, with the exception of the word "Baptism," which was itself a received and ancient word, no word was introduced which was not found in the earlier forms of the Creed.

The only-begotten Son of God, the only-begotten Son of God, who is God, S. Basil. "Our Lord and God." Apost. Const., Cesarea, Marcell., Asc., Ant. § Macrostich. Phil. "His only-begotten Son," Jesus, (as Nic.) Antoninus against Paul Samos. (Mansi. i. p. 1838 sqq.) Eus. "in and in One Son of God, Only-begotten." Ant. 3. § "Perfect God of Perfect God."
Nicene, Creed, taken from earlier existing Creeds.

And was made man,
And was crucified also for us—
Rose again according to the Scriptures,—
Whose kingdom shall have no end.

With regard to the clauses in the third division of the Creed, which relate directly to the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity, the traces of their existence before the Council of Constantinople are necessarily less distinct, because the object of adding the traditional Creeds being the true doctrine as to The Son, they are closed mostly with the simple Confession "And in The Holy Ghost," to complete the Faith in the Trinity. Even the Council of Nice adds no more, (see above, p. 481.) In setting down then what remains, passages have been added from Doxologies, or such formal statements, or such reiterated phrases, as seem to come from Creeds.

The Lord, and Giver of life, Who proceedeth from The Father and The Son.

Who with The Father and The Son together is worshipped and glorified,
Who spake by the prophets.

**Orig.** and became man.
Tert. (ap. Bull, ii. 5.) "Who came down from Heaven and was made flesh in her womb, and of her born man." Jer. "Who was sent from the Father from heaven."

"Who came to (as) and became man." Ant. ap. Cass. S. Basil.

"And according to the Scriptures," Athenag. Leg. 24. ""And the Spirit dwells (resides) in [of The Father], as light from fire." Lucian. Philoprat. 12.

"Spirit proceeding from The Father."

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Various interpretations do not exclude each other,

Note Q, on p. 455.

The various bearings of the title “Rock” in St. Matt. 16, 18.

Tertullian interprets the “rock” of St. Peter’s person, de Monog. c. 8. de Podic. c. 21. (but, in the latter, in an heretical sense, as denying the transmission of the authority of binding and loosing to the Church). S. Cyriacus also explains it of St. Peter personally, (Ep. 71 ad Quint. Ep. 43. Pleb. Univ. 40. Pam.) as a type of unity, (Ep. 73 ad Sabinian. add Firmil. Ep. 75. § 11.) as representing the Church and speaking in her name, (Ep. 59. ad Cornel.) but the authority he speaks of as derived through him to all Bishops, (de Unit. Ecele. § 3. p. 133. Oxox. Tr. Ep. 73. ad Sabinian. § 6. Ep. 66. ad Flor. Pop. v. fin.) so that the Church is placed on the Bishops. (Ep. 33. ad Laps. 27. Pam.) S. Greg. Naz. interprets it of him individually, Orat. 32. de Moderat. § 18. so also S. Epiphanius. Ancorat. § 9. yet with reference to his faith, (adv. Hara. lix.) so that he says at once that it was built upon him and upon the Faith which he confessed, on him, as the organ of, and by virtue of That Faith, whereon it is indeed built. “And he was received by the Lord, who, for a time denied, the holy Peter, and very chief of the Apostles, who became to us in truth a firm rock, founding the faith in the Lord, whereon the Church was every way built. First, because he confessed Christ The Son of The Living God, and was told, ‘upon this rock of the solid Faith will I build My Church,’ because he had openly confessed the True Son.” S. Augustine at first explained the rock of St. Peter personally, following the hymn of S. Ambrose, “Et erat securitas,” “et erur rerum conditor,” then “very frequently explained it of Christ Whom Simon confessed, as the whole Church since confesses Him.” Retr. 1. 21. “i.e. on Myself, The Son of The Living God, will I build My Church. On Me, will I build thee, not Me on thee,” Serm. 76. in Matt. 14. as does Tertullian,

but present different portions of the same truth.
The same fathers explain the Rock of Christ chiefly; then

Thy rock is in act; thy rock is the mind. On this rock thy house is built, that no storms of spiritual wickedness have power to overthrow it. Thy rock is Faith; the foundation of the Church is Faith. If thou art a rock, thou wilt be in the Church, for the Church is on the Rock. If thou art in the Church, the gates of hell shall not prevail against thee. 

"This then is that Peter, who answered for the rest of the Apostles, you, above the rest, and is therefore entitled a 'foundation,' because he could steady others, not himself only.—Him Christ approved; to him the Father revealed. For he who speaketh of the foundation of the Church, hath received it of The Father, not of the flesh. Faith then is the foundation of the Church; for not of the human person of Peter, but of Faith is it said that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; but Confession [of the true Faith] hath overcome hell. And this confession hath shut out more than one heresy; for whereas the Church, like a goodly vessel, is oft beaten on by many waves, the foundation of the Church must hold good against all heresies."—de Incarnat. Dom. Sacram. c. 4. 5. §. 23. 34. 

S. Augustine combines these same meanings, Serm. 76. "This name, that he should be called Peter, was given him by the Lord, and that in a figure, to signify the Church. For since Christ is the rock, Peter is the Christian people. For Petra (rock) is the chief name. Peter then is called from petra, not petra from Peter, as not Christ from Christian, but Christian from Christ. 'Thou,' then, He saith, 'art Peter, and on this Rock' which thou hast confessed, on this Rock which thou hast known, saying, 'Thou art the Rock,' The Son of The Living God,' 'I will build My Church,' meaning, I deem, by rock immovability in the Faith of His disciple. But is said by the voice of the Psalmist, 'Its foundations are upon the holy mountains.' Exceeding well are the holy Apostles and Evangelists likened to mountains, in that their knowledge [of God] is established as a foundation to those after them, suffering not those caught in their nets, to fall into a reprobate faith. 

Here, in one passage, we have Christ as The Rock, or Foundation; the Apostles and Evangelists, (and among them St. Peter), as foundations upon which we proximately rest, and that, as depositories of the saving Faith, by cleaving to whose doctrine and teaching we are kept from falling away, by whose intervention the inward eyes might be hindered, but through the Spirit of The Father, Himself operating in the heart of the believer, so..."
whole Church, doth Peter daily say, 'Thou art Christ, The Son of The Living God;' and every tongue which confesses the Lord, is instructed by the teaching of that his voice. This Faith conquereth the devil, and looseth the bands of his captives. This conveys to heaven those snatched from the world; and against it the gates of hell cannot prevail. For with such solid strength was it fortified by God, that neither could heretical perverseness ever corrupt it, nor pagan treachery overcome it." (Serm. 3. de Nat. ips. § 2, 3.) In reference to the same truth, he paraphrases our Lord's words, "' And I,' He saith, "say unto thee,' i.e. as My Father hath manifested to thee My Divinity, so do I also make known to thee thy eminence, that thou art Peter," i.e. whereas I am the unassailable Rock, I the Corner-stone Who made both one, I the Foundation, other than which can no man lay,' yet thou also art a rock, because thou art strengthened by My might, so that what of right belongs alone to Me, by My communication should be shared by thee, ' And on this rock, etc.' He saith, On this strength I will build an everlasting temple, and the height of My Church, which shall reach to heaven, shall rise upon the firmness of this Faith." S. Leo subjoins, "This confession the gates of hell shall not master, the bands of death shall not bind; for that word is the word of life. And as it advances those who confess it, to the heavens, so it sinks those who deny it, to hell; whence it is said to the most blessed Peter, ' I will give thee the keys, etc.' The right of this authority passed to the other Apostles, [see S. Cypr. de unit. Eccl. c. c.] and what this degree decided, became common to all the heads of the Church, yet not without reason is that entrusted to one, which was to be conveyed to all. For this is therefore committed to Peter individually, because Peter is the common type of all the rulers of the Church. The privilege of Peter then abides, wherever sentence is passed with his equity." (Serm. 4. § 2, 3.) The "rock" then according to S. Leo, was the revealed Faith in the Rock, the Ever-Blessed Son of God, which whosoever confessed, partook of the solidity of that Rock, Which St. Peter confessed, which Faith St. Peter first, in the name of the other Apostles, confessed, and for them received the blessing, himself possessing it first in order and dignity, which Faith also he preached, and delivered it, as the title-deeds of the Church, especially to the Churches over which he himself presided, to Antioch as to Rome, yet not in any other sense to Rome than to Antioch, nor as though new doctrine might be added, or as though doctrine, not virtually contained in the Apostles' Creed, formed a part of it.a

a In the words of Quezel, "He asserts that the solid strength of that Faith which was praised in Peter, is that rock upon which He promises that He will build His Church," to which it is rightly added by the subsequent editors, "not faith in general, nor the private faith of Peter, but that Faith which he preached, and of which he left a deposit in the Roman See [as in that of Antioch] and transmitted to his successor with the like privilege of solid strength." (T. c.)
The "keys" given alike to all the Apostles

The keys (Matt. 16, 19.) given to the Church in the person of St. Peter.

Note R, on p. 455.

The keys (Matt. 16, 19.) given to the Church in the person of St. Peter.

Tertullian, as a Montanist, confines this gift of the keys to St. Peter's first preaching the Gospel, excluding the authority of the Church de Præscr. Hæm. 21. "He saith, 'I will give thee the keys,' not the Church. And so the event shows. He first applied the key. Observe, what key. 'Ye men of Israel, hear what I say, Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved by God unto you and the rest.' And this was what was peculiar to St. Peter. The rest he shared with the other Apostles, and with them, transmitted to the Church." See S. Cyprian de Unit. Eccl. §. 3. p. 133.

"Are they the keys of the kingdom of heaven given to Peter alone, and shall no other of the blessed receive them?" (Afterwards, Tom. 13. in Matt. fin., he contrasts this authority given to S. Peter, not with that given to the Apostles or the Church, but with that which he supposed they have who thrice rebuke a brother.) Firmilian ap. S. Cyr. Ep. 75. c. 11.

S. Amb. in Ps. 38. §. 37. "This Novatian hath not heard, the Church of God hath heard—What is said to Peter, is said to the Apostles. We do not usurp power, we obey a command, &c."

"To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, &c.' he represented the whole Church, which in this world is beat everywhere almost alone was it vouchsafed to represent the Church." (Du Pin iv. 1. 1.) Theoph. in loco. Serm. 1. 7. §. 33. S. Hil. de Trin. vi. 33. "O blessed and holy men, [the Apostles], and who for the reward of your faith obtained the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the power of binding and loosing in heaven and in earth." (comp. c. 16. in loc.) S. Aug. Tr. 22. in Joh. §. 7. explaining xi. 44. "It is said to the attendants, the Apostles, whatsoever ye loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven." (comp. Tr. 49. §. 24.) Serm. 295. de nat. Pet. et Pauli §. 2. "Among these [disciples] to Peter every where almost alone was it vouchsafed to represent the Church. On account of this very character, which he alone bore, of representing the whole Church, was it granted him to hear the words, 'To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' For these keys not one man, but the unity of the Church received. Hereby then is the excellence of Peter set forth, that he was an emblem of the Church, in its universality and its unity, when it was said to him, 'I give to thee' what was given to all. For that ye may know that the Church did receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven, hear in another place what the Lord saith to all His Apostles,—'Receive the Holy Ghost,' and then instantly, 'whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted, and whosoever sins are retained,' (Job. 20. 22. 23.) appertaineth to the keys of which it was said, 'Whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed also in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound also in heaven.' (Matt. 16, 19.) But this He said to Peter, that thou mayest know that Peter was then representing the whole Church." Tr. 118. in Joh. §. 4.

"In that he returned that answer for all [the Apostles] and with all received that saying, [I will give thee, &c.] representing, as it were, the very character of unity itself, therefore was he one for all, because unity is in all." Tr. 124. §. 5. "As relates to himself properly, he was by nature one man, by grace one Christian, by more abundant grace, one and the same the first Apostle; but when that was said to him, 'I will give thee, &c.' he represented the whole Church, which in this world is beat upon by divers temptations, wind, floods, storms, and falleth not, for it is founded on the Rock, whence Peter had his name,—The Church then which is founded on Christ, received from Him, in Peter, the keys of the kingdom of heaven, i. e. the power of binding and loosing sins." Tr. 51. §. 12. "Were not Peter a type of the Church, the Lord would not say to him, 'I will give thee, &c.' If this was said to Peter only, the Church doth it not. But if it is wrought in the Church also, that what are bound on earth are bound in heaven, what loosed on earth loosed in heaven, because, when the Church excommunicates, the excommunicate is bound in heaven, where he is reconciled by the Church, the reconcile is loosed in heaven—if this is wrought in the Church, Peter, when he received the keys, signified the holy Church." add de doctr. Christ. i. 18. o. advers. leg. i. 17. in Ps. 108 init. as a type of the Church, de sq. Christ. c. 30. "for to this Church [the Church Catholic] were the keys of the kingdom of heaven given, when they were given to Peter," add c. 31. de Bapt. iii. 17. as a type of unity, add vil. 51. Pacian. ad Symp. Ep. 3. p. 311. Ep. i. p. 106. "What is that which He saith to the Apostles—Was this permitted to the Apostles alone?" S. Jerome adv. Jov. i. 14. (quoted Note Q.) Opt. vil. 3. "To him it was vouchsafed to be preferred to all the Apostles, and he alone received the keys of the kingdom of heaven, which were to be communicated to the rest." (By Christ, Rg. de Cyrp. de Unit. Eccl. Du Pin Diss. iv. 1. 1.) S. Leo Serm. 4. (quoted Note Q.) Fulgent. de Rem. Pec. i. 19. 24. lii. 20. de Fide ad Pet. c. 3. Johann. Hieros. et Synod. Palæst. (ap. Launoy p. 32.) Pseudo-Eucherius Hom. de Nat. S. Pet. (ib.) Gaudentius Tract. in disc. Ordinat. sum. (Du Pin iv. 1. 1.) Theoph. in loc. "Although the 'I will give thee' was said to Peter alone, still it is given to all the Apostles," Phot. cod. 280. ap. Barrow on the Supremacy of the Pope, Supp. i. 20. c. 16. S. Chrys. among the titles of St. John, adds "who hath the keys of the kingdom of heaven," (Hom. 1. in Joh. §. 1. quoted ib.) See the Gallican Divines, Launoy Ep. ii. 5. Du Pin Diss. iv. 1. 1. vi. 6.

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On Note D, on the Millennium, p. 128.

S. Jerome in Is. 1. xiv. c. 60. v. 19. 20. uses language which might seem to imply that he himself received the doctrine of the Millennium, in a spiritual sense; but in saying that he does not differ from the Millenarians as to the period when these prophecies shall be accomplished, he probably means only that it shall be at the end of all things, but in Heaven, not on earth. The passage is, "From this section, we are compelled to refer all which has been and is about to be said, to the last time, when, heaven and earth passing away, the office of the sun and moon shall cease, and the Lord Himself shall be the everlasting Light; so that what the Millenarians assert shall be fulfilled carnally, we believe are to be spiritually, differing as to the quality of the promises not as to the period," and, in the same context, he paraphrases, Isa. 62. v. 7. "So long ought ye to ask, until Jerusalem which fell in the Jews, and is a by-word and curse, shall be the praise of the whole world;" and, on v. 9. "These things (Matt. 14. 25.) are in part being fulfilled in the Church, when the Lord saith to His disciples, 'Drink, My friends, and be ye inebriated' with 'the wine which maketh glad the heart of man.' And in midday doth Joseph drink with his brethren. And it shall be fulfilled more completely, when the earth shall be inebriated with the blessings of the Lord." This period he explains (on c. 60 fin.) to be "the consummation of all things and the second coming of the Saviour," but so also does S. Augustine place the Millennium after the Day of Judgment. It seems very unlikely, however, that had S. Jerome held a spiritual Millennium, he should speak so very often as he does against the fleshly Millenarians, without intimating the doctrine which he held.

Additional Notes.


It is to be observed, on the other hand, that S. Irenæus, to whom T. owes so much, quotes this same Scripture of the lowliness of His Humanity. The Old Latin translator uses the word indecorus. "The Divine Scriptures attest both of Him, that He was a Man without beauty (indecorus) and subject to suffering, and sitting on the foal of an ass; vinegar and gall are given Him to drink, and He is despised of the people, and descends even to death, and that He is the Lord," &c. iii. 19. 2. S. Cyril of Alexandria all too easily uses St. Clement's word σοφός of His being "found in fashion as a man." "We saw Him, and He had neither appearance nor beauty, i.e. Divine Beauty, but His Form was without honour (ἐμφάνις). For petty and mean (ἐμφάνις καὶ σοφός) and without honour are human things altogether, compared to the Divine and exceeding excellence and incomparable brightness of Beauty of that Nature Which is above all things. It is said accordingly, 'fairer than the sons of men.'"

On p. 262. de Baptismo, c. 5. "The image is considered to be in His [for 'his'] Form, the likeness in His [for 'his'] Eternity." 

Tertullian draws a distinction, as other Fathers have done, (see note, p. 263.) between the "Image" and the " Likeness" spoken of in Gen. 1. 26. He refers the former to the impress of the Divine Character bestowed on man at the Creation, lost at the Fall, and in part recovered in Baptism: the latter to the gift of Immortality, the "likeness" of God's Eternity, conferred at the Creation, (Gen. 2. 7.) annulled at the Fall, (Rom. 5. 12.) restored in the covenant of the Gospel, (2 Tim. 1. 10.) For the use of the word "Form" (effigyes) in the sense above noted compare 2 Cor. 3. 18. "we are transformed into the same image," (παραθέτεται νεωσθε ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ.) Rom. 8. 29. "He predestinates to be conformed to the image of His Son," (συναφευγομενος εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ.) Who Himself is declared to be, in a way inherent in Himself, "in the form of God," (ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ) Phil. 2. 6. Gal. 4. 19. "of whom I travail in birth again, until Christ be formed (μορφωθῇ) in you," on which latter passage Theophylact says, "He would say, Ye have defaced the 'form' (μορφὴν) of Christ, which ye had in yourselves from Baptism, and ye need again another regeneration and re-formation, (αἰσθητικίας) that the Form of (καὶ μορφὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ) may again be in you, so that ye may bear on you an Impression from Him." (ἐν ἑαυτοῦ ἐμφάνις) [Tr.]

* Comp. Wisd. 2. 23. "For God and made him an image of His own made man to be immortal, (ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐμφάνις) proper nature." (ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐμφάνις)
Additional Notes.

On p. 274. note e.

The same text occurs in S. Jerome on Is. 57, 3.

On Note I, § ilut. p. 326.


Bingham (15. S. 6.) quotes part of the following passage from Laurentius Bp. of Novaria, (A.D. 507.) Hom. 1. de Pœnit. B. P. ix. 466, 7. "God is in thee. He will be to thee penitence, and a fountain, and Baptism, and remission, Who never ceaseth nor faileth in thee. Hast thou fallen after Baptism?—What then? is hope perished? Not so. Thou hast in the font received the sign, not of despair but of mercy. — From that day and hour 'Father, are repentance where The Holy Ghost is entitled remission, clothed with a white vesture of a priest., As thou wentest up from the sacred font, thou wast Baptism? — "Abel, see Cain.

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ERRATA.

Page 1. 1. 4. for 396 read 196

3. 1. 6. for know for a certain read know for certain

12. 1. 6. for wreak read weak

14. 1. 8. for clear read dear

16. 1. 22. for bestowed read restored

24. title, for defilemen-textent read defilement—extent

56. not. m. for in Nah. c. 7. read in Ab. l. i. c. 1.

76. 1. 3. dele commas after "Jove"

79. 1. 16. for yea read ye

127. antep. for Prew. read Prof.

131. 1. 3. for call read call

156. 1. 11. for them read thee

146. 1. 1. for this read the

169. n. g. col. 1. for acknowledged read was on the point of acknowledging

164. n. 2. ult. for reserve read preserve

177. 1. 9. for give read given

191. 1. 26. for relates read relate

205. 1. 30. for funeral—sacrifices read funeral-sacrifices

206. 1. 13. for delicate-tranquilly read delicate—tranquilly

214. n. u. l. 9. for S. Matt. 7, 6. read 7, 6.

246. 1. 8. from b. rulers of this world add in marg. Eph. 6, 12.

247. 1. 7. from b. for Behold read Behold *

254. Siblo, for 384 read 294

262. n. k. l. ult. for in his eternity read in eternity

1. 15. for ' his' twice read ' His'

276. 1. 6. from b. for fast* read fast

314. n. l. for debt read debt

369. 1. 24. for with a universe kind of brands read an universe of brands

385. 1. 13. for of peulent read of the p.

392. n. p. col. 2. 7. from b. for and read and

406. n. u. col. 1. ult. for well high read well-high

407. n. u. col. 1. l. 4. from b. for to each and other, pray read to each other, and pray

409. notice, 1. 8. for humanely read humanly

437. 1. penit. for sedfastly read stedfastly

445. 1. 8. for warm read warm

457. 1. 19. for good enough read good man enough

END OF VOL. I.
A PUBLICATION, answering to the above title, appeared to the Editors calculated to answer many and important ends, and to supply considerable wants, some peculiar to our own Church and times, others more general.

Their chief grounds for thinking it very desirable were such as the following:

1. The great intrinsic value of many of the works of the Fathers, which are, at present, inaccessible, except to such as have large libraries, and are familiar with the languages in which they are written; and this the more, since a mere general acquaintance with the language will not enable a person to read with ease many of the Fathers. E.g. Knowledge of Latin alone will not suffice to read Tertullian: and in cases less strong, ecclesiastical language and peculiarity of style will often present considerable difficulties at first.

2. The desirableness of bringing together select works of different Fathers. Many who would wish to become acquainted with the Fathers, know not where to begin; and scarcely any have the means to procure any great number of their works. Editions of the whole works of a Father, (such as we for the most part have,) are obviously calculated for divines, not for private individuals: they furnish more of the works of each Father than most require, and their expense precludes the acquisition of others.

3. The increased demand for sacred reading. The Clergy of one period are obviously unequal to meet demands so rapid, and those of our day have additional hindrances, from the great increased amount of practical duties. Where so much is to be produced, there is of necessity great danger that
much will not be so mature as, on these subjects, is especially to be desired. Our occupations do not leave time for mature thought.
4. Every body of Christians has a peculiar character, which tends to make them look upon the system of faith, committed to us, on a particular side; and so, if they carry it on by themselves, they insensibly contract its limits and depth, and virtually lose a great deal of what they think that they hold. While the system of the Church, as expressed by her Creeds and Liturgy, remains the same, that of her members will gradually become contracted and shallow, unless continually enlarged and refreshed. In ancient times this tendency was remedied by the constant living intercourse between the several branches of the Catholic Church, by the circulation of the writings of the Fathers of the several Churches, and, in part, by the present method—translation. We virtually acknowledge the necessity of such accessions by our importations from Germany and America; but the circumstances of Germany render mere translation unadvisable, and most of the American Theology proceeds from bodies who have altered the doctrine of the Sacraments.
5. The peculiar advantages of the Fathers in resisting heretical errors, in that they had to combat the high mysteries, cannot be handled without pain, and rarely without injury to our own minds. 7. The advantage which some of the Fathers (e. g. St. Chrysostom) possessed as Commentators on the New Testament, from speaking its language.
6. The great comfort of being able to produce, out of Christian antiquity, private interpretations of Holy Scripture. The character of Catholic Antiquity, which is disparaged by Romanists in order to depreciated through the broken sentences of the Fathers, which men pick up out of controversial divinity.
11. The great danger in which Romanists are of lapsing into secret infidelity, not seeing how to escape from the palpable errors of their own Church, without falling into the opposite errors of Ultra-Protestants. It appeared an act of especial charity to point out to such of them as are dissatisfied with the state of their own Church, a body of ancient Catholic truth, free from the errors, alike of modern Rome and of Ultra-Protestants.
12. Gratitude to Almighty God, who has raised up these great lights in the Church of Christ, and set them there for its benefit in all times.

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